Carter, Reagan in virtual dead-heat, poll indicates

IF THE PRESIDENTIAL election were held today it would end in a virtual dead-heat between President Carter and Ronald Reagan. It would be much too close for anyone to predict the outcome, according to the latest New York Times-CBS News national poll conducted last weekend.

Only a single percentage point separates the two candidates, the poll shows, with 44 per cent of the voters saying they would vote for Reagan and 43 per cent favoring the President.

Even if John Anderson were running as an independent, he would win only 18 per cent of the vote with Reagan and Carter still virtually tied—34 per cent for Reagan and 35 per cent for Carter.

If the race were between Reagan and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy [D., Mass.], the Republican would win easily by 53 to 36 per cent. The Chappaquiddick tragedy still haunts Kennedy. Eight of every 10 voters say they still are not convinced he told the truth about the accident.

MANY VOTERS indicated their dissatisfaction with both of the front-running candidates when they were asked whether they would be satisfied to choose between Carter and Reagan. Nearly half responded they would prefer another choice.

But neither Anderson nor George Bush appears to be that choice. Popularity of both dropped slightly since last month's poll and only 1 of 10 Republicans listed either of them as their preference for the GOP nomination.

The momentum appears to have swung to Reagan with Carter losing ground almost everywhere, apparently because of dissatisfaction with his handling of both foreign policy and domestic issues, particularly the sagging economy. A month ago Carter led Reagan by 13 percentage points in the presidential poll.

The latest poll shows a sizable switch in the independent vote from Carter to Reagan in the last month. In the March poll, Carter had 47 per cent of the independent vote and Reagan had only 35. The latest survey of independent voters gives Carter 29 per cent and Reagan 45.

THIRTY-THREE per cent of those who voted for Carter in 1976 say they would vote for Reagan this year, and 20 per cent of those who voted for President Gerald Ford four years ago say they would now vote for Carter.

Carter's "favorable" rating with Democrat voters has dropped 10 points since March and 18 points since February.

For the first time this year, half the voters disapprove of the way the President is handling his job. And nearly 3 of 4 voters say he isn't doing a good job with the economy, but they don't blame him for soaring inflation.

More than 6 of 10 voters rate inflation and other economic issues as the biggest problems in America, while only 2 of 10 say Iran, Afghanistan, and other foreign issues are our main concerns.

A WHOPPING 8 of 10 say the economy is getting worse, but nearly twice as many blame this on Congress as blame the President. More than half the voters say Reagan couldn't control inflation either, and nearly as many say the problem is beyond the control of any President.

Balancing the federal budget, most say, would do more good than anything else to halt rising inflation.

More than half the voters disapprove of the way Carter is handling the crisis in Iran—nearly twice as many as disapproved just two months ago.

Better than 5 of 10 voters also say that if Carter had taken a stronger stand in Iran, the hostages would have been released by now. Only 23 per cent urge that the United States use military force to free the hostages, but, that's twice as many as called for such action two months ago.

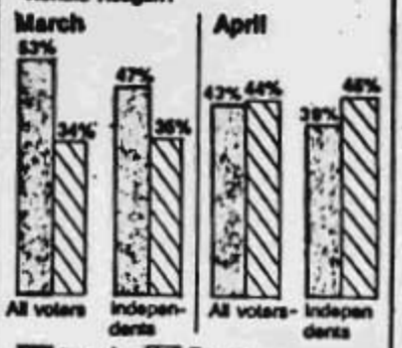
Carter gets the overwhelming support of nearly 3 out of 4 voters on his decision not to permit U.S. athletes to participate in the Olympic Games in Moscow.

But while 34 per cent of the voters say they believe Carter is remaining in the White House instead of actively campaigning so he can concentrate on troublesome foreign affairs, 44 per cent say they believe he's doing it to help him politically.

Campaign '80 Poll

Carter vs. Reagan

If the Presidential election were being held today, which of these candidates would you vote for — Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan?



If Anderson ran as independent

If John Anderson ran as an independent candidate for President, and if the elections were being held today, would you vote for Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, or John Anderson?

	All voters	Independents
Carter	35%	29%
Reagan	34%	34%
Anderson	18%	25%
No vote	3%	3%
Don't know, no answer	10%	10%

Source: The New York Times/CBS News poll

Tribune Chart

RONALD REAGAN CAN DEFEAT PRESIDENT CARTER THIS YEAR! BUT YOUR HELP IS NEEDED TODAY TO HELP "CITIZENS for REAGAN in '80" BUILD A WINNING COALITION of SUPPORT for RONALD REAGAN.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TODAY!

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE!



Republicans must understand that when they vote for their choice for President, they really do have a choice!

RONALD REAGAN is the best candidate for Republicans. He is a better choice than George Bush.

HERE'S THE DIFFERENCE:



Ronald Reagan

TAX CUTS: Ronald Reagan supports the major Kemp-Roth tax cut proposal (30% across the board tax cut in three years) which is also endorsed by the Republican National Committee and the majority of Republicans in Congress.

EXPERIENCE PROVEN: Ronald Reagan has successfully governed the largest state in the Union for eight years. As Governor of California he proved to be an excellent administrator, an innovative and strong leader and a man who can limit the power and cost of government.

DRAFTING WOMEN: Ronald Reagan agrees with the experts and is opposed to drafting women into our armed forces. At a time when America must quickly rebuild its military strength Reagan does not believe that drafting women will benefit our nation's defense needs.

GOVERNMENT GROWTH: Ronald Reagan will cut government size, government power and government taxes. He did it in California and he will do it again as president.

GUN CONTROL: Ronald Reagan opposes gun control and has clearly spoken out for the right of every citizen to keep and bear arms.

George Bush

TAX CUTS: George Bush is opposed to the Kemp-Roth tax cut. He voted for a 10% income tax surcharge in 1968, against a tax cut in 1969 and to increase the national debt in 1969 and 1970. Then the people of Texas defeated Bush in 1970 when he ran for the Senate.

EXPERIENCE LIMITED: George Bush has never had the responsibility of running government, large or small. We can't afford another President who doesn't understand how to effectively and efficiently run our federal government.

DRAFTING WOMEN: George Bush has endorsed the drafting of women into the American armed forces.

GOVERNMENT GROWTH: George Bush supports further growth in the federal government as he did while in Congress. For example, he voted to establish OSHA, the most dictatorial of all federal agencies, and to nationalize welfare programs under the federal government.

GUN CONTROL: George Bush favors gun control. While in Congress he voted for the infamous 1968 Gun Control law.

Don't be misled.

Vote for Ronald Reagan!

Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority
and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80

For more information about Citizens for Reagan in '80 and how you can help nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States, send your name and address to:

Citizens for Reagan in '80
A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 1401
Arlington, Virginia 22209

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of $ _____

Make check payable to: Fund for a Conservative Majority.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Be a part of the Reagan Team for 1980!

33040421865

Final VICTORY Drive

JUNE 3 1980

Reply Memorandum

Reagan Country

June 3 Primaries

California
168 delegates

Mississippi
22 delegates

Montana
20 delegates

New Jersey
66 delegates

Dear Bob:

The nomination of Ronald Reagan is in sight! Now we must prove he can defeat President Carter this fall.

The national polls show we can win. But we must use the up-coming June 3 primaries to build the organization to defeat President Carter and elect Ronald Reagan.

Here is my "Final Drive" contribution:

___ $25 ___ $50 ___ $100 ___ $250

___ $500 ___ $1,000 ___ $5,000 ___ Other

(Make check payable to Fund for a Conservative Majority or FCM)

Corporate Contributions can be accepted.
They should be issued to the order of the Fund for a Conservative Majority – State Fund.
These contributions will be utilized only in connection with state and local races where corporate contributions are permitted.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Federal law requires that we ask:

Occupation _____

Name of Employer? _____ Self-Employed? _____

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not by any candidate or candidate's committee.

New Mexico
22 delegates

Ohio
77 delegates

Rhode Island
13 delegates

South Dakota
22 delegates

West Virginia
18 delegates

Total delegates at stake on June 3:
428

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 1 8 6 7

THANKS FOR HELPING US PAY POSTAGE

Final VICTORY Drive

JUNE 3 1980

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80!
A project of:
Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street NW
Washington, DC 20005

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not by any candidate or candidate's committee.

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80!
A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street NW
Washington, DC 20005

Final VICTORY Drive

JUNE 3 1980

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not by any candidate or candidate's committee.

FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY
4000 WILSON BLVD., SUITE 1
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22203

VOID

Central Fidelity Bank

2092

June 24 12

THE SUM 2989 DOLS 53 CTS

Dollars

Robert T. Conn

NOT NEGOTIABLE

FUND FOR A
CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

DELUXE - CHECK WVD-6 V-6

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
6 24 88		2989.53

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-4605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1975

DATE April 25, 1980

TO:

Fund for a Conservative
Majority
c/o Thompson & Associates
7015 Keene Mill Road
Springfield, Va. 22151

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland & Assoc.

CFR 180

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	4/24/80	1693 / 10599	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
205 M	Computer forms, with 3 color face and 1 color back.	13.69/M	2,806.45
	Authors Alterations:		
	Halftones reshot:		26.70
	Line shots:		5.40
	Labor: stripping:		36.00
			2,874.55
	4% Va. tax:		114.98
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$2,989.53

V Planning page 1-2 only.

8304218

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET



Citizens for Reagan in 80!

A project of FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

May 16, 1980

Mr. P C Davis
PO Box 1063
Quincy, FL 32351

Dear Mr. Davis:

Reagan as President and a Conservative Majority in the Senate is truly within our grasp!

National columnist Jack Anderson has referred to this possibility when he recently wrote:

> "... if a conservative Republican should win the presidency next year, his allies in the Senate could help him change the political direction of the country."

<u>With your help we can soon nominate and elect Ronald Reagan as President! And we can control the Senate as well</u>!

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is a special project of the prominent multi-candidate political action committee -- Fund for a Conservative Majority. FCM is one of the oldest PACs in the country and its efforts have helped elect many of today's conservative leaders.

FCM is seeking to elect conservative candidates to federal office who will actively work to limit the size, price and control of government.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" can be the deciding factor in electing Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

If we are to succeed, we need your help. Please join with "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today.

A significant amount of "independent money" has already been raised to help nominate and elect Reagan our next President.

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee

8304021870

But more, much more, needs to be done.

The Eastern Establishment and the liberal news media hope to deny victory to Ronald Reagan.

We must not allow them to succeed! Reagan can win!

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is an independent campaign working to nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

Citizens for Reagan will encourage our fellow citizens to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Citizens for Reagan is campaigning in all the important primary and convention states. However, the extent to which we campaign depends directly upon the amount of support received from you and other patriotic Americans.

Citizens for Reagan budgeted a great deal of money for the important primaries in New Hampshire, the South, Illinois, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Texas. Now its efforts are focussed on the important final primaries in California, Ohio and New Jersey, on June 3rd.

Radio and newspaper advertising, voter mailings, polling and literature distribution is being carried out by "Citizens for Reagan in '80".

<u>The goal is simple: to nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.</u>

Ronald Reagan is a strong, articulate and experienced leader. He proved he was an effective executive while serving as Governor of California.

As a matter of fact, Reagan was the first major spokesman calling for a national "taxpayers revolt" by urging the citizens to join him in bringing government under control.

And Ronald Reagan has clearly understood the Soviet threat and has always called for a superior U.S. military force.

Once Reagan is nominated at the Republican convention, we will not stop our campaign -- no indeed. "Citizens for Reagan in '80" will continue to campaign right up to election day.

As an independent campaign, "Citizens for Reagan in '80" is not bound by the federal law to disband after Ronald Rea-

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FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY
1023 WILSON BLVD. SUITE 1401
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22209

VOID

Central Fidelity Bank

May 27 19 80

PAY ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED NINETY NINE DOLLARS 00 CTS

DOLLARS $ 1,299.00

TO THE ORDER OF

Wiland & Associates, Inc.
219 East Davis Street
Culpeper, Va 22701

Ralph I. Caliari

NOT NEGOTIABLE

:056001532: #350415 [illegible]

FUND FOR A
CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

DELUXE - CHECK WVD-3 V-2

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
5/27	Invoice# 24012 Mail File CFR 23	$1299.00

8 3 0 4 0 4 0 2 1 8 7

5/12

Wiland & Associates, Inc.

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-8100

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
25349,25549	16	1424	March 12, 1980	26012

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
Merge/Purge #3 - FCM				
Process Mail File Input (including List Conversion and Duplicate Identification Processing)	289,020	$2.70/M	$ 780.35	
Process Mail File Output (including Splits, Key Assignment and Printing)	223,185	2.10/M	468.69	
Virginia Sales Tax			49.96	
8304				
		CFF	20	

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

TOTAL $1,299.00

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON/OR BEFORE N/A

PAY THIS AMOUNT N/A

ORIGINAL INVOICE

FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY
1008 WILSON BLVD., SUITE 1401
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

REGISTERED

Central Fidelity Bank

PAY THE SUM ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS 00 CTS

TO THE ORDER OF

Robert C Bla

NOT NEGOTIABLE

:055001532: #350416 6#

FUND FOR A
CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

DELUXE - CHECK WIDE V-8

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
6/2		

8 8 0 4 0 2 0 7 8 7

[redacted] communications Industries, Inc.
A subsidiary of Hadron, Inc.
1700 Old [redacted]ow Road
McLean, [redacted]
22102
(703) 821-8200

TELEPOST

April 18, 1980
Invoice No. 739

Mr. Kenneth Boehm
Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 1401
Arlington, VA

INVOICE

5,000 TELEPOST Letters generated on April 16, 1980 = $1,850.00

Payment Received: $750.00

TOTAL DUE: $1,100.00

TERMS: Net 10 days

8304042187

FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY
1022 WILSON BLVD., SUITE 1401
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22209

[illegible] Valley Bank

1333

March 26th 80

Five Thousand and 00/100 DOLLARS $5,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF
Arthur J. Finkelstein + Assoc.
117 Smith Ave.
Mt. Kisco, N.Y. 10549

NOT NEGOTIABLE

⑈0556001532⑈ ⑈3504⑈ 6⑈

FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

DELUXE - FORM WVB-3 V-2

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
3/26/80	Wisconsin Survey -	5000.00

⑆83040⑆2 1⑈

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 Smith Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

March 21, 1980

Mr. Ralph Galliano
The Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Blvd. Suite 1401
Arlington, Va. 22209

Dear Ralph:

The cost of the survey done in Wisconsin with a sample size of 600, is $5,000. Your attention to this matter would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

J. Curtis Herge, Esquire
Sedam and Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Road
McLean, Virginia 22102

Re: MUR 1252 and MUR 1299

Dear Mr. Herge:

On September 25, 1980 you were notified of the Commission's findings concerning your client, Fund for a Conservative Majority (FCM), with respect to the complaint filed by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee and captioned MUR 1252. On September 29, 1980 the Commission received a complaint filed by Common Cause against your client, and a copy of that complaint was mailed to FCM. This letter is to further notify you that on October 15, 1980, the Commission voted to merge the complaint in MUR 1299 with MUR 1252, and to treat it as a single investigatory matter.

If you have any questions with respect to this or any other Commission action, please call Marsha G. Gentner, Anne A. Weissenborn, or Patricia F. Bak at (202) 523-5071.

Sincerely,

8304042187

MBB
10/21/80

GCC
2956

SEDAM & HERGE
A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
7800 OLD SPRINGHOUSE ROAD
McLEAN, VIRGINIA 22102

(703) 821-1000

1700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 821-1000

GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.
J. CURTIS HERGE

BARBARA L. ABERNETHY
A. MARK CHRISTOPHER
MICHAEL D. HUGHES
ROBERT R. SPARKS, JR.

THOMAS M. DAVIS, III
OF COUNSEL

October 14, 1980

General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252/Motion To Quash or Modify Subpoena

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to Federal Election Commission Regulations, 11 C.F.R. §111.15(a), Fund for a Conservative Majority (FCM), by counsel, hereby moves to quash or modify the subpoena duces tecum issued by the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") in this matter on September 29, 1980, on the ground that such subpoena is overbroad and inconsistent with the terms of the Commission's Notification and Reason To Believe Finding that FCM has violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act (2 U.S.C. §431, et seq.) and the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act (26 U.S.C. §9001, et seq.) ("the Acts").

By Notification dated September 25, 1980, the Commission informed FCM that it had found reason to believe that FCM had violated certain provisions of the Acts having to do with limitations on contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, and with respect to the use of Mr. Reagan's name in the title of its project, "Citizens for Reagan in '80." The Commission's Regulations, 11 C.F.R. §111.9(a), require that in the event the Commission determines that there is reason to believe that a respondent has violated a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction, it shall:

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> ...notify such respondent of the Commission's finding by letter, setting forth the sections of the statute or regulations alleged to have been violated and the alleged factual basis supporting the finding. (emphasis added).

Pursuant to that requirement, the Commission set forth in its Notification:

> ...only that evidence which the General Counsel's Office has found relevant to a determination of whether there is reason to believe that the expenditures by FCM are not "independent" expenditures, but rather in-kind contributions to Mr. Reagan. [Notification, at 3.]

The Commission then questioned certain specific activities with respect to expenditures made by FCM to certain vendors and others deemed to be "agents" of Ronald Reagan by virtue of their earlier use or employment by the Reagan Committee. In addition, the Commission noted that FCM may have violated 2 U.S.C. §432(e)(4) by using the name of a candidate in the title of its project, "Citizens for Reagan in '80." Notification at 4.

The Commission therefore found reason to believe that:

1. FCM had violated 2 U.S.C. §441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

2. That FCM had violated 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

3. That FCM had violated 2 U.S.C. §432(e)(4).

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As to the Commission's first finding, it is the position of FCM that the scope of the Commission's inquiry is limited by those activities and associations referred in Part A of the Notification. Having raised questions with regard to those activities and associations in support of its "reason to believe finding," the Commission may not inquire into others absent a finding of reason to believe that those activities or associations exist, and that they may violate statutes or regulations within the Commission's purview. In short, it is FCM's position that the Commission's regulation, which requires the Commission to particularize its findings and the factual basis in support of those findings, thereby necessarily limits the scope of its inquiry as to those findings.

Accordingly, in response to the Commission's subpoena, FCM will produce on or before the date specified therein those documents referred to in the requests numbered 4, 5, and 11. FCM hereby moves to quash or modify the subpoena as to the remaining requests on the ground that they are unsupported by any articulated finding of reason to believe that the questioned relationships or activities exist or, if they do exist, that they consititute a violation of any statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction.

Even if the Commission determines from evidence before it that there exist some or all of the other questioned relationships or activities, it is the position of FCM that even then the scope of questions relating thereto must be reasonable. As the document requests are now framed, they are unduly burdensome since, to comply with the Commission's requests, FCM would be compelled to review all of its records in order to produce those requested. Moreover, the short time period granted by the Commission in which to produce the volume and nature of the documents requested makes the Commission's request unreasonable.

As to the Commission's second finding, FCM asserts that the decision of the three-judge District Court for the District of Columbia in Common Cause, et al. v. Schmidt, et al., (80-1609 and 80-1754 (consolidated),

September 30, 1980), to which both the Commission and FCM were parties, bars any attempt by the Commission to enforce 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) as it is written, or to inquire into expenditures by FCM on behalf of Ronald Reagan irrespective of the independence of FCM from Reagan or his authorized committees. Absent any finding by the Commission of reason to believe that FCM is not independent of Ronald Reagan or his authorized committees, Section 9012(f) cannot serve as a vehicle for investigation or inquiry by the Commission.

At a meeting conducted at the offices of Lawrence M. Noble, Assistant General Counsel to the Commission, Mr. Noble informed the undersigned counsel that after a review of the Carter-Mondale/Democratic National Committee complaint which generated this action, only those items set out in the Notification were deemed worthy of consideration by the Commission. Thus, any future "reason to believe finding" by the Commission must be supported either by another, different complaint, or must be based upon an internally-generated recommendation.

Wherefore, FCM moves the Commission to quash or modify its subpoena as to the requests numbered 1-3, and 6-10 therein.

Sincerely,

Robert R. Sparks, Jr.

J. Curtis Herge

Counsel for Fund for a
Conservative Majority

8304042183 1

MCL 2756

SEDAM & HERGE
A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
7600 OLD SPRINGHOUSE ROAD
McLEAN, VIRGINIA 22102

(703) 821-1000

1700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 821-1000

GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.
J. CURTIS HERGE

BARBARA L. ABERNETHY
A. MARK CHRISTOPHER
MICHAEL D. HUGHES
ROBERT R. SPARKS, JR.

THOMAS M. DAVIS, III
OF COUNSEL

October 14, 1980

Mr. Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

Submitted herewith are the sworn written answers of Mr. Kenneth F. Boehm, Treasurer of Fund for a Conservative Majority (FCM) to written Interrogatories propounded by the Commission to FCM on September 29, 1980, transmitted by the Commission to counsel for FCM on October 1, 1980, and received by counsel on October 2, 1980. Included therein are objections to certain of the Commission's questions, together with reasons in support of those objections.

Also enclosed is FCM's motion to quash or modify the subpoena duces tecum issued by the Commission, transmitted, and received with the Commission's Interrogatories. Reference is made to the letter of October 9, 1980, from Lawrence M. Noble, Assistant General Counsel, to counsel for FCM with respect to the timeliness of the filing of the motion to quash.

It is understood that this motion to quash or modify the Commission's subpoena will be submitted to the Commission for its determination and that counsel for FCM will be notified of the Commission's decision. Counsel has been informed that where the Commission denies an application to quash or modify a subpoena the office of general counsel customarily affords a respondent further opportunity to comply before seeking any enforcement remedies.

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8304021380

I look forward to notification of the Commission's decision in this matter.

Sincerely,

Robert R. Sparks, Jr.

enclosures

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

CARTER-MONDALE REELECTION COMMITTEE, INC., et al., Complainants, -against- FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY, et al. Defendants.	MUR 1252

ANSWERS TO INTERROGATORIES

COMES NOW, Fund for a Conservative Majority ("FCM"), by its Treasurer, Kenneth F. Boehm, and in response to the written Interrogatories from the Federal Election Commission to FCM in this matter, answers as follows:

FCM

A. FCM is a multi-candidate political committee, a project of which is "Citizens for Reagan in '80." The purpose of that project is to aid in the election of Ronald Reagan to the office of President of the United States.

With regard to the specific questions raised by the Commission concerning the relationship between FCM and "Citizens for Reagan in '80" (CFR):

1) CFR does not maintain a bank account or an accounting of receipts and expenditures separate and apart from FCM.

2) CFR does not employ a staff separate and apart from that of FCM.

3) Solicitations or requests for contributions to CFR ask that checks be made payable to FCM.

4) Monies received from checks received by FCM which were made payable to FCM have been used by CFR.

5) The account into which funds contributed to or received for CFR are deposited in in the name of FCM.

81 :Pd 41 JUN 0

RECEIVED

B-E. FCM objects to these questions as being overbroad and unreasonable in that they request information beyond the scope of the Commission's findings of reason to believe that FCM has violated statutes or regulations over which the Commission has jurisdiction. Moreover, to supply the information requested would require that FCM conduct a systematic search of all of its records, and to do so within the time period afforded by the Commission would place an undue burden on FCM and its personnel. In addition, certain of the Commission's requests cannot be answered as they relate to contacts between FCM and agents or employees of various entities, which parties are unknown to FCM.

STATE OF VIRGINIA)
COUNTY OF ARLINGTON) SS:

The undersigned, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says that he has read the above and foregoing Answers to Interrogatories by him subscribed, knows the contents thereof, and that the answers therein set forth are true.

Kenneth F. Boehm
KENNETH F. BOEHM

SUBSCRIBED and sworn to before me this 14th day of October, 1980.

Winifred Kelly
Notary Public

My commission expires: 2/6/84

FCM

THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

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910460
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GCC # 2909

Kenneth F. Boehm, Esq.
Treasurer

October 6, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1299

RECEIVED
80 OCT 8 P1:57
GENERAL COUNSEL

Dear Mr. Steele:

In response to your letter of October 2, 1980, this letter is to notify you that The Fund for a Conservative Majority will be represented in this matter by J. Curtis Herge of Sedam & Herge, 7600 Old Springhouse Road, McLean, Virginia 22102. (703)821-1000

Please send any notifications and other communications concerning this matter to J. Curtis Herge.

Sincerely,

Kenneth F. Boehm

Kenneth F. Boehm, Esquire
Treasurer

8304021836

FCM
THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY
1022 Wilson Blvd., Suite 1401
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K St.,NW
Washington, DC 20463

RECEIVED
80 OCT 8 PM 2:52

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 1, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

J. Curtis Herge, Esquire
SEDAM & HERGE
7600 Old Springhouse Road
McLean, Virginia 22102

Re: Matter Under Review (MUR) 1252(80)

Dear Mr. Herge

Enclosed is a subpoena to produce certain documents and materials and order to answer written questions issued by the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") to your client, Fund for a Conservative Majority.

The subpoena requires that production of specified documents be made at the time and place stated therein and that responses to the interrogatories be propounded to the Commission within ten (10) days of your receipt of the enclosed order.

If you have any questions, please contact staff attorney Ms. Marsha Gentner at (202) 523-5071 or Ms. Patricia F. Bak at (202) 523-4060.

Sincerely,

Enclosure



8304042188

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS
AND ORDER TO ANSWER WRITTEN QUESTIONS

TO:

Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209

RE: MUR 1252

At the instance of the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 437d(a)(1) and (3), the Fund for a Conservative Majority is hereby ordered to produce for inspection and copying all documents and materials listed below that are in the possession or control of the Fund for a Conservative Majority or of its officers, agents, staff members, volunteers or employees. Production is to be made at the Office of General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission at 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on October 22, 1980, at 10:00 a.m. In addition, the Fund for a Conservative Majority is hereby ordered to submit responses in writing and under oath to the interrogatories propounded herein, to the Federal Election Commission within ten (10) days of its receipt of this order.

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As used in this subpoena, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

1. The term "documents and materials" shall mean the original, all copies, and drafts of writings of any kind, printed, audio, visual, or electronic materials including but not limited to correspondence, memoranda, reports, transcripts, minutes, pamphlets, leaflets, notes, letters, lists, telexes, telegrams, messages (including reports, notes, memoranda and any other documentation of telephone conversations and conferences), calendar and diary entries, contracts, data, agendas, articles, visual aides, computer print-outs, account statements, billing forms, receipts, checks and other negotiable paper, solicitation materials, records and compilations in the possession, custody or control of the Fund for a Conservative Majority and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80. Designated "documents and materials" are to be taken as including all attachments, enclosures and other documents that are attached to, relate to, or refer to such designated "documents and materials."

2. "Identify" with respect to individuals shall mean to give the full name, last known residence address of such individual, the last known place of business where such individual is or was employed, the title of the job or position held with the entity in question , and the dates of such service.

3. "Fund for a Conservative Majority" or " FCM" shall mean its predecessors, affiliates, committees, subcommittees; divisions, branches, projects, as well as any other bodies which conduct business on behalf of FCM, and its officers, agents, employees, staff, and volunteers.

4. "Citizens for Reagan in 80" shall mean what FCM has described as a "project" of the FCM.

5. Reagan General Election Committee shall mean the principal campaign committee (see 2 U.S.C. § 431(5)) of Ronald Reagan, the 1980 Republican nominee for the office of President, the committee's predecessors (including, but not limited to the Reagan for President Committee), affiliates, committees, subcommittees, divisions, branches, projects, as well as any other bodies which conduct business on its behalf, and its officers, agents, employees, staff and volunteers.

6. All references to the "FEC" shall mean the Federal Election Commission, its auditors, attorneys, and other employees.

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7. "FEC Disclosure Reports" shall mean any reports filed by FCM with the FEC pursuant to the requirements of 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455.

8. "Agent" shall mean any person who has actual, oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of a candidate; or any person who has been placed in a position within the campaign organization where it could reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(5).

9. "Organizer" with reference to a project or group, shall mean any person who has directly or indirectly participated in the formation, planning, structure or organization of the project or group in question, including, but not limited to, attendance or participation in any meetings, discussions or communications concerning the project or group from the period from January 1980 to the group or project's inception.

10. The term "concerning" with reference to a subject or object shall mean mentioning, discussing, or directly or indirectly regarding, referring, or relating in any way to that subject or object.

If any document called for herein is withheld under a claim of privilege or objection, furnish a list identifying each such document for which the privilege or objection is claimed, together with the following information:

(a) a description of the subject matter;
(b) the date of the document;
(c) the name and title of the author;
(d) the name and title of the person to whom the document was addressed;
(e) the name and title of the person to whom the document was actually sent;
(f) the identity of any other person who read all or part of the document;
(g) the number of pages;
(h) the paragraph of this subpoena to which the document is otherwise responsive, and
(i) the nature of the claimed privilege or objection.

Please produce in their entirety the following:

1. All documents and materials concerning meetings, discussions, correspondence, or other communications between FCM and for Citizens for Reagan in '80 and any of the following persons or organizations or

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their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers, organizers, or agents which relate in any way to the efforts of either FCM and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80 or the below listed organizations or individuals with respect to Ronald Reagan's nomination as the Republican candidate for President or Ronald Reagan's general election campaign for President in 1980.

Reagan-Bush Committee
Republican National Committee
Reagan for President Committee
Reagan General Election Committee
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Reagan for President Compliance Fund
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Americans for Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Anna Chennault
Stuart Spencer
Senator Jesse Helms
James Lake

2. All documents and materials concerning or relating to the formation, organization, planning, or undertaking of Citizens for Reagan in '80.

3. All documents and materials concerning or reflecting any FCM or Citizens for Reagan in '80 decisions to expend funds which would in any way further the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

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4. All documents and materials concerning the following expenditures reported by FCM in FEC disclosure reports:

Payee	Date	Reported Purpose
Diversified Direct, Inc.	May 27 and June 24, 1980	Printing; Reagan U.S. President
Wiland and Associates	May 27, 1980	Printing; Reagan U.S. President
Telepost	June 24, 1980	Direct mail; Reagan U.S. President

a. Please provide a copy of each item printed for use by FCM as consideration for the above listed payments.

5. All documents and materials concerning the FCM expenditure on March 26, 1980, to Arthur Finkelstein and Associates, the purpose of which was listed on FCM disclosure reports to the FEC as for a survey for Ronald Reagan, U.S. President.

a. A copy of any survey results, poll, memoranda, or report which was transferred to FCM by Arthur Finkelstein and Associates, its agents, or employees in connection with the above expenditure.

6. All documents and materials relating to the contractual or professional relationship or any other association from January 1980 to the present, between FCM and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80

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and the following entities, their agents, officers or employees undertaken in connection with any efforts on the part of FCM and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80 which would relate in any way to the furtherance of the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or Ronald Reagan's general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate:

Diversified Direct, Inc.
Wiland and Associates
Telepost
Arthur Finkelstein and Associates

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7. All documents and materials relating to the financing by FCM and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80 of the dissemination, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part, of any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of campaign materials prepared by or for Ronald Reagan, the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan General Election Committee, the Reagan-Bush Committee, the Reagan for President Compliance Fund, the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee, or the Republican National Committee.

8. All documents and materials disseminated, distributed or republished by FCM and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80 which contain, in whole or in part, any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of campaign materials prepared or used by Ronald Reagan, the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan General Election Committee, the Reagan-Bush Committee, the Reagan for President Compliance Fund, the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee, or the Republican National Committee.

9. All documents and materials concerning any solicitation or request for funds for Citizens for Reagan in '80 or by FCM which relate in any way to the furtherance of the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or the general election of Ronald Reagan as President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

10. All telephone bills and/or other records of telephone calls made or received by FCM and Citizens for Reagan in '80 since January 1980.

Please answer the following interrogatories:

A. Describe the relationship between Citizens for Reagan in '80 and FCM, noting specifically:

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(1) whether the Citizens for Reagan in '80 maintains bank accounts or an accounting of receipts and expenditures separate and apart from FCM;

(2) whether Citizens for Reagan in '80 employs a staff separate and apart from that of FCM;

(3) whether solicitations or requests for contributions to Citizens for Reagan in '80 request that checks be made payable to FCM or to Citizens for Reagan in '80 or to either FCM or Citizens for Reagan in '80;

(4) whether monies received from checks received by FCM which were made payable to FCM have been used by Citizens for Reagan in '80,

(5) and in whose name the account is held into which funds contributed to or received for Citizens for Reagan in '80 are deposited.

B. Please identify all officers, directors, employees, staff members, media time buyers, volunteers, consultants or other agents of FCM and Citizens for Reagan in '80 from September 1979 to the present. With respect to each individual identified, please identify that person's supervisor. 1/

(1) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the oral or written authorization (express or implied) of any FCM and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80 expenditures which may each provide the

---

1/ In lieu of identifying the supervisor of each individual identified in interrogatory B, FCM and Citizens for Reagan in '80 may provide the Commission with organizational charts.

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relate in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

(2) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the production, conception, drafting, writing, editing, approval, review, presentation, printing, publication, distribution or dissemination of documents and materials produced by either FCM or Citizens for Reagan in '80 which relate in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of other 1980 Presidential candidate.

(3) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the planning, organization, and formation of Citizens for Reagan in 80.

C. List the phone numbers and extensions used by FCM and Citizens for Reagan in '80 since January, 1980, noting the extensions assigned to or used by each person identified in response to interrogatory B.

D. List by date and location all fundraisers held by FCM and/or Citizens for Reagan in '80 since January, 1980 which related in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, his general election for President in 1980 or which related in any way to the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

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E. With respect to each individual identified in response to interrogatory B, please note whether that individual has had any past, or has any present association, either by way of employment, position, or membership with any of the below listed organizations, projects, or companies. With respect to each such association, note the dates during which each such person was so associated with the particular organization, project, or company and the position(s) held with each.

Americans for Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
The Republican Party
The Reagan for President Committee
Group '80
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Citizens for the Republic
Richard A. Viguerie Co., Inc.
Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bruce Eberle Associates, Inc.
Decision Making Information, Inc.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Citizens for the Republic
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Committee for Independent Expenditures for Republicans
Target 80
The Conservative Coalition
The Conservative Caucus
Reagan 80
1980 United Republican Committee
Committment 80

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WHEREFORE, the Vice Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at the offices of the Commission at 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. this 29th day of September, 1980.

John W. McGarry
Vice Chairman

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8304042189

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 25, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

J. Curtis Herge, Esquire
Sedam and Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Road
McLean, Virginia 22102

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Herge:

On July 7, 1980, the Federal Election Commission notified your client, the Fund for a Conservative Majority ("FCM"), of a complaint alleging that FCM has violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, ("the Act") and of Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. A copy of the complaint was forwarded to FCM at that time.

Upon further review of allegations contained in the complaint and of information which you have supplied in response, the Commission has determined that there is reason to believe that FCM has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). A report on the Commission's finding is attached. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter.

We acknowledge receipt of your response to this matter which was dated July 22, 1980. In the absence of any additional information or further explanation of circumstances which demonstrate that no further action should be taken against FCM, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that violations have occurred, and proceed with formal conciliation. Of course, this does not preclude the settlement of this matter through informal conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe if you so desire.

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This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you have any questions, please contact Marsha G. Gentner or Anne Weissenborn, the attorneys assigned to this matter, at (202) 523-5071.

Sincerely,

JOHN WARREN McGARRY
Vice-Chairman

Enclosure

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

J. Curtis Herge, Esquire
Sedam and Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Road
McLean, Virginia 22102

Re: MUR 1252

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Upon further review of allegations contained in the complaint and of information which you have supplied in response, the Commission has determined that there is reason to believe that FCM has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). A report on the Commission's finding is attached. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter.

We acknowledge receipt of your response to this matter which was dated July 22, 1980. In the absence of any additional information or further explanation of circumstances which demonstrate that no further action should be taken against FCM, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that violations have occurred, and proceed with formal conciliation. Of course, this does not preclude the settlement of this matter through informal conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe if you so desire.

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AW
9/25/80

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you have any questions, please contact Marsha G. Gentner or Anne Weissenborn, the attorneys assigned to this matter, at (202) 523-5071.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

NOTIFICATION OF REASON TO BELIEVE FINDING

DATE SEP 25 1980

MUR NO. 1252

RESPONDENT Fund for a Conservative Majority

STAFF MEMBER(S) & TEL. NO.

Marsha G. Gentner

Anne A. Weissenborn
(202) 523-5071

SOURCE OF MUR: I N T E R N A L L Y G E N E R A T E D

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BACKGROUND

On July 2, 1980, the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc., and the Democratic National Committee (hereinafter "Complainants") submitted a complaint which contained the following allegations:

1. That one or more of the respondent committees have violated or will violate 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by exceeding their contribution limitations with regard to Mr. Reagan;

2. That Ronald Reagan and one or more of the respondent committees have violated or will violate 2 U.S.C. § 434 by failing to report properly contributions and expenditures;

3. That one or more of the respondent committees have violated or will violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1,000 to further the election of Mr. Reagan which would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee;

4. That the Fund for a Conservative Majority (hereinafter "FCM"), has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) in that its project "Citizens for Reagan in '80", a discrete, unauthorized political committee which has included "Reagan" in its name.

PRELIMINARY
FACTUAL BASIS AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Allegation of Violations of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

Complainants allege that expenditures to be made by the respondent committees on behalf of Mr. Reagan will be made with the cooperation or prior consent of, in consultation with or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of Mr. Reagan, his authorized committee, or his agents and therefore would be considered non-independent expenditures and thus contributions to the candidate pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7) (B)(i) and 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(c). By virtue of these circumstances, the respondent committees have or will violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) which prohibits unauthorized committees from knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1,000 to further the election of candidates of a political party for President and Vice-President who are eligible to receive public funds, when such expenditures would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such a candidate. In addition, a violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by respondent committees would likewise result from their excessive contributions, if the expenditures in question are found to be non-independent, in-kind contributions.

Complainants cite several factors in support of their argument that the expenditures which have been or will be made by respondent committees on behalf of Ronald Reagan are not "independent" and thus constitute contributions to that candidate in violation of 26 U.S.C.. § 9012(f) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a). These include the present and prior affiliation with Mr. Reagan of certain individuals now allegedly involved with the respondent committees and the use of common vendors.

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The evidence contained in the complaint that is put forth below represents only that evidence which the General Counsel's Office has found relevant to a determination of whether there is reason to believe that the expenditures by FCM are not "independent expenditures" but rather in-kind contributions to Mr. Reagan.

FCM is a qualified multi-candidate committee which first registered as such (with its present name) on October 13, 1976. The complaint contains no allegations of association of the present (since March 14, 1979) officers of FCM with any of the authorized committees of Mr. Reagan in his 1980 candidacy. However, FCM has reported several expenditures for "printing" as independent and on behalf of Mr. Reagan, which were made to vendors used on recent prior occasions by the authorized Reagan committee. 1/ As noted above, the existence of FCM expenditures for Reagan through a vendor recently used by an authorized Reagan committee raises significant questions concerning the independence of such a subsequent FCM expenditure. See 11 C.F.R. §109.1(b)(4)(i)(B) and AO 1979-80.

FCM also reported an expenditure made on March 26, 1980 as relating to Reagan for President and for a survey/poll conducted by Arthur Finkelstein and Associates. This firm was subsequently used by the Reagan for President Committee for "consulting" on April 9 and June 5, 1980. Thus, a substantial question is raised as to whether these polling results were "accepted" by the Reagan Committee through their consultant and agent, Arthur Finkelstein and Associates, thereby resulting in a contribution-in-kind by FCM. See 11 C.F.R. § 106.4(b) (contribution in kind if candidate committee or agent requests or accepts results of poll paid for by unauthorized committee).

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1/ These expenditures were as follows:

Vendor	Date by FCM and Reported Purposes	Date by Authorized Reagan Committee and Purposes
Diversified Direct, Inc.	5/27 and 6/24/80 "printing" Reagan for President	4/22, 5/14, 6/18/80 for "Direct Mail"
Wiland and Associates	5/27/80 "printing" Reagan for President	4/22/80 "Printing"
Telepost	6/24 "Direct Mail" Reagan for President	4/17 and 5/2/80 "Direct Mail"

B. Allegation of Violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by Respondent Committees

26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) prohibits unauthorized committees from knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1000 to further the election of candidates of a political party for President and Vice-President who are eligible to receive public funds when such expenditures would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such candidates. As discussed in "Part A" above, complainants allege that respondent committees have violated or will violate this provision.

"Part A" deals with whether or not the respondent committees are independent of the Reagan authorized committees. However, even if these committees are in fact found to be independent, they would still be in violation of Section 9012(f) if they expend more than $1000 on behalf of Mr. Reagan's candidacy because Section 9012(f) applies to all political committee expenditures, whether or not they are "independent".

As the complaint and supplements demonstrate, FCM has publicly announced its intention and has begun to solicit funds to spend in excess of $1000 in support of Ronald Reagan's candidacy. Therefore, the Office of General Counsel has recommended that the Commission find reason to believe that FCM has violated or is about to violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f).

C. Allegation of Violation of 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4)

2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) provides that unauthorized committees may not include the name of any candidate in their names. Complainants alleged in their initial complaint that "Citizens for Reagan in '80", a project of FCM, is a "discrete, unauthorized political committee" which has the name "Reagan" in its name in violation of Section 432(e)(4).

As part of their July 21, 1980, supplement to their complaint complainants provided copies of solicitation materials used for Citizens for Reagan in '80. This solicitation states in fine print that the communication was paid for by FCM.

The Office of General Counsel has recommended that the Commission find reason to believe that FCM has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

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COMMISSION DETERMINATION

Based on the above analysis the Federal Election Commission has found reason to believe:

1. That the Fund for a Conservative Majority has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

2. That the Fund for a Conservative Majority, has violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

3. That the Fund for a Conservative Majority has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

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REPORTS ANALYSIS REFERRAL UPDATE

*ORIGIN: OGC

DATE August 25, 1980

ANALYST Mark Kleinman MK

TO: Office of General Counsel
ATTENTION: Anne Weissenborn

TEAM CHIEF Bobby Werfel BW

THROUGH: STAFF DIRECTOR B.L.

COMPLIANCE REVIEW

FROM: ASSISTANT STAFF DIRECTOR FOR REPORTS ANALYSIS

MUR No. 1252

DATE OF ORIGINAL REFERRAL N/A

**PURPOSE:

INFORMATION:

FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

August Monthly (7-1-80 to 7-31-80) showing numerous independent expenditures around the time of the Republican National Convention (at Detroit). Attachment #1

OUTCOME: (if applicable)

*Commission unit which initiated original Referral (e.g. AUDIT/RAD/OGC).
**INFORMATION, or RESULTS OF RAD ACTION, as appropriate.

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SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name (Committee (in Full))
This Fund for a Conservative Majority

I.D. No.
C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
H & R Block 5409 Clinton Hwy. Knoxville, TN 37912	Rent at Knoxville office on 2055 Broadway, Knoxville	7/1/80	275.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Cheryl Henderson 2055 Broadway Knoxville, TN 37917	Professional fee	7/1/80	276.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
U. S. Postmaster	Postage	7/2/80	36000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Michigan Bell	Phone service in Detroit HQ.	7/2/80	850.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
J & R Quickprint 5710 Kingston Pike Knoxville, TN 37919	Printing expenses	7/3/80	64.34	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Southern Central Bell 6601 Dean Hill Drive Knoxville, TN 37919	Telephone expense	7/8/80	156.09	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) $ TOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ 37621.43

(b) $ TOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ _____

(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ _____

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Kenneth L. Bacham
Signature

Aug 20, 1980
Date

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of August, 1980

My Commission expires 4/14/84

David L. Hansen
NOTARY PUBLIC

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SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full)	I.D. No.
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Smarr Mailing 5380 Eisenhower Ave. Alexandria, VA 22304	Postage for direct mail.	7/9/80	30000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
U. S. Postmaster	Postage	7/9/80	2800.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Kenneth F. Boehm 833 S. Frederick St. 623-A Sterling, VA 22204	Advance on expenses for Detroit convention	7/10/80	300.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Smarr Postage	Postage	7/10/80	21000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
John Sacharanski 1575 Colonial Terrace Rosslyn, VA 22209	Advance on expenses for Detroit convention	7/11/80	100.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Ralph J. Galliano 1011 Arlington Blvd. Arlington, VA 22209	Advance on expenses for Detroit convention	7/11/80	300.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) $ SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ 54300.-	
(b) $ SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures.		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

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SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full): The Fund for a Conservative Majority

ID No: C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Welding Audio Visual Inc. 1 Washington Blvd. Detroit, MI 48226	Audio Visual Equip. Rental	7/14/80	320.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Welding Audio Visual Inc.	Audio Visual Delivery and Equipment	7/15/80	32.50	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Speedy Printing Centers 525 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI	Printing expense	7/15/80	223.60	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Bakers Gas & Welding Supplies 1300 Howard Lincoln, MI 48146	Helium for ballons used at Detroit convention.	7/15/80	206.68	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Pontchartrain Hotel Detroit, MI	Rental fee for room re: Press Conference	7/15/80	78.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Speedy Printing	Printing expense	7/16/80	22.57	Ronald Reagan U. S. Presiden ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures $ [illegible]

(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures $

(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures $

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19__

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

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SCHEDULE

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full)	I.D. No
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Hotel Pontchartrain	Audio-Video equipment for press conference	7/17/80	93.60	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Thompson & Assoc. 7015 Old Keene Mill Rd. Springfield, VA 22150	TV Production/time	7/21/80	15,000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Name Exchange 7015 Old Keene Mill Rd. Springfield, VA 22150	Postage	7/21/80	9,000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Smarr Postage	Postage	7/22/80	2,436.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Thompson & Assoc.	Postage	7/11/80	6,400.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Park Lane Press	Printing expense	7/11/80	7,139.60	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) $ TOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures $ 40,069.20

(b) $ TOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures $ _____

(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures $ _____

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

_____ _____
Signature Date

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires _____

_____
NOTARY PUBLIC

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FORM F

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Committee (in Full)

Legal Fund - Conservative Majority

ID No

C00001966

Name and Address (including Zip Code) of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Park Lane Press	Printing expense	7/16/80	17,411.68	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☑ Support ☐ Oppose
Cash	Cash for wiring money to Detroit MI for expenses.	7/14/80	1022.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☑ Support ☐ Oppose
Frank Enten 5005 Wilson Lane Bethesda, MD	Political Buttons	7/3/80	525.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☑ Support ☐ Oppose
PR Promotion Inc. 835 W. Jefferson St. 100 Louisville, KY 40202	Promotional Items/ Buttons	7/17/80	1273.10	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☑ Support ☐ Oppose
Mary Kay Eggers 9701 Middle Brook Pike Knoxville, TN 37921	Mileage expenses	7/17/80	23.40	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☑ Support ☐ Oppose
Lloyd Daughtery Route 4 Beavercreek Dr. Powell, TN 37849	Expenses for mileage, meals, postage, and office supplies	7/17/80	500.41	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☑ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ [illegible]	
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

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SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

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Name of Committee (In Full)	I.D. No.
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
M. E. Clay 3110 Bisco Drive Knoxville, TN 37921	Expenses for meals, lodging, transportation mileage incurred in Washington trip.	7/17/80	197.06	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Globe Travel Service 1725 K St. N. W. 906 Washington, DC 20006	Travel expenses for Toronto and Detroit	7/18/80	1277.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Mailgram 1401 G Street Washington, DC	Mailing fees for Phonebank	7/18/80	1000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Ken Boehm 1644 A Chimney House Rd. Reston, VA 22090	Expenses for Detroit meals, source material, transportation.	7/24/80	199.17	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
YAF Route 1 Box 1002 Woodland Rd. Sterling, VA	For FCM press release and total expenses at GOP convention	7/24/80	2372.40	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Lloyd Daughtery	Personal Business Phone lines	7/24/80	113.36	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ 5158.99	
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full): The Fund for a Conservative Majority

I.D No.: C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Knoxville Ulitilites Board 626 Gay St. SW P. O. Box 1951 Knoxville, TN 37091	Utilities for Tenn Headquarters	7/24/80	43.13	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Printers Inc. 9146 Euclid Ct. Manassas, VA 22110	Printing exp.	7/25/80	811.20	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Lloyd Daughtery	Expenses for mileage postage, transportation, hotel, meals and typewriter rental.	7/25/80	451.80	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Mailgram	Postage for Reagan phone bank	7/25/80	2000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Envelopes Inc.	Printing exp.	7/25/80	6741.78	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Wiland & Assoc. Inc. 219 East Davis St. Culpepper, VA 22701	Computer Services	7/25/80	13,728.50	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ 24,761.41

(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ _____

(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ _____

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

_____ Signature

_____ Date

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires _____

_____ NOTARY PUBLIC

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SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full)	I.D. No.
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Mailgram	Postage for Reagan phonebank	7/28/80	1500.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Diversified Direct Inc. 2936 Prosperity Ave. Fairfax, VA 22031	Printing expenses for phone bank	7/28/80	3078.60	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
South Central Bell P. O. Box 1354 Nashville, TN 32202	Telephone exp. for Knoxville HQ	7/28/80	268.67	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
HML Inc. 9100 S. Sepulveda Suite 108 Los Angeles, CA 90045	For TV Production & creative fee	7/28/80	28,500.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Unitravel Service 1625 Eye St. NW Suite 925A Washington, DC 20006	Detroit travel exp.	7/29/80	1331.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Artype P. O. Box 671 Springfield, VA 22150	For Reagan Advertisement and overlay fees	7/29/80	25.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ 34,703.27	
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

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SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full)	I.D. No.
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Airborne Freight Corp.	Subscriptions for Wall Street Journal	7/29/80	57.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Thompson & Assoc.	Artwork/radio prod.	7/29/80	927.24	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Name Exchange	List Rental	7/29/80	23,530.71	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Manuf. Business Forms Ltd. P. O. Box 2070 Springfield, VA 22152	Office Supplies for Reagan Phonebank	7/30/80	241.24	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Pro Video P. O. Box 57250 Washington, DC 20037	Video recorder and color monitor receiver rental	7/30/80	197.60	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Mailgram	Postage for Reagan phone bank	7/30/80	2000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ 31,154.79	
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

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SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full)	I.D. No.
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Smarr Postage	Postage for Direct Mail	7/30/80	2535.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Smarr Postage	Postage for direct mail	7/30/80	8904.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Park Lane Press 1501 Worth Guilford Ave. Baltimore, MD 21202	Printing exp. for direct mail.	7/30/80	25747.80	Ronald Reagan U. S. President Anti-Carter ☐ Support ☒ Oppose
Smarr Postage	Postage for direct mail	7/31/80	6300.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
M. E. Clay	Consulting fee	7/31/80	640.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Lloyd Daugherty	Consulting fee	7/31/80	300.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ 44424.80	
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19__

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

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SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (In Full)	I.D. No.
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Mary Eggers	Consulting fee	7/31/80	200.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Envelopes Inc.	Printing exp.	7/31/80	14014.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Name Exchange	List Rental	7/31/80	13210.85	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Printer's Inc.	Printings exp.	7/25/80	1081.60	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
The Troy Hilton 1455 Stevens Highway Troy, MI	Lodging expense	7/10/80	272.40	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Western Union Electronic Mail Inc.	Postage for Phone-Bank.	7/10/80	2000,00.	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ 30,777.85	
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Page ___ of 12 Pages

Name of Committee (in Full)	I D No
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
TVA & I Fair P.O. Box 6066 Knoxville, TN 37914	Booths for Reagan	7/10/80	142.50	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
				Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
				Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
				☐ Support ☐ Oppose
				☐ Support ☐ Oppose
				☐ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures		
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$ 319,770.18

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19__

My Commission expires _____

_____
Notary Public

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SCHEDULE

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full)	I.D. No.
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

(a) Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	(b) Purpose of Expenditure	(c) Date (month, day, year)	(d) Amount	(e) Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
H & R Block 5409 Clinton Hwy. Knoxville, TN 37912	Rent at Knoxville office on 2055 Broadway, Knoxville	7/1/80	275.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Cheryl Henderson 2055 Broadway Knoxville, TN 37917	Professional fee	7/1/80	276.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
U. S. Postmaster	Postage	7/2/80	36000.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Michigan Bell	Phone service in Detroit HQ.	7/2/80	850.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
J & R Quickprint 5710 Kingston Pike Knoxville, TN 37919	Printing expenses	7/3/80	64.34	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose
Southern Central Bell 6601 Dean Hill Drive Knoxville, TN 37919	Telephone expense	7/8/80	156.09	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ☒ Support ☐ Oppose

(a)	TOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$37621.43
(b)	TOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$
(c)	TOTAL Independent Expenditures	$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Kenneth F. Boehm — Signature

Aug 20, 1980 — Date

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of August, 1980

My Commission expires 4/14/84

David L. Hansen — NOTARY PUBLIC

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SEDAM & HERGE
A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
7800 OLD SPRINGHOUSE ROAD
McLEAN, VIRGINIA 22102
(703) 821-1000

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MICHAEL D. HUGHES
ROBERT R. SPARKS, JR.
THOMAS M. DAVIS, III
OF COUNSEL

1700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 821-1000
TELEX 89-8388 (AEMPOWER WHEN)
TWX 710-826-0533 (TELEREP 800)

July 22, 1980

The Honorable Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Marsha Gentner, Esq.

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is written in reply to your letter, dated July 7, 1980, in which you reported that the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc. (hereinafter referred to as "C-M") and the Democratic National Committee (hereinafter referred to as "the DNC") had filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission (hereinafter referred to as "the Commission"), alleging that Fund for a Conservative Majority, together with certain other named Respondents, may have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (hereinafter referred to as "the Act") and Chapter 95 of Title 26 of the United States Code. The Commission has numbered this matter MUR 1252.

Fund for a Conservative Majority appreciates this opportunity, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(1) and 11 CFR

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111.6, to demonstrate that no action should be taken on the basis of the complaint and that the complaint should be dismissed as to Fund for a Conservative Majority. In fact, we assert that the complaint fails to meet the technical requirements of 11 CFR 111.4, in that it fails to contain a clear and concise recitation of facts which describe a violation by Fund for a Conservative Majority of a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction. See, 11 CFR 111.4(d)(3).

In the complaint, C-M and the DNC allege that Fund for a Conservative Majority and four other "interrelated groups of professional politicians, including active Republican office holders and former office holders and other long-term active members of Mr. Reagan's campaign and political staffers, are planning to contribute tens of millions of dollars...perhaps as much as $50,000,000...to the Republican nominees' campaign...."[1/] Fund for a Conservative Majority asserts that there is nothing in the foregoing allegation, or in the balance of the record before the Commission, that supports a finding (1) that Fund for a Conservative Majority includes any "active Republican office holders and former office holders and other long-term active members of Mr. Reagan's campaign and political staffers"; (2) that the

1/ Page 2 of the Complaint.

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allegations against Fund for a Conservative Majority assert a violation of the provisions of 2 U.S.C. 431(17) and 11 CFR 109.1; or, (3) that Fund for a Conservative Majority is planning "to contribute" to the Republican nominees' campaign.

Fund for a Conservative Majority is a multicandidate political committee, as defined in 2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(4) and 11 CFR 100.5(e)(3), which is incorporated, as permitted by 11 CFR 114.12(a), under the Virginia Nonstock Corporation Act. The Board of Directors of Fund for a Conservative Majority consists of Kenneth F. Boehm, Robert C. Heckman and Jeffrey D. Kane. Mr. Heckman serves as its Chairman and Mr. Boehm is its Treasurer. Its offices are located at 1022 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia 22209. Among its activities, Fund for a Conservative Majority has made independent expenditures in support of the nomination of Gov. Reagan, by the Republican Party, for election to office of President of the United States; and, it intends to make independent expenditures in support of the election of Gov. Reagan to the office of President. This aspect of its activities is administered as "Citizens for Reagan in '80, a project of Fund for a Conservative Majority." (See, for example, tab 82 of the exhibits to the complaint.) These expenditures have been and will be made in accordance with 2 U.S.C. 431(17) and 11 CFR 109.1, in that they were/will be

made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate.

In the complaint, C-M and the DNC set forth a number of assertions or allegations under a caption entitled, "The Facts," which consist of a recitation of personal views, press reports, historical hyperbole and biographical summaries. As to your Respondent, these assertions or allegations do not consist of a clear and concise recitation of facts which describe a violation of a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction. The specific assertions or allegations in the complaint which appear to relate to Fund for a Conservative Majority, are as follows:

> (1) Paragraph 2(a), page 10: Another group, the "Fund for a Conservative Majority' ('FCM'), was assessed a $3,000 civil penalty by this Commission for failing to report, in a timely way, its $39,655 expenditures on Mr. Reagan's behalf during the 1976 primaries. (MUR 503(78), 11/21/78)"

The foregoing assertion is irrelevant to the complaint and highly prejudicial and misleading. MUR 503(78) related to activities which took place in the 1976 primary election, which is separate and distinct from the 1980

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primary election. The issues therein under review related to the manner in which its independent expenditures on behalf of Gov. Reagan were reported. The expenditures were not concealed and there was no question aboutthe "independence" of the expenditures, which the complaint (in the context in which it is presented) attempts to suggest.

The foregoing assertion does not constitute a clear and concise recitation of facts which describe a present violation of a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction.

> (2) Paragraph 2(c), pages 13 and 14: "The Fund for a Conservative Majority ('FCM')-- the same group the Commission found had violated provisions of the Federal Election Act [sic] in connection with the 1976 primaries--spent, according to the Commission's files, more than $600,000 on Mr. Reagan's behalf in connection with this year's primaries.
>
> "According to the Boston Globe:
>
> [Quotation omitted.]
>
> "During the month of April, when the Reagan campaign found itself approaching its national spending limit and was in considerable financial difficulty, FCM spent more than $126,000 on Mr. Reagan's behalf. (April FEC Report of FCM)"

The foregoing assertion does not constitute a clear and concise recitation of facts which describe a violation of a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction.

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(3) Paragraph 2(c), page 16, and Appendix items (3), (4), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12) and (13): "The Commission's files already reveal that many so-called 'independent' committees that have assisted Mr. Reagan have shared an extensive network of vendors both among themselves and with the official Reagan campaign committees."

The issue as to so-called common vendors is limited to whether or not a possible agency relationship exists between the vendor and the candidate which might jeopardize the independence of an expenditure if the expending person uses the same vendor. See, AO 1979-80.

Without admitting or denying the use of the vendors which C-M and the DNC allege have been utilized, or the purposes for which they may have been engaged, Fund for a Conservative Majority replies:

As to Bruce Eberle Associates, Inc. (Appendix (3)), Fund for a Conservative Majority has not utilized the services of that vendor in connection with its independent expenditures in 1980. There is no allegation that that vendor is an agent of Gov. Reagan or of Reagan for President.

As to Diversified Printing Services, Metro Mailing and Printing (which is not a "Viguerie subsidiary") and Diversified Mail Marketing (Appendix (4)), there is no suggestion that any of these vendors is an agent of Gov. Reagan or of Reagan for President.

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As to Wiland & Assoc. Inc. (Appendix (7)), the services rendered were of computer services in aggregating contributions to Fund for a Conservative Majority for use in preparing reports to the Commission. As a result, the cost of these services is an operating expense and not an independent expenditure. See, AO 1979-80.

As to Lone Star Press and Mail Room, Inc. and PSA Enterprises (Appendix (8)), there is no suggestion that either of these vendors is an agent of Gov. Reagan or of Reagan for President.

As to Smarr Mailing, Thompson & Assoc. and the Name Exchange (Appendix (9)), there is no suggestion that any of these vendors is an agent of Gov. Reagan or of Reagan for President.

As to Communications Corp. of America (Appendix 10)), there is no suggestion that this vendor is an agent of Gov. Reagan or of Reagan for President.

As to Telepost and Tri-State Envelope Corp. (Appendix (11)), these vendors provide printing services to Fund for a Conservative Majority based upon design, layout and copy supplied to them. The cost of utilizing these vendors is an operating expense and not an independent expenditure.

As to Integrity Autotyping (Appendix (12)), there is no suggestion that this vendor is an agent of Gov. Reagan or of Reagan for President.

As to Frank Gumpert Printing, Maryland Litho, McCollum Press and Smith Lithograph (Appendix (13)), there is no suggestion that any of these vendors is an agent of Gov. Reagan or of Reagan for President.

> (4) Paragraph 4, page 34: "Examples of such prior concerted action are to be found: (1)....; (2) in the concerted primary contributions of FCM and Mr. Reagan's official committees in this year's primaries in New Hampshire and Texas, also described above [this clause appears to refer to a newspaper article which is quoted at pages 13 and 14 of the complaint, which provides no support for the assertion that FCM made independent expenditures in concert with Reagan for President]....
>
> "Indeed, as Kenneth F. Boehm, treasurer of FCM, conceded just this week, direct contact is 'unnecessary since we pretty much know what the Reagan campaign strategy is from the newspapers.' (New York Times, 6/30/80, p.B13)" 2./

This assertion does not provide a foundation for an allegation that the independent expenditures made by Fund

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2/ It should be noted that C-M and the DNC have extracted this quotation out of context. The full quote in the cited article is: "Kenneth F. Boehm, the Treasurer of Fund for a Conservative Majority, said that members of his group were scrupulous about not discussing their plans with Reagan campaign aides 'to the point that we avoid them at cocktail parties.' But he added that contact was unnecessary since we pretty much know what the Reagan campaign strategy is from the newspapers'." See, tab 56 in the exhibits to the complaint.

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for a Conservative Majority constituted "concerted action" or that such expenditures were "concerted primary contributions." To suggest that an expenditure has lost its independence because the expending person has read a newspaper article is patently absurd. This assertion is not a clear and concise recitation of the facts which describe a violation of a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction; and, clearly it cannot support a funding of reason to believe that Fund for a Conservative Majority has committed, or is about to commit, a violation of applicable law. The DNC and Mr. Strauss, on behalf of C-M, appear to be concerned about freedom of the press and the First Amendment of the Constitution. Reading a newspaper article does not constitute "cooperation or...consultation with" a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate. See 11 CFR 109.1(a). 3/

With reference to the section in the complaint, captioned, "Violations of the Law," C-M and the DNC assert that the law has been violated by "a facade of independence" and that "formalistic sham and technicality will not obscure reality." These artistic and creative phrases are not supported

3/ It would be interesting to inquire whether the New York Times considers itself to be an "agent" of Gov. Reagan.

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by fact. Fund for a Conservative Majority calls upon the Commission to recognize the fact that these allegations constitute unsubstantiated, inflammatory rhetoric, which fail to describe a violation or which give rise to reason to believe that Fund for a Conservative Majority has committed, or is about to commit, a violation of the applicable law. These assertions or conclusions, if included in a civil complaint filed in Federal court, could not withstand a motion to dismiss for failure to state a cause of action.

As to the specific allegations of violation, however, Fund for a Conservative Majority responds that:

> Paragraph I(a)(1) is denied in that it fails to state a violation supported by the facts or by the law. See, AO 1979-80 and AO 1980-46;
>
> Paragraph I(a)(2) is denied in that it is not applicable to Fund for a Conservative Majority, which is a multi-candidate political committee;
>
> Paragraph (I)(a)(3) is denied in that it fails to state a violation supported by the facts or by the law, in that all contributions to Fund for a Conservative Majority are solicited for multi-candidate purposes and there are no facts before the Commission to contravene that assertion;
>
> Paragraph (I)(b) is denied in that it fails to state a violation supported by facts before the Commission;

Paragraph II(a) is denied in that it fails to state a violation supported by facts before the Commission;

Paragraph II(b) is denied in that it fails to state a violation supported by facts before the Commission;

Paragraph III is denied for the reasons described above;

Paragraph IV is denied for the reasons described above;

Paragraph V is denied for the reasons described above;

Paragraph VI is denied for the reasons described above;

Paragraph VII is denied for the reasons described above;

Paragraph VIII is denied (The Commission has failed to interpret the application of 26 U.S.C. 9012(f) and the issue is now pending before the courts in a proceeding instituted by the Commission.);

Paragraph IX is not applicable to Fund for a Conservative Majority; and,

Paragraph X is denied in that Fund for a Conservative Majority is not an authorized committee and, therefore, its name does not include the name of any candidate in its name. The fact that under its name it conducts a project known as "Citizens for Reagan in '80," does not constitute a violation of 2 U.S.C. 432(e)(4) and it is a communication protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution. All statements required by 2 U.S.C. 441d include the full name of the committee. For example, see tab 82 of the exhibits to the complaint. 4/

4/ It is observed that it is most inconsistent for C-M and the DNC to allege in Paragraph X that your Respondent is an "unauthorized" political committee, when most of the other allegations seem to require a finding of authorization.

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As a consequence of the foregoing, Fund for a Conservative Majority petitions the Commission to deny the relief sought by C-M and the DNC or, in the alternative, to determine that no action should be taken against it on the basis of the complaint for the reasons set forth herein.

Respectfully submitted,

Sincerely yours,

J. Curtis Herge

J. Curtis Herge
Counsel to Fund for a
Conservative Majority

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8 3 0 4 0 4 2 1 9 3 5



FIRST CLASS

SEDAM & HERGE
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
7600 OLD SPRINGHOUSE ROAD
McLEAN, VIRGINIA 22102

To:

The Honorable Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FIRST CLASS MAIL

FIRST CLASS

909220
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2083

FCM

THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

July 21, 1980

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF
GENERAL COUNSEL
80 JUL 23 P4:51

The Honorable Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Marsha Gentner, Esq.

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

Pursuant to 11 CRF 111.23, we wish to advise you that Fund for a Conservative Majority has engaged:

J. Curtis Herge
Sedam & Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Road
McLean, Virginia 22102
(703) 821-1000

to represent it in connection with all matters relating to MUR 1252.

Mr. Herge is authorized to receive any and all notifications and other communications from the Commission on our behalf.

Sincerely,

Kenneth F. Boehm
Treasurer

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D [redacted]
RAD 80L-159

REPORTS ANALYSIS REFERRAL UPDATE

*ORIGIN: OGC

DATE July 17, 1980

ANALYST Mark Kleinman MK

TO: Office of General Counsel
ATTENTION: Marsha Gentner

TEAM CHIEF Bobby Werfel BW

COMPLIANCE REVIEW 13

THROUGH: STAFF DIRECTOR BL

FROM: ASSISTANT STAFF DIRECTOR FOR REPORTS ANALYSIS DH

MUR No. 1252

DATE OF ORIGINAL REFERRAL N/A

**PURPOSE:

INFORMATION: FUND FOR CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

Expense for Vice Presidential Survey reported as Independent Expenditure for Reagan. Attachment #1

OUTCOME: (if applicable)

*Commission unit which initiated original Referral (e.g. AUDIT/RAD/OGC).
**INFORMATION, or RESULTS OF RAD ACTION, as appropriate.

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SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Page 2 of 7 Pages

Name of Committee (in Full)	ID No
The Fund for a Conservative Majority	C00001966

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure & office sought
Bond Office Services 14496 Telegraph Rd. Woodbridge, VA 22192	Vice Pres. Survey Expenses	5/12/80	16.675.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ■ Support ☐ Oppose
Sherrod Sign & Graphics P. O. Box 3085 Knoxville, TN 37197	Sign for HQ in TN.	5/16/80	125.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ■ Support ☐ Oppose
Bond Office Services	Postage & Mail Serv.	5/12/80	33,666.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ■ Support ☐ Oppose
Artype P. O. Box 671 Springfield, VA 22150	Typesetting/Design	5/27/80	80.00	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ■ Support ☐ Oppose
Chronomatic Inc. 1503 South County Trail East Greenwich, RI 02818	Reagan Lapel Pins	5/27/80	939.14	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ■ Support ☐ Oppose
Envelopes Inc. 112 North Fairfax St. Alexandria, VA 22314	Printing Services	5/27/80	492.70	Ronald Reagan U. S. President ■ Support ☐ Oppose

(a) SUBTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures	$ 94	
(b) SUBTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures	$	
(c) TOTAL Independent Expenditures		$

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Signature _____ Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19__

My Commission expires _____

NOTARY PUBLIC _____

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 7, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Robert C. Heckman
Chairman
The Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Blvd.
Suite 1401
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Heckman:

This letter is to notify you that on July 2, 1980, the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that your Committee may have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") and Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. We have numbered this matter MUR 1252. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We understand that complainant hand delivered a copy of the complaint including exhibits to you on July 2, 1980. Therefore, we have not enclosed a copy of these extensive exhibits to the complaint. However, if you would like another copy of the exhibits, we would, of course, provide it upon request.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, that no action should be taken against your Committee in connection with this matter. Your response must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

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This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by sending a letter of representation stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

If you have any questions, please contact Marsha Gentner, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 523-4057. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedure for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures

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ATTACHMENT A

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SUMMARY OF PERTINENT STATUTES AND REGULATIONS

April 21, 1980

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This memorandum summarizes some of the more important provisions of federal election campaign financing law of concern to a citizens group which desires to receive contributions and make expenditures in support of the Republican nominee for President.

Introduction

The Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA"), enacted in 1971, imposes limitations on contributions to candidates for federal office and sets forth registration and reporting requirements for political committees. The contribution limitations are $1,000 per candidate per election for most individuals or groups. The Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act, also enacted in 1971, provides public funds to candidates in the general election for President on the condition that they accept no private contributions for that election, and FECA further imposes expenditure limitations on such Presidential candidates in an amount equal to the amount of public funds. Both statutes are administered primarily by the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"). This year, each Presidential candidate accepting public funds will be provided with approximately $29 million for the general election and the Republican and Democratic parties will each be permitted to spend an additional 2 cents per

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member of the voting age population on behalf of its Presidential candidate. In 1976, this amount equaled approximately $3.2 million for each party.

Following the United States Supreme Court decision in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976), FECA was amended to remove any limitations on the direct expenditures (as opposed to contributions) by individuals or groups intended to influence an election, so long as those expenditures are "independent expenditures" within the meaning of FECA. Since the Republican candidate for President will almost definitely accept public funds (thus barring any contributions to him and limiting expenditures by him), any privately funded activities attempting to influence his election must meet the criteria for independent expenditures. If they do not, they will be deemed "contributions" to the candidate and will offset, dollar for dollar, the public funds available to him for his campaign. In addition, such "contributions", since they would exceed the contribution limitations of FECA, would subject the "contributor" to the possibility of civil (injunctions and/or civil fines) or criminal (fines and/or imprisonment) sanctions.

Any citizens group intending to solicit private contributions and make private expenditures in order to influence a Presidential election must therefore be extremely careful to follow the guidelines for independent expenditures

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set forth in FECA and the regulations thereunder. The need for this care is heightened by the fact that any such effort is likely to draw political opposition sufficient to provoke a legal challenge.

Since the law is fairly new and undeveloped, a number of questions will arise which cannot be fully answered from the statute, the regulations, or the presently available judicial or administrative decisions. Accordingly, it may at times be advisable for the citizens group to request an advisory opinion from the FEC, which, if favorable, will insulate the group from liability if the opinion is followed in good faith. The advisory opinion process does have the disadvantages of delay (the FEC can take up to 60 days to respond) and publicity (each request is available for public comment). However, the uncertainty of the law, the inherent controversiality of any political group, and the strong interest of the group's members in being above any possible legal reproach may well combine to recommend the procurement of advisory opinions under many circumstances.

The following discussion is organized around three major questions: (1) What must a citizens group do to insure that its expenditures are "independent"? (2) What other provisions of the law affect the activities of a citizens group? (3) What must a citizens group do to organize itself?

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1. What Must A Citizens Group Do To Insure That Its Expenditures Are "Independent"?

The statutory definition of an "independent expenditure" is as follows:

> The term "independent expenditure" means an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17).

The regulations define "independent expenditure" in a substantially similar manner:

> "Independent expenditure" means an expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a).

For reasons described below, most of the important questions for a citizens group arise in connection with the part of the definition in the regulations which begins with the words "made with the cooperation. . ." The regulations define conduct which is "made with the cooperation. . ." to include:

> Any arrangement, coordination, or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display, or broadcast of the communication. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4).

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The meaning of the terms "arrangement, coordination, or direction" is not further explained by the statute or regulations. The regulations do, however, set forth two sets of circumstances under which expenditures will be presumed not to be independent. Such a presumption will arise, first, if an expenditure is

> [b]ased on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or the candidate's agents, with the view toward having an expenditure made,

or second, if the expenditure is

> [m]ade by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been, receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate's committee or agent. 11 C.F.R. 109.1(b)(4)(i).

For purposes of convenience, the first of these presumptions will be referred to as the "information presumption" and the second as the "personnel presumption." Since these are only presumptions, they can be rebutted by evidence which shows that the expenditures were in fact independent within the meaning of the statute. However, because these provisions are only presumptions, they also do not purport to cover the entire range of conduct which will offend the statute. Other conduct still can give rise to liability if the FEC or a court is satisfied that the independent expenditure provisions

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are violated. Notwithstanding these caveats, the information and personnel presumptions are the most definite statements now available on the requisites for an independent expenditure. From them a number of questions arise, many of which cannot be answered with certainty at this time.

In order to afford a better evaluation of these issues, each person who has expressed an interest in the citizens group is being asked to fill out the questionnaire attached as Appendix 2 to this memorandum and return it to counsel as soon as possible. From the answers, it will be determined whether an individual's activities: (1) involve by their very nature a sufficient likelihood of problems that participation in the citizens group would be inadvisable; (2) do not involve any problems likely to hinder participation; or (3) pose questions which should be answered by an advisory opinion from the FEC. Regardless of the particular questionnaire responses, advisory opinions may nonetheless be requested on a number of questions which involve future activities of the citizens group members.

In the meantime, there are several guidelines which should be followed by potential members of the citizens group. To begin with, they should assiduously avoid discussing any aspect of general election campaign strategy with any active candidate for President or his present or former advisors or staff. Insofar as possible, contact should be avoided

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altogether with a candidate himself or with his key campaign advisors. If this is not feasible (e.g., when contact is initiated by the candidate), conversation should be strictly limited to topics other than anything remotely involving campaign strategy. In addition, each such conversation should be documented by careful and complete notes forwarded immediately to counsel.

The same limitations apply to contacts with current members or staff of the Republican National Committee ("RNC") who are involved in the Presidential and Vice Presidential campaigns. No discussions of general election campaign strategy should be entered into with these persons. While it may ultimately be determined that conversations with persons who have recently terminated their involvement with the RNC can be engaged in without limitation, for now these conversations should likewise be limited and documented by careful and complete notes forwarded immediately to counsel.

Discussions with any other persons regarding campaign strategy or this group's plans should always be undertaken with great care and should be recorded with detailed notes. Questions concerning possible problematic contact should be openly conveyed to counsel as soon as they arise, even if they relate only to anticipated or hypothetical situations.

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2. What Other Provisions Of The Law Affect The Activities Of A Citizens Group?

Assuming that all of the expenditures made by the citizens group are independent, the group will still operate under several constraints imposed by FECA. The group cannot include the name of any candidate in its name. This rule was added to FECA as part of the 1979 amendments, and is contained in 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). In addition, a communication financed by an independent expenditure must "clearly state the name of the person who paid for the communication and state that the communication is not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee." 2 U.S.C. 441d(a)(3).

The group can accept contributions totaling no more than $5,000 from any "person." For purposes of the contribution limitations, the statute defines "person" to include: "an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, labor organization, or any other organization or group of persons." 2 U.S.C. § 431(11). Contributions to the primary campaign of the Republican nominee would probably not be offset against this $5,000 amount; i.e., a person could contribute $5,000 to the group even if he had contributed $1,000 to the primary campaign of the nominee.

At the same time, the statute entirely prohibits contributions from certain entities which fall within the

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definition of "person," including corporations and labor unions. Corporations and labor unions can nonetheless establish separately segregated funds (commonly referred to as "political action committees" or "PACs") which can make contributions to candidates, political parties, or citizens groups. Each PAC is treated as a "person" and is therefore limited to $5,000 in its total contributions to a citizens group.

The citizens group will also be subject to the provisions which strictly govern both the treatment of funds and the group's recordkeeping and accounting practices. 2 U.S.C. § 432; 11 C.F.R. §§ 102.8-102.11. The treasurer of the group will be responsible for carrying out most of these provisions. For example, all contributions, along with the names and addresses of contributors, must be forwarded to the treasurer, who must then deposit the funds in special accounts in a designated bank or banks, and all disbursements must be made from these accounts. The treasurer must also keep records of the amount and source of each contribution and the amount and payee of each disbursement.

The citizens group will also be subject to the reporting requirements of FECA. 2 U.S.C. § 434. Generally speaking, the group must file quarterly or monthly reports, at its option, but in any event must file both a pre-election

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report and a post-election report. These reports must present detailed information on the operations of the group during the reporting period, including, for example: amount of cash on hand at the beginning of the period; receipts broken down by amount, type, and identity of source; and disbursements broken down by amount, type, and identity of payee.

3. What Must A Citizens Group Do To Organize Itself?

In the terms of the statute, the citizens group will be a "political committee." 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A). Because it will have no relationship with any candidate, it will be deemed an "unauthorized committee."

The first official step the group must take is the filing of a "statement of organization" with the FEC. 2 U.S.C. § 433. This filing need not be made until 10 days after the receipt or expenditure by the group of amounts aggregating more than $1,000. The statement of organization must include the name and address of the group, the fact that it is "unauthorized," and the names of its treasurer, the custodian of its books and accounts, and its banks; the names of the other officers need not appear. Any changes in the information provided must be subsequently filed with the FEC.

Affiliated groups at the regional, state or local levels can be formed for the purposes of raising and expending

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funds in conjunction with the national group. However, each of these groups must follow the independent expenditure provisions, and this may require a high degree of monitoring by the national group. Contributions to these affiliated groups will be aggregated with each other and with contributions to the national group for purposes of the $5,000 contribution limitation.

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LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
SUITE 1200
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 828-4400

PAUL R. WATKINS (1893-1973)
DANA LATHAM (1894-1974)

CABLE ADDRESS LATHWAT
TWX 910 321-3733
TELECOPIER (202) 862-4415

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
555 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071
TELEPHONE (213) 485-1234

ORANGE COUNTY OFFICE
660 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660
TELEPHONE (714) 752-8100

May 15, 1980

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: Advisory Opinion Request Concerning An Independent Expenditures Committee in Connection with the 1980 Presidential General Election

Gentlemen:

We are counsel to several individuals who are in the process of forming a political committee (the "Committee") for the purpose of soliciting contributions from the public and making expenditures in the general election in support solely of the nominees for President and Vice President of one of the major political parties. Pursuant to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), our clients intend that the Committee's activities will be undertaken completely independently of the activities of the candidates which it will be supporting, as well as the campaign committees and agents of such candidates, and that the expenditures of the Committee will be "independent expenditures" within the meaning of the Act and regulations. Our clients intend that the expenditures of the Committee will be made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and will not be made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate.

We are writing on behalf of our clients for the purpose of requesting an advisory opinion in answer to the following questions:

1. Assuming that the Committee's expenditures are in fact independent expenditures as defined in the Act, does 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act prohibit or restrict the independent expenditures activities of the Committee?

2. Assuming that the Committee's expenditures are in fact independent expenditures as defined in the Act, may the Committee receive contributions of up to $5,000 from each contributor, assuming that the contributor is not prohibited from making contributions under the Act, and subject to the $25,000 aggregate contribution limitation with respect to individuals contained in 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(3)?

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Regarding the first question, we believe that pursuant to Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976), 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) is invalid under the United States Constitution. At the very least, under Buckley and the independent expenditures scheme of the Act, see especially 2 U.S.C. §431(17) and 11 C.F.R. Part 109, 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) can and should be read to be inapplicable to independent expenditures activities undertaken by political committees in accordance with the Act.

Regarding the second question, we believe that it is clear that the Committee is neither an authorized political committee nor a political committee established and maintained by a national political party, and that it is therefore "any other political committee" within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(1)(C). Pursuant thereto, we believe that the Committee should be able to receive contributions of up to $5,000 from each contributor, assuming that the contributor is not prohibited from making contributions under the Act, and subject to the $25,000 aggregate contribution limitation with respect to individuals contained in 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(3).

We look forward to your responses to these questions. Thank you for your consideration.

Very truly yours,

LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

Roderick M. Hills

BY MESSENGER

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COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 25, 1980

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Honorable Paul Laxalt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Paul:

Attached is another look at policy categories which might be the basis of a series of Congressional interaction sessions with the Governor. The five basic categories are obviously interrelated but could serve to channel discussions along useful lines.

On a separate copy of the list I have indicated those Senators who might be asked to head up each session. As I indicated to you earlier, the Governor should probably be well briefed by his people beforehand, and the Senators should have worked out their basic recommendations in advance of each session. In this way, the Governor would have his own framework in which to assimilate the input we felt it was important to make.

One note of caution: If the Senators in each group are not willing to discipline their comments, then each session should be held with only the leader, you and one or two others present, In such a case, each leader would be responsible for gathering and filtering input from others.

Please call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

HS/smg

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Economic – DANFORTH

Fiscal
Tax
Regulation
Labor
Management

Defense – WALLOP

Strategic
Tactical
Civil
Trade

Foreign – LUGAR

Free World
3rd World
Soviet Sphere
China Sphere
Western Hemisphere

Society – SCHWEIKER

Urban
Rural
Welfare
Health
Education
Law Enforcement

Development – SCHMITT

Science
Innovation
Energy and Minerals
Renewable Resources
Environment
Agriculture

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15 May 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: SENATOR JACK SCHMITT

FROM: JL HARMER

RE: INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE FOR REAGAN

Pursuant to our discussion it would be well for us to decide on the following matters as quickly as possible.

1. Legal requirments for the formation of the committee in a formal manner with the F.E.C.

2. Legal protection for yourself and other original "incorporators" of the committee.

3. The formation of an executive committee.

4. The recruitment of high prestige leaders from around the country to participate with the committee.

5. The "public" announcment of the formation of the committee. Convention

6. The development of a strategy for fund raising:

   A. Solicitations of large donors by Sen. Schmitt & JLH.
   B. A direct mail program
   C. Possible consideration of "special events."

7. At the earliest possible moment (before funds are solicited) an air tight and error free accounting system must developed and agreed upon.

8. Recruitment of business community that were so effectively mobilized by the Connally campaign.

9. Recruitment of Democrats around the country (with prestige and legitimate credentials) as members of the committee.

10. An analysis of "post convention" options for people now involved with the Reagan committee for the primaries.

11. Location of offices and communication among the executive committee.

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HARRISON SCHMITT
NEW MEXICO

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

• 25[illegible] 500 [illegible]
Quality trail
audio with with
each report

Questions for Jan Barron:

1. What is the likelihood for a law suit against the committee?

2. Against me personally as chairman?

3. Would the committee provide personal counsel (this is probably a question for John Harmer)?

4. What legal document could I require from other persons who became active with this independent committee stating that they had had no contact with Reagan's campaign committee? And will you draft it for me?

5. What weight would that document carry should a case come before the courts?

6. What types of activities could an independent committee carry on that would be of a truly independent nature? Coincidental similarity?

7. What type of background file should I prepare to substantiate my independence from the Reagan committee (the established campaign committee)?

8. Will you draft a letter for me to send to Laxalt withdrawing my offer to participate in an issues advisory capacity to Reagan?

9. What is your commitment to supporting this independent expenditure committee on behalf of Reagan?

10. What questions should I ask of potential Committee members? Will you supply?

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HARRISON SCHMITT
NEW MEXICO

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MEMO TO: H May 15, 1980

FROM: D

SUBJECT: Independent Committee for Reagan

John Harmer, Brad O'Leary, Jan Barron and I met today and discussed the following items with actions assigned to the appropriate individuals. An agenda is attached.

1. Formation of the advisory committee - All present agreed that for the committee to establish the credibility necessary to raise money, the advisors we seek should be former and/or present Senators, Congressmen and Governors and those members of the business world who have high visibility and credibility within their realm. These members lend their prestige and credibility to the committee, but leave the day-to-day decision making to an executive committee consisting of 4-5 members. Jan felt the committee's activities could be more easily controller with this numerical limitation on the members of the executive committee.

ACTION: Brad and John will come up with the people to contact by the next meeting.

Jan will prepare a letter to you for use as a talking paper outlining what an independent expenditure is, what problems to anticipate and what kind of contact with the Reagan campaign committee would preclude a person from participating in this committee.

John will contact former Senators Carl Curtis and Wallace Bennett.

I will contact Eddie Mahe regarding names of Democrats to approach who were active in Connally's campaign.

You are asked to talk to your colleagues who may not have been actively involved in Reagan's campaign to date, such as Danforth and Kassebaum.

2. Formation of the executive committee - The executive committee, the decision-making body, would consist of John, Brad, treasurer, secretary (me) and yourself. However, after checking with Ethics, I've learned that even designated staff can solicit funds in behalf of their Senator only. Since this committee would be a fundraising committee for Reagan, my participation would be precluded.

3. Formal filing vs formal announcement of committee - It was felt that an announcement of the committee would not be necessary just because it had been filed with the FEC. The National Convention was mentioned as a possible vehicle for announcing formation of the committee.

ACTION: Jan will file the necessary papers for establishing the committee with the FEC when contributions are solicited, with only the treasurer's and the candidate's names listed which are required for filing.

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I will get your input as to the name of the committee and contacting Stevens as a possible treasurer. John prefers "Independent Voters for America" because he feels it would be more attractive to independents who might be looking at Anderson's campaign. Brad prefers something lie "Concerned Citizens for America" because he believes that would be more attractive to conservatives. Regardless of the filed name, alias are okay according to Jan, so our letterhead and advertising could read "Americans for Reagan".

4. Recordkeeping - This topic was given little attention since a treasurer/bookkeeper hasn't been named yet. John recommended locating a bank which would agree to receive contributions, microfilm them (return those which were corporate and otherwise comply with FEC regs), and deposit them directly into the committee account. The envelopes would be forwarded to the committe for computer acknowledgements.

ACTION: Brad is to talk to Stan Huckaby about the Assistant Treasurer position which would have all the accounting responsibilities. Then the best system for actually processing the checks would be established after naming of an Asst. Treasurer.

5. Fundraising - It is premature in the strategy sessions for much discussion in this area other than the setting up of the committee and the scheduling of your visits to individuals to get their involvement.

ACTION: John will have letterhead printed for you to send personal letters to certain individuals seeking their participation. You can't use your letterhead because of Ethics regs.

Jan will, when appropriate, seek an advisory opinion from FEC re $1000 vs $5000 contribution limitations. Will ask for $1000 only until then.

Brad will get the Senate Trustees list.

Diana will get dates for John to start working with for individual meetings nationally.

6. Miscellaneous - You should continue to seek becoming a delegate for Reagan at the convention. Jan will check to see that there is no legal constraint, but feels confident your independence from the Reagan campaign wouldn't be compromised. Jan will check into the "post-convention" options for people who are now involved with Reagan committees during primaries.

Office will not be located in Washington until absolutely necessary to save on overhead, so Brad's office address will probably be used on early mailings. However, all agree that if an office is established, it should be located in DC.

The concensus was that should a phone call be received from someone such as Bill Brock, Reagan campaigner or Reagan himself discouraging this committee, you should simply say you are so concerned about state of country and regaining the White House that you feel compelled to do all you can to insure this happens so you have established this committee to raise and expend funds in Reagan's behalf, but you cannot discuss any aspects of the committee for fear of jeopardizing its true independence from Reagan's campaign committee.

End of meeting.

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Orin:

I Possible Advisory Board Members

Senate
Danforth (liberal, Midwest
Hasselbaum (female, "
Cochran (Connally, South)
Packwood (NW, liberal, fundraising
Wallop (conservation, N. Rockies
Bosawitz (fundraising, N. Midwest

Governors
Clements (fundraising, TR
Schmelling (liberal, NE
Thompson (liberal, Chicago)
Ray

House
Stockman
Rhodes
Michael
Holzman
Stone

Business
NPSC - Trust (3)
[redacted]
Berman
Eagle (3)
Rumsfeld
[redacted]

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Show Business ?

Others
- Ben Fernandez
- Coleman
- Ford 66
-

Academia ?

II Possible workers

Tom Reed

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III Possible Schmitt/other activities
Personal letters
Phone calls
Airport visits
Brunches/coffees/etc as opportunity
Trust [redacted] visits with following Bkgt

IV Possible uses of funds
TV/RADIO/NEWSPAPERS/MAGS
DIRECT MAIL
Speakers
Brochures (?)
Event Ads (football, County fairs, etc)
Mass transit Ads

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80 PROJECT

I. OBJECTIVE

Convince target prospects (identified below) that Ronald Reagan and George Bush have the answers and program for the successful future of the United States of America while the Democrat Party and their candidates offer hackneyed platitudes of the past.

II. TARGET PROSPECTS

Primarily independent voters and "traditional" Democrat voters:

- o In the conservative/moderate wing.
- o Blacks
- o Youths
- o Union members
- o In traditional Democrat states

Secondarily "traditional" Republican voters in the moderate/liberal wing.

Thirdly the conservative/moderate wing of Republicanism.

III. COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGIES

A. As a fundamental guideline, demonstrate how the progressive, imaginative, realistic Republican program contrasts with the unsuccessful half-century old Democrat program.

B. Present philosophical solutions to the basic, important issues to Americans -- unemployment, inflation and the threat to world peace.

C. Be aggressive. Take the offense. Do not attempt to protect a "lead". Attack in a straightforward, no nonsense, "tough talk" stance.

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D. The Americans for Change effort should be a philosophical issues presentation rather than a specific solution campaign to separate it from the Reagan campaign.

E. The Americans for Change effort must present the contrast between the Carter-Democrat platform and the Reagan/Bush-Republican platform.

IV. PROPOSITION

Ronald Reagan and George Bush have an action plan to take advantage of our country's opportunities and solve its problems based on an imaginative look at the world as it is today and the requirements for the future.

The Democrat opposition, in contrast, continues to resurrect old line answers to a world that no longer exists. Their trite platitudes speak to a time long ago when most Americans were not yet born, and they ignore the realities of life in the last twenty years of the twentieth century. The policies the Democrats offer in 1980 are largely the cause of our current difficulties. Yet they offer the American people an additional dose of bad medicine as a cure for the first dose. The current administration actually expects us to re-endorse a miserable failure. It seems the only reason the Democrats can offer for your vote is that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a Democrat and he initiated progressive programs. But that was almost fifty years ago, and the Democrats are still hauling out the same programs. They are no longer progressive, they are antiquated.

Ronald Reagan and George Bush know that it is time to quit living in the past and develop imaginative programs for the future. They know that "buying your vote" doesn't solve your problems.

Ronald Reagan and George Bush know that the solution to unemployment is to stimulate the creation of jobs by business and industry through a return to a growing economy. If you think working men and women are anti-business, talk to someone who has lost their job because the business they worked for lost money. Oh how they wish the Carter administration hadn't forced high costs on that business while destroying the buying power of its customers! The answer to unemployment is healthy employers to provide productive work for more and more Americans.

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Ronald Reagan and George Bush know that the solution to inflation is the productive accomplishment of each of us. Pride in work well done and the knowledge that we produce more for our country than we take out of it is the essence of what is called productivity. And progress in productivity comes when incentive is restored...when we know that we will be rewarded for our efforts, that taxes and inflation will not reduce our real ability to have more as we do more. When you work hard and get farther behind, the tendency is to ask "what's the use?" But when you get ahead with hard work, you work harder.

The Democrat answer to a balanced budget (which is supposed to reduce inflation) is to raise your taxes. They don't seem to understand that more taxes have the same effect on you and me as inflation...we have less real money.

Let's once again reward ourselves by taking the burden of Democrat waste causing Democrat taxes and Democrat inflation off our backs.

Ronald Reagan and George Bush know that world peace does not come from indecision, weakness, inconsistency and self doubt. Let's be clear about one central point. The security of the United States is the key issue of international affairs. World peace is the result of a secure United States, not the cause of it. To sacrifice our country on the alter of peace is self defeating: Peace will only exist as long as the United States is strong and committed. We gain security when our allies and neutrals trust and respect us and our enemies fear us. The Carter idea that we can remain secure by inferior military preparedness is preposterous nonsense.

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DATE 5/22 DEADLINE

NAME Jeanne Edwards

TELEPHONE #803/ 799-7600 SUBJECT
723-5304

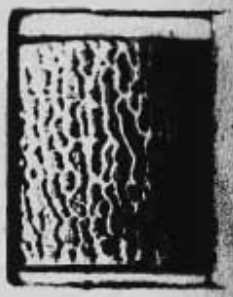
POINTS TO COVER former Gov of S.C. re
~~Co-Chairman of Comm~~ - many y's board Can't do it
if he's held formal position w/Keegan

STAFF INITIALS H's INITIALS/DATE 5/22

Comm, been paid staffer or has

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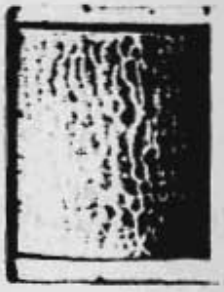
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does extensive travel for Reagan. If he wants to do something else then tell him it may be a problem & you'll get back to him after talking w/ legal counsel!

Will do - O'Leary

Ltr to: will do - O'Leary



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DATE 5-22 DEADLINE: _____

NAME: Gov Baker

TELEPHONE #213/~~[illegible]~~ 278 5008 SUBJECT _____

POINTS TO COVER Reagan Committee. OK

Carter promises - RNC

STAFF INITIALS DGH H's INITIALS/DATE 6/2

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DATE 5-22 DEADLINE 6

NAME Mattie Anderson

TELEPHONE 313 344-3541 SUBJECT

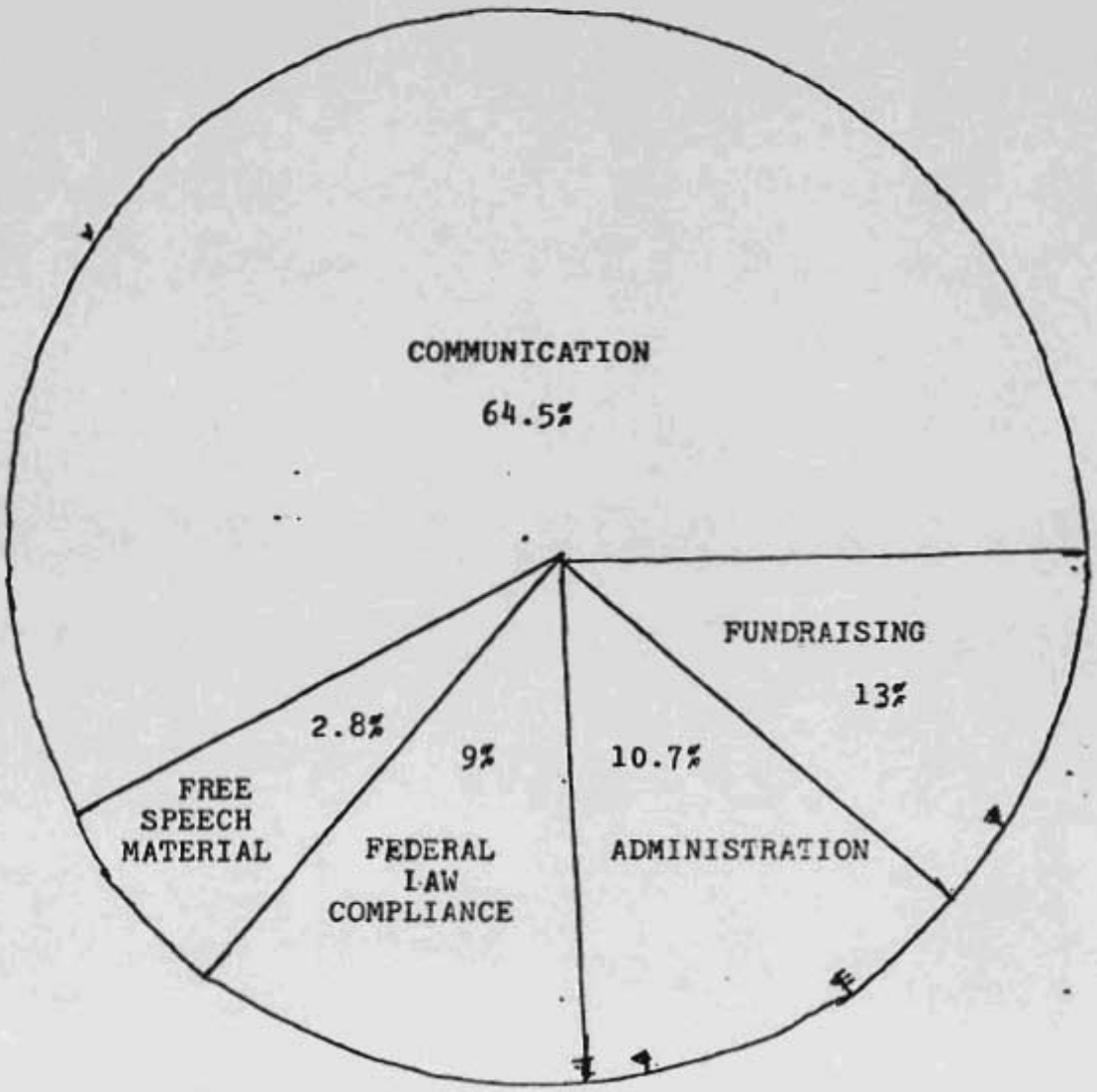
POINTS TO COVER Reagan Committee

will check

STAFF INITIALS DM H's INITIALS/DATE 6

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TO: Executive Committee

SUBJECT: -- Budget for June 1, 1980 to September 15, 1980

1.	National Poll	$ 45,000
2.	Headquarters & Furniture	7,000
3.	Telephones	30,000
4.	Legal	10,000
5.	Travel	35,000
6.	Accounting	80,000
7.	Television (30 mins)	250,000
8.	Citizens Group Mail	250,000
9.	Office & Supplies	4,000
10.	Staff Press Director Office Manager Executive Director Steering Committee Secretary Scheduler Research Director Secretarial Support	60,000
11.	F.R. Staff, fees, travel, phones, events, Major gives mail	130,000
12.	National Meeting	15,000
13.	Brochures, Buttons and Collateral Material	25,000
14.	National Magazine ads	50,000
	TOTAL	$997,000.00

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PROPOSED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES ON

STATE BY STATE BASIS

ALABAMA	297,500
ALASKA	42,000
ARIZONA	170,000
ARKANSAS	170,000
CALIFORNIA	2,125,000
COLORADO	212,500
CONNECTICUT	255,000
DELAWARE	42,500
FLORIDA	637,000
GEORGIA	425,000
HAWAII	85,000
IDAHO	85,000
ILLINOIS	1,062,500
INDIANA	467,500
IOWA	255,000
KANSAS	212,500
KENTUCKY	297,500
LOUISIANA	340,000
MAINE	85,000
MARYLAND	340,000
MASSACHUSETTS	510,000
MICHIGAN	850,000
MINNESOTA	340,000
MISSISSIPPI	425,000
MISSOURI	425,000
MONTANA	85,000
NEBRASKA	127,500
NEVADA	42,500
NEW HAMPSHIRE	85,000
NEW JERSEY	637,000
NEW MEXICO	85,000
NEW YORK	2,082,500
NORTH CARLOINA	425,000
NORTH DAKOTA	42,500
OHIO	1,020,000
OKLAHOMA	255,000
OREGON	170,000
PENNSYLVANIA	1,062,500
RHODE ISLAND	85,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	255,000
SOUTH DAKOTA	127,500
TENNESSEE	340,000
TEXAS	1,275,000
UTAH	127,500
VERMONT	42,500
VIRGINIA	425,000
WASHINGTON	297,500
WEST VIRGINIA	127,500
WISCONSIN	382,500
WYOMING	42,500
TOTAL	19,804,000

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Budget

Income	18,500,000
Communications	13,000,000
TV	3,000,000
Radio	2,000,000
Newspapers & Magazines	2,000,000
Direct Mail	6,000,000
Polling	300,000
Legal	200,000
Staff	300,000
Office & Supplies	50,000
Phone	200,000
F/R Costs	2,800,000
Travel	200,000
Accounting	1,000,000
	5,050,000

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	Major Giver Income	$12,500,000
50	$10,000 family gifts	500,000
200	5,000 gifts	500,000
2,000	1,000 gifts	2,000,000
10,000	500 gifts	5,000,000
10,000	250 gifts	2,500,000
20,000	100 gifts	2,000,000

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TO: Executive Committee

SUBJECT: Income, Resources and Credit Available as of June 30, 1980

PLEDGES AND RESOURCES

	Anticipated	Actual	Balance
Steering Committee	150,000	4,000	146,000
O'Leary	100,000	4[illegible],000	98,000
Harmer	50,000	---	50,000
Schmitt	50,000	2,000	49,000
Pfautch	20,000	---	20,000
Neff	10,000	----	10,000
Ruff	400,000	9,000	400,000
	780,000	18,000	773,000

Communications Specialists $250,000,00

Pledges & Resources	$380,000.00
Credit	250,000.00
Potential as of July 23	$630,000.00

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F/M BB 1.8D 1/31

Expenses
June, July August

Furniture	2,000
Travel & Accommodations	25,000
Office Rent Secretarial Service & Copies	5,000
Telephone	20,000
Legal	25,000
Precinct Kits	10,000
Accounting	10,000
National Ads	25,000
Office Supplies	2,500
AFC Brochures	3,500
AFC Precinct Package	2,500
Free Speech Letter	1,500
Advisory Package	6,000
Reagan Gram Texas	28,000
Reagan Gram Ruff	28,000
Reagan Gram National	28,000
Staff 1. ED 2. PR 3. PM 4. BS 5. SC 6. AD 7. ES 8.	38,000
Fund Raising	18,000
	$278,000

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JULY EXPENSES 7/10

	Min.	Max.
Furniture	1500	15800
Travel	6000	10,000
Office Rent, Sec. & Dupl.	1900	1900
Telephone	5000	8000
Legal	10,000	25,000
Accounting	1500	30000
Direct Mail		
Letter 1 (Free Speech)	2000	2000
Letter 2 (Advisory)	4000	5000
Letter 3 (Reagan grams)	--	--
Letter 4 (Voter Kit)	2000	8000
Office Supplies	500	1000
Brochures	2000	3000
F.R. Management	5000	13,000
Headquarters Staff (4)	12,000	12,000
TOTAL	58,800	91,400

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July Income

Source	Minimum	Maximum
Oklahoma City	5,000	10,000
Dallas	7,000	20,000
Alb	10,000	20,000
Houston	25,000	60,000
San Antonio	5,000	15,000
Midland	5,000	20,000
California	10,000	10,000
St. Louis	5,000	25,000
Conv Convention	5,000	25,000
Free Speech	15,000	35,000
Advisory	15,000	40,000
	107,000	280,000

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Income Sources

Oklahoma City	8,500
Albuquerque	17,500
Dallas	63,000
Houston	81,000
Cincinnati (Lanier)	5,000
Florida (Peters)	5,000
San Antonio	20,000
Midland	20,000
Ruff	25,000
Colorado (Kilpatrick)	20,000
Free Speech Letter (1,000)	10,000
Advisory Package (10,000)	20,000
Reagan Gram (Texas) (100,000)	30,000
Reagan Gram (Ruff) (100,000)	30,000
Reagan Gram (National) (100,000)	30,000
	$384,000

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FUND RAISING SOURCES

AS OF SEPT. 2, 1980

	Received	Pledges	Total
Barnes, Libba	$19,500	$3,000	$22,000
Brinker, Norman	24,600	7,000	31,600
Harmer, John	19,800	65,000	81,000
Henderson, Joe	9,500	17,500	27,000
Lanier, Adison	2,500		2,500
O'Leary, Brad	18,600	11,000	29,600
Ruff, Howard	20,100	25,000	45,100
Schmitt, Jack	39,600	16,000	55,600
	$156,200	$124,500	$300,700

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FUND RAISING SOURCES

/ AS OF SEPT. 9, 1980

	Received	Pledges	Total
Precinct Kit	2,500		2,500
Barnes, Libba	19,500	3,000	22,000
Brinker, Norman	27,600	4,000	31,600
Harmer, John	29,800	65,000	81,000
Henderson, Joe	14,500	12,500	27,000
Lanier, Addison	3,000		3,000
O'Leary, Bradley	23,600	9,000	29,600
Ruff, Howard	22,300	22,700	45,100
Schmitt, Jack	47,600	16,000	55,600
Steffes, Fred	3,500		3,500
Dudley/Lazenby	2,500		2,500
Misc.	6,000		6,000
TOTAL	202,400	130,200	232,400

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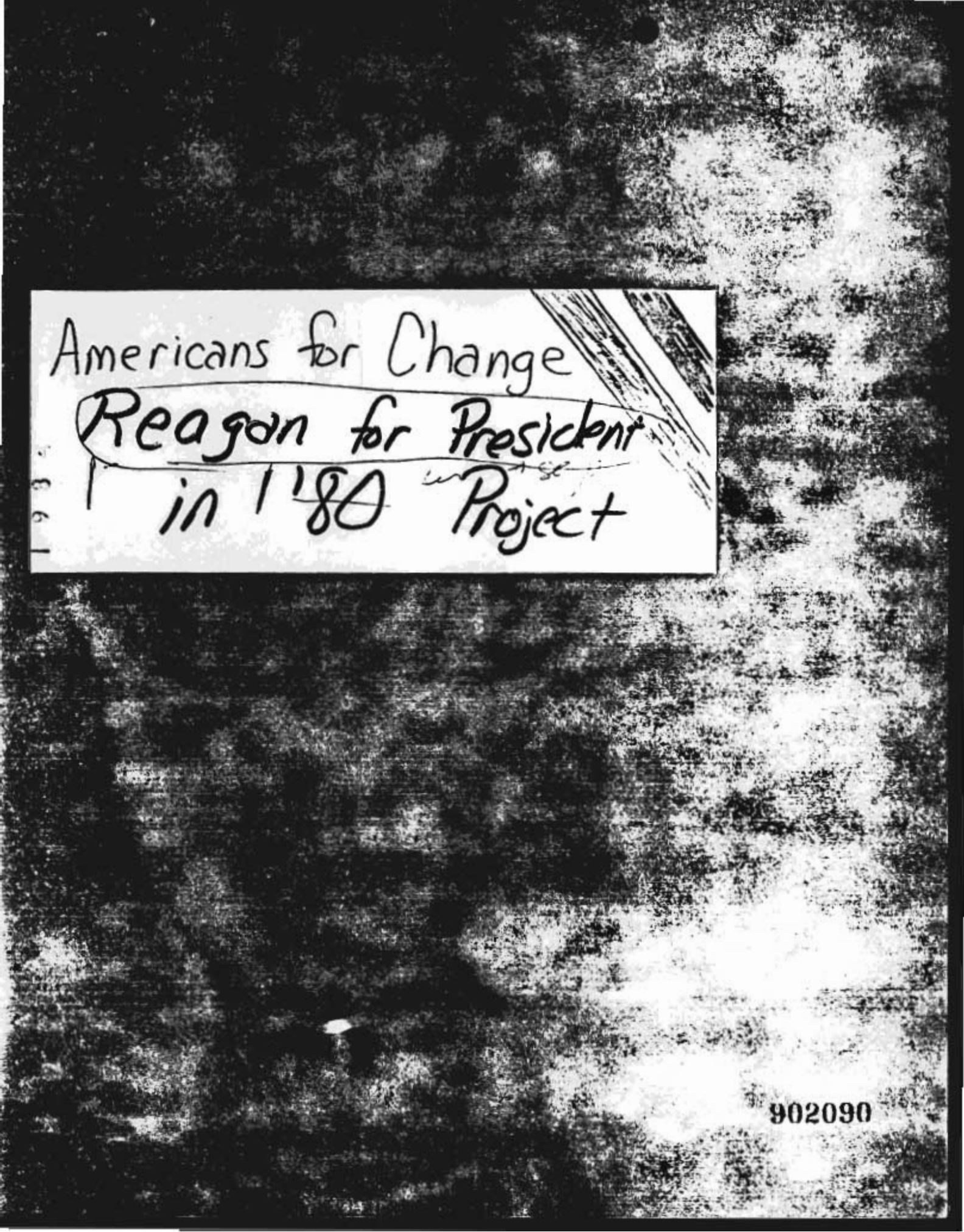
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FUND RAISING SOURCES
as of October 13, 1980

SOURCE	RECEIVED	PLEDGES OR ANTICIPATED	TOTAL
ALLOTT/ Dominick	$14,500	$ 2,000	$16,500
BERG, Gordon		10,000	10,000
BRINKER/STALEY	31,500	17,000	47,000
BARNETT, Barney		10,000	10,000
BARNES, Libba	21,500	1,000	22,500
BLACKBURN/LECRAW	5,300	2,500	7,800
Chicago	4,500	500	5,000
CURTIS, Carl	1,500		1,500
CONNER, Bill	3,500	47,500	50,000
DURNBERGER/BEAME	3,200	25,000	28,200
DEBACA, Fernando		15,000	15,000
FAY, Al		15,000	15,000
GOERING, Harold	5,000	3,500	8,500
HECKMAN, Dick	10,000	5,000	15,000
HARMER, John	33,800	18,000	51,800
HENDERSON, Joe	29,500	500	30,000
KAUFMAN, George	3,500		3,500
LOVE, Bill	17,000	3,000	20,000
LANIER, Addison	3,800	10,000	13,800
Las Vegas	1,000	9,000	9,000
LAZENBEY	4,000	1,000	5,000
New York	6,800	7,800	14,600
O'LEARY, Brad	36,700	2,500	39,200
Phoenix		10,000	10,000
Precint Kit	30,400	1,000	31,400
RUFF, Howard	23,300	21,700	45,000
Ruff letter	20,000	240,000	260,000
ROWLAND	5,000	5,000	10,000
SCHMITT, Jack	74,900	10,000	84,900
SMITH, Bill	2,700	12,300	15,000
SENDECK/SNYDER	3,200	4,800	8,000
TEMPLE, Paul		10,000	10,000
THOMPSON, Dick	1,000	4,000	5,000
Wichita/Kansas City		5,000	5,000
YATES, Payton	3,400	3,800	7,200
	$404,500	$533,400	$937,900

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Americans for Change
Reagan for President
in '80 Project
902090

NAME PLATES

Cong. Ben B. Blackburn
Georgia

Cong. Charles E. Chamberlain
Michigan

U.S. Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Nebraska

U.S Sen. Dave Durenberger
Minnesota

Gov. James Edwards
South Carolina

Lt. Gov. John Harmer
California

U.S Sen. Roman L. Hruska
Nebraska

Mayor William H. Hudnut III
Indiana

Cong. Thomas S. Kleppe
North Dakota

Cong. Clare Boothe Luce
Connecticut

State Sen. John Pritzlaff
Arizona

Gov. George Romney
Michigan

Howard Ruff
California

Cong. Richard L. Roudebush
Indiana

U S Sen. Harrison Schmitt
New Mexico

Cong. Richard G. Shoup
Montana

Cong. Burt L. Talcott
California

Gov. Edgar D. Whitcomb
Indiana

Cong. Roger H. Zion
Indiana

Cong. Wendell Wyatt
Oregon

Gov. John BROWN
OHIO

U.S SEN. George murphy
CALIFORNIA

Cong. John S. Wold
Wyoming

Cong. EDWARD L. Young
South Carolina

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United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

1) no formal/informal position w/ Reagan Committee
2) no reimbursed travel expenses for speeches
3) no formal fundraising for campaign
4) can't pick up phone & telling Reagan guys what doing & if do - can't participate



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

List of addresses of prior creditors.

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

____	(1) Classified Information	X	(6) Personal privacy
____	(2) Internal rules and practices	____	(7) Investigatory files
____	(3) Exempted by other statute	____	(8) Banking Information
____	(4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information	____	(9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical)
____	(5) Internal Documents		

Signed Lane R. Wersenhorn

Date 6/20/83

FEC 9-21-77

8304021987

MEMO FOR THE RECORD May [redacted], 1980

Subject: Visit of Richard Whalen, Reagan Campaign, on May 21, 1980

Mr. Whalen, Doug McCullough, and I discussed matters related to Congressional relations during a Reagan Presidency. My general suggestion was to try to do a few things very well during the first six months and not get tripped into trying all things for all people during that time.

I also suggested continuous contact with Members of Congress supportive of the Administration's efforts. I further suggested that new legislative initiatives were not critical in the first year because the authorization and appropriation bills provided a vehicle which well planned efforts could use to influence almost all aspects of public policy.

No campaign related items were discussed.

H.

Harrison Schmitt/mg

8304042198E

901578



4

DATE 5/22/80 DEADLINE

NAME Neil Armstrong NO ANSWER AT COMPANY TODAY. 5-18

Cardwell International
Lebonon, Ohio

TELEPHONE SUBJECT 513/932-6833

POINTS TO COVER Reagan Comm.

22nd Aug

STAFF INITIALS DSR H's INITIALS/DATE

✓



8304042119B9

901488

JOHN L. HARMER

GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
CALIFORNIA STATE BAR - FEDERAL COURTS
Admitted to practice before the
Supreme Court of the United States

SUITE 606
KENNECOTT COPPER BLDG.
10 EAST SOUTH TEMPLE
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84111
PHONE (801) 364-1676

SUITE 405
1025 CONNECTICUT AVE.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

May 23, 1980

The Honorable Harris (Jack) Schmitt
Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator:

Though we see each other frequently, I did want to express to you my profound respect and appreciation for your acceptance of the chairmanship of the independent committee for Governor Reagan. I realize that it came to you as an inconvenient request and one that you certainly do not need in terms of your own political success. Your willingness to provide the leadership and the prestige which the committee would need in order to function is a great credit to you and indeed a great tribute to Governor Reagan and his anticipated election.

I assure you that I will do everything in my power to make certain that the committee functions effectively and that its performance will indeed be a matter of continuing pride for yourself. I am confident that we have an opportunity to become a significant factor in the realization of Governor Reagan's election as President. I have no doubt that when the election is over, he will be as indebted to you for his success as to any person anywhere in the country.

I look forward with a great deal of anticipation to our being able to be associated together in this experience.

Yours very truly,

JOHN L. HARMER

JLH/jh

8304042190

901604

DATE 5/30 DEADLINE

NAME Ted Welch

TELEPHONE 615 298 5135 SUBJECT AFL

POINTS TO COVER Has 3 operations: 1 Wagon
2 RVs 3 AFL. Turns to
low 2 but doesn't make
money.

STAFF INITIALS ____ H's INITIALS/DATE 6/1

✓

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901559

MEMO TO RECORD May 30, 1980

FROM: HHS

SUBJ: Reagan Independent Committee

Called Laxalt to indicate I could not be part of campaign issues group. Said "I'm going to raise a lot of money but I can't talk about it".

He said "he understands".

8304042 1992

901577



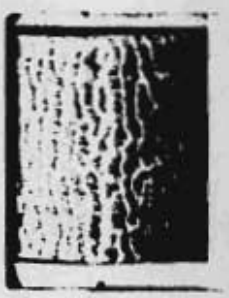
DATE 6-3 DEADLINE

NAME Mary Louise Smith

TELEPHONE #515/279-5370 SUBJECT

POINTS TO COVER

STAFF INITIALS DH H's INITIALS/DATE



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TO: Americans For Change Steering Committee Members

FROM: Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman

SUBJECT: National Poll June 5 June 8

The following figures are the results of a National Poll that went into the field the day we announced the formation of our committee in Washington June 5. It was completed on June 8 and was a national sample of 1,080 registered voters by telephone. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

1.. In a race between Carter and Reagan who would you support.

Reagan	45
Carter	43
Undecided	12

2. In a race between Carter, Reagan and Anderson who would you support.

Reagan	40
Carter	36
Anderson	19
Undecided	5

3. Tell us how you rate the candidates on their ability to handle the economy.
(Totals are combination of great deal and fair responses)

Reagan	60
Carter	43
Anderson	41

4. Tell us how you rate the candidates ability to deal with foreign policy. (Totals are combination of great deal and fair responses)

Reagan	60
Carter	43
Anderson	35

5. How would you vote if the candidates were Senator Edward Kennedy and Reagan.

Reagan	58
Kennedy	36
Undecided	6

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*6. How would you vote if the candidates were Vice President Mondale and Reagan.

Reagan	51
Mondale	41
Undecided	18

Tell us which candidate is best described with the following statement.

	Reagan	Carter	Anderson
Has higest ethical standards	25	43	13
Best able to keep us out of war	223	37	12
Best able to inspire confidence	43	25	15
Best able to get job done	41	26	14
Best able to deal with Congress	32	30	22
Best abee to protect US interest overseer overseas	40	30	8

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia
Suite 319

Americans for Change

June 5, 1980

CONTACT: Jim McAvoy
466-4577
998-5751

SENATOR SCHMITT FORMS INDEPEDENT COMMITTEE
HOPES TO BOOST TURNOUT AND REAGAN'S CHANCES

WASHINGTON, D.C.-- Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (R-NM) today announced the formation of Americans for Change, an independent political action committee designed to increase citizen participation in the 1980 Presidential election.

"In 1980 the American people will spend more than $125 million for fireworks to celebrate the Fourth of July, but in contrast, they will spend less than $60 million to celebrate the democratic process as we elect the next President of the United States," Schmitt said.

"Voting is the culmination of this process; however, equally important is the support of candidates through financial contributions and volunteer services. Such support should always be encouraged, not prohibited in any significant way," he said.

"Present law forces the taxpayers to pay for Presidential campaigning and prohibits individuals from contributing to the Presidential candidate of their choice. If it were not for provisions for independent expenditures, under proper rules, Americans would be denied their rights to communicate their belief in a candidate to other Americans.

"Americans should be allowed to participate in the political system as much as they desire," Schmitt said. "The law and its interpretation by the Supreme Court clearly protect this

902667

(MORE)

Authorized and paid for by Americans for Change, an independent committee.
Senator Jack Schmitt, Chairman.

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fundamental First Amendment right. Four years ago, in 1976 only 59.2 percent of American's registered voters went to the polls, in early 1978 only 45.9 percent voted. In the last twenty years, Americans have chosent to participate less and less in their political system.

"Americans for Change is designed to change that trend," Schmitt said.

Americans for Change will campaign to educate the public and to encourage them to vote. Americans for Change will emphasize the greatness of America and its people and that new leadership, common sense leadership, will permit America and its people to view the future with confidence," Scmitt said.

Schmitt said he firmly believes a high voter turnout will benefit former Governor Ronald Reagan of California.

"The Majority of the American voters are so upset with the current administration's lack of common sense and its ineptness that they might not even go to the polls in November. We, Americans for Change, feel that men and women make a difference in government and that Ronald Reagan's record shows that he and his administration will make a difference. "Schmitt said. "That difference will be economic growth rather than economic stagnation; strength rather than weakness; and belief in America's future rather than self-fulfilling prophecies of decline."

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Americans for Change

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
216 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia
Suite 319 22314

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SENATOR SCHMITT FORMS INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE
HOPES TO BOOST TURNOUT AND REAGAN'S CHANCES

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Authorized and paid for by Americans for Change, an independent committee. Senator Jack Schmitt, Chairman.

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MORE

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BIOGRAPHY

of

Bradley Sean O'Leary

Present	Currently National Vice Chairman and Executive Director of Americans for Change, a major national Independent PAC organized primarily to aid the election of Ronald Reagan as President.
1970 - 1979	President of the Management Group, a national PR and political consulting firm with offices in Washington, D.C., Nashville, Tennessee and Austin, Texas.
	Senate clients included: Senators John Tower (Texas), Howard Baker (Tennessee), Harrison (Jack) Schmitt (New Mexico), Bill Brock (Tennessee), Orrin Hatch (Utah), and Larry Pressler (South Dakota).
	The company was heavily involved in financial management, fund raising and voter programs for Senate races.
	From 1974 through 1979 he served as a Consultant to the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee under Senators Bob Packwood (Oregon), Ted Stevens (Alaska), Bill Brock (Tennessee) and John Heinz (Pennsylvania). Main areas of activity included: events, direct mail and design of financial plans for Senate camgaigns.
	During this period he also spent 9 months on the Capitol Hill staffs of two U.S. Senators actively working in special legislative areas.
	During the last four years, Mr. O'Leary also planned and implemented a number of salute dinners for major Republican figures including Gerald Ford, George Bush, Ronald Reagan and William Simon.
1967 - 1969	Senior Consultant - Cooper and Associates
	Involved in acquisition studies for major corporations. Heavy emphasis on CEO and senior executive level evaluation programs.

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1963 - 1966	Director of Civic Affairs - Chamber of Commerce Responsible for political, legislative, civic, Charity and sports activities for a major metropolitan chamber of commerce.
1961 - 1962	Director of Fund Raising - United Fund of St. Louis. Responsible for corporate programs to raise three million dollars for St. Louis charities.
1960	Member of the Staff of Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon. Served as an Advance Man during the Presidential campaign.
1954 - 1959	St. Louis Globe Democrat newspaper - Handled various responsibilities for editorial, sports and promotion departments, including writing assignments, special events and political polls.
General Information	Mr. O'Leary was born April 24, 1936 in Laconia, New Hampshire.

He had eight years of Jesuit education and was a member of the undergraduate class of 1958 at St. Louis University, major in Speech with a minor in Political Science. He has 10 hours of graduate work for a Masters in Behavioral Science at the University of Texas.

His civic activity includes a great deal of work with International and National refugee organizations.

He is President of the "Berlin Associates", an organization whose members were part of the 75,000 military personnel recalled by John F. Kennedy during the Berlin Wall crisis of 1961. He served in Nancy, France during that period as a member of the 131st Phantom Fighter Squadron. He is International Chairman of a tribute ceremony, sponsored August 13, 1981, to commemorate the 20th year of the Berlin Wall.

He is a board member of the American Association of Political Consultants.

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Americans for Change

June 5, 1980

Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia
Suite 319

The Leadership
of
Americans for Change

Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, Republican New Mexico. Schmitt was elected to the United States Senate in 1976. He serves on the Senate Appropriations Committee; the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee; and the Select Committee on Small Business.

Schmitt, who will be 45 on July 3, 1980, earned his Bachelor of Science Degree from the California Institute of Technology in 1957. Schmitt studied for two years at the University of Oslo on a Fullbright Fellowship (1957-58).

Schmitt earned a Doctorate in Geology from Harvard University in 1964. He then spent a year working for the U.S. Geological Survey in Flagstaff, Arizona.

In 1965, Schmitt joined the NASA Apollo program. In 1972 he served as the lunar module pilot and geologist on the Apollo 17 mission to the Valley of Taurus-Littrow on the moon.

Schmitt was appointed NASA Assistant Administrator for Energy Programs in May, 1974. He resigned his post to in August of 1975 to run for the United States Senate.

John Harmer, 46, now resides in Bountiful, Utah where he practices law. He is an active member of LASER, a group of concerned citizens in the Western United States that seek to divest the federal government of its land holdings in those states.

Harmer served as Republican Leader of the California State Senate from 1966-73. He served as Lt. Governor of California during both of Governor Ronald Reagan's administrations.

(MORE)

Authorized and paid for by Americans for Change, an independent committee. Senator Jack Schmitt, Chairman.

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
LEADERSHIP add one

Carl T. Curtis, former United States Senator from Nebraska, will serve as the committee's Treasurer. Former Senator Curtis is a native of Minden, Nebraska. He was first elected to the Senate in 1954 after serving 15 years in the House of Representatives.

Curtis was the Republican National Convention Chairman in 1964 and a strong supporter of Senator Barry Goldwater.

Curtis currently practices law in Washington, D.C.

Brad O'Leary, 44, the former Executive Director of the Republican Party in Texas will serve as the Committee's Vice-Chairman. O'Leary has raised and managed more than $20 million for political races across the country in the last two years including Senator John Tower's campaign in 1972 and 78 when he served as Finance Director. He is also the Chairman of the Board of Creative Productions, Austin, Texas.

Stan Huckaby, 32, former Treasurer of the Baker for President Committee, will serve as Assistant Treasurer for the committee. Huckaby is a Certified Public Accoutant in Washington, D.C., and owner and director of Political Finances Services.

Jan Baran, 32, was born in Painesville, Ohio, but now resides in Alexandria, Virginia. Baran will serve as outside legal consultant to the committee. Baran served as Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission from 1977-79.

8304042003

Americans for Change Executive Committee

CHAIRMAN
Sen. Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
202/224-5521

CO-CHAIRMAN
John Harmer
10 East S. Temple #696
Salt Lake City, Utah 84133
801/364-1676

CO-CHAIRMAN
Sen. Dave Durenberger
353 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
202/224-3244

TREASURER
Sen. Carl Curtis
6613 31st Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015
202/363-3772 & 457-0174

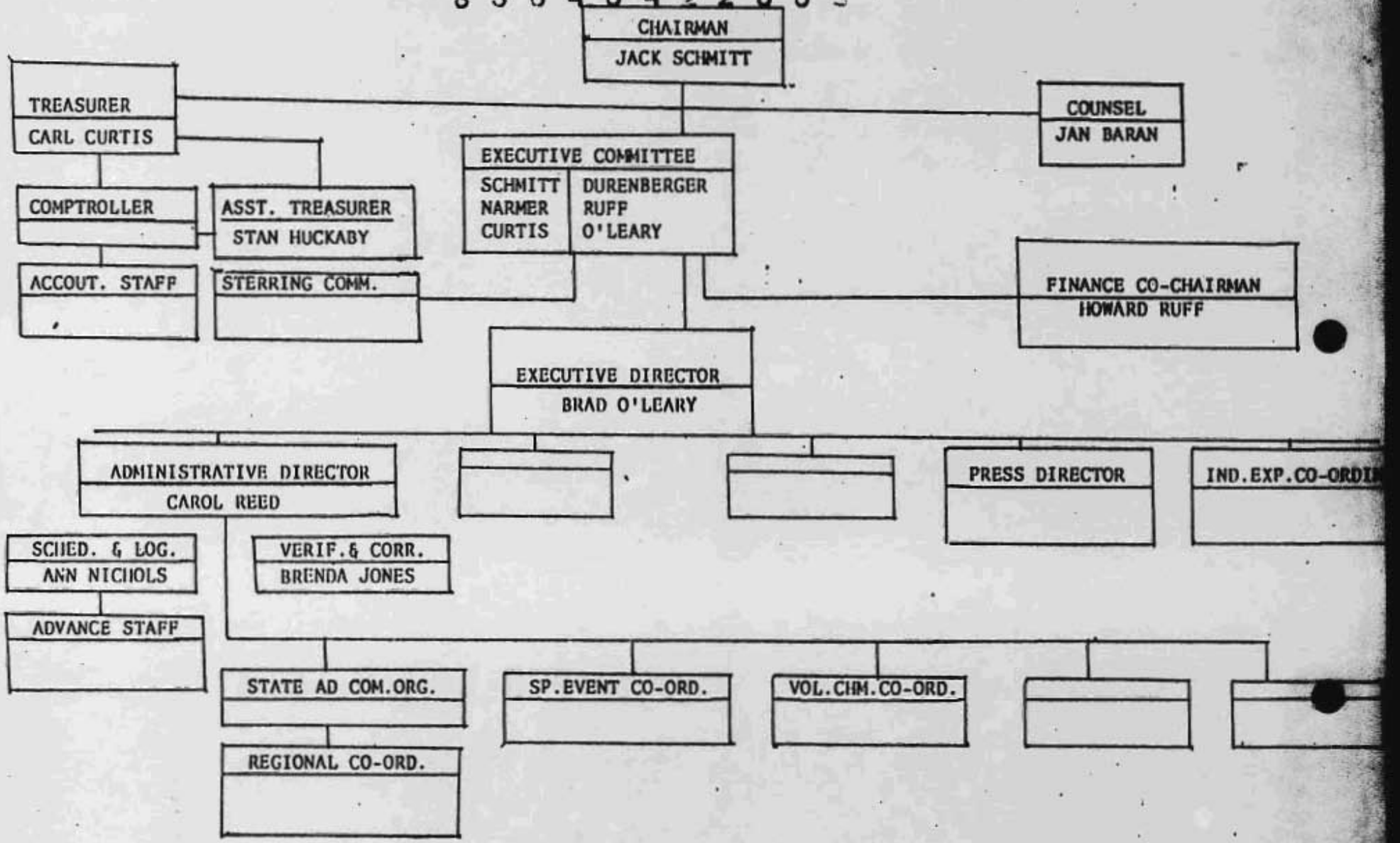
VICE CHAIRMAN
Brad O'Leary
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria , Virginia 22314

CO-FINANCE CHAIRMAN
Howard Ruff
Box 2000
San Ramon, California 94583

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE FIELDPERSONS

Southern California
Joyce Valdez
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Los Angeles, VA 90017
213/482-4010

Montana, Washington, Oregon, Idaho
Lonny Adams
330 South 300 East
Saltlake City, UT 84111

Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Wyoming
Mac ~~Haddock~~ Haddow
10 East S Temple #696
Salt Lake City, UT
801/364-1676

New Mexico
Joe Badal
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6121 Indian School Road NE
Albuquerque, NM 87110
505/883-8900

Colorado
Fred Steffes
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Denver, CO 80218
303/861-7157

Southern California
Keith Copeland
523 W 6th Street #812
Los Angeles, VA 90014
714/545-7175
213/688-6081

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE STAFF & CONSULTANTS

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Carol Reed
Assistant Executive Director
703/836-7239

Brenda Jones
Verification & Correspondence
703/642-5168

Sarah Ellsworth
Special Events Coordinator
301/652-2312

Anne Nicolls
Schedule & Logistics
703/751-6435

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CONSULTANTS

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Administrative Assistant to
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h) 301/292-5827
o) 202/224-5521

John Riley
Administrative Assistant to
Sen. Durenberger
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o) 202/224-3244

Stan Huckaby
President, Political Financial
Services
h) 703/765-3447
o) 202/484-7900
(Martha Broadfoot)

Neal Blair
Director, Howard Ruff PAC
h) 703/860-8858
o) 415/837-5796

Jan Baran
Esquire, Baker & Hostetler
h) 703/549-6982
o) 202/861-1572

Replacement 8-25-80

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Assistant Executive Director
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Brenda Jones
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Special Events Coordinator
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Special Events Coordinator
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Anne Nicolls
Schedule & Logistics
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o) 202/224-3244

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President, Political Financial
Services
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o) 202/484-7900
(Martha Broadfoot)

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o) 415/837-5796

Jan Baran
Esquire, Baker & Hostetler
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o) 202/861-1572

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o) 202/224-5521

Peg Walker
Administrative Secretary
to Sen. Schmitt
h) 703/920-5362

Charlene Chavez
Personal Secretary to
Sen. Schmitt
h) 202/544-5070

Julian Barber
Press Secretary to
Sen. Schmitt
h) 703/765-9043

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE SUPPLIES CONTACT LIST

BUTTONS & POSTERS
Susan Bryant
Bishop & Bryant
499 S. Capitol St.,SE
Washington, DC 20003
o) 202/484-6220
h) 301/341-3416
Norman Bishop

PRINTER
John Gray
P.O. Box 1529
Austin, TX 78767
o) 512/478-3448
o) 512/478-6820
Phyllis Greene

WORD PROCESSER
John Romanin
Media America
1900 N. Beauregard
Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
o) 703/998-0334
h) 703/370-1158
Rich Gesky

LOCAL PRINTER
Frank Arnold
Moore & Moore Lithographers
1840 Fenwick Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
o) 202/529-3500

LISTS
Linda Fisher
Preferred Lists
499 S. Capitol, SW #504
Washington, DC 20003
o) 202/484-1693
h) 703/823-1172

COURIER
PDQ Courier Service
2007 North 15th Street, #3
703/525-3300
Account under -
PM Creative Productions

MAILGRAMS
Western Union
1405 G Street, NW
Washington, DC
202/624-0182
Celia

SIGNS
Alexandria Sign Design
1204 King Street
Alexandira, VA 22314
703/549-7796

VIDEOTAP
John Chambers
o) 224-6468
o) 224-6421
h) 301/371-5250

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Commonwealth of Virginia

STATE CORPORATION COMMISSION

Richmond, October 3, 1980

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This is to Certify that the certificate of incorporation of

Americans For Change, Inc.

was this day issued and admitted to record in this office and that the said corporation is authorized to transact its business subject to all the laws of the State applicable to the corporation and its business.

State Corporation Commission

Clerk of the Commission

902262

SUGGESTIONS

This certificate should be inserted as the first sheet in the minute book of the corporation. It should be followed by a copy of the articles of incorporation, by the minutes of the organization meeting of the board of directors, and by a copy of the by-laws.

The certificate shows the true and correct name of the corporation, which name should be used on all letter heads and advertising matter. The true and correct name, without addition or abbreviation, should be used on all contracts, in all lawsuits, and on all reports to the State Corporation Commission.

For convenience of reference the name of the corporation's registered agent and the address of its registered office should be pasted on the inside front cover of the minute book. The registered agent remains the registered agent until a new registered agent is appointed by resolution of the board of directors and the filing of S.C.C. Form No. 18. The officers of the corporation should know at all times who the registered agent is, because papers mailed to him (even if he has resigned or is dead) are legally deemed to have been received by the corporation. No one should be appointed registered agent unless he has agreed to act as registered agent and has agreed to deliver to the corporation all papers addressed to him as registered agent. If he dies, resigns or changes his business address, the corporation must immediately file Form 18. If the registered agent is not a member of the Virginia State Bar, Form 18 must be filed whenever he ceases to be an officer or director of the corporation.

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SCC-11

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
STATE CORPORATION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE CLERK

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

October 3, 1980

$ 62.00

RECEIVED OF Baker & Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Sixty Two and no/100---------- DOLLARS

FOR Americans For Change, Inc.

on account of fees for incorporation:

Filing Fee, $5.00; Charter Fee, $ 50.00 Recording Fee, $ 7.00

The certificate of incorporation was issued and admitted to record in this office on the above date.

Respectfully,

William C. Young

Clerk of the Commission

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ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
OF
AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, INC.

The undersigned, acting as incorporator of a corporation under the Virginia Nonstock Corporation Act, adopts the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation:

FIRST: The name of the corporation is: AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, INC.

SECOND: The duration of the corporation is perpetual.

THIRD: The specific and primary purposes for which this corporation is formed and for which it shall be exclusively administered and operated are to solicit, receive, administer and expend funds in connection with the following:

1. To qualify as a political committee as defined in 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A) and registered with the Federal Election Commission pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433.

2. To raise monies by means of limited contributions from individuals and other political committees in accordance with the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended, and as may subsequently be amended. 2 U.S.C. § 441a.

3. To make contributions to and expenditures in support of candidates for federal office.

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4. To engage in any and all lawful activities incidental to the foregoing purposes except as restricted herein.

To accomplish the foregoing purposes, the corporation shall also have the power, subject to the limitations, if any, of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended' and as may subsequently be amended, (or any subsequent federal election law) to:

a. sue and be sued;

b. contract;

c. receive property by devise or bequest, subject to the laws regulating the transfer of property by will, and otherwise acquire and hold all property, real or personal, including shares of stock, bonds and securities of other corporations;

d. act as trustee under any trust the objects of which are related to the principal objects of the Corporation and to receive, hold, administer and expend funds and property subject to such trust;

e. convey, exchange, hypothecate, lease, mortgage, encumber, transfer upon trust or otherwise dispose of all property, real or personal;

f. borrow money, contract debts and issue bonds, notes and debentures, and secure the payment of and performance of its obligations; and

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g. do all other acts necessary or expedient for the administration of the affairs and attainment of the purposes of the Corporation; provided, however, that the Corporation shall not, except to an insubstantial degree, engage in any activities or exercise any powers that are not in furtherance of the primary purposes of the Corporation.

FOURTH: The Corporation shall have no members.

FIFTH: The number of directors constituting the initial Board of Directors shall be four, but the number of directors may be increased upon the affirmative vote of all the directors or decreased upon the affirmative vote of a majority of the directors, provided that the number shall not be less than three. One of the directors shall at all times be named as Treasurer who shall have his name on file with the Federal Election Commission pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. The terms of office of all the directors shall be co-extensive with the period during which the name of the Treasurer remains on file with the Federal Election Commission until it becomes necessary to submit a change in the name of the Treasurer to the Federal Election Commission pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433(c). A director may resign at any time, provided that the resignation of the Treasurer shall not become effective until the submission of the name of a new Treasurer to the Federal Election Commission is made.

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Elections of directors to fill vacancies, or at the expiration of the terms of the directors, shall be by the affirmative vote of a majority of the remaining and outgoing directors as to each director to be elected. A director may succeed himself. In the event that at least three directors cannot be elected, the corporation shall dissolve.

SIXTH: The corporation shall dissolve upon termination as a political committee pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433(d) and the applicable regulations of the Federal Election Commission. Upon dissolution of the corporation, all liabilities and obligations of the corporation shall be paid, satisfied and discharged, or adequate provision shall be made therefor. Any remaining assets held by the corporation shall be distributed, transferred or returned in any manner that the directors, by majority vote, shall agree; provided that such distribution transfer or return shall conform with both the requirements of the Code of Virginia § 13.1-249, concerning distribution of assets as it is in force as amended or replaced at the time of dissolution, and the applicable regulations of the Federal Election Commission.

SEVENTH: The private property of the incorporators, directors and officers shall not be subject to the payment of corporate debts to any extent whatever. In furtherance and not in limitation of the power conferred by statute the Corporation expressly is authorized to carry on its

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business and to hold annual or special meeting of its Board of Directors in any of the states, territories or possession of the United States or the District of Columbia.

EIGHTH: The corporation shall have the power to indemnify its officers, directors, employees and agents, and to purchase and maintain insurance thereon, to the extent permissible under section 13.1-205.1 of the Code of Virginia, subject only to any limitation required by the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended and as may subsequently be amended, and any applicable regulations of the Federal Election Commission.

NINTH: The address of the initial registered office of the corporation is 8604 Cromwell Drive, Springfield, Fairfax County, Virginia, 22151, and the name of the initial registered agent is Douglas K. Spaulding, a resident of the State of Virginia and a member of the Virginia State Bar.

TENTH: The names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as the initial directors are:

Harrison H. Schmitt (Chairman)	218 N. Lee Street Suite 319 Alexandria, VA 22314
Carl T. Curtis (Treasurer)	218 N. Lee Street Suite 319 Alexandria, VA 22314
David Durenberger	218 N. Lee Street Suite 319 Alexandria, VA 22314

8304042017

John Harmer

218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

ELEVENTH: The name and address of the incorporator is Jan W. Baran, 1041 North Pitt Street, Alexandria, Virginia, 22314.

Given under my hand this ___ day of _____, 1980.

_____
Jan W. Baran
Incorporator

SECRETARY'S CERTIFICATE

I, David Durenberger, Secretary of Americans For Change, Inc., a Virginia Nonstock Corporation, DO HEREBY CERTIFY that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the Corporation's Articles of Incorporation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Seal of the Corporation this ____ day of _____ _____, 1980.

_____
David Durenberger

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WRITTEN CONSENT IN LIEU OF
THE ORGANIZATION MEETING OF
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

In lieu of the organization meeting of the Board of Directors of Americans For Change, Inc. (the "Corporation"), a Virginia nonstock corporation, the directors of the Corporation (being all of the directors named in the Articles of Incorporation), in accordance with Section 13.1-216 of the Code of Virginia, unanimously agree to the following resolutions:

Approval of Certificate of Incorporation.

RESOLVED: That the Certificate of Incorporation of the Corporation, which has been presented to and reviewed by each director of the Corporation, and which was issued and admitted to record in the office of the State Corporation Commission on October 3, 1980, shall be, and hereby is, approved, and a copy thereof shall be inserted in the Minute Book of the Corporation.

Approval of Bylaws.

RESOLVED: That the Bylaws of the Corporation for the regulation of the affairs of the Corporation, which have been presented to and reviewed by each director

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of the Corporation, shall be, and hereby are, adopted and approved as the Bylaws of the Corporation and such Bylaws shall be inserted in the Minute Book of the Corporation.

Election of Officers.

RESOLVED: That each of the following persons shall be, and hereby is, elected to serve as an officer of the Corporation, to hold the following office or offices until the next Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors, until his earlier resignation or removal or until his successor is chosen and shall qualify:

Office	Name
Chairman of the Board	Harrison H. Schmitt
Treasurer	Carl T. Curtis
President	Harrison H. Schmitt
Secretary	David Durenberger

Adoption of Fiscal Year.

RESOLVED: That the fiscal year of the Corporation shall begin on the first day of January of each year and end on the last day of December of each year.

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Adoption of Corporate Seal

RESOLVED: That the seal containing the name of the Corporation, an impression of which is affixed in the margin hereof, shall be, and hereby is, adopted as the corporate seal of the Corporation.



Acceptance of Transfer Agreement Offer.

RESOLVED: That the Transfer Agreement offered by Americans For Change, an unincorporated association, attached hereto and made a part hereof, and reviewed by each director of the Corporation, shall be, and hereby is, accepted; and the Chairman of the Board and Secretary are hereby authorized and directed to affix their signatures thereto in acceptance thereof.

Authorization to Continue Services.

RESOLVED: That the services heretofore provided to Americans For Change, an unincorporated association, including, but not limited to those services provided by employees, agents, independent contractors, banks, legal counsel, and accountants, shall be, and hereby are continued with the Corporation, including

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ratification and approval of any contract or agreement heretofore made by Americans For Change, an unincorporated association, subject to the limitations and conditions of any such contract or agreement or as may be imposed by law, as to each individual, partnership, association, corporation or other party who has heretofore provided services to, or had an agreement or contract with Americans For Change, an unincorporated association, the predecessor to the Corporation; and that the appropriate officers of the Corporation (or any of them) are hereby authorized, empowered and directed to take all necessary and appropriate action to insure the continuation of such services and to inform the appropriate parties of the incorporation of Americans For Change.

Further Authorization for Organization.

RESOLVED: That the Treasurer of the Corporation be, and he hereby is, authorized to pay all charges and expenses incident to or arising out of the organization of this Corporation and to reimburse

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any person who has made any disbursements in respect thereof. Further, that the appropriate officers of the Corporation (or any of them) shall be, and hereby are, authorized, empowered and directed to take all necessary or appropriate action, including the expenditure of funds, in order to fully and expeditiously complete the organization of the Corporation.

Each director, by signing this consent, waives notice of the time, place and purpose of the Organization Meeting of the Board of Directors and agrees to the transaction of business of the Organization Meeting by unanimous written consent of the directors in lieu of such Organization Meeting; this Written Consent to be filed in the Minute Book of the Corporation.

Dated: _____

Approved:

_____
Harrison H. Schmitt

_____
Carl T. Curtis

_____
David Durenberger

_____
John Harmer

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TRANSFER AGREEMENT

In consideration of the benefits to be conferred by a corporate form of existence through incorporation, the undersigned, acting on behalf of, and with authority of, Americans For Change, an unincorporated association organized as a political committee as defined in 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A) and registered with the Federal Election Commission pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433, do hereby transfer and convey all of the assets of said unincorporated association to Americans For Change, Inc., a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Virginia. Upon such transfer, said corporation shall assume all the liabilities of said unincorporated association from the date of this transfer.

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

By: Harrison H. Schmitt
Harrison H. Schmitt, Chairman

By: Carl T. Curtis
Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer

Accepted:

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, INC.

By: Harrison H. Schmitt
Harrison H. Schmitt, Chairman

Attest: David Durenberger
David Durenberger, Secretary

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, INC.

(a Virginia Nonstock Corporation)

BYLAWS

As adopted by the Board of Directors on _____, 1980.

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ARTICLE I

OFFICES

Section 1. Principal Office. The principal office of the corporation shall be at 218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia. The corporation may have such other offices, either within or without the State of Virginia, as the Board of Directors may designate or as the business of the corporation may require from time to time.

Section 2. Registered Office. The registered office of the corporation, required by the Virginia Nonstock Corporation Act to be maintained in the State of Virginia shall be at 8604 Cromwell Drive, Springfield, Fairfax County, Virginia.

ARTICLE II

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. General Powers. The business and affairs of the corporation shall be managed by the board of directors.

Section 2. Number of Directors. The number of directors of the corporation shall be four, but the number may be increased or decreased to not less than three in the manner specified in the Articles of Incorporation and by

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amendment to these bylaws. No decrease in number shall have the effect of shortening the term of any incumbent director. Directors need not be residents of the State of Virginia.

Section 3. Tenure of Directors. Each director shall hold office until his successor shall have been elected and qualified in accordance with the Articles of Incorporation.

Section 4. Vacancies. Any vacancy occurring in the board of directors may be filled in accordance with the Articles of Incorporation. Vacancies which deprive the board of directors of a quorum may be filled by the majority of the directors then in office, although less than a quorum, or by a sole remaining director. A director elected to fill a vacancy shall be elected for the unexpired term of his predecessor in office. Any directorship to be filled by reason of an increase in the number of directors may be filled by election by the board of directors for a term of office only until the next general election of directors.

Section 5. Resignation. Any director may resign at any time by giving written notice to the board of directors, the chairman of the board, the president or the secretary of the corporation. Unless otherwise specified in such written notice, a resignation shall take effect upon delivery thereof to the board of directors or the designated officer, except that the resignation of the treasurer shall not in

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any case take effect until the submission of the name of a new treasurer to the Federal Election Commission is made. It shall not be necessary for a resignation to be accepted before it becomes effective.

Section 6. Removal. A director may be removed at a meeting called expressly for that purpose, with or without cause, by such vote as would suffice for his election.

Section 7. Place of Meetings. The board of directors may hold meetings, both regular and special, either within or without the State of Virginia.

Section 8. Regular Meetings. The regular meeting of the board of directors shall be had annually, at a time and place to be determined by the chairman of the board, upon at least three days notice to each director. Such notice shall be given by the chairman of the board and shall state the time and place of the meeting and the purpose of such meeting. Any director may waive notice of the regular meeting.

Section 9. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the board of directors may be called by the chairman of the board or by two or more directors on at least three days notice to each director. Such notice shall state the time and place of the meeting. Any such notice need not state the purpose or purposes of such meeting unless the purpose or purposes of such meeting are to alter or amend the Bylaws or Articles

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of Incorporation of the corporation or to elect one or more directors to the board of directors. Any director may waive notice of any special meeting.

Section 10. Quorum. At all meetings of the board of directors, one-half or more of the number of directors then in office shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and the act of a majority of the directors present at any meeting at which there is a quorum shall be the act of the board of directors, except as may otherwise be provided by law, the Articles of Incorporation or these Bylaws. If a quorum is not present at any meeting of the board of directors, the directors present may adjourn the meeting, from time to time, without notice other than announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall be present.

Section 11. Committees. The board of directors, by resolution adopted by the majority of the directors in office, may designate one or more committees, each of which, shall consist of two or more directors, which committees, to the extent provided in such resolution, shall have and exercise the authority of the board of directors except to approve an amendment to the Articles of Incorporation or the Bylaws, a plan of merger or consolidation, a sale, lease, exchange, mortgage, pledge, or other disposition of all, or substantially all, the property and assets of the corporation, the voluntary dissolution of the corporation, or revocation of voluntary

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dissolution proceedings, or to elect directors or change the number of directors.

Section 12. Compensation. Directors shall not be entitled to compensation for their services as directors, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for any reasonable expenses incurred on behalf of the corporation for the proper purposes of the corporation. These provisions shall not bar a director from serving the corporation in any other capacity and receiving compensation and reimbursement for reasonable expenses for such other services.

Section 13. Action by Consent. Pursuant to section 13.1-216 of the Code of Virginia, any action required or permitted to be taken without a meeting of the board of directors may be taken without a meeting if a written consent to such action, setting forth the action so taken, is signed by all members of the board of directors and such written consent is filed in the minute book of the corporation.

Section 14. Meetings by Telephone. Pursuant to section 13.1-220 of the Code of Virginia, the board of directors may participate in a meeting by means of conference telephone or similar communications equipment by means of which all directors participating in the meeting can hear each other, and participation in such meeting shall constitute presence in person by such director at such meeting.

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ARTICLE III

NOTICE

Section 1. Form. Whenever, under the provisions of law or these bylaws, notice is required to be given to any director, it shall not be construed to mean personal notice unless otherwise specifically provided, but such notice may be given in writing, by mail, addressed to such director or stockholder, at his address as it appears on the records of the Corporation, with postage thereon prepaid. Such notices shall be deemed to be given at the time they are deposited in the United States mail. Notice to a director may also be given personally or by telegram sent to his address as it appears on the records of the Corporation.

Section 2. Waiver. Whenever waiver of notice is permitted under these bylaws, such waiver shall be in writing, signed by the person entitled to notice, either before or after the time stated in the notice. Such waiver shall be deemed equivalent to such notice. In addition, any director who attends a meeting of the board of directors without protesting, at the commencement of the meeting, such lack of notice, shall be conclusively deemed to have waived notice of such meeting.

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ARTICLE IV

OFFICERS

Section 1. Designations. The officers of the corporation shall be elected by the Board of Directors. The board of directors shall elect a chairman of the board, a treasurer, a president and a secretary. Such other officers, assistant officers and agents as may be deemed necessary may be elected or appointed by the board of directors or committee thereof. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except the offices of president and secretary. The chairman of the board, the president and the treasurer shall each be elected from among the directors.

Section 2. Term of Office. The officers of the corporation to be elected shall be elected at the first meeting of the board of directors following incorporation and each regular meeting there following and shall serve in office until the next following regular meeting unless such election is designated for a longer period, then for such a period; provided that in no event shall the term of office exceed three years. This provision does not prevent an officer from succeeding himself in office. Each officer of the corporation shall hold office until his successor is chosen and shall qualify.

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Section 3. Removal. Any officer, assistant officer, or agent elected or appointed may be removed by the persons authorized to elect or appoint such officer, assistant officer or agent whenever in their judgment the best interests of the corporation will be served thereby, but such removal shall be without prejudice to the contract rights, if any, of the person so removed. Election or appointment of an officer, assistant officer or agent shall not of itself create contract rights. Any vacancy occurring in any office of the corporation may be filled for the unexpired term by the board of directors.

Section 4. Compensation. The corporation may pay compensation in a reasonable amount, as fixed from time to time by the board of directors, to its officers, assistant officers and agents for services rendered and may confer benefits upon them in conformity with the purposes of the corporation; provided that no compensation or benefits conferred be in violation of or contrary to the purposes of the corporation, the federal election laws, or any regulation of the Federal Election Commission.

Section 5. Duties. The chairman of the board shall preside at all meetings of the board of directors, and, subject to the direction of the board of directors, shall control the executive and financial policies of the corporation. The president shall direct the operation of the

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corporation and put into effect the decisions of the board of directors. The treasurer shall have custody of the funds of the corporation and keep its financial records in conformity with the federal election laws and regulations of the Federal Election Commission. The secretary shall attend all meetings of the board of directors and record all votes and the proceedings of the meetings in a book to be kept for that purpose and shall perform like duties for the committees, if any, of the corporation, if required. Each officer shall perform such other duties as directed by the board of directors.

ARTICLE V

INDEMNIFICATION

Pursuant to Section 13.1-205.1 of the Code of Virginia;

(a) The Corporation shall indemnify any person who was or is a party or is threatened to be made a party to any threatened, pending or completed action, suit or proceeding, whether civil, criminal, administrative or investigative (including an action or suit by or in the right of the corporation to procure a judgment in its favor) by reason of the fact that he is or was a director or officer of the Corporation, or is or was serving at the request of the Corporation as a director or officer of another corporation, partnership, joint venture, trust or other enterprise, against judgments,

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fines, amounts paid in settlement, and expenses (including attorney's fees) actually and reasonably incurred by him in connection with such action, suit or proceeding except only in relation to any claim, issue or matter as to which such person shall have been finally adjudged to be liable for his gross negligence or willful misconduct. Each such indemnity shall inure to the benefit of the heirs, executors and administrators of such person.

(b) Any indemnity under subsection (a) above shall (unless authorized by a court) be made by the Corporation only as authorized in the specific case upon a determination that the director or officer was not guilty of gross negligence or willful misconduct in the performance of his duty and, in case of a settlement, that such settlement was, or if still to be made is, consistent with such indemnity and the best interests of the Corporation. Such determination shall be made (i) by the Board of Directors by a majority vote of a quorum consisting of directors who were not parties to such action, suit or proceeding, or (ii) if such a quorum is not obtainable, or, even if obtainable, a quorum of disinterested directors so directs, by independent legal counsel in a written opinion, or (iii) by the shareholders. If the determination is to be made by the Board of Directors, it may rely, as to all questions of law, on the advice of independent counsel.

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(c) Expenses incurred in defending an action, suit or proceeding, whether civil, administrative or investigative, may be paid by the Corporation in advance of the final disposition of such action, suit or proceeding as authorized by vote of the persons provided in subsection (b) of this section, upon receipt of an undertaking by or on behalf of the director or officer to repay such amount unless it shall ultimately be determined that he is entitled to be indemnified by the Corporation as authorized in this section.

(d) The right of indemnification provided by this section shall not be exclusive of any other rights to which any director or officer may be entitled, including any right under policies of insurance that may be purchased and maintained by the Corporation or others, even as to claims, issues or matters in relation to which the Corporation would not have the power to indemnify such director or officer under the provisions of this section.

(e) The Corporation may purchase and maintain at its sole expense insurance against all liabilites or losses it may sustain in consequence of the indemnification provided for in this section, in such amounts and on such terms and conditions as the Board of Directors may deem reasonable.

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ARTICLE VII

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Section 1. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year of the corporation shall be as determined from time to time by the board of directors.

Section 2. Amendments. The board of directors shall have the power to make, alter and repeal these bylaws, and to adopt new bylaws, by an affirmative vote of a majority of the whole board, provided that notice of the proposal to make, alter or repeal these Bylaws, or to adopt new bylaws, must be included in the notice of the meeting of the board of directors at which such action takes place. An amendment to the Articles of Incorporation shall be made only at a meeting of the board of directors upon receiving the vote of at least two-thirds of the directors in office.

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SECRETARY'S CERTIFICATE

I, David Durenberger, Secretary of Americans For Change, Inc., a Virginia Nonstock Corporation, DO HEREBY CERTIFY that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the corporation's Bylaws as adopted by the Board of Directors of the corporation on _____ , 1980.

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IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Seal of the Corporation this _____ day of _____, 1980.

David Durenberger

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AGREEMENT: ☐ CORPORATION ☐ LODGE, ASSOCIATION

The organization named below, as depositor, enters into this bank-depositor agreement with AMERICAN SECURITY BANK, N.A., Washington, D.C., and agrees that this account shall be carried by said Bank as a

☐ CHECKING account and that all funds on deposit in said account shall be governed by said Bank's
☐ SAVINGS by-laws, all future amendments thereof, all regulations passed or hereafter to be passed by its Board of Directors pursuant to said by-laws, all rules and practices as to interest and service charges of said Bank relating to said account, the Code of Laws of the District of Columbia, and applicable banking laws of the United States. Depositor authorized said Bank to endorse checks, when presented unendorsed for deposit to said account. Depositor further agrees that checks may be paid when signed and countersigned with the signature(s) indicated.

Name of Account Americans for Change

By Carl T. Curtis Treasurer Harrison H. Schmitt Chairman
(Authorized Signature and Title) (Authorized Signature and Title)

STREET ADDRESS 218 N. Lee Street City & State Alexandria, VA 22314

BUSINESS Political Committee Telephone (703)683-5221

Said Bank is hereby authorized to:
☒ MAIL all statements, vouchers and notices to the address indicated above.
☐ HOLD all statements, vouchers and notices until called for and if not called for after 30 days said Bank may mail statements, etc., to the address indicated above. If the above mailed statements, vouchers and notices are returned undelivered, said Bank is hereby authorized to destroy same two (2) years thereafter.

Bank is relieved of all liability for items lost in the U.S. Mail, or otherwise, or not called for by the depositor.

Office - Account Number
37 864 10 230

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURES:

1. Harrison H. Schmitt — Chairman (Title)
2. Carl T. Curtis — Treasurer (Title)
3. Bradley O'Leary — Executive Director (Title)
4. Carol Reed — Assistant Executive Director (Title)
5. _____ (Title)

NUMBER OF SIGNATURES REQUIRED TO WITHDRAW FUNDS [2]

Checks to be signed by nos. 1 or 2 Checks to be countersigned by nos. 3 or 4

3.91 (Rev. 4-78)

TO: AMERICAN SECURITY BANK, N.A., Washington, D.C.

TAX NUMBER 54-1143468

RESOLVED: That this organization establish in its name a deposit account with AMERICAN SECURITY BANK, N.A., Washington, D.C., upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon with said bank and that

the Chairman (Title) and Treasurer (Title) of this organization be, and they are hereby authorized to establish such account.

RESOLVED: That

Harrison H. Schmitt (Print or Type) — Chairman (Title)
and/or Carl T. Curtis (Print or Type) — Treasurer (Title)
and/or Brad O'Leary (Print or Type) — Exec. Director (Title)
and/or Carol M. Reed (Print or Type) — Ass't Exec. Dir. (Title)
and/or _____ (Print or Type) — _____ (Title)

of this organization be, and they are hereby authorized to withdraw funds of this organization from the said account upon checks of this organization, signed as provided herein with signatures duly certified to said bank by the Secretary of this organization and said bank is hereby authorized to honor and pay any and all checks so signed, including those drawn to the individual order of any officer or other person authorized to sign the same.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of the resolution adopted by the Board of the Americans for Change at a meeting of said Board duly held on the 3rd day of September, 80 and that the signatures appearing on the reverse side of this card are the signatures of the persons duly authorized to withdraw funds of said organization from said bank in accordance with the above resolution until such authority is revoked by giving written notice thereof to said bank signed by the officers of said organization thereunto duly authorized by its Governing Body.

WITNESS my hand and seal of the organization.

(SEAL) _____ (Signature) Secretary

We hereby certify the foregoing to be correct: (FOR LODGE, ASSOCIATION)

1. _____ Retiring Officer (Title) 2. _____ Retiring Officer (Title)

FOR BANK USE ONLY

Previous Bank or Branch _____

Opened By _____ Date _____ Amount _____

Solicited By _____ Date Closed _____

Telecheck: Code _____ Opr. _____ Control No. _____

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
AMERICANS FOR REAGAN

Jim's copy

Script of things to remember when calling folks:

A group of people are organizing an independent expenditure committee in Reagan's behalf 'cause of the spending limits associated with federal funding which Reagan accepted. Feel that this election is of such national concern that this committee is necessary and if effectively done (which it will be) could make a major impact on outcome of Presidential election. Mention

that Carl Curtis has agreed to be the treasurer





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you are the chairman, Jimmie Edwards the former governor of South Carolina, John Harmer the former Lt Gov of Calif under Reagan are active right now. Stan Huckaby, who [illegible] the Baker for President committee, has agreed to take care of the recordkeeping.

WHAT ACTIVITIES/ASSOCIATION WITH THE FORMAL REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE HAS EACH HAD?

NO-NOs are reimbursed travel expenses, a formal position with the committee and/or a paid staffer with the committee. If individual has been active in the overall strategy of the Reagan committee, he/she is precluded from joining this one. If interest is expressed,

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you must explain to that person that any phone calling/letter writing, personal contact with the Reagan strategists/activists must cease immediately, but they can't call the Reagan folks that to tell them. They will know as soon as the committee goes public. If they do, they cannot participate in ours. They will be asked to sign a piece of paper which is being compiled by the legal counsel of the committee (Yan Barron who served as a counsel at the FEC) stating that they have had none of these types of associations. He'll just file it in case it's ever needed.

After agreeing - ask what activities are they

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willing to undertake - raising money, traveling, use of their name contributing???? Whatever!!!

GOOD LUCK BOSS!!!!

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DATE 6-3 DEADLINE

NAME William Simon

TELEPHONE 212/730-8851 SUBJECT NO

POINTS TO COVER Reagan Comm. understand independent - don't contact anyone w/ Reagan committee at all

STAFF INITIALS DF H's INITIALS/DATE

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John A. Love
President

Ideal Basic Industries
Ideal Plaza – 950 17th Street
P.O. Box 5799
Denver, Colorado 80201
303 623 5661

June 9, 1980

Honorable Jack Schmitt
United States Senator
% American's for Reagan
218 North Lee Street Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Senator:

Your Mailgram of June 3 arrived at my office when I was out of town. I, obviously, can't meet the proposed deadline which is now long past, but I would be interested in hearing more about what it is you wish me to do in regard to the Reagan Campaign.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

John A. Love
JAL:u

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Champion International Corporation

Karl R. Bendetsen
Chairman and Chief Executive, Retired

Suite 540
1875 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Telephone 202 785-9866

June 9, 1980

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Dear John:

Thanks for your prompt response to my acceptance of membership on the Steering Committee for AMERICANS FOR CHANGE with its enclosures.

I look forward to receiving information and am glad to know the names of some of the others who will be working together.

As you will see from this letterhead, my first name is spelled with a K and my middle initial is an R rather than a B.

Sincerely,

Karl

John L. Harmer, Esquire
Suite 696, Kennecott Copper Building
10 East South Temple
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

cc: The Honorable Harrison H. Schmitt

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KARL R. BENDETSEN
2918 GARFIELD TERRACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

June 11, 1980

Americans for Reagan
218 No. Lee Street #319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

MEMORANDUM

I received this morning your mailing posted at Alexandria on June 10 comprised of

Instructions
A questionnaire
List of those who thus far have associated themselves with this worthy effort.

Enclosed is my questionnaire duly signed and dated.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure

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QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

___ yes X no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Karl R. Bendetsen, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902023

June 11, 1980
Date

Signature

39042017

HENRY BELLMON
OKLAHOMA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

June 12, 1980

Dear Jack:

As you know, the tentative list of members of Americans for Change lists my name. To set the record straight, I have declined to serve on the committee at this time.

This does not mean that I disagree with the objectives of your committee. My feeling is that your group and other such organizations with the same goals should join forces to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort, at which time I would be happy to join.

Sincerely,

Henry

Henry Bellmon

HB:csb

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
United States Senator
248 Russell Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

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DATE 6/17/80 DEADLINE: _____

NAME: Anna Chennault

TELEPHONE # 338-4771 or 338-4772 SUBJECT _____

POINTS TO COVER Invite to Sen. Goldwater fundraiser at her home tonight (Sen. Goldwater was taken to hosp. today and can't be there--wants you to help fill void.)

I DELCINED BUT THIS HER NUMBER IN EVENT YOU WANT TO TALK TO HER.

STAIT INITIALS MG H's INITIALS/DATE _____

VM

DATE 6-18-80 Returned your call. DEADLINE: _____

NAME: anna Chennault

TELEPHONE # otc 347-0516 SUBJECT Flying Tigers

POINTS TO COVER _____

STAIT INITIALS MG H's INITIALS/DATE _____

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ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
10850 Traverse Hwy.
Traverse City, MI 49684

616 946 1000

June 19, 1980

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Jack:

As you may know, I responded affirmatively to a June 3 telegram sent in your name requesting me to join a national political committee supporting the candidacy of Governor Ronald Reagan for President.

Not until later, when I received the questionnaire, did I realize that this group is being organized as an "independent" fund-raising committee.

I have no objection whatever to independent groups raising and spending money to support Governor Reagan. In fact, I am pleased to see such activity and I support the idea.

However, in my own case, I am reluctant to associate with the "Americans for Change" because, as I understand the law, it would preclude me from playing any role whatever in the general campaign that might involve contact with the candidate or his campaign organization.

Unfortunately, for your purposes perhaps, I am not in a position now to say that I've had no contact with the candidate's organization. Furthermore, I believe I can -- and I expect to -- play a more useful role in the campaign ahead (at least in Michigan) than merely to have my name appear on the letterhead of an "independent" fund-raising committee.

Frankly, it seems to me that the "Americans for Change" committee could operate effectively with a smaller number of names, and that the committee should be limited to people who, for one reason or another, can play no other role in the effort to elect Ronald Reagan as President.

If you agree with my reaction and analysis, please consider this as a request to remove my name. If you believe I am mistaken, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Griffin

902009

RPG/mcf

SPECIAL EVENTS
FOLLOW-UP PROCEDURE

*All lists typed
*Include phone numbers when we have them

1. List of all persons invited

2. List of all persons who attended

3. List of all persons who regretted

4. Pledge cards and checks
   (These are turned into Brenda)

5. Brenda - prepare list for thank you letters.
   Include: Name — $ amount
   Address — code

   (list given to Carol to send to Media America for personalized thank you) *letter #1

6. Prepare list of those who attended luncheon but did not fill out pledge card
   Include: Name — telephone #
   Address

   (Have these persons telephoned the following day - unless we have decided another approach).

7. Prepare list of those who pledged to give a contributor
   Include: Name — $amount pledged
   Address

   (These turned into Brenda who will send Mailgram with B.R.E.)
   *Mailgram attached #2

8. Prepare list of those persons who pledged to raise money.
   Include: Name — $amount
   Address

   (These should be sent personalized letter #3 with several brochures, pledge cards, B.R.E.)

9. Prepare list of persons who did not attend luncheon.

   (Send personalized letter #4 with brochure, pledge card, B.R.E.)

*Note: All form letters have reference to Common Cause. These will have to be re-worked after case settled.

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Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-0304

#1

Executive Committee of Americans for Change

Harrison (Jack), Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
(U.S. Senator-ret Nebraska)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

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Thank you for your contribution to Americans for Change - Reagan for President in '80 Project.

Your generosity will help ensure the election of Ronald Reagan in November and restore pride in our country.

I hope that we can count on your assistance in the future. Your continued support will be greatly appreciated.

If we can send additional information or be of any assistance to you please do not hesitate to call 703/683-0304.

Sincerely,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator
New Mexico

HS/ldc

902191

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

#2

MAILGRAM TO PLEDGES

It was a pleasure having_____ with you _____ and I look forward to visiting with you again in the near future.

Thank you for your pledge of _____. It is of utmost importance that we receive your check as soon as possible so we can continue our fight against Common Cause and proceed to work toward the election of Ronald Reagan in November. A return stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

If I can be of any assistance, please feel free to call me at (703) 683-5221.

Yours very truly,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator New Mexico

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

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FORM LETTER #3

July 23, 1980

Mr. George R. Montgomery
320 Primrose
San Antonio, Texas 78209

Dear George:

It was a pleasure having lunch with you last Friday and I look forward to visiting with you again in the near future.

Thank you for your pledge to raise $10,000.00. It is of utmost importance that we receive these checks as soon as possible so we can tontinue our fight against Common Cause and proceed to work toward the election of Ronald Reagan in November. I have enclosed brochures, response cards and return stamped envelopes for your convenience.

If I can be of any assistance to you in raising this pledge, please feel free to call me at 703/683-0304.

Sincerely,

Jack Schmitt
U.S. Senator

JS/bjb

Enclosure

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DID NOT ATTEND LUNCHEON

#4

DATE

Name
Address

Dear :

I appreciate your interest in Americans for Change -- Reagan for President in '80 Project. We had a successful _____ in _____ and I'm sorry you were unable to attend. I would like for you to consider serving on the _____ Steering Committee.

As you can see by the list of our Steering Committee, we have brought together supporters of Governor Reagan and of other major candidates. As you read the list, you will see it contains present and former officeholders as well as business and civic leaders such as yourself.

I do not believe Governor Reagan can be assured of election as President without your financial assistance. I hope you are willing to participate in the general election by working and contributing to Americans for Change--Reagan for President in '80 Project and will use the card and envelope enclosed to make a commitment of support today.

It is of utmost importance that we receive this check as soon as possible so we can continue our fight against Common Cause and proceed to work toward the election of Ronald Reagan in November.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 703/683-0304.

Yours very truly,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

Enc.
Brochure
Wall Street Journal
Pledge Card
Return Envelope

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3040220S

June 9, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Jack Schmitt

FROM: Jim McAvoy

RE: Media Plan for Americans for Change

The media coverage of Americans for Change's announcement slightly surpassed my expectations. While we did not have any of the television networks to the news conference, we did attract both of the wire services in addition to approximately 15 reporters.

Friday's appearance on Panorama by Jan Baran and Senator Durenberger added to our exposure as did the Braden and Buchannan interview.

I have contacted both Good Morning America (Mike Kelly) and Face the Nation (Joan Barrone). Both of these need to be recontacted by someone from the committee in the two or three days.

I have also talked with the Cable News Network's producer for interviews (Elisa Free) and the producer of the Larry King program (Jack Kirby).

The Washington producer for Today that I usually deal with (Chris Johnson) is out of town until the 10th. I will call her then and see if they are interested.

In the next few weeks, I suggest that someone from the committee meet with Phil Jones (CBS), Britt Hume (ABC), and Steve Delaney or Carol Simpson (NBC) to explain the Committee.

On June 6th I also contacted Godfrey Sperling's office about the possibility of a breakfast. They will be calling Julian in the next few weeks.

I have also suggested to Julian that on your visit later this month to Chicago you should meet with the New York Times (Doug Kneeland) and possibly appear on A.M. Chicago (John Roach).

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There might also be the opportunity to attend a Cafe Breakfast (Ben Cafe, Time) which would give excellent exposure in the midwest. WGN radio's line 720 is also interested in having you as an in-studio guest.

To maximize AFC's exposure in the next three months, I would suggest the following tours:

- In late June, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.
- During July, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sacramento, and Denver. (I have excluded Chicago in view of your visit later this month.)
- During August, Miami, New Orleans, Houston and Dallas - Ft. Worth.

This schedule could be changed to fit the committee's schedule for fundraising events. It is important, however, not to allow the initial momentum of the announcement to go without follow-up at the local media market level. This continued exposure will help the fundraising effort.

These tours should also reinforce the impression that you are committed to AFC's success. This should serve to further discourage other groups from forming committees.

In the next sixty days, I would suggest another news conference here in Washington.

The subject of the news conference could be to announce the tours of major media markets, or to announce the amount of money raised to date. No matter the subject, I would strongly suggest the news conference be held on a Monday and at a highly visual location. These two factors will maximize the possibility of attracting the network correspondents.

The Lincoln Memorial might be a good location, or in Lafayette Park, across from the White House. The more striking the visual, the more likely it is to be covered.

This second news conference will reinforce the committee's name in reporters', and hopefully the public's, minds. It will also raise the legitimacy of the committee by demonstrating that it was not simply a "one-time" news event, but will continue making news.

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Towards that goal of "continuing to make news," I have the following observations.

Message

AFC's message should never be "anti-Carter." The liabilities of direct attack run from loss of credibility with the press to lack of trust among contributors.

As Brad has mentioned, polling will be conducted at some time in the future to determine targets of opportunity by media market. But in the next sixty to ninety days, when it will be useful to generate news about the committee, you will unfortunately be "running blind" the majority of the time.

Until polling can be done to determine and develop particular messages, I suggest that the committee initiate a "good citizen campaign."

During the major media market tours, and perhaps through a series of public service announcements (PSA's), the committee could encourage registration and voting.

A PSA linked to the Fourth of July and voter registration might be successful, especially if local political figures are included in the commercials.

For example, a PSA talking about the Fourth and the need to register with Senator Percy probably would be shown in the Chicago market. An AFC logo could be tagged on the end, and since they are shown free, it is free publicity.

This "public service attitude" could help a great deal in the competition for attention during the general election. It will also help to convince the media that the committee is not simply "exploiting a loophole."

Support for Governor Reagan can be an undercurrent of this public service drive, but I strongly suggest that the AFC try to be most vocal about the necessity of registering and voting.

Regarding AFC's requirements in the communications program, I would suggest hiring a good assistant news secretary. There is no reason for AFC to hire a full-time news secretary immediately. The workload and the amount of travel and news

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contact does not merit that expenditure.

An assistant news secretary could handle all of the duties I have outlined above and an occasional news release and actuality without much trouble. He or she could handle news inquiries by referring them to the appropriate spokesman at AFC, without acting as a source.

The travel and the production of the PSA's might require more experienced personnel. Especially if the tours are going to be aimed at making news in local markets. If you decide that is true, my services are available to arrange the trips.

Following this memo, I'd like to write down a few thoughts on paid media and paid media consultants.

It was truly a pleasure working with you on the announcement and I trust I will have the opportunity to work with you again. Until then, the best of luck.

cc: Brad O'Leary
Jan Baran
Stan Huckaby
Diana Welch

8304042203c

June 9, 1980

Charges for Services

Labor: May 30th Jnue 2nd - 6th Six days at $100 per day	$600.00

Reimbursement for Materials

Postage	30.00
Envelopes	7.80
Printing	18.60
	8.88
Labels	18.73
Art Supplies (for letterhead)	15.53
Room for News Conference	162.00
TOTAL	$861.54

Jim McAvoy
3705 South George Mason Drive
Falls Church, Virginia 22041
(703) 998-5751

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NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUNE 5, 1980

NEWS CONFERENCE SENATOR JACK SHMIT
Mr JIM Mc EVCOY
1025 CONNECTICUT ave.
WASHINGTON D.C. 20036

Press Conf

ROOM CHARGE	150	00
D.C. TAX 8%	12	00
	$ 162	00

Please remit to controller's office
National Press building
suite #1378
Party sheet # 4802

JUNE 5, 1980

Paid by American Express
3781-187594-41808 - James McEvoy 6/5

6/6

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adcom inc.

502 WEST BROAD STREET,
FALLS CHURCH, VA. 22046
(703) 534-8183
[X]

2225 NORTH CHARLES ST.
BALTIMORE, MD. 21218
(301) 243-4220
[ ]

15815 S. FREDERICK RD,
ROCKVILLE, MD. 20855
(301) 948-3605
[ ]

RETURNS AND REFUNDS MUST BE WITHIN 10 DAYS.

NO. DATE 5/30 19 80

CUSTOMER Jim McAvoy

SOLD BY	CASH	C.O.D.	CHARGE	ON ACCT.	MDSE. RETD.	PAID OUT	
CF	X						

QTY.	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	AMOUNT	
1	Crescent 220 (20x30)		1	52
1	burnisher		1	00
1	Faber Castell Magic Rub			41
1	X acto knife			99
1	Formalene tape		1	00
2	Zip a-tone letters	5.75	11	50
	[illegible]			
	discount 10%		1	49
	SALES TAX			60
	TOTAL		15	53

All claims and returned goods MUST be accompanied by this bill.

REC'D BY

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Chafee
Cohen
Danfor

Lugar
Cochran

Stultz

Dear _____:

I want to express my appreciation for your interest in possibly joining with me in an "independent finance committee" that would collect and expend money in behalf of Governor ~~(Ronald)~~ Reagan's candidacy for President.

Enclosed are a few materials that may help you evaluate the benefits of helping in such an effort. The principal benefit, of course, is that positive efforts by such a committee will help overcome the advantages of incumbency under the expenditure limitations ($29M) of the Federal election law.

Your involvement with this effort can begin anytime you feel so inclined so long as you have held no formal or informal position in the Reagan campaign organization at any level nor have accepted reimbursements from that organization. If you have any further questions, please call me at 202/543-0093 evenings or 202-224-5521 days.

FEC exp. limit

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Letter to: Armstrong
Boschwitz
Domenici
McClure

Kassebaum Schweiker
Gorton Stevens
Warner

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering joining the "independent finance committee" I am heading up to collect and expend money in behalf of Governor Reagan's candidacy for President.

I am sorry that you cannot join the group, but I understand your situation and wish you well in your own efforts.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt
Chairman, Americans for Change

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MEMORANDUM

TO: All Steering Committee & Executive Committee Members, Americans for Change

FROM: Senator Harrison Schmitt

DATE: June 11, 1980

RE: Communications on Behalf of Americans for Change

I know that all of us who are participating in the efforts of Americans for Change to make independent expenditures in support of Governor Reagan are sensitive to the legal requirements which govern our activities. Although we are exercising our very fundamental right to express our political views, federal election laws impose certain technical and reporting rules which apply to many of the type of communications that this committee will probably undertake.

Because of these legal considerations, all communications by members of Americans for Change on behalf of Americans for Change must be reviewed by counsel in advance, and specifically authorized by me. "Communications" are any written or printed matter, and includes, but is not limited to --

1. Letters
2. Brochures
3. Posters

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4. Handbills, flyers or leaflets

5. Bumper stickers

6. Radio or televison ads

7. Newspaper or magazine ads

Any communication, including the above items, which are paid by Americans for Change, or for which you expect reimbursement from Americans for Change, must be authorized beforehand. In order to maintain control over this type of activity and to avoid possible inadvertent technical and reporting violations of the laws, Americans for Change may have to repudiate any unauthorized communications.

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4959 KAHALA AVENUE
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96816

TELEPHONE: (808) 734-4771

June 17, 1980

Mr. John L. Harmer
Suite 405
1025 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Harmer:

Glad to be aboard with Americans for Change!

I would, however, like to point out to you that there are three mistakes in the spelling of my name, as listed on the Steering Committee:

1. I am Mrs. Luce, not "Mr."
2. My first name is spelled CLARE, not "CLAIRE."
3. My second name, BOOTHE, has an "e" on the end.

Also, HONOLULU is not spelled "HONALULU."

Let us hope that all of this is not a symptom of the way the Committee will run.

Aloha,

Clare Boothe Luce

The Hon. Clare Boothe Luce

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MEMO TO: Steering Committee members

FROM: Brad O'Leary, Vice Chairman

Enclosed is a tentative updated list of those who have agreed to serve on the Steering Committee as of June 20, 1980.

Paid for by Americans for Change not authorized by any candidate.

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE/NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Hon. E. Ross Adair
Congressman, Indiana (Retired)

Harold Agnew
President, General Atomic Co.

H. Alexander Aguiar, President
Wisconsin Gear Manufacturing Corp.

Mr. & Mrs. T. M. Alexander, Sr.
President, Alexander Company

Mr. & Mrs. Jack Allen
President, Alpare Research, Inc.

* Robert H. Allen
Chairman & Chief Executive Officer
Gulf Resources & Chemical Corp.

Mr. B. B. Andersen
Chairman of the Board
B. B. Andersen Construction Co.

Dr. Ed. R. Annis, M.D.

* Frank A. Augsbury, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Augsbury Organization, Inc.

Mr. & Mrs. James W. Baker
Farmer

* Stewart Bainen
Chairman of the Board
Quality Inns

* Robert H. B. Baldwin
President, Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc.

Herbert Barness
Chairman, The Barness Organization

* Bernard H. Barnett
Barnett & Alagia

* Tom E. Beal
President, International Village, Inc.

* Hon. Frank J. Becker
Congressman, N.Y. (Retired)

* R. J. Bird, Attorney
Ober, Grimes & Shriver

Jack E. Black
Chairman of the Board
President Ford State Finance Chairman 1976
American Exchange Bank & Trust

Ben B. Blackburn, Congressman
Georgia (Retired)
Chairman of the Board - Heritage Foundation

* Hugh Branson, Vice President
Satellite Media Corp.

Norman Brinker, Chairman
Steak & Ale Restaurant of America, Inc.

* Hon. John Brown
Governor, Ohio (Retired)

* Mr. & Mrs. Maurice L. Brown
Chairman, The Maurice Brown Co.

* Hon. Charles Brownson
Congressman, Virginia (Retired)

* Hon. Joel Broyhill
Congressman, Virginia (Retired)

* Mr. & Mrs. Henry A. Bubb
Chairman of the Board
Capitol Fed. Savings & Loan Assoc.

Laurence J. Burton
Congressman, Utah (Retired)

William Cafritz, President
Wm. Cafritz Development Co.

Charles E. Chamberlain
Congressman, Michigan (Retired)

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Jeffrey Davis Chorney
President, Chorney Oil Co.

Mr. William C. Conner,
Chairman Emerties of Alcon
Laboratories, Inc.

Thomas H. Corson, Chairman
Coachmen Industries, Inc.

George N. Craig, Attorney
Governor, Indiana (Retired)

Paul W. Cronin
Congressman, Massachusetts (Retired)

Robert B. Crosby, Sen. Partner,
Crosby, Guenvel, Davis, Kessner
and Kuester

Carl T. Curtis
Senator, Nebraska (Retired)

Bill Davis
President, Davis Development Co.

* Hon. Shelby Cullom Davis
Ambassador

M. William Deitch
Chairman of the Board
Deitch Enterprises, Inc.

Mr. Armand S. Deutsch
President, Woodcrest Assoc., Inc.

Mrs. Walter Bridges Driscoll
Retired

Hon. Dave Durenberger
U. S. Senator, Minnesota

* Ambassador Guilford Dudley
Tennessee

Hon. James Edwards
Governor, S. Carolina (Retired)

Harris Ellsworth (Hon.)
Congressman, Oregon (Retired)

* Hon. Norman A. Erbe
Governor, Iowa (Retired)

* Hon. Albert Fay
Ambassador

* Charles K. Fletcher
Congressman, California (Retired)

Martin Fridovich, Chairman of
the Board, Agri-Leis Corp.

* (Eva Gabor) Mrs. Frank Jamison
Movie Actress

A. G. Galt (Gordon), Pres.
Pan American Engineering Co.

Kenneth R. Giddens, Director
Retired, Voice of America

Edward J. Gurney
Senator, Florida (Retired)

* Michael T. Halbouty
Consulting Geologist & Petroleum
Engineer

* Seymour Halpern
Congressman, N.Y. (Retired)
Vice Pres, Sydney S. Baron & Co.

* Dr. Othell Hand
Director & Sr. Vice Pres.
American Family Life Assurance Co.

Robert P. Hanrahan, Congressman,
Illinois (Retired), President
Robert P. Hanrahan Associates

John Harmer, Lt. Governor,
California (Retired)

* Dick Heckmann, Mayor
Sun Valley, Idaho

Jeffrey P. Hillelson
Congressman, Missouri (Retired)

Hon. Horace A. Hildreth
Governor, Maine (Retired)

Hon. Leo A. Hoegh,
Governor, Iowa (Retired)

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* Glen Holden, Sr., President
Security First Group

* Hon. James Holshouser
Governor, No. Carolina (Retired)

Roman L. Hruska, Senator and
Congressman, Nebraska (Retired)

William H. Hudnut, III, Mayor,
Indianapolis, Congressman, Indiana
(Retired)

Oliver H. Hughes, Chairman of the
Board, Chief Executive Officer
Merchants National Bank & Trust Co.

Alan E. Huish, President
Huish Distributing Co.

B. K. Johnson
Rancher & Investor

Herman Kaiser, Sr. President
Kaiser-Francis Oil Co.

Jack Kenney, President
Kenney Homes

* Mr. John B. Kilroy
President, Kilroy Industires

* Woodward Kingmen
Executive Vice Pres.
Croclar National Bank

Thomas S. Kleppe, Congressman,
North Dakota (Retired)

* Max L. Kuniansky
Owner, M. K. Const., Co.

Addison Lanier, President
Thomas Emery's Sons

Julian LeCraw, President
Julian LeCraw Co.

John Leibold, Attorney

* Billy Loflin, Chairman of the
Board, Bell Air Corp.

William McBride Love
Vice President
McBride & Silurian Oil Co.

Clare Boothe Luce, Writer,
Congresswoman, Conn. (Retired)

William S. Mailliard
Congressman, California (Retired)

* Lawrence R. Manuelito
President, Chusha Development Corp.

Peter J. Maraveleas, Pres.
Maraveleas Associates

* Anthony Marshall
Ambassador, Retired
Banking Consultant

Hon. Bob Mathias, Congressman
California (Retired)

* James S. McDonnell
McDonnell Douglas Corp.

* O. D. McKee
Chairman of the Board
McKee Baking Co.

Walter L. McVey, Jr.
Congressman, Kansas (Retired)
Attorney

George Meader, Congressman,
Michigan (Retired)

William Miller
Republican Candidate for
Vice Pres. 1964
Congressman, N.Y. (Retired)

Rodney Mitchell, President
Tallasi Management Corp.

* George Murphy
Senator, California (Retired)

* Francine Neff
U. S. Treasurer (Retired)

* Alvin O'Konski
Congressman, Wisconsin (Retired)

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Brad O'Leary
Chairman of the Board
P/M Productions

Walter C. Ploeser
Ambassador, Congressman,
Missouri (Retired)

* Hon. Howard Pollock
Congressman, Alaska (Retired)

* Hon. Wesley Powell
Governor, New Hampshire (Retired)

Sen. & Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff
State Senator, Arizona
President, Rock Mountain Mgmt. Corp.

Dr. John H. Proctor
Chairman of the Board
Data Solutions

* Chesley R. Pruet, President
Chesley Pruet Drilling Co.

Harry Ptasynski, Geologist
Petroleum Exploration & Development

* William F. Quinn, Governor,
Hawaii (Retired)

* Jack Ragle, President
Graham Crain Co.

David Q. Reed
Dem. State Rep. (Retired)

* Edward F. Reilly, Jr.
State Senator, Kansas

* Hon. George Romney
Governor, Michigan (Retired)

* Ross Rowland, Jr.
Pres. Floor Broker Assoc.

Richard L. Roudebush
Congressman, Indiana (Retired)
Administrator Veterans Affairs

Howard Ruff
Chairman of the Board

* Arthur K. Salomon, President
Salomon Brothers

Bill D. Saxon, Pres.
Saxon Oil Operations

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
U. S. Senator, New Mexico

Ramona Seeligson
Private Investor
Wertheim & Co., Inc.

* Robert L. Shirkey
Army Major General, Attorney

* Richard G. Shoup
Congressman, Montana (Retired)
Director Washington Affairs
Union Pacific Corp.

W. C. Smith, President
Franklin Towne Realty, Inc.

* Lloyd H. Smith
Chairman of the Board
Tarafine Oil Corp.

Hon. Robert E. Smylie
Governor, Idaho (Retired)

* Roger Stauder, Sales Associate
Stauder Realty Service, Inc.

* Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
Cong. & Senator, Ohio (Retired)

Burt L. Talcott
Congressman, California (Retired)

Mrs. Franz G. Talley
Retired Business Exec.

Mr. & Mrs. Paul N. Temple
Chairman of the Board
Energy Capitol Company

John D. Vanderhoof
Governor, Colorado (Retired)

* Hon. Victor V. Veysey
Congressman, California (Retired)

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G. L. Jerry Vinson
Chairman of the Board
Sterling Petroleum Corp.

* Joseph Walker, Jr.
President
Chantilly Development Corp.

George M. Wallhauser
Congressman, New Jersey (Retired)
Sr. Vice Pres., U. S. Realty &
Investment Corporation

* Lew Ward
President, Ward Oil Co.

John F. Warren
State Chairman of Rep. Party of
Texas
Publisher, Austin Citizen

Winston Weaver, Pres.
Rockingham Const. Co.

* Louis A. Weil, Jr.
Publisher of Journal & Courier

Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb
Governor, Indiana, Retired

* Mr. John C. Whitehead
Senior Partner Goldman Sachs & Co.

Mrs. Thomas Williams, Jr.
Investor

Mr. Thomas Williams, III
Farmer

* Hon. John S. Wold
Congressman, Wyoming, Ret.

Mr. & Mrs. Oscar Wyatt, Owner
Coastal Corporation

* Hon. Ed Young
Congressman, S. Carolina, Ret.

Roger H. Zion
Congressman, Indiana, Ret.
President, Resources Development
Corporation

* indicates those individuals who have agreed to serve, but have not completed necessary paperwork.

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6-20-

ADDITIONAL NAMES
not approved by counsel

Robert H. Allen
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Gulf Resources and Chemical Corp.
47th Floor, 1100 Milam Bldg.
Houston, TX 77002

Mr. & Mrs. Maurice L. Brown
Chairman, The Maurice Brown Co.
121 W. 48th St.
Kansas City, MO 64112
816-931-2005

William N. Cafritz, President
William Cafritz Development Co.
5334 Goldsboro Road
Bethesda, Maryland, 20034
301-320-3062

Robert B. Crosby, Sr. Partner
Crosby, Guenvel, Davis, Kessner
& Kuester
3720 S. 40th
Lincoln, Nebraska, 68506
402-475-5131

~~Lane Dwinell, Chairman Retired~~
~~National Bank of Lebanon~~
~~94 Bank St.~~
~~Lebanon, NH 03766~~
~~603-448-1121~~

Harris Ellsworth (Hon.)
Congressman ~~of~~ Oregon, Retired
1429 Wagontrain Drive, S.E.
Albuquerque, NM 87123
505-293-7319

~~Edward J. Gurney (Hon.)~~ Name is on list
~~Senator of Florida, Retired~~
~~800 Greentree~~
~~Winter Park, FL 32789~~

Hon. Wesley Powell
Governor ~~of~~ New Hampshire, Retired
Hampton Falls, NH 03844
603-926-8787

Chesley R. Pruet, President
Chesley Pruet Drilling Co.
P.O. Box 31
315 E. Oak St.
El Dorado, AR 71730
501-863-7196

Edward F. Reilly, Jr.
State Senator
430 Delaware
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048
913-682-1234

~~R. L. Rickenbaugh, President~~
~~Rickenbaugh Cadillac~~
~~777 Broadway~~
~~Denver, CO 80203~~
~~303-573-7773~~

G. L. Vinson
P.O. Box SPC
Wichita Falls, TX 76307
817-767-2575

Winston Weaver, President
Rockingham Construction Co.
P.O. Box 808
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
703-433-1000

Hon. Ed Young
Congressman ~~of~~ S. Carolina, Retired
Rt. 5, Box 421
Florence, S.C. 29502
803-667-1979

Arthur K. Salomon - Name is on list
Salomon Brothers
1 New York Plaza
New York, NY 10004
202-747-7000

902106

200 copies

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
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TELEX: 197640 BAKHOST
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3200 UNION COMMERCE BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8375

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-

June 24, 1980

Honorable Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Senator Schmitt:

You have requested this letter as Chairman and on behalf of Americans for Change.

I. FACTS

Americans for Change ("Committee") is a political committee 1/ registered with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"). 2/ The Committee's Statement of Organization 3/ on public file with the FEC declares in pertinent part that Americans for Change "supports . . . more than one Federal candidate and is not a separate segregated fund nor a party committee." 4/ The Committee is not affiliated with any other committee, 5/ nor is it authorized by any candidate.

One of the candidates that the Committee intends to support is Ronald Reagan, provided that he becomes a nominee for President of the United States with respect to the 1980 general election. The Committee intends to support Governor Reagan by financing assorted communications that

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1/ 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A) (Supp. III 1979).

2/ Id. § 433.

3/ FEC Form 1, filed June 3, 1980.

4/ Id. line 5.

5/ Id. line 6.

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advocate his election. These communications will be made to the general public and will be effected without consultation, coordination or prearrangement with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his staff or agents. The general funds of the Committee will be used to finance the communications.

Under these circumstances you have asked whether the Committee may spend its funds for independent communications in support of Governor Reagan. Furthermore, you wish to know how much an individual may contribute to the Committee under the Act.

II. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

The Act regulates the manner in which campaigns for federal office 6/ may be financed. In general, amounts donated to a candidate for federal office are subject to contribution limits. 7/ However, certain political activities by individuals or committees on behalf of a specified candidate are not contributions subject to limitation. Among the exempt activities are independent expenditures. An "independent expenditure" is

> . . . an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate. 8/

6/ "Federal office" includes the offices of President, Vice-President, Senator and Representative. 2 U.S.C. § 431(3) (Supp. III 1979).

7/ See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A) and (2)(A) (1976).

8/ Id. § 431(17) (Supp. III 1979) (emphasis added). Although not subject to limits, independent expenditures may be subject to disclosure provisions of the Act. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(5)(B)(iii) and (c) (Supp. III 1979).

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The Act further defines "person" to include "an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, labor organization or group of persons." 9/ Under the definitions contained in the Act, either an individual or a committee, such as Americans for Change, may make independent expenditures.

The right of individuals and groups to make unlimited independent expenditures is a constitutional right, as well as a statutory right. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that a dollar limitation on the amount that a person may spend to advocate expressly the election of a clearly identified candidate without prearrangement or coordination with that candidate "is unconstitutional under the First Amendment." 10/ The Court emphasized that "[a]dvocacy of the election or defeat of candidates for federal office is no less entitled to protection under the First Amendment than the discussion of political policy generally or advocacy of the passage or defeat of legislation." 11/ Furthermore, the Court concluded that a limit on independent expenditures was not justified by any substantial government interest to safeguard the electoral process, because truly independent political expression does not "pose dangers of real or apparent corruption." 12/ Independent political expression is a constitutional right of American citizens, specifically recognized by the Supreme Court.

For the above statutory and constitutional reasons, Americans for Change may make independent expenditures not subject to limitation on behalf of Governor Reagan.

III. LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions 13/ to a political committee are subject to limitations under the Act. Any person may contribute

---

9/ 2 U.S.C. § 431(11) (Supp. III 1979) (emphasis added). In addition to the word "person" virtually every word or term contained in the definition of "independent expenditure" is a term of art. Id. § 431(2), (9) and (18); 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(1)-(3) (1980).

10/ Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 51 (1976).

11/ Id. at 48.

12/ Id. at 46.

13/ Generally, a "contribution" is "any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office." 2 U.S.C. § 431(8) (Supp. III 1979).

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up to $5,000 in any calendar year to a political committee, other than a committee established and maintained by a political party, or an authorized committee of a candidate. 14/ Americans for Change, as an unauthorized unaffiliated political committee that supports more than one candidate, may accept contributions up to $5,000 per calendar year from any person, including an individual. All individual contributions are further subject to an overall limit of $25,000 in aggregate contributions by the individual per calendar year.15/

Contributions should be unrestricted and undesignated by the contributor who may not retain any control over his contribution once it is made to the Committee. All contributions should be placed in the general fund that is used to finance all activities conducted by Americans for Change, including any independent expenditures on behalf of Governor Reagan. 16/

IV. CONCLUSIONS

For the above stated reasons, and under the above stated conditions, Americans for Change may communicate with the general public on behalf of Governor Reagan by means of independent expenditures as defined by the Act. Furthermore, any person may contribute up to $5,000 per year to the Committee provided that the contributor does not restrict the purposes for which the Committee may use his or her donation and provided further that the contributor does not retain control over his or her contribution.

Very truly yours,

Jan W. Baran

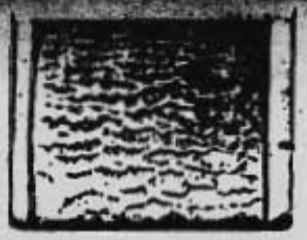
14/ Id. § 441a(a)(1)(C) and (a)(2)(C) (1976).

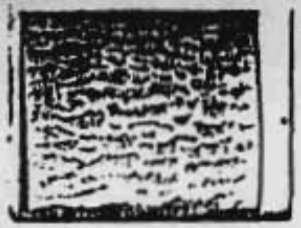
15/ Id. § 441a(a)(3).

16/ Contributions should be unrestricted and undesignated in order to help ensure that donations to Americans for Change are not "earmarked" for any specific Committee project. See 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h) (1980).

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DATE 6/26 DEADLINE 6/26

NAME: Al Regnery (H) 703-278-8020

TELEPHONE 14-3980 SUBJECT

POINTS TO COVER

STAFF INITIALS SB H's INITIALS/DATE Brad 6/27

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United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

Al Regnery is Sen. Laxalt's staff member on the Administrative Practice & Procedures subcommittee of the Judiciary committee. His father is a New York publisher and he is interested in doing a book on Gov. Reagan. [redacted] Al would like to talk with you about the project.

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DATE _____ DEADLINE _____

NAME Mel Laird

TELEPHONE 202 / 223 1642 SUBJECT _____

POINTS TO COVER out of town will call this afternoon if he calls his recap

STAFF INITIALS _____ H's INITIALS/DATE 7/1

DATE 6-30-80 9:15 DEADLINE _____

NAME Melvin Laird

TELEPHONE 223-1642 SUBJECT _____

POINTS TO COVER _____

STAFF INITIALS Larri H's INITIALS/DATE 7/1

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June 30, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jack Schmitt

FROM: Brad O'Leary

SUBJECT: Direct Mail Lists

Attached are the lists to be ordered for a direct mail test drop to be mailed August 1, 1980.

Credit has been established for printing and postage with Communications Specialists.

List owners require payment in advance for the use of the attached lists. The amount is approximately $9,000.00 which we will need by July 1, since a 30 day lead time is required to drop by August 1.

Attachment

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New Select Political Activists H.E.	5,000	150,000
Changing Times	10,000	1,400,000
Conservative Political Activists (Helix)	5,000	150,000
Brooks Brothers Charge Accounts	5,000	400,000
Builders	5,000	176,000
Forbes	10,000	550,000
Chilton Oil & Gas	5,000	31,000
Texas Active Contributors	5,000	75,000
National Republican Givers	5,000	40,000
HBJ Energy Profile	5,000	80,000
Saturday Evening Post	5,000	352,000
Country Gentleman	5,000	146,000
Horchow Collection	5,000	530,000
Money Magazine	5,000	584,000
Yachting Magazine	5,000	60,000
Ruff Times	5,000	74,000
Capitalist Reporter	5,000	500,000
Ravco Formers	5,000	550,000
Frank Lewis Grapefruit	5,000	100,000
Bedrock Rebublicans	5,000	150,000
American Security Council Prospects	5,000	165,000
American Security Council Recommend	5,000	50,000
Best Conservatives EPACO	5,000	210,000
Chilton Oil & Gas	5,000	31,000
Lake Placid Contributors	5,000	265,000
Human Events Choice Selects	5,000	300,000
American Public Issues	5,000	125,000
Helix Seed	5,000	400,000
Business Week	5,000	516,000
Dun & Bradstreet CEO's - 1M Companies	10,000	600,000
Wall Street Journal Expires	10,000	600,000
Boardroom Reports	5,000	200,000
Winchell Superior GOP	5,000	200,000
Winchell Multipel GOP	5,000	200,000

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BOB PACKWOOD
OREGON

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MISS WEYFORTH
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

COMMITTEES:
FINANCE
COMMERCE, SCIENCE AND TRANSPORTATION
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

July 3, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
United States Senator
248 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Jack:

This is just a short note to follow up on my earlier letter to you on the issue of tax credits for political contributions to "negative campaigns."

On May 15th, I wrote to Treasury Secretary Miller seeking the reversal of an IRS private letter ruling that certain political contributions would not qualify for the standard tax credit. Secretary Miller has since responded and, in short, refuses to move on this matter. Since I thought that you may be interested, I have enclosed a copy of his letter for your consideration.

I look forward to working with you on this matter. If you should have any questions about this, please call Frank Cantrel of my staff at 224-9061.

Cordially,

Bob Packwood

BOB PACKWOOD

BP/fjc

Enclosure

File

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THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON 20220

June 18, 1980

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter of May 15 concerning the recent Internal Revenue Service private letter ruling on tax credits for political contributions to so-called "negative campaigns."

As you know, the Internal Revenue Service has a long-standing practice of issuing rulings stating the Service's position on the application of the Internal Revenue Code to particular factual situations. The issuance of private letter rulings falls within the ambit of the Service's responsibility for administering the tax laws and unlike regulations, does not require concurrence by the Secretary.

Commissioner Kurtz has carefully reviewed this matter and believes that the Service's ruling is the proper interpretation of the wording of the statute supportable by the legislative history.

In the absence of a clearly erroneous interpretation, or conflict with a major tax policy goal, the Treasury is reluctant to interfere in the administration of the Code.

Your letter also raises broader constitutional issues based upon the statute as applied by the Service. Under the circumstances, these would seem primarily questions for the courts.

Of course, if Congress wishes to provide a tax credit for contributions to "negative campaigns," a change in the statute is always the appropriate way to do so.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bill

G. William Miller

The Honorable
Bob Packwood
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Jack Schmidt
Brad O'Leary
Diana Welch

FROM: John L. Harmer

DATE: July 1, 1980

RE: California Tour by Senator Schmidt of June 14, 1980

During the breakfast meeting at the Universial Sheritan Hotel in North Hollywood, Senator Schmidt met with 34 people who were a cross-section of individuals that had donated $500 or more during the past year to some Republican candidate or cause. In the course of the presentation the Senator explained to them the nature of our committee and invited their participation and support.

Following are the questions that he was asked by the people present:

1. How are you avoiding collusion with the main Reagan Campaign Committee?

2. How do you make certain that this committee would not do things that would hurt Reagan's Campaign?

3. How do we know that, in fact, the efforts of this committee might not be counter-productive?

4. What is the difference between your committee and the other independent committees who have already made solicitations?

5. How do we know that the proceeds will go to the election of Reagan instead of to line the promoter's pockets? We are concerned with the fact that there seems to be very little of the money given to committees of this type which actually goes to the candidate, and much too much of it which ends up in the hands of the people who promoted the committee.

6. How do you make this committee "more believable" than all of the other similar efforts who are also asking for money?

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7. Can you give us a copy of a legal opinion which will assure us of the legality of our contributions and of your committee?

8. Will there be a committee established here in California and in all of the other states? Will we be able to spend the money that is raised in California here in our State?

Question from Jack Harriman, Corporate Secretary of Security Pacific Bank, and coordinator of political activities for the bank:

9. The Peter Flannigan group came to us for a $10,000 contribution. How do we know that it's permissable for us to donate to your committee and to the Flannigan group, or perhaps to one of the other "independent" committees for Reagan?

These were all of the substantive questions that were asked during the meeting with Senator Schmidt in the morning.

At noon we met with Maurice Stanz who was finance chairman for the Committee to Re-elect the President in 1972. As you know, Stanz raised more money than has ever been achieved before or, undoubtedly, will ever be achieved again in a Presidential campaign.

The following are highlights from the discussion with Stanz:

1. Peter Flannigan had been into his office last week. It is Stanz' impression that the Flannigan effort is primarily concentrating with the people who are committed to Conolly.

2. Stanz believes that we would be more effective if we could join forces with the Flannigan group.

3. Stanz believes that our biggest problem will be public confusion over the nature of the committee and how it can function. Educating the public and the donors to understand what we are doing will be critical to our success. A simple pamphlet on independent committees will be very necessary in terms of our solicitations.

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4. If we get sued, Stanz suggests that we try to document the use by Carter of the White House for his campaign purposes. Make an affirmative defense in the lawsuit a documentation of the obvious utilization of the benefits and the powers of the Presidency by Carter for his own re-election.

5. Flannigan had made contact with both Robert Anderson of Arco and David Packard in the Bay area, and had recruited their association in his effort.

6. Sixty percent of your money will be raised in the last four weeks. Most of this is what we call "emotional" money as people see the election coming near and feel compelled to try to affect the outcome. We should try to organize functions for fund raising purposes which would take place in that four week period. Since you cannot utilize the candidate, you will have to find surrogates who will also be an effective attraction to the contributors.

7. Have a chairman, a committee, and a finance chairman in each state. Let them be the visible names of your direct mail solicitations. As much as possible, utilize the direct mail in the later portions of the campaign when you will have the greatest probability of motivation on the part of the individual to support the candidate.

8. Do not overlook the ability to do fund raising among certain industry groups. They will need to know what the candidate's position is insofar as it affects their industry, but once they have a satisfactory indication of a favorable position they can be very effective in fund raising for you.

I suggest you particularly pay attention to Roger Millikin, Harry Dent, representatives of the trucking industry, the food industry, and the retailers.

John Ruan of Des Moines, Iowa was able to bring in $600,000 out of the trucking industry by going out and spending ten days raising the money.

9. Your large donors should be reached by telephone immediately. Ask them for their support, both personally and for their contribution.

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10. Lyle Washburn did our closed circuit television dinner. He now represents Disney World in Washington, but he is located in Washington, D.C., and I think might be willing to help you with a closed circuit television dinner later in the campaign.

11. Don Wolfsberger, who is in the food brokerage business in St. Louis was an extremely effective fund raiser in that area. You should make contact with him as soon as possible.

12. Robert Ingersall, the former Ambassador to Japan is also an extremely strong fund raiser. He could particularly be useful to you with some of the people who were most effective in fund raising for Reagan.

13. Ohio is a very tough area to fund raise. The State Republican organization has spent a lot of time educating the people there to feel that fund raising in Ohio should be done by the Party and the Party should then, in turn, distribute the money to the candidates. Bob Taft, Jr. could be helpful to you.

14. Try to use Max Fisher in Detroit, not only for that city, but with the Jewish community generally. He has a good name among the Jewish leaders of the country and can make good contact in the Jewish community for you.

15. In Nebraska use George Cook, who is very effective at fund raising in that area. Also, the officers and directors of Mutual of Omaha can be very helpful to you, and will be if they are contacted in the right way.

16. Find a good way to recognize the contributors. Be certain they get an immediate receipt for their contribution, followed by a thank-you letter. A lapel pen that is a nice piece of jewelry is also appreciated and utilized. Another option is a plastic membership card in a select circle of donors, or a parchment letter that could be displayed in their office acknowleging their contribution.

17. Contact Ken Dolberg in the Twin Cities area. He is most effective there.

Stanz will be in Washington, D.C. on June 28, 29, 30 and July 1. He is having a "New Years Eve party" on June 30 for the people who worked with him when he was Director of the Bureau of the Budget under Eisenhower in 1960.

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18. Get a big name auditor for the committee. It is critical for you to be able to identify and justify all of the expenditures for the committee.

19. Think carefully of the importance of a negative campaign on Carter. If you can do an effective peace of campaign literature on the two Jimmy Carters, one of 1976 and one of 1980, you will probably produce something that the Reagan Campaign badly needs but will not be able to afford.

20. Do an analysis of what the Reagan Campaign will have to use its money for, and you can pretty well see where you should spend your money. It should not be hard to find several people who can analyze with you the expenses for a Presidential campaign that Reagan will have to run. Consider such things as:

a. Cost of transportation for the candidate and his staff.

b. Cost of headquarters and communications for the campaign.

c. Cost of minimum media exposure for the candidate. Since Reagan is so powerful and effective on television, and since the independent committees will not be able to use Reagan for television, it would seem probably that his campaign will want to maximize their funds for television exposure for Reagan. Therefore, you ought to produce other pieces of literature which they can utilize in their campaign.

21. Call on me any time, and I will be glad to give you such further assistance as I can.

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Amazed that ... 1st Amendment is between ... & Archibald Cox.

Senator Schmitt will appear on the "Good Morning America" program, Thursday June 26, live at 7:15 a.m. edt. He will appear in a "face off" interview-debate with Archibald Cox, Chairman of Common Cause on the subject of Independent Political Action Committees such as Americans For Change. Mr. Cox takes the view that such committees violate the intent of FEC laws. Mr. Cox will be interviewed in ABC's New York Studios and the Senator will be interviewed in ABC's Washington studios, probably by newsman Steve Bell.

A limousine supplied by ABC will pick up the Senator at his 8th St. se home promptly at 6:30 a.m. to take him to the Studio at 1124 Connecticut Ave. N.W. (across the street from the Mayflower Hotel). The limo will then wait for him and return him wherever he'd like to go.

The contact at ABC, Washington is: Gay Pirozzi....393-7700
The contact at ABC New York is Mike Kelly...212-[illegible]-6155

I've given ABC my home phone number in case of any emergency or need to contact the Senator.

Senator must phone Good Morning America writer Ellen Abrams at 212-580-6191 by 5 pm today (Wed.) to give her some background for David Hartman and Bell.

NY Times - Adam Clymer
JB

Emphasize committee is open to anyone who wants to join (Democ Reps, Inds) attempt to be involved in a variety of activities including Reagan effort

Jan Baran
549-6982

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Americans for Change
Executive Board Meeting
Hyatt Regency, D.C.
Tuesday, July 1, 1980

Minutes

Discussion of Common Cause suit.
Attorneys briefed Committee on what they thought would be in suit.
Discussion if Rodrick-Hill regarding their advisory request from the F.E.C.
The portion of the request regarding the amount of a contribution a committee can accept was withdrawn. The portion dealing with the amount a committee can spend was left in the brief.

General Council circulated June 24 draft of our legal position. It was agreed that a final draft be made immediately and distributed to the Steering Committee.

Reported by legal council that Steering Committee questionaiares continue to be truned in. Approximately 75 questionaries have been returned.
Telephone calls have been made to those we have not received asking them to get these to us.

Schmitt requested that we begin work on the individual States Advisory Committee.

Discussion on position of National Finance Chairman. It was agreed that we should have someone in place by the conclusion of the National Convention.

Discussion of plans for National Convention. William C. Connor of Ft. Worth has given Schmitt his suite at the Plaza for use by Americans for Change.

All Steering Committee members have been contacted to ascertain whether they will be attending the convention and where they will be staying.

A luncheon has been planned in Detroit on Thursday, July 17. We hope to involve George Romney in this activity.

It was decided to send some form of invitation to all delegates to the convention to meet with Schmitt regarding Americans for Change.

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Decision was made to do a press release on the current and new members of the Steering Committee and include explanation and copy of the questionaire.

Graphics and media proposals were discussed and Schmitt asked that we get a letter out to all suppliers asking for bids on precinct kits, newspapers, radio and TV.

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Americans for Change

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
210 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314
Suite 304

CONTACT: Duff Thomas
703-683-5258
703-430-0540

FOR RELEASE: 6:00pm July 4, 1980

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE LISTS KEY SUPPORTERS
AND DISCLOSES SCREENING PROCESS

Alexandria, Va. -- Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (R-NM) today announced the key supporters and purposes of Americans for Change, an independent political committee designed to raise money for increased participation by citizens in the 1980 Presidential election. Senator Schmitt is Chairman of Americans for Change.

"Many people don't realize it, but after the presidential nominations, people cannot make financial contributions to the campaigns. Americans for Change is a means for citizens to contribute time and money to the political process," Schmitt said.

"About 30 percent of America's eligible voters elected our current president in 1976," Schmitt added. "At a time when American prestige is at a low ebb all over the world, it is

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Authorized and paid for by Americans for Change, an independent committee.
Senator Jack Schmitt, Chairman.

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imperative that we show the world that Americans care deeply about their leadership. We want the biggest voter turnout in history in November."

Senator Schmitt added that a high voter turnout would help elect former California Governor Ronald Reagan, the apparent Republican presidential nominee.

Senator Schmitt released a list of former elected officials who are members of the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

"We are open and honest about our effort," Schmitt said. "We see no reason for secrecy when it comes to participation in the election process," he added.

Many political action committees and other organizations refuse to divulge the names of their contributors or backers.

"Americans for Change will bring many Americans into the presidential election process who would otherwise be left out," Schmitt noted. "These will be Americans who are not necessarily

(MORE)

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involved in corporate or labor union political action committees," he said.

"Only through independent expenditures can an American exercise the First Amendment right to directly advocate a choice for President," Schmitt remarked. "The average working American concerned about faltering presidential leadership can now participate in a larger way. The law as interpreted by the Supreme Court guarantees this fundamental First Amendment right, and Americans for Change will permit more Americans than ever before to participate in this precious right of advocacy," Schmitt added.

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Under Federal Election Law, Americans for Change may not consult with any presidential campaign. Their efforts must be totally independent.

"We must fastidiously avoid contact with the Reagan campaign, and we do," Senator Schmitt emphasized.

"Each applicant for our National Steering Committee must answer a questionnaire, drawn up and reviewed by our legal counsel to

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ascertain any dealings with the Reagan campaign. In this way we are fully complying with the law," Schmitt said. (See attached partial list and applicants for questionnaire)

"This has been difficult for us," Schmitt conceded. "Many prominent Americans who wanted to join our steering committee had to be turned down because they were involved in some very minor ways with the Reagan campaign," Schmitt said.

Despite stringent restrictions, Senator Schmitt expressed confidence that there were ample numbers of people who will qualify to take an active part in the independent efforts of Americans for Change.

"Americans for Change welcomes all citizens who are concerned about current leadership in Washington - - Democrats, Independents, Republicans - - Americans who believe a change at the top is desperately needed," Schmitt concluded.

So far, Americans for Change has drawn the interest of more than 150 prominent American citizens who back this greater participation in the 1980 Presidential election.

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WHAT IS AN INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE?

The Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended ("FECA"), regulates the manner in which candidates for President, U.S. Senator, and U.S. Representative may finance their election campaigns. In addition to requiring extensive disclosure of campaign finances by candidates and committees, the FECA also limits the amounts that individuals and committees may contribute to candidates. Furthermore, the FECA places a limit on how much a candidate for President may spend on his campaign, if the candidate accepts U.S. Treasury money to finance his campaign. Presidential candidates in the general election who accept public funds may not accept any private contributions.

The Supreme Court of the United States has held that the above provisions of the FECA are constitutional. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976). The Supreme Court, however, specifically ruled that neither the FECA nor Congress could limit the amount of money that individuals and groups may spend on behalf of, but independent from, any candidate. Such expenditures are defined as "independent expenditures" and mean expenditures which advocate the election or defeat of a candidate, but which are made without any arrangement coordination or direction of the candidate, his committee or agents. The FECA and the Buckley case allow committees, such as AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, to make unlimited independent expenditures on behalf of a presidential candidate.

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INSTRUCTIONS

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE is a political committee not authorized by any candidate which will be making independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan for the 1980 presidential general election. The Federal Election Campaign Act and Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations require that these type of expenditures be made without cooperation or consultation with, and not in concert or at the request or suggestion of Governor Reagan, his authorized committee or his agents. In order to ensure that expenditures are made independent of Governor Reagan or his authorized campaign, all officers and personnel of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE are requested to fill out this questionnaire prior to their involvement in making such expenditures. This document will be reviewed by the committee's counsel and retained with the committee's records.

The term "agent" as used in this questionnaire means any person who has actual oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of Governor Reagan, or means any person who has been placed in a position within the Reagan campaign where it would reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures.

Also included with these papers is a list of your fellow board members, their addresses and phone numbers.

Temporary offices have been set up at:

218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-683-0304

For more information, contact Brenda Jones at the above phone number.

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QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, _____, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

901507

Date _____ Signature _____

30042210

Betty Andujar
State Senator
Fort Worth, Texas

Frank J. Becker
Congressman, New York, Retired
Lynbrook, New York

Ben B. Blackburn
Congressman, Georgia, Retired
Chairman of the Board
Heritage Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia

Charles E. Chamberlain
Congressman, Michigan, Retired
McLean, Va.

Marlow W. Cook
Senator, Kentucky, Retired
Cook, Purcell, Hansen & Henderson
Washington, D.C.

Paul W. Cronin
Congressman, Massachusetts, Ret.
President Sun Solar Energy Co.
Lawrence, Massachusetts

Carl T. Curtis
Senator, Nebraska, Retired
Washington, D.C.

Hon. Dave Durenberger
U.S. Senator, Minnesota
Washington, D.C.

James Edwards
Governor, So. Carolina, Ret.
Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina

Harrie Ellsworth
Congressman, Oregon, Ret.
Albuquerque, NM

Norman A. Erbe
Governor, Iowa, Retired
Arlington Heights, Ill.

Charles K. Fletcher
Congressman, California, Ret.
Honolulu, Hawaii

Hiram L. Fong
Senator, Hawaii, Ret.
Honolulu, Hawaii

Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Governor, Virginia, Ret.
Suffolk, Va.

Seymour Halpern
Congressman, New York, Ret.
Executive Vice President
Sydney S. Baron & Co.
New York, NY

Robert P. Hanrahan
Congressman, Illinois, Ret.
President Robt. P. Hanrahan Assoc.
Lake Forest, Ill.

John Harmer
Lt. Governor, California, Ret.
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dick Heckmann, Mayor
Sun Valley, Idaho

Jeffrey P. Hillelson
Congressman, Missouri, Ret.
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

Horace A. Hildreth
Governor, Maine, Ret.
Portland, Maine

Leo A. Hoegh,
Governor, Iowa, Ret.
Chipita Park, Colorado

Lawrence J. Hogan
Chief Executive Officer
Montgomery County, Md.
Landover, Md.

Roman L. Hruska
Senator, Nebraska, Ret.
Omaha, Nebraska

William H. Hudnut, III
Congressman, Mayor, Ret.
Indianapolis, Indiana

8304210 1

Clare Boothe Luce
Congresswoman, Conn., Ret.
Honolulu, Hawaii

William S. Mailliard
Congressman, California, Ret.
Retired Admiral
Washington, D.C.

Walter L. McVey, Jr.
Congressman, Kansas, Ret.
Attorney
Atlanta, Georgia

William Miller
Republican Candidate
Vice President 1964
Retired Congressman, New York
Buffalo, NY

George Murphy
Senator, California, Ret.

Francine Neff
U.S. Treasurer, Ret.
Albuquerque, NM

Alvin O'Konski
Congressman, Wisconsin, Ret.
Rhinelander, Wisconsin

Wesley Powell
Governor, New Hampshire, Ret.
Hampton Falls, NH

John C. Pritzlaff
President, Rock Mountain
Management Corp.
Scottsdale, Arizona

Edward F. Reilly, Jr.
State Senator
Leavenworth, Kansas

George Romney
Governor, Michigan, Ret.
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan

Richard L. Roudebush
Congressman, Indiana, Ret.
Noblesville, Indiana

Don Samuelson
Governor, Idaho, Ret.
Sandpoint, Idaho

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico
Washington, D.C.

Richard G. Shoup
Congressman, Montana, Ret.
Washington, D.C.

Robert E. Smylie
Governor, Idaho, Ret.
Boise, Idaho

Robert Taft, Jr.
Senator, Ohio, Ret.
Washington, D.C.

Burt L. Talcott
Congressman, California, Ret.
Louis C. Kramp & Assoc.
Bethesda, Md.

Victor V. Veysey
Congressman, California, Ret.
Pasadena, California

Edgar D. Whitcomb
Governor, Indiana, Ret.
Seymour, Indiana

John S. Wold
Congressman, Wyoming, Ret.
Mineral Resource Center
Casper, Wyoming

Wendell Wyatt
Congressman, Oregon, Ret.
Portland, Oregon

Ed Young
Congressman, So. Carolina, Ret.
Florence, SC

Roger H. Zion
Congressman, Indiana, Ret.
President, Resources Development
Corporation
Washington, D.C.

30422102

July 7, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : Brad O'Leary

FROM: Carol Reed

RE : Free Speech Fund Letter

This letter is being mailed to the following lists:

	TITLE	COUNT	CODE
1.	Americans for Change Steering Committee	138	A.C.S. ½ certified
2.	Senatorial Committee Trust Members	229	S.T. ½ certified
3.	Connally Finance Committee	87	C.F.
4.	California Major Contributors	250	C.M.C.
5.	Conservative Contributors A		C.C.A. ½ certified
6.	Nixon Contributors		N.C.

TOTAL _____

All letters that did not go certified had a dummy certified sticker on them.

8304042210 3

7/8 decided to hold on Calif.
Mail all of 123456

Group #286 - Hall 11/6
add
P.S. I will be in Detroit at the National Convention - If you plan on attending please contact call me at the Plaza so that we can have lunch.

902446

Direct Mail #1

July 7, 1980

Mr. Robert Allen
Gulf Resources and Chemical Corp.
47th Flr.,100 Milam Bldg.
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Mr. Allen:

My efforts and those of Americans for Change on behalf of Governor Ronald Reagan have been attacked by Common Cause.

On July 1 they filed a lawsuit designed to harass and obstruct the efforts of Americans for Change in our attempt to express our constitutional rights of Freedom of Speech.

This lawsuit is being financed almost entirely from supporters of Carter, Kennedy and Anderson by their contributions to Common Cause.

I hope you care enough about free speech and free association in America to assist in our fight against these attempts to halt our activities on behalf of Ronald Reagan and the 1980 elections.

There is no question that the Supreme Court in Buckley v. Valeo ruled that neither the FEC nor Congress could limit the amount of money that individuals and groups may spend on behalf of, but independent from, any candidate.

The principle was upheld again by the Courts this year in a recent case involving the FEC. The Common Cause lawsuit is an attempt to force us to waste time and money and to harass our organizational activities. They evidently hope to have a chilling effect on our fundraising ability.

902126

Common Cause says they are not a political organization and so they refuse to make their contributors list public or comply with regulations on political activity by the FEC.

Yet the two goals of Common Cause for 1980 are clearly political, first, to cripple your First Amendment rights which currently allows you and me to publicly advocate as individuals or part of a group our support of candidates and issues of our choice.

The second goal is to seek passage of the Obey-Railsback Bill which is designed to reduce free speech and political activity in which groups of Americans can engage.

With goals like these I wonder just how political Common Cause can become. Obviously the accomplishments of such goals would benefit certain liberal incumbent officeholders more than moderate and conservative challengers.

If we were able to see their secret list of contributors I am sure it would contain the names of prominent supporters of big government and foes of the free enterprise system.

I hope you don't share the political philosophies of these supporters of Common Cause. I hope you agree with my beliefs and the Supreme Courts that you and I have a constitutional right to free speech and that groups and associations should be able to participate in the election process by any legal and constitutional means.

Not only do I intend to fight and win in the courts but I intend to consider raising legal funds for discovery to see if any officer or staff member of Common Cause has discussed filing the lawsuit with the Carter campaign and is acting on their request or with the assistance of Carter campaign officials or senior members of the White House staff.

I cannot carry the financial burden of fighting this lawsuit alone. I must ask you to raise or contribute $1,000 by July 24th to a special Free Speech Fund.

I hope you will respond immediately. This lawsuit will have tremendous impact on the financing of elections in America and your ability to participate on behalf of the candidate of your choice.

Sincerely,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator

902127

COOK, PURCELL, HANSEN & HENDERSON
CHARTERED
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1015 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

HARLOW W. COOK
GRAHAM PURCELL
ORVAL HANSEN
DAVID H. HENDERSON
JOHN L. ZORACK
MICHAEL P. ANDREWS
JOHN C. KIRTLAND
F. EUGENE WISHMANN
JAMES CAMPBELL
LAWRENCE A. WEISS

WILLIAM J. NULL
OF COUNSEL

(202) 659-1050
CABLE: CHLAW
TELEX: 440808
TELECOPIER:
(202) 659-1577

KANSAS CITY OFFICE
SHOOK HARDY & BACON
30TH FLOOR MERCANTILE BANK TOWER
1101 WALNUT
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64106
(816) 474-6550

BOSTON OFFICE
RAMSEY, SERINO & MURRAY
ONE WASHINGTON MALL
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02108
(617) 723-6100

July 7, 1980

Mr. John Harmer
Americans For Reagan
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Mr. Harmer:

On June 3, 1980, I received a mailgram from you requesting assistance in joining your group "Americans For Change." My secretary, by telephone on June 4, notified either your office or Senator Schmitt's office that I would be pleased to join. A few days thereafter, I received a set of instructions to answer eight specific questions so that the organization would have no point of conflict with any individual who would also work directly for the candidacy of Governor Reagan for the presidency.

Prior to answering the questions, I received a telegram from Governor Reagan asking me to serve in an advisory capacity for his election campaign in my home commonwealth of Kentucky. Inasmuch as I feel I could be of more help in the state I had previously represented in the Senate, I have opted to work directly for the election of Governor Reagan to the presidency. Therefore, having performed no services or duties for "Americans For Change", I would request that you remove my name from whatever capacity your organization had determined I might fill. I might further suggest to counteract Archie Cox's ridiculous remarks that you make public my inability to work for your organization because of my direct involvement in the

Make sure Harlow Cook is off steering committee

902006

Reagan campaign.

Sincerely yours,

Marlow W. Cook

MWC:pc

cc: The Honorable Jack Schmitt

8504022107

902007

July 8, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : Brad O'Leary

FROM: Carol Reed

RE : Contributor Lists

Following are the lists that are on tape, the count and code. Anytime a small 'c' appears next to a code it means that the letter has been certified. All lists are in folders in my file cabinet with a history of the mailings that we sent to them. I will also enter the results of each mailing. The lists have also been cross-referenced for duplicates.

	TITLE	COUNT	CODE
1.	Americans for Change Steering Committee	138	A.C.S
2.	Senatorial Committee Trust Members	229	S.T.
3.	Connally Finance Committee	87	C.F.
4.	Dallas	513	D
5.	California Major Contributors	1,119	C.M.C
6.	Conservative Contributors A		C.C.A.
7.	Nixon Contributors	292	N.C.

8304221 08

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

MEMORANDUM July 8, 1980

TO : Brad O'Leary

FROM: Carol Reed

RE : Staff Meeting, July 8, 1980

The following is the discussion and action taken at staff meeting:

Direct mail pieces discussed and titled -

1. Free Speech Fund (lists mailed to and dates in attached memo) approved by Yan Baran
2. Advisory Committee Letter (to be mailed to 15,000 persons - $500 and more contributor) approved by Yan Baran.
3. Precinct Chairman Letter (Carol to get Yan's approval)
4. Personal Advisory Committee Letter (letter to be signed by different persons on Advisory Committee - Brenda is making sure we have questionaires returned from all - separate memo to O'Leary on this)

Schmitt Functions

1. Dallas - July 18 - City Club 12:00 noon
   Norman Brinker contact.
   Invitations out 7/10
2. Houston - July 18 - Dinner 7:30 - 10:00 PM
   Bill Holden Home
   Lloyd Pearson contact.
   1,000 piece direct mail piece from Houston followup telegram from this office.
   They are also setting up phone bank.
   Attempting to get People Magazine to cover.

902630

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3. San Antonio - July 19 - The Argyle - 12:00 noon
   Libba Barnes contact.
   Invitations out 7/10

Convention - Detroit

1. Set up meeting with all steering committee members attending (Carol)
2. Call all major networks and papers and set up interview time with Schmitt (Duff)
3. Complete list of steering committee members that will be at convention and where they are staying (Brenda)
4. Brunch or lunch at Plaza (Carol)
5. Get list of all delegates and alternates (Brenda)
6. Set up breakfast with Ross Roland if he is attending convention. - Not attending - C.R.
7. Get list of Senatorial trust members and Eagles who will be at the convention.
8. Get Reagan banners and yard signs, etc. at convention (Carol)

Press

Duff - Check for Human Events Article
- Get clean copy of Safire article
- 2 copies V.T.O. Nightline - ABC

We are now V.T. all T.V. programs Schmitt appears on and any coverage for Americans for Change.

Duff - Send copy of Americans for Change pleadings to press list on 7/8. Get copy from Yan.
- Continue to pursue Firing Line - Lehr report.
- Set up press conference in Dallas at 11:00 AM, July 18. Press Club.

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902631

SCHMITT

IN

American for Change

File

July 21, 1980

8304042211

Dear :

I am serving as Chairman of Americans for Change, a National Independent Committee, whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

As you can see by the enclosed list of our Steering Committee, we have brought together supporters of Governor Reagan with those of the other major candidates. As you read the list, you will see it contains present and former Republican officeholders as well as business and civic leaders such as yourself.

I hope you share our commitment to Governor Reagan's election and that we can count on you not only for a contribution but also for your participation as a member of a (NAME OF STATE) State Advisory Committee.

I also need your help in letting other Reagan supporters know that the Supreme Court has ruled that citizens and committees have a constitutional right to make independent expenditures. This means that citizens may make a personal contribution of up to five thousand dollars ($5,000) to Americans for Change--Reagan for President in 80 Project.

Governor Reagan can not be assured of election as President without your financial assistance. The money earmarked for his and Carter's general election campaign by Congress will allow him to buy only one-half of the National T.V. and radio time that McGovern bought in 1972.

I hope you understand that the law will not allow Reagan to match the federal money spent by the White House and cabinet officers to promote Jimmy Carter. Nor can Reagan hope to match independent funds labor and other special interest groups will spend to keep Carter in the White House for four more years.

901671

I know you share with me a deep concern for this country and a desire to get America back on course. I believe Carter's greatest capacities seem to be in compounding and adding to many of our problems. After four years in office he has written one of the worst presidential records in American history.

I believe that Ronald Reagan and the high caliber cabinet and sub level government officials that he would bring with him will make a great and positive contribution to the future of America. A Reagan Administration can better deal with the problems of faltering industries, inflation, energy development, pollution, rising crime, national defense and a frustrating sense that America and Americans are being pushed around.

I hope you are willing to participate in the general election by working and contribution to Americans for Change--Reagan in '80 Project. I hope you will use the card and envelope enclosed to make a commitment of support today.

If you have any questions, feel free to call me at (703) 683-0304. I might close my appeal for your support by asking you to do this for Ronald Reagan, but I won't. I am asking instead that you do this for America.

Yours very truly,

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
United States Senator
Chairman, Americans for Change

8304042211 2

901672

Americans for Change
Executive Committee
Hyatt Regency, D. C.
July 22, 1980

Minutes

General

Motion approved to allow Chairman of Americans for Change to defend Committee against Common Cause law suit.

Presentation of memorandums on expenses, income sources and credit available.

Formal action taken to add Howard Ruff to the membership of the Executive Committee. Announced that Ruff will also serve as National Finance Co-Chairman.

John Harmer requested through Schmitt that we locate someone in the Washington area to serve as a National Finance Co-Chairman.

Discussion and report on Texas tour (memorandum passed out).

Detroit Summary

Those present at convention met with Hispanic and Black voter groups to enlist their help and support with A.F.C.

It was suggested that we make our Independent Precinct Kit available in Spanish.

General

Board approved suggestion to move ahead and put together some sample princinct kits.

Discussion on Advocacy Kit to be similar to precinct kit but offer video tape (etc.) Suggested A.F.C. enlist Ruff to put together a pilot kit based on economic issues.

Legal counsel advised that A.F.C. can move ahead in obtaining proposals and ideas for independent expenditures but should not contract until legal case is settled.

Board approved Chairman to authorize bondsman.

902649

8304042211

Legal Summary

Complaint filed by Carter-Mondale Compaign and D.N.C. with F.E.C. F.E.C. has decided to enter court case on side of A.F.C. stating that Common Cause has no legal jurisdiction in this matter.

Reagan Committee has filed for Federal finance money -- Carter-Mondale and D.N.C. will seek restraining order against Reagan Committee receiving Federal funds.

Important that we continue to show a broad base of contribution.

Time-Table

July 18 - Notified that three judge court had convened. Penn-Tam-Wilke

July 25 - Common Cause file their reply

Aug. 4 - Hearing

Aug. 4 - Brief of F.E.C.

Aug. 11 - F.E.C reply brief

Aug. 25 - Court rules

General

Discussion on State Advisory Committee. Must be a paragraph in communication to this group that all independent expenditures will be approved by Executive Committee of A.F.C.

Discussion on A.F.C. poll.

8304042211

902650

Executive Meeting
Tuesday, July 29, 1980

Action Items:

1. Financial Statement - Add accumulative Receipts and Expenditures.
2. Deferred use of the Citizens for Republic list at Jan Baran's request.
3. Need to hire: Press Director; Expenditures Director; Comptroller.
4. Schmitt will have draft of poll in St. Louis.
5. O'Leary will have Direct Mail Scheudle after results of latest drop.

8304042211 5

902651

Direct Mail Schedule

					Aug.	Sept.	Oct.
October 10	1,000,000	15,000	300,000				10,000
October 5	2,000,000	25,000	500,000				18,000
October 1	5,000,000	60,000	1,200,000				40,000
September 25	3,000,000	40,000	800,000				30,000
September 20	1,000,000	20,000	400,000			5,000	10,000
September 15	500,000	10,000	100,000			2,000	5,000
September 10	500,000	10,000	150,000			4,000	6,000
September 5	250,000	5,000	60,000			2,000	3,000
September 1	250,000	5,000	60,000			3,500	2,500
August 25	250,000	5,000	60,000			4,000	1,000
August 20	100,000	2,000	35,000		200	1,200	600
August 15	100,000	2,000	35,000		600	1,000	400
August 10	100,000	2,000	35,000		1,250	750	100
August 1							
July 25	15,000	300	15,000		250	50	

3304 12 21

901990

MEMO TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Brad O'Leary

Enclosed are changes to be made in the brochure. Please let me know if you see any problems or have additional changes.

Also, three Independent Voter Chairman letters are enclosed which have been approved by Jan Baran. I would like to keep these letters on file to send out under your signature. So please contact me if you have any questions about the letters.

8304042117

902699

I invite you to join me as a member of Americans for Change, an independent committee whose goal is to send Ronald Reagan to Washington as the next President of the United States, so Americans can once again feel a sense of pride in their flag and their country.

The federal law prohibits Ronald Reagan from accepting a contribution from you in the general election. The law also limits the amount of money Reagan can spend on voter educational material for your friends and neighbors. You, however, may make an independent contribution for this material and distribute it on behalf of Governor Reagan. Will you help?

I know you understand that this gives a tremendous advantage to an incumbent President who can use almost unlimited Government funds, government employees and government resources to promote his candidacy.

I urge you to agree to become a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and accept the responsibility of identifying 10 Reagan voters in your community and urging them to vote on November 4, 1980.

Only if you agree to serve can we be guaranteed a fair and equal election. I am afraid that without your participation Carter will use the incumbancy for an unfair advantage that Reagan may not be able to overcome.

If you agree to become a member of Americans for Change and agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman, you will receive an election kit with detailed information on how you can help.

Your kit will contain Reagan Buttons, Bumper strips and window signs that can also be used as yard signs. You will also receive 50 brochures, 10 each on the five issues of greatest concern to Americans today.

I will also send you a detailed instruction manual on how to go about recruiting 10 of your friends and neighbors to make a commitment to support Governor Reagan.

Your kit will include membership identification as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and 10 Reagan election grams to mail to your friends the Sunday before the election.

I urge you to use the enclosed material, to send a check for $19.80, to become a member of Americans for Change and a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman.

I will then send you sometime between September 1 and September 15 your election kit.

I might close my personal appeal to you by asking you to do this for Ronald Reagan, but I won't.

I am asking instead that you do this for America.

Yours very truly,

902700

8304221 E

I was privileged, eight years ago, to be part of an American Astronaut team that landed on the moon. The stars and stripes is still the only flag that has ever flown there. It was a time when Americans were proud of their country and flag and they admired the accomplishments of the then Governor of California, Ronald Reagan.

I invite you to become a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and send a great American to Washington, D.C. as the next President of the United States, so Americans can once again feel a sense of pride in their flag and their country.

The federal law prohibits Ronald Reagan from accepting a contribution from you in the general election. The law also limits the amount of money Reagan can spend on voter educational material for your friends and neighbors. You, however, may make an independent contribution for this material and distribute it on behalf of Governor Reagan. Will you help?

If you agree to become a member of Americans for Change and agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman, you will receive an election kit with detailed information on how you can help.

Your kit will contain Reagan Buttons, Bumper strips and window signs that can also be used as yard signs. You will also receive 50 brochures, 10 each on the five issues of greatest concern to Americans today.

I will also send you a detailed instruction manual on how to go about recruiting 10 of your friends and neighbors to make a commitment to support Governor Reagan.

Your kit will include membership identification as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and 10 Reagan election grams to mail to your friends the Sunday before the election.

I want you to agree to become a member of Americans for Change and a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman. Please send a check for $19.80 and we will then send you a Voter Kit with the material listed below.

I might close my personal appeal to you by asking you to do this for Ronald Reagan but I won't. I am asking you to do this for America.

902701

8304221 C

IN

AMERICAN FOR CHANGE file

THIS LETTER WAS SENT TO VARIOUS REPUBLICAN HEADQUARTERS FOR THE PRECINCT KIT.

NO CHARGE WAS MADE FOR THE WORD PROCESSING TIME FOR THIS JOB.

DEAR FELLOW REPUBLICAN:

For many years it was my privilege to serve closely with Ronald Reagan while he was Governor of California. Had it not been for his leadership California would have met the same economic fate as later engulfed New York. I was able to closely observe that leadership. How critically we need it for all of America.

The Reagan Committee has $29.4 million for the entire campaign. By law they can not receive funds from individual citizens like you and me. This means that the amount Reagan's committee can spend will equal 25% of the purchasing power that Nixon's re-election committee had in 1972.

Americans for Change is an independent committee which by law can raise funds for Governor Reagan's election as President. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt of New Mexico is Chairman, I am the Co-Chairman, and the Honorable Carl Curtis, former U.S. Senator of Nebraska, is the Treasurer. When this election is over our committee will disolve. We have no other purpose than to elect Ronald Reagan.

With such limited funds, the Reagan Committee is not likely to have money for the most vital group in any election, the precinct worker. Americans for Change has prepared a precinct kit of Reagan Campaign material. Our goal is to place one or more of these kits in every precinct or voting district in America. Your help will make that possible.

The enclosed flyer gives the details. As an experienced precinct worker, I can assure you that this kit will mean 10-30 additional votes for Reagan wherever it is used. Very frankly, that will make the difference in the election.

If you do not want the kit personally, Americans for Change will guarantee to place as many kits as you will order in the hands of quality precinct and neighborhood Reagan supporters who will know how to use it and will make it happen!

The kits are $19.80 each. For $100 we can send you one kit and place five others. For $1,000 we send you one kit and place sixty other kits with dedicated precinct workers.

Let's make it happen--Together!!! Please send your check <u>today</u>.

Yours very truly,

JOHN L. HARMER

901761

DETROIT CALENDAR

NOTE: (DO NOT [redacted] ANY PREVIOUS CALENDAR) The DETROIT CALENDAR has been prepared as a guide for those who are interested in the Convention and related events. It will be updated several times reflecting changes and additions. Please bear in mind that times, places and events are SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Sun. July 6 5:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Mackinac Ballroom (Level 5)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Organizing Session (Executive Session)
Sun. July 6 6:30 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Cabot Room (Level 4)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Reception for Members (by Invitation)
Mon. July 7 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon	COBO HALL Room 2001A	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Meeting (Open to the Public)
Mon. July 7 2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 2001A	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Hearings (Open to the Public)
Mon. July 7 8:00 p.m.	COBO HALL (Rooms to be Assigned)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Organization of Subcommittees (Executive Session)
Tues. July 8 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon	COBO HALL (Rooms to be Assigned)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Meeting of Subcommittees (Work Session)
Tues. July 8 2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	COBO HALL (Rooms to be Assigned)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Meeting of Subcommittees (Mark-up Session)
Tues. July 8 8:00 p.m.	COBO HALL (Rooms to be Assigned)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Meeting of Subcommittees (Mark-up Session)
Tues. July 8 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 3038	Committee on Contests of the Republican National Committee
Tues. July 8 10:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 3037	Committee on Rules of the Republican National Committee Final Meeting
Tues. July 8 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m.	PONTCHARTRAIN HOTEL Plaza Room "A" Terrace Floor	Committee on Rules of the Republican National Committee Reception and Luncheon
Tues. July 8 10:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.	PONTCHARTRAIN HOTEL Versailles Ballroom (Main Lobby)	Committee on Arrangements Final Meeting
Tues. July 8 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m.	PONTCHARTRAIN HOTEL "Top of the Pontch" (25th Floor)	Committee on Arrangements Reception and Luncheon

901168

(OVER)

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Wed. July 9 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon	COBO HALL (Rooms to be Assigned)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Meeting of Subcommittees (Mark-up Session)
Wed. July 9 2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Mackinac Ballroom (Level 5)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Meeting (First Mark-up Session) (Executive Session)
Wed. July 9 8:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Mackinac Ballroom (Level 5)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Continuation of Full Committee Meeting (Mark-up Session) (Executive Session)
Wed. July 9 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Cartier Room (Level 4)	Republican National Committee Final Meeting of Current Committee
Wed. July 9 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA The Executive Lounge	Republican National Committee Reception and Luncheon
Thurs. July 10 9:00 a.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Mackinac Ballroom (Level 5)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Meeting (Mark-up Session) (Executive Session)
Thurs. July 10 Between the Hours of 11:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m.	VETERANS MEMORIAL BUILDING 151 West Jefferson Avenue (near COBO HALL) Room 614	Delivery of Badges and Tickets for each State to the Members of the Republican National Committee
Thurs. July 10 6:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	BOB-LO BOAT (Docked at JOE LOUIS ARENA)	Reception in Honor of the Republican National Committee Host: The Honorable Coleman A. Young Sponsor: Civic Host Committee, Inc.
Fri. July 11 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Mackinac Ballroom (Level 5)	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Meeting (Final Mark-up Session) (Executive Session)
Fri. July 11 1:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA	Tour of Convention Facilities for Detroit Volunteers Sponsor: Civic Host Committee, Inc. (by Invitation)
Fri. July 11 5:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Renaissance Ballroom (Level 4)	The World's Largest "Detroit Loves a Good Party" Party Sponsor: Civic Host Committee, Inc. (Open Invitation)

(MORE)

901170

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Fri. July 11 7:00 p.m.	MEADOW BROOK HALL Rochester, Michigan (Transportation will be arranged)	Reception and Dinner for Members of Current Republican National Committee Hosts: Chairman and Mrs. Brock (by Invitation)
Fri. July 11 8:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 2001A	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Meeting (Adoption of Proposed Platform) (Open to the Public)
Sat. July 12 12:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.	COBO HALL Hall A	"A Taste of Detroit" -- Press Reception Sponsor: Civic Host Committee, Inc. (Ticketed Event)
Sat. July 12 2:00 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA PAGE HQ (Enter Gate A)	First Briefing Session for Pages
Sat. July 12 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 3037	Committee on Rules and Order of Business -- 1st Meeting
Sun. July 13 10:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 3037	Committee on Rules and Order of Business
Sun. July 13 10:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.	DETROIT GOLF CLUB 17911 Hamilton Drive	Celebrities Gala Brunch Sponsor: Century Club, National Republican Heritage Groups Council (Invitation and Ticketed Event)
Sun. July 13 12:00 Noon - 3:00 p.m.	GREENFIELD VILLAGE Lovett Hall	Congressional Reception Co-Hosts: Senator Robert P. Griffin Congressman Carl D. Pursell (by Invitation)
Sun. July 13 1:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 2043	"WOMEN TO WATCH" -- Press Reception Sponsor: National Federation of Republican Women (by Invitation)
Sun. July 13 2:00 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA PAGE HQ (Enter Gate A)	Final Briefing Session for Pages
Sun. July 13 3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Marquette Room (Level 5)	Hospitality for Sustaining Members of the Republican National Committee Sponsor: Republican National Finance Committee (by Invitation)

(OVER)

901171

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Sun. July 13 4:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS 5200 Woodward Avenue Cultural Center	Governor's Reception Hosts: Governor and Mrs. Milliken (by Invitation)
Sun. July 13 6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 2001A	"A Star Spangled Evening" Sponsor: Republican National Finance Committee (Ticketed Event)
Sun. July 13 8:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Renaissance Ballroom (Level 4)	With One Voice...A Unity Gala Sponsors: National Republican Congressional Committee, National Republican Senatorial Committee, Republican Governors Association, Republican National Committee (Ticketed Event)
Mon. July 14 8:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Renaissance Ballroom (Level 4)	Republican National Convention Prayer Breakfast (Ticketed Event)
Mon. July 14 8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL LaSalle Rooms A and B (Level 5)	Continental Breakfast for NFRW Board of Directors Host: National Federation of Republican Women (Board Members Only)
Mon. July 14 11:00 a.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA	1st Session of the 1980 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Welcoming speeches, official action on Convention Committees, election of the Temporary Chairman, adoption of Temporary Rules, presentation and speeches.
Mon. July 14 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 3037	Committee on Rules and Order of Business Meeting
Mon. July 14 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 3038	Committee on Credentials Meeting
Mon. July 14 2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 3044	Committee on Permanent Organization Meeting
Mon. July 14 2:00 p.m.	COBO HALL Room 2001A	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Final Meeting (Open to the Public)

901172

(MORE)

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Mon. July 14 2:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	PYRAMID GALLERY OF ARTS	Reception to Honor the National Black Republican Council Sponsor: New Republicans of Michigan (by Invitation)
Mon. July 14 5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	DETROIT ATHLETIC CLUB 241 Madison	Reception for the Republican Senatorial Trust Hosts: The Honorable and Mrs. Howard Baker and The Honorable and Mrs. John Heinz (by Invitation)
Mon. July 14 8:00 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA	2nd Session of the 1980 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Temporary Chairman receives gavel from the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, address by Temporary Chairman, address by former President Gerald Ford, and presentation of theme, 'TOGETHER... A NEW BEGINNING'.
Tues. July 15 12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Cartier Room (Level 4)	Reception and Buffet Luncheon Host: The New York Times (by Invitation)
Tues. July 15 3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	PONTCHARTRAIN HOTEL Versailles Ballroom (Main Lobby)	Reception in Honor of Governor and Mrs. Ronald Reagan and Family Sponsor: Young Republican National Federation (Ticketed Event)
Tues. July 15 5:00 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA	3rd Session of the 1980 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Action on the Reports of the Committee on (1) Credentials; (2) Rules and Order of Business; (3) Permanent Organization; and (4) Resolutions (Platform). The Permanent Chairman receives gavel from Temporary Chairman; Keynote address and other speeches.

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901173

(OVER)

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Wed. July 16 11:30 a.m. - 2:30 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Renaissance Ballroom (Level 4)	"Tribute to Republican Women" Luncheon Sponsor: National Federation of Republican Women (Ticketed Event)
Wed. July 16 5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL LaSalle A and B (Level 5)	Reception for Life Members Host: Republican National Finance Committee (by Invitation)
Wed. July 16 7:30 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA	4th Session of the 1980 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Nomination and Election of Candidate for President; Election of new Republican National Committee; Address by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee.
Wed. July 16 8:00 p.m. - 12 Midnight	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL LaSalle Room (Level 5)	Hospitality for Sustaining Members of the Republican National Committee Sponsor: Republican National Finance Committee (by Invitation)
Thurs. July 17 10:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Cabot Room (4th Level)	Women Building Leadership Workshop Sponsor: National Federation of Republican Women
Thurs. July 17 5:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA Executive Lounge	Reception for Members of the New Republican National Committee (Those elected for 1980-84 term) Hosts: Chairman and Mrs. Brock
Thurs. July 17 5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Renaissance Club (St. Claire Room)	Reception for Members of Victory 1980! Sponsor: Republican National Finance Committee (by Invitation)
Thurs. July 17 7:00 p.m.	JOE LOUIS ARENA	5th Session of the 1980 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Nomination and Election of Candidate for Vice President and Acceptance Speeches.
Fri. July 18 8:00 a.m.	DETROIT PLAZA HOTEL Mackinac Ballroom (Level 5)	Republican National Committee Meeting to Organize and to Elect Officers

901174

* * * * * * * * * * *

R. L. FOREE
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
DALLAS, TEXAS

July 11, 1980

Hon. Jack Schmitt
U. S. Senator, New Mexico
Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Sir:

Sorry that I will not be in town on the day of your meeting Friday, July 18th, but I would like to serve on the Texas Advisory Committee of "Reagan for President in 80" if you feel that I can be of assistance.

I would like to know details of John White activity against Reagan. - Sent 7-14-30

Yours very truly,

R. L. FOREE

RLF:JJ

cc: Mr. Norman Brinker
Dallas, Texas

8304042227

902762

Hiram Fong

Americans for Change

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319 Alexandria, Virginia 22314

JUL

2,8,9,10,11,12,1,2,3,4,5,6

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, Co-Chairman
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer
(U.S. Senator Nebraska(Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, Vice Chairman
Executive Director
Reagan for President in '80

Senator Fong -
Counsel must clear
all steering committee
Members. Please fill
out and send in as
soon as possible

Reagan Dinner

Direct Mail

1. Masonic Confusion
   A. 3 major comm / successful
   B. 5 minor comm.
   C. RNC - CCC - SCC
   D. Waiting for Reagan

2. Letterhead

Used	Proposed	We'll move on Ruff's list
A. AFC	A. Senate	first
B. Mailgram	B. Reagangram	American Economic Council - gold standard
C. Urgentgram	C. Ruff Clinic	Plank of RNC
	D. State	Precinct Kits - $10.00	platform

3. Universe - 13,000,000
   A. Test - 200,000
   B. 6 pkgs
   C. Time
   D. Cost 80,000

To Poll

Positives
1. F.R. 200 National
2. Press tool
3. Prestige
4. Campaign strategy
5. DC fundraiser

Negatives
1. Info available elsewhere
2. $20,000 saving
3. Poll analysis national
4. No press coverage/probability

901565

AFC 1/15

Common Cause Suit
Is it an independent expenditure by C.C.?

Preliminary Package
Early Ads
Human Events
Fortune?
Def. Free Press
Content RFPS
Buttons/Bumper/Stickers
Brochures
Reagan Positions
Get-out-the vote
voter packages
phone organization
mailgram

Radio
Song
Feel good about Fortune if...
Hope (Happy Days ...)

$5000 phone calls
CC Suit Hook

Post Election
Surveys
Book

8304021SC

901510

AFL - Actions 1/16

Administration
✓Recent Events
- Follow up
✓Thank yous (Harmon Hr)
- Conference calls

Media
✓Chi - good
✓Bos - none
✓FCC
- General Flow (Bill referral will occur)
✓Problems - Credibility / do something / DC.
Schedule
Conn / Ga / NY

Legal
✓FCC
No more court pleading!
✓Personal Liability - incorporation
"Fortress for Chg"
✓Disclaimer
Scrapbook - Curtis

Ad Wk
- Radio Bush Ad (Sat)
- W. J.
Fund Raising

Contributions to others - Next

900536

Admin
✓ Fundraising
✓ Schedule
✓ "Weekly" program of acts

Acts
✓ D.C.
This wk
Oct plan

Media
Tapes

Comm. Project
✓ Hammer - Hotels/Comb

Litigation
✓ Notice of Appeal - Com. Const
✓ FEC - no word
✓ FEC - Com. Const Complaint
✓ FEC - Itr "reasons to believe"
: coordination
: 9012 F
: name of candidate Anyone Pres

CFHE
Blackburn/Hamilton

830404●21332

900537

AFC Actions 1/23

Administration
- ✓ Address error
- ✓ Accounting
- ✓ Cash Flow
- ✓ Thank yous
- ✓ Pledges
- ✓ Fund Raising
  PAC effort/ Mailings/ Events

Litigation
- ✓ FEC
- ✓ FCC - looks good
- ✓ Incorporation for liability
- ✓ Safeguards

✓ CARTER PROMISE VS MEC
ENEMIES FOR CARTER
NEWSWK: MEG GREENFIELD
DEVIL YOU KNOW

Ad Campaign
- ✓ Wk. V. situation
- ✓ Radio in D.C. / better version?
- ✓ Carter ahead.
- ✓ Opt plan - McDougall - Antook
- ✓ Swing priority
- ✓ For Pol. Ad(s) - Home builders Ad
- ✓ En. Ad ✓ Cattle/Ag Ad

Events

Media -

Phone efforts

Other
- ✓ Senate Races
  "Pro" to all? No
- Evan's
- CFFC

✓ Plans Needed
- CFHE
- Scrapbook
- Last appeal

✓ Senate Decision
- Sen Comm
- Swing States
- Fin States
- 5000 Agg.
- Errors

900538

AFL - ACTIONS 9/9

Administration - Broad

- ✓ Financial Summary
- Staff responsibilities
- Implimentation
  - Schedule
  - Event
  - Follow up
  - "Steering" Activity
- ~~Legal~~

Fund-Raising - Broad

- ✓ IVR Tests/Distribution (-va ltrs/oct 4)
- ✓ Puff stakes (test before mailing)
- ✓ Phone program
  - DC "events"
- ✓ Victory letter mailed

Media Program - B. II

- Schedule
- Surrogate/Surrogate speech
- Press Conf. Plans

Litigation

- FEC filing?

✓ **Ad Program** - Vim (5/500k/2/rest)

- W. J.
- General
- Special - Farm/Jewish/

CFFE Program

Misc

- Response to 2de responses
- Schedule
  - Staff mtgs thru Nov 4
  - NM events thru Nov 4
- RNC/REAGAN STRAT.
  - OCT 4 DAY
  - MEDIA BUDGET
  - TARGET STATES

8204022134

900539

AFC Agenda - 9/3

Administration - Brad

- ✓ Detailed Fin Rpt 5:00 PM
- ✓ Cite for Fair Elect pledges - Jan / Bill

~~(Ballot Access)~~

Litigation -

- ✓ VEA!
- ✓ Next steps
- ✓ Geo. Bush Jr + others - affidavit - Bill (ownership of assets)

Fund Raising

- ✓ Events
- ✓ Raffle 25K + Itr
- IVA - tapes + T-shirts - AFC on each item
- NM/MN — Grassley Itr
- ✓ Annuity? — Call Few in NM (60K)

Expenditures

- ✓ Ad response
- ✓ Wall St J. Ad
- ✓ Ad Plan - URGENT

Reception Ads
Reagan 9 offs
Carter 2 Hacks

Media

- ✓ Plan
- ✓ Person
- ✓ Shots for Thurs (FCC Itr instead)
- ✓ VK to Price

900540

3304021 33

AEC ACTIONS-8/24

BRAD

✓REVIEW STAFF STRUCTURE + RESPN.

✓FINANCES

✓FINANCIAL MGT
COMPTROLLER
BONDING

✓DIRECT MAIL STATUS + SCHED
RNFF

✓IVR STATUS - ISSUE PAPER/SAMPLES/HISPANIC
MINIMUM SATURATION
✓POLL ANALYSIS

✓EVENT SCHEDULE
RNFF
NEWSPERSON

LITIGATION STATUS

LTR/PRESS PREDTN

MEDIA PRESENTATIONS

BAYBAK

GOODNIGHT

240 MTGS

MEDIA SCHED. PLAN
CIN/IND offrs (Lenire/Bailey/Sen. Pol.)
'NBC' MEDIA
Reg. MEDIA
Surrogate MEDIA

900541

8340 2221336

AFC [illegible]

Administration

Compliance Brad/Carol
Re-assignment of responsibilities
** Bonding
** Controller } this wk
(1) Brad Rept
✓ Financial Rept

Fund Raising

✓ West Coast results / D.C. event
* Future Event Schedule - This
✓ Phone effort

Direct Mail Status
Direct Mail Plan

Litigation

✓ Status
✓ Schedule
✓ Law Suit letters { copied by Bowen - 24hrs
drafted Hathaway Wed
TV appearances
(Julian / [illegible] Bonner

Expenditures

✓ IVR - 5000 ? (35¢) this wk
✓ Survey - Seminar ? this wk
Nat'l Act. ?
Ruff Reagan interview ? this wk

Tues Dist Court Const: Voter Mtg 5th
Dist Court Appeals 12 noon - 1:00 pm

Steering Comm's

Status
Tasks

Media

* Newsletter

900542

* wk by phone

8304042137

July 8, Tuesday

Socorro

RON - Socorro

July 9, Wednesday

Belen

RON - ABQ

July 10 - Thursday

Santa Fe and Espanola

RON - Santa Fe

July 11, Friday

AFC breakfast

6:49p Dpt ABQ on FL 818
7:31p Arr Farmington

RON - Farmington

July 12, Saturday

Aztec

5:47p Dpt Farmington on FL 815
6:28p Arr ABQ. Change to TW 105
8:10p Dpt ABQ on TW 105
8:26p Arr Las Vegas

RON - Las Vegas

July 13, Sunday

AFC brunch

2:05p Dpt Las Vegas on AA 70
7:17p Arr ORD. Change to AA 564
8:00p Dpt ORD on AA 564
10:01p Arr Detroit

RON - Detroit, Richelieu Inn

July 14, Monday

Opening session of Convention.

RON - Detroit

900543

8304042213E

AFL Actions 8/5

Administration

Brad: Keep Carol informed!!

Staff status

Media Staff plan - Newsletter approved

Odd + ends in pouch

Bonding - by 8/23

Controller by 8/23

Financial Report

Fund Raising -

St. Louis

Summary of previous events

Future events

Schedule

Principals.

Direct mail status + effectiveness

Direct mail plan - $110K for 3 drops approx

Mini Phone Plan / Duemberger / Hamm / others

Litigation

Status

Expenditures

IVA

LAST Media Strategy

Survey - pros + cons - GO for 8/15

Hispanic

Black

Ethnic

900544

8304042139

July 15, Tuesday

12:00 Dpt Detroit on UA 121
12:02p Arr ORD. Chg to DL 1757
1:25p Dpt ORD on DL 1757
2:18p Arr St. Louis.

AFC Dinner

RON - St. Louis

July 16, Wednesday

9:55a Dpt St. Louis on TW 588
12:12p Arr Detroit

Third session of convention - Presidential balloting

RON - Detroit

July 17, Thursday

Final session of convention - Vice Presidential balloting and acceptances.

RON - Detroit

July 18, Friday

8:15a Dpt Detroit on AA 199.
9:48p Arr Dallas/Fort Worth.

AFC Lunch

3:30p Dpt DFW on AA 634
4:21p Arr Houston

AFC Dinner

RON - Houston

July 19, Saturday

7:29a Dpt Houston on CO 57
8:15a Arr San Antonio

AFC Lunch

3:00p Dpt San Antonio on WN 180 (Southwest Air)
3:50p Arr DAL. Chg to WN 352.
4:40p Dpt DAL on WN 352
5:35p Arr Midland

AFC Dinner

RON - Midland

900545

8304042140

AFC Action 1/29

Administration

~~Status~~
√Organization

√Financial Control
√Financial Rept
√Staff (PRESS/EXPENDITURES/SCHED)

~~Media~~

Fund Raising

√Status Rept
√Scheduled events

√Planned events
√Direct Mail scheduled
√Direct Mail planned

Litigation

√Status

Will not intervene in C/M suit on certification

Expenditures

IVK
IAK
Contrib limits to State Parties (Dems n Reps working plans)

Media ~~Campaign~~

Coverage
Schedule
Plans

330404 2 1 4 1 1

900546

AFC ACTIONS 7/1

✓ Memo on Actions + mtgs
✓ Review Steering Comm.
  ✓ volunteers (175) 10 lost
  ✓ verification (-70)
  ✓ assignments
✓ National Finance Chrm - Welsh
  # Stein's notes
  Review Legal / Statutes
  ✓ Legal Foundation Letter - Jan 7/4
  ✓ FEC actions 9012-F
  ✓ Review process computer-ic
  ✓ Com. Comm / DNC strategy / Suit
✓ Detroit Activities - Luncheon /
  ✓ Connor Saito -
Press Activities
  ✓ Major Releases - Date
  ✓ Local Releases
    Reagan positions
    AFC Special Orders research
      Positive AR positions in reaction to events of the preceding week
✓ RFP's - Brad
    Radio
      Jingle
    Direct Mail
    Precinct Pack
✓ Schedule
✓ Brochure
    Darmburger version?
    "Business" card - 3x5
Dallas
    Thank yous + contrib request

Texas - Dee Kelley
Mich - Romney
San Diego - Bill Davis
NM - Neff / Champalis
Okla - Black
MO - MacDonald

900547

AFC Actions

✓ Finance Co-Chairmen
Ruff - Presentation / Inaugural Regan / Bush
~~Whitehead~~
Keating
'Washington'

✓ Special Sub Committees
Hispanic / Gabor / Black / Ethnic / Small Bus

✓ Precinct Kits
FRW - Judy Bonelli (Denver)
Lee Hansen (Abq)
Proposals
Co. Chairmen

✓ Advocacy Kits

Events
Comm - Lodge / Hartford
Midland, etc in Tx
Minnesota in midwest

Oct Staff
Dinn
Julian
~~Post~~
~~Success~~

✓ Admin
· Income / courtesy control
· Expenses on trips
· Event Coordtn

✓ Lawsuit
✓ Status / Timing
✓ Other groups carry
✓ Future FEC questions
✓ State Steering indep.?
✓ Corp. mailing

✓ Lists
Eagles - Conner (1000)
Hillsborough
Ruff
Peter

· Personnel Schedule
✓ Finance Control
✓ Admin Control
✓ RFPs
✓ Poll

'Membership'
Recaps by category/event

900548

3304042221-43

Sunday

09a Dpt Midland on TI 969
05a Arr DFW. Chg to TI 404
30a Dpt DFW on TI 404
45a Arr Kansas City

Lunch

5p Dpt Kansas City on TW 402
10p Arr NYC

N - NYC

Monday

Breakfast

00a Dpt NYC on Eastern Shuttle
00a Arr Wash. Nat.

8304042214 4

900549

AFC Actions (by 6/30)

- ✓ Accelerate "independence" efforts
  - Assign fund raising responsibilities
    - Short form 990's (10K)
  - ✓ Distribute "rules of conduct" for AFC - Jim
  - Distribute Brochure/Button/card kit
- ✓ Comm with steering com.
- ✓ 6/18 Press release/conference? Brad-Thurs
  - New AFC members
  - Fin. Chairman
  - Secretary
- ✓ Begin My phone cards!
- ✓ Select Press director - Brad
- ✓ Finalize Brochure - Susan/Jim
- ✓ Legal Opinion - Jim
- ✓ Final Decision on Flanagan/Reed
  - Plenty for two committees
  - Different approaches
  - Question of their independence
- ✓ Draft Fund raising assignment list - Brad/John
- ✓ Draft Expenditure Shopping list
- ✓ Reagan Spending Analysis
- ✓ Schedule Steering Comm Monthly Mtgs - Brad
- ✓ Convention function - Brad/John
- ✓ Audit Firm - Carl

AFC FUTURE

900550

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

- ✓ Receipts/letters/parchments/pins
- ✓ THANK YOU's for L.A.

=AFC

3304042145

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steering Committee members

FROM: Sen. Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, Chairman

I appreciate your commitment to assist in our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

Under separate cover, I am sending to you a list of over 100 individuals such as yourself who have expressed to me their interest in serving on the Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Our major project this fall will be to inform American voters about Governor Reagan and why he should be our next President. Any individual may contribute up to $5,000 to Americans for Change to help us get the message out. This includes individuals who may have contributed or worked for Governor Reagan in the primary. But as a Steering Committee member, I must ask you to fill out a questionnaire prepared by our counsel. The purpose of the questionnaire is to ascertain the nature of your previous activity on behalf of Governor Reagan, if any. Your affirmative response to one of these questions does not necessarily preclude your serving.

Our counsel, Jan Baran, of the firm of Baker & Hostetler and former Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission, will review your completed questionnaire. Please include your telephone number so that Mr. Baran may reach you if necessary to discuss any of your responses.

Only those who have submitted completed questionnaires, received and approved by counsel, will be permitted to serve on the Steering Committee. So please return your questionnaire as quickly as possible to Americans for Change, 218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, VA 22314 (703) 683-0304.

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

902068

8304042146

INSTRUCTIONS

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE is a political committee not authorized by any candidate which will be making independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan for the 1980 presidential general election. The Federal Election Campaign Act and Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations require that these type of expenditures be made without cooperation or consultation with, and not in concert or at the request or suggestion of Governor Reagan, his authorized committee or his agents. In order to ensure that expenditures are made independent of Governor Reagan or his authorized campaign, all officers and personnel of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE are requested to fill out this questionnaire prior to their involvement in making such expenditures. This document will be reviewed by the committee's counsel and retained with the committee's records.

The term "agent" as used in this questionnaire means any person who has actual oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of Governor Reagan, or means any person who has been placed in a position within the Reagan campaign where it would reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures.

Also included with these papers is a list of your fellow board members, their addresses and phone numbers.

Temporary offices have been set up at:

218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-683-0304

For more information, contact Brenda Jones at the above phone number.

8304042217

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, _____, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902070

_____ _____

Date Signature

83040422116

83040422145

WHAT IS AN INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE?

The Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended ("FECA"), regulates the manner in which candidates for President, U.S. Senator, and U.S. Representative may finance their election campaigns. In addition to requiring extensive disclosure of campaign finances by candidates and committees, the FECA also limits the amounts that individuals and committees may contribute to candidates. Furthermore, the FECA places a limit on how much a candidate for President may spend on his campaign, if the candidate accepts U.S. Treasury money to finance his campaign. Presidential candidates in the general election who accept public funds may not accept any private contributions.

The Supreme Court of the United States has held that the above provisions of the FECA are constitutional. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976). The Supreme Court, however, specifically ruled that neither the FECA nor Congress could limit the amount of money that individuals and groups may spend on behalf of, but independent from, any candidate. Such expenditures are defined as "independent expenditures" and mean expenditures which advocate the election or defeat of a candidate, but which are made without any arrangement coordination or direction of the candidate, his committee or agents. The FECA and the Buckley case allow committees, such as AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, to make unlimited independent expenditures on behalf of a presidential candidate.

902071

July 17, 1980

Mr. Addison Lanier
2582 Grandin Road
Cincinnati, Ohio 45208

Dear Mr. Lanier:

Senator Harrison Schmitt has informed me of your willingness to serve on the Steering Committee. I've enclosed an information packet for you.

The committee may accept contributions up to a legal maximum of $5,000 for an individual, $10,000 for a husband and wife. When you receive this packet, please call me in Washington, D. C. at (202) 683-0304.

Sincerely,

Brad O'Leary
Vice-Chairman

Enc.

902711

8304042150

Corporate Public Affairs
Financial Relations
Market Planning
Counsel

July 21, 1980

The Honorable
Senator Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
281 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Senator Schmitt:

It is our pleasure to be in communication with you, speaking as public relations counsel for Howard J. Ruff. We have enclosed copies of press releases announcing Mr. Ruff's appointment as finance co-chairman of the "Americans for Change" Committee.

We look forward to assisting you, through Mr. Ruff, in any way we can in the campaign months ahead, and we wish you much success in your endeavors.

Sincerely,

Michael Baybak
Senior Partner
MICHAEL BAYBAK AND COMPANY
Public Relations Counsel
for Howard J. Ruff

MB:lf

enc

cc: Mr. Yan Baran
Mr. Brad O'Leary

8304042151

901519

Corporate Public Affairs
Financial Relations
Market Planning
Counsel

FOR: HOWARD J. RUFF
Target Publishers, Inc.
P.O. Box 2000
San Ramon, CA 94583
CONTACT: Howard Ruff
(209) 526-5707

CONTACT: Michael
Baybak or Tom Paquette
(213) 557-2225

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Wednesday, July 16, 1980

FINANCIAL ADVISOR HOWARD J. RUFF ACCEPTS
"AMERICANS FOR CHANGE" FINANCIAL CO-CHAIRMANSHIP

DETROIT, MICHIGAN -- Prominent economic commentator and financial advisor Howard J. Ruff was today selected by the "Americans for Change" Independent Political Committee to become the group's financial co-chairman. "Americans for Change," headed by Senator Harrison H. (Jack) Schmitt (R-N.M.) will call on Ruff to help raise $20 million in voluntary political contributions to be used primarily for support of Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign.

"Americans for Change" is included in a list of independent organizations presently withstanding efforts by Common Cause to limit the fund raising activities of the individual political committees. The Federal Election Commission, which recently rejected court action initiated by Common Cause alleging violations of federal campaign financing laws, Tuesday requested a federal court declaratory judgement to rule on the legality of expenditures in excess of $1,000.00 on behalf of Reagan's candidacy by the "Americans for Change" and two other independent committees.

(more)

901520

8304042132

9301 Wilshire Boulevard
Suite 304
Beverly Hills, California 90210
Telephone: (213) 557-2225

Ruff, an outspoken critic of federal spending and money creation measures, is the author of the major best seller HOW TO PROSPER DURING THE COMING BAD YEARS (nearly 3 million copies sold). His expansion into the arena of political grass roots activity follows five years as financial advisor and editor-in-chief of the 150,000-subscriber RUFF TIMES financial advisory service, the nation's largest and most influential economic newsletter. In addition, Ruff presently hosts the nationally syndicated RUFF HOUSE television program and is heard on about 200 radio stations nationwide on the RUFF RADIO REPORT, a daily syndicated financial commentary.

"I'm doing this (accepting the position with "Americans for Change") because I'm a scared American," Ruff said in response to questions about his new position. "I'm doing it because I am aware of the crucial political-economic situation we are in here in America. If we don't make significant changes now to bring about real change in the months to come, the present financial mismanagement is going to lead to the complete devastation of capital in this country. For this reason, I am wholeheartedly in support of Ronald Reagan in his bid for the presidency."

####

901521

8304042153

830422154

41

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY MARYLAND

OFFICE OF COUNTY EXECUTIVE

LAWRENCE J. HOGAN
COUNTY EXECUTIVE

July 25, 1980

Dear Jack:

As I mentioned to you in Detroit, because I am on the National Committee and intend to play an active role in the Reagan campaign, I will be unable to serve on Americans for Change. I believe both positions are incompatible and may present legal difficulties for your group. The Democrats are looking for any excuse to call it an extension of the campaign and disallow its fund raising activities.

I wish your organization success. If I can every be of assistance to you in another regard, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Larry

Lawrence J. Hogan

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

900

902803

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I support your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☑ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☑ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250
..... $.....

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name William J. Weller MD

Address 537 Bear Paw Terr.

City/State/Zip Colorado Springs Colo. 80906

Occupation MD

Name of employer MD

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

8304042155

8304042156

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I support your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☒ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☐ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250
..... $.....

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name Clarence R. Jones
Address 3445 Wilton Way
City/State/Zip Augusta, Ga. 30909

Occupation Consultant
Name of employer Self Employed

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

902720

8304042215 7

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I support your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☑ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☐ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)	..... $500
..... $2,500	..... $250
..... $1,000	..... $.....

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name [illegible]

Address [illegible]

City/State/Zip [illegible]

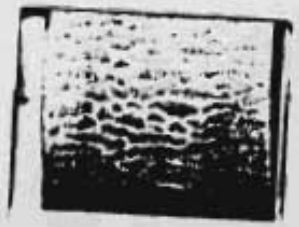
Occupation [illegible]

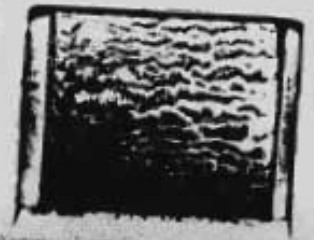
Name of employer [illegible]

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

LL

901180





8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 1 5 8

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I support your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☒ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☒ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250
..... $100

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

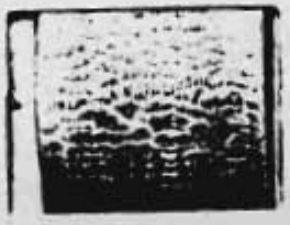
(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

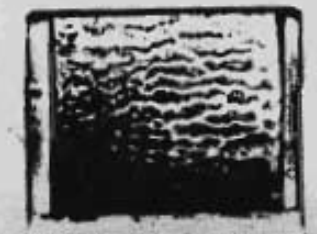
Name Leo A. Hoegh
Address 5620 Timpa Rd
City/State/Zip Chipita Park Colo 80811

Occupation Lawyer
Name of employer Self

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

901184





8304042215 9

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I support your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☑ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☐ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250
..... $.....

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name E. L. Shannon, Jr.

Address P. O. Box 4000

City/State/Zip Alhambra, CA 91802

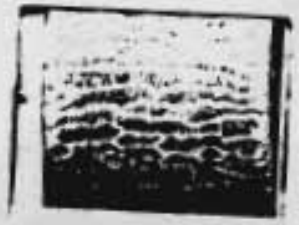
Occupation Chairman & CEO

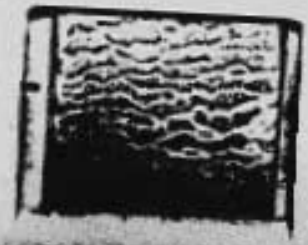
Name of employer Santa Fe International Corporation

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

LL

901187





8304042216 0

Dear Senator Schmitt:

~~I support~~ your stand for Ronald Reagan.

[X] I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

[X] I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..X.. $250
..... $.....

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

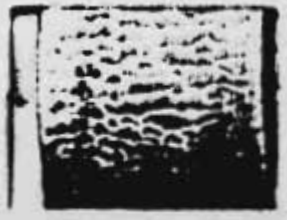
Name V.H. VAN HORN
Address POBox 758
City/State/Zip HOUSTON TEX 77001

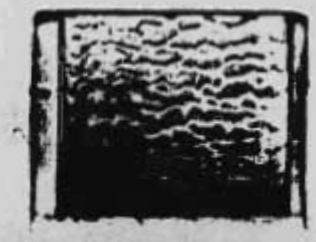
Occupation PRESIDENT
Name of employer NATIONAL CONVENIENCE STORES

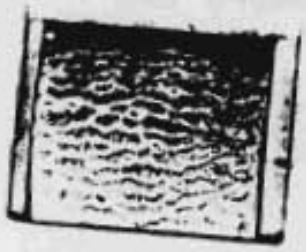
Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

LL

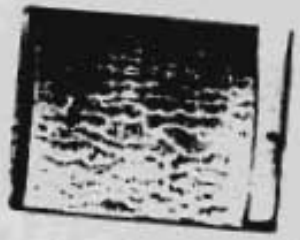
901188







8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 1 6 1



901189

Dear Senator Schmitt:

~~Support~~ your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☑ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☐ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)	..... $500
..... $2,500	..... $250
..... $1,000	..... $.....

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name Jarod S. Wold

Address P.O. Box 114

City/State/Zip CASPER, WYO 82602

Occupation GEOLOGIST

Name of employer SELF

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

NSC

8304042216 2

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I support your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☐ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☐ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250
..✓... $ 100 —

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name E. F. Brainard
Address 600 Sierra Madre Bl
City/State/Zip San Marino, CA 91108

Occupation Retired
Name of employer .....
Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

LL

901178

8304042216 3

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I support your stand for Ronald Reagan.

☒ I will serve as a member of the National Steering Committee

☒ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000 (legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250.00 Sorry we
..... $10.— could contribute more but we are very short of cash

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name ..... J. D. NETTINGHAM

Address ..... 7561 KELLEN RD

City/State/Zip ..... COLORADO SPG CO 80919

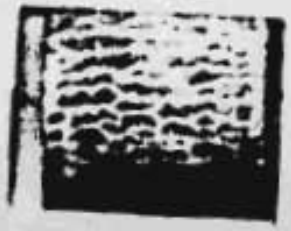
Occupation Retired

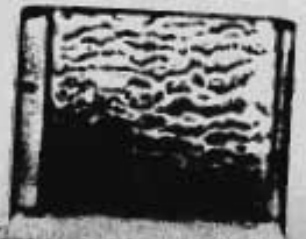
Name of employer None

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

GS

902798





REQUEST FORM

Please send following to (Name) Senator George Murphy

(Address) 1200 S. Flagler Dr

(City) West Palm Beach

(State/ZIP) Florida -( )

- ☐ National steering committee
- ☐ General information
- ☐ Finance committee
- ☐ State Steering Committee
- ☐ Information attached
- ☐ Enclose

- ☐ Personal letter from _____.
- ☐ Voter Chairman Kit
- ☐ Advisory Committee
- ☐ Press request
- ☐ Staff

_____

- ☐ Brochure
- ☐ Reagan Gran
- ☐ Advisory letter package
- ☐ Voter letter package
- ☐ Voter kit flyer
- ☐ Voter kit
- ☐ Button
- ☐ Legal opinion

- ☐ Wall Street Journal
- ☐ Wall Street Journal E
- ☐ Wall Street Journal E
- ☐ George Will Column
- ☐ Bill Safire Column
- ☐ Human Events
- ☐ Congressional Quarterly

Steering Committee Questionaire
+ instruction sheet.
~~Be sure & enclose Envelope w/ stamps~~

Mail

- ☐ Express Mail
- ☒ Federal Express
- ☐ Surface Mail

- ☐ Parcel Post
- ☐ Counter to Counter

902712

3304042216

Date_____ #_____

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$_____ to _____

_____

_____

for the following purpose:

_____

_____

_____

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

_____ or _____

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

_____ _____

Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

_____

Americans for Change Comptroller

902189

8304042216 5

Date _____ /_____

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $_____ to _____

_____

for the following purpose:

_____

_____

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____

Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____

Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____ OR _____

Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

_____ OR _____

Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____

Brad O'Leary

PAYMENT:

Check #_____
Date _____
Amount _____

902471

8304042216 6

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELEX: 197643 BAKEOST
TELECOPIER: (202) 857-0010

IN CLEVELAND, OHIO
1956 UNION COMMERCE BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8375

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
500 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32802
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-

August 22, 1980

John W. Rollins
Chairman of the Board
of RLC Corporation
2200 Concord Pike
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

Dear Mr. Rollins:

Thank you for your initial interest in becoming a member of the National Steering Committee for Americans For Change.

With respect to the letter of June 16, 1980 from your assistant, Ms. Hambleton, I agree that your association with Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign may jeopardize the independence of Americans For Change. Therefore, as legal counsel to the committee I have advised the Chairman, Senator Schmitt, that you should not participate on the National Steering Committee by mutual agreement. Nonparticipation does not preclude you, however, from making an individual contribution to Americans For Change.

Again, many thanks for your interest in Americans For Change.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

cc: Senator Harrison Schmitt

8304042167

901620

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? yes ___ no ✓

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? yes ___ no ✓

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? yes ___ no ✓

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? yes ___ no ✓

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? yes ___ no ✓

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? yes ___ no ✓

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? (over please) yes ___ no ✓

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? yes ___ no ___

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, William N. Cafritz, have answered the (print or type name) above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. ~~900004~~

June 18, 1980
Date

William N. Cafritz
Signature

900003

8304 of 2168

I have made a $1,000 contribution
To his Campaign.

83040422169

900004

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✓ no

Sec #1

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no ✓

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no ✓

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

See general add for question #1

yes ✓ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no ✓

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ✓ no

see #2 answer only

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes no ✓

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes no ✓

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, William A Kirkpatrick, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

17 July 1980
Date

William A. Kirkpatrick
Signature

000001

83040422170

1 Dinner tickets for Reagon Dinner Party in Denver
was not on Committee

2 Standard campaign literature

83040422171

900002

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? P

yes no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ✓

yes no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ✓

yes no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ✓

yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ✓

yes no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ✓

yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ✓

yes no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ✓

yes no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY, ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Rick Barker, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902062

9-10-80
Date

Rick K. Barker
Signature

R.R. 1
Williamson, In 46186

317-799-2500-3173x6213

83040122172

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no V

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no V

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no V

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ! no ___

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? Have served as Acting Chairman of Finance Committee

yes ___ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ___ no !

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes ___ no !

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ___ no !

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, [illegible] F. KELLY JR., have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902055

June 30, 1980
Date

[signature]
Signature

30040221773

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? yes ✓ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? yes ✓ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ✓ yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? yes ✓ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ✓ yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? yes ✓ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

606-252-8961

I, Louie B. Nunn, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902049

7/14/80
Date

Louie B Nunn
Signature

83040422177

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ___ yes X no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, GEORGE L MURPHY, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902048

Aug 16 1980
Date

Geo L. Murphy
Signature

83040422175

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✓ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no ✓

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no ✓

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

See answer to question #1

yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no ✓

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ✓ no

See #7 answer

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes no ✓

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes no ✓

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, William A Kirkpatrick, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902043

17 July 1980
Date

William A. Kirkpatrick
Signature

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Nat'l. Finance

Co Chairman

DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATES, INC.
MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENTAL CONSULTANTS

FERNANDO E.C. DE BACA
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

(703) 751-9017 (home)

(703) 979-0100
(212) 679-6510
(508) 243-3537

2924 COLUMBIA PIKE
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22204

...tions before comple...ng)

...been authorized to raise
... Reagan's 1980 presidential
campaign? yes ✓ no

...been authorized to expend
...s 1980 presidential
campaign? yes ✓ no

...received any compensation
...rnor Reagan, his campaign
...ents with respect to his
...? yes ✓ no

...endered any voluntary
...n or his campaign
...his 1980 presidential
campaign? yes ✓ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? yes ✓ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? yes ✓ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? yes ✓ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Fernando E.C. De Baca, have answered the above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.
(print or type name)

902030

September 24, 1980
Date

Fernando E.C. De Baca
Signature

8304042177

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? SPEAKER IN PARTY for Mr. Reagan. X yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? Just The State (Alabama Election Comm. Title X yes ___ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? BUT They will on just like ___ yes X no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? (Local Party Same as #4 X yes ___ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Tom Beal, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902020

Aug 25 1980 Tom Beal
Date Signature

83040422176

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? X yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Samuel C Jackson, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902039

July 16, 1980
Date

Samuel Jackson
Signature

33040422175

Question #6 –

I was requested to attend a meeting w/ Reagan – Bush + supporters on Fri July 17 at the conclusion of GOP convention in Detroit.

I attended + received a brief explanation of campaign strategy. Reagan + Bush were present for approx. 10 - 15 minutes. There was no discussion regarding campaign receipts or expenditures.

Samuel Jackson

8304042180

902040

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ___ yes X no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, [illegible], have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

[illegible]
Date

[illegible] 902025
Signature

83040422181

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? X yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, LANE DWINELL, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

6/25/80 — Date

Lane Dwinell — Signature

902031

83040221821

acted as New Hampshire Chairman of Governor Reagan's Primary Campaign 1979-80.

8304042218 3

902032

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ✓ yes ___ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ? yes ___ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ? yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Ellen Garwood (Mrs St. John Garwood), have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902033

6/23/80
Date

Mrs St. John Garwood
Signature

83040122136

6/23/80

Since early last fall I have been a member of the $10,000 Club for Reagan, pledged to raise at least $10,000 for Reagan for President. Early in 1980 I was asked by the organizer of the $10,000 Club, Mr. Charles Z. Wick - to try to raise $15,000 more or $25,000 in all for Reagan for President. I have raised about $17,000 so far.

Answers to questions 5 and 6 are difficult. As to 5 I suppose I am not an officer, though I am a fund-raiser for Texas congressional district 10 - Austin and vicinity. As to question 6, I have been advised of the need for funds, of course - the areas where funds are needed such as bumper stickers, phone banks, literature etc. And my fund-raising for Reagan for President is, of course, a voluntary service, in answer to question 4.

Ellen Garwood
(Mrs. St. John Garwood)

[redacted]
, telephone (512) 476-4465

P.S. I, unfortunately, cannot give any funds, except to Reagan for which I have already given my FEC limit for the year. E.G.

902034

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before co...

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes x no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes x no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes x no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

x yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

? yes ? no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

x yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

___ yes x no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

___ yes x no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Mills E. Godwin, Jr., have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902035

July 15, 1980
Date

Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Signature

30401221 6

4. In response to question No. 4, I have been requested by Governor Reagan to help lead a "Virginians for Reagan" group in Virginia. This will be a group that will include largely non Republicans who will be supporting Governor Reagan this fall. It is not designed as a fund raising group and will work independently of but collaborate with the regular Republican campaign organization.

5. In response to question No. 5, I am not an officer of any authorized committee of Governor Reagan except that I am serving as Co-chairman, along with J. William Middendorf of McLean, Virginia, of the Committee of Virginians for Reagan.

6. In regard to question No. 6, I have discussed the fall campaign with Governor Reagan and several of his close advisors and certain literature regarding the campaign has been furnished to me, but no funds have been requested and none have been received.

83040422187

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? No Only usual literature ? ___ yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes ✓ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, R. A. Rickenbach, have answered the above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

(print or type name)

902058

6-20-80
Date

Signature ~ R. A. Rickenbach
Press Coord. Ohio

830042218 6

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? See Back 4 Page

___ yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

___ yes X no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

Don Samuelson

I, DON W. SAMUELSON, SANDPOINT IDAHO, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

July 2, 1980
Date

Don W Samuelson
Signature

902059

83040422186

(4) I attended a workshop in Seattle - Western Leadership Seminar - Oct 13-14-1979 and Paid my own expenses -

Sent $100.00 Mar 12 - 1980 to Reagan Finance Committee -

(8) We have been in contact by Phone and Letter, several times during the Past Year or so - I have Made Commitments to Support him & Work for his Election - but nothing has been discussed in the way of finances.

8304042190

902060

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ___ yes X no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Diane C. Davis, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

June 27, 1980
Date

Diane C. Davis
Signature

902028

830042212 1

I served on Gov. Reagan's National Advisory Committee. I also served as Honorary Chairman of the Vermont Reagan for Pres. Committee during the primaries. In that capacity I did help to raise small amounts of money for the Primary campaigns. Since the close of the Primaries I have not been active.

June 28, 1980.

8304042219

902029

WALES MADDEN
ATTORNEY
712 WEST NINTH AVE
AMARILLO, TEXAS 79101

June 13, 1980

Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Gentlemen:

I have completed and enclosed your form of even date herewith.

Please note that my wife and I each have given the Reagan Campaign $1000.

Also, I have signed the enclosed and joined the Americans for Change, with the understanding that I will not be precluded from becoming active in the Reagan Campaign Committee at a later date, should I so elect. In such event, I assume it would be necessary for me to resign from the Americans for Change.

Please advise in the event I am in error in this understanding.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Wales Madden Jr.

WMas

encl

P.S. Please note my correct mailing address, as reflected in this letterhead.

8304221935

902046

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes ✓ no

9. SUBJECT TO THE ATTACHED LETTER OF EVEN DATE.

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, WALES H. MADDEN JR, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902047

JUNE 13, 1980
Date

Wales H. Madden Jr.
Signature

83042212924

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ✓ yes ___ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes ✓ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, G. N. Parrott (print or type name), have answered the above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902050

6-30-80
Date

Signature

83042219

I attended the fund raiser for Governor
Reagan at Jobie Thompsons home here in Dallas
at the request of John Connally - Myself
and 4 each contributed $1000 to his campaign!

JP

8304042196

902051

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ✓ yes ___ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ✓ yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ✓ yes ___ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ✓ yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes ✓ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, MAXWELL M. RABB, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902052

June 19, 1980
Date

Maxwell M. Rabb
Signature

8304042197

1. I have been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 Presidential campaign for the past 8 or 9 months. There have been many occasions (e.g., the November 11th opening dinner of the Reagan campaign) to solicit funds. I have been doing this work on many occasions in recent days.

4. I have been rendering voluntary services to a considerable extent to Governor Reagan and this is covered for the period of 9-10 months.

5. I am an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee. I hold the post of a Vice Chairman of the Reagan National Committee.

6. From time to time I have been provided with information about the campaign plans, etc. of Governor Reagan relating to the 1980 Presidential election campaign.

8304042219E

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✓ no ___

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ✓ no ___

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes ___ no ✓

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ___ no ✓

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, ARTHUR SPITZER, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902063

6-15-80
Date

Signature

30042219S

To Questions 4 and 6 :

I was asked to make Contribution and ask others - to make Contribution to Gov. Reagen's campaign.
I did Contribute $ 1000.= and my daughter Violet, did Contribute $ 1000.=

8304042220C

902064

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? X yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? CHAIRMAN FOR REAGAN IN ILLINOIS. X yes ___ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? X yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, JOHN LODGE, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902044

Date

Signature

8304222201

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ~~no~~

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ~~no~~

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ~~no~~

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ~~no~~

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ~~no~~

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ~~no~~

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes ~~no~~

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ~~no~~

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, George W. Romney, have answered the (print or type name) above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902056

Date 7/24/80 Signature

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes (no)

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes (no)

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes (no)

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes (no)

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes (no)

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes (no)

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes (no)

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes (no)

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

our

I, _____, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

6/30/80
Date

Signature

902026

3304012202 3

Donneane from the local Committee asked me to be a delegate to the State Republican Party in Gov. Reagans behalf - Which I accepted.

W. E. Cannon

8304042220

902027

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? (over please)

yes ___ no ✓

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ___ no ___

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, William N. Cafritz, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

August 18, 1980
Date

William N. Cafritz
Signature

002024

30042220

ANNA CHENNAULT
INVESTMENT BUILDING
1511 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

(202) 347-0516

July 22, 1980

The Honorable
Harrison Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

At the Republican convention in Detroit, Chairman Bill Brock and legal advisor of Reagan Committee again urged me to resign from your committee. Our responsibility is to win the election for Reagan and Bush. Since I am officially serving as Chairwoman for Nationalities for Reagan, I have to resign from your organization.

I do hope you understand. However, I continue to serve and make contributions and raise money not only for the Eagles, but also for the Senatorial Trust, as well as the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Good luck to all your good work.

Warmest regards,

Anna Chennault

8304042206

902004

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ___ no ✓

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes ___ no ✓

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ___ no ✓

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Mike Sue Talley (Mrs. Tom) (print or type name) have answered the above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902065

Date 1 1982

Signature Mrs. Tom Talley (Mike Sue Talley)

(FCAM 2)

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 2 0 7

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? I spoke in favor of procedural issues which benefited the delegates pledged to Governor Reagan at the 7th ward K.C. Mo. mass meeting.

X yes ___ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

___ yes X no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

___ yes X no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, DAVID Q. REED, have answered the (print or type name)

above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

6/13/80
Date

David Q. Reed
Signature

902054

83040222 03E

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to receive contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ___ yes ✓ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes ✓ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, The Hon. Clare Boothe Luce, have answered the above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.
(print or type name)

992045

6/13/80
Date

Clare Boothe Luce
Signature

83040222033

HERMAN GEO. KAISER, OIL PRODUCER 4120 EAST 51st STREET TULSA, OKLAHOMA 74135

GEORGE B. KAISER - Mgr. Production, Acquisitions
DON H. NELSON - Mgr. Exploration

Telephone (918) 743-6655

June 20, 1980

Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Attention: Senator Harrison

Dear Senator:

This is to confirm receipt of your memorandum referring to Steering Committee members. Your letter also contained two clippings of Human Events and CQ Politics; however, it did not contain any questionnaire.

I have already filled out the questionnaire and stated that I have supported Governor Reagan directly with the maximum amount, and I have sent upon his request various checks to previous candidates for Presidency, as well as, other Republician causes and congressional candidates.

I am also an "Eagle" and will contribute the maximum to this year's elections.

I shall be leaving for abroad on June 23, and will not return before the middle of September.

I am expecting a letter from either Joe Rogers or Buck Byars to finalize my contributions.

Sincerely yours,

Herman G. Kaiser

HGK:dm

SENATOR, HE WERE "NEIGHBORS" AT A DINNER IN SEN. BAKER'S HOUSE (SENATORIAL COM.)

902041

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no EXCEPT CONTRIBUTIONS $100 AND ENCLOSED OTHERS TO BE LISTED

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? ___ yes X no RECVD. ONLY FORM-LETTERS

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no EXCEPT $100

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, HERMAN GEO. KAISER, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief. 902042

TULSA, 6/16 80
Date

Herman Geo. Kaiser
Signature

33040422211

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign? ___ yes X no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign? X yes ___ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections? ___ yes X no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE? ___ yes X no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, [signature], have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902037

June 24 1980
Date

[signature]
Signature

- over -

33042221

HORACE A. HILDRETH
14 SPRUCE LANE
CUMBERLAND FORESIDE
PORTLAND, MAINE 04110

TELEPHONES
AREA CODE 207
OFFICE 781-4141
RESIDENCE 781-3723

SUMMER RESIDENCE
BELFAST 338-3573

8304042213

902038

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✓ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✗ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✗ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✗ no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✗ no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes ✓ no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes ✗ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ✗ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, Andujar, (print or type name), have answered the above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902019

Date

Signature

8304222214

before completing)

authorized to raise
agan's 1980 presidential

yes ✓ no

n authorized to expend
1980 presidential

yes ✓ no

eceived any compensation
rnor Reagan, his campaign
gents with respect to his
n?

yes ✓ no

rendered any voluntary
gan or his campaign
o his 1980 presidential

yes ✓ no

e served as an officer of
orized committee with respect
al campaign?

yes ✓ no

gan, his campaign committee
provided you with any
campaign's plans, projects
t to the 1980 presidential

yes ✓ no

eagan, his campaign committee
s suggested to you or requested
pendent expenditures on his
1980 presidential elections?

yes ✓ no

ulted with Governor Reagan, his
e or any of his agents regarding
nditures before agreeing to parti-
tivities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ✓ no

U HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE
QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY
E BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE
t.

W. F. Rockwell, Jr. , have answered the
(print or type name)
ns to the best of my knowledge and belief.

W. F. Rockwell, Jr.
Signature

902057

8 0 4 0 4 2 2 2 1

received letter to fill out additional form.

Robert H. Allen send questionnaire tell to consult w/ Schmitt
Chairman of Board & Chief Exec. Officer
Gulf Resources & Chemical Corp.
47th Floor, 1100 Milam Bldg
Houston, Texas 77002
713-654 0471

T.M. Alexander, Sr. approved
3020 Brandywine Street, NW
Washington, DC 20008

Frank A. Augsbury, Jr. Schmitt called
Chairman of Board 315-[illegible]
Augsbury Organization, Inc.
100 Lafyette Street
Ogdensburg, New York 13669

Stewart Bainum 593-5600
Chairman of the Boards
Quality Inns
10750 Columbia Pike
Silver Spring, Maryland 20901

Tom E. Beal 913-642-3200
President, International Village, Inc.
5001 W 86
Prairie Village, Kansas 66207

Hon. Framm J. Becker
former Cong. of New York
42 Winter Street
Lynbrook, New York 11563
[illegible]

R.J. Bird
Attorney, Ober, Grimes & Shriver
1140 Conneticut Ave.
Washington, DC 20036 [illegible]

M/M Maurice L. Brown
Chairman of the Board
The Maurice Brown's Co.
121 w 48th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64112
[illegible]

Mr. & Mrs. Henry A. Bubb
Chairman of the Board
Capitol Federal Savings & Loan Assn.
700 Kansas Avenue
Topeka, Kansas 66603
913-[illegible]

M/M Wm. C. Conner approved
Chairman Emerities of Alcon Labs, Inc.
2912 West Sixth Street
Forth Worth, Texas 76107

Mrs. Juanita Daly
1200 Rancho Circle
Las Vegas, Nevada 89107
702/870-5278 Resigned

Hon. Shelby Cullom Davis
Ambassador
70 Pine Street
New York, New York 10270
212/[illegible]-3212

Mr. Armand S. Deutsch
President, Woodcrest Assoc., Inc.
1901 Avenue of the Stars #1243
Los Angeles California 90067
213/553-1214

Ambassador Guilford Dudley
Life & Casualty Ins. Co.
Life & Casulty Tower
Nashville, Tennessee 37202
615-244 9300

Hon. Norman A. Erbe
former Gov. of Illinois
450 E. Park Street
Arlington Hits, Illionis 60005
312/394-2205

Edward J. Gurney formed 8-21-80
800 Greentree
Winter Park, Florida 32789

Michel T. Halbouty
Consulting Geologist in Petroleum Engineer
511 Westheimer Road
Houston, Texas 77056

Dr. Othell Hand, Director
and Sr. Vice President
American Family Life Assurance Co.
P.O. Box 1459
Columbus, Georgia 31902
404/323-3431

Dick Heckmann, Mayor
Box 5
Sun Valley, Idaho 83353
208/788-4593

Glen Holden, President
Security First Group
1800 Avenue of the Stars
Suite 1400
Los Angeles, California 90067
213/556-2474

902477

John B. Kilroy
President
Kilroy Industries
Suite 2300
2230 E. Imperial Hwy
El Segundo, California 90245
213-322-4933

Woodward Kingmen
Executive Vice President
Croclar Nat'l Bank
1010 Francisco Street
San Francisco, California 94109
415-477-727

Max L. Kuniansky
P.O. Box 19859
Atlanta, Georgia 30318
404-

Billy W. Loflin
2214 24th Street, N
Arlington, Virginia 22207
703-424-7531

Wm. McBride Love
Vice President
McBride & Silurian Oil Co.
St. Louis, Missouri 63108
314

Peter J. Maraveleas
President, Maraveleas Associates
862 S Glenhurst Drive
Birmingham, Mississippi 48009
601-646-2700

O.D. McKee
McKee Baking Co, Chairman of Board
P.O. Box 750
Collegedale, Tennessee 37315
615 396-2151
904

Francine Neff
U.S. Treasurer, Retired
Rio Grande Valley Bank
Box 789
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87103
505/765-1600

Hon. Howard Pollock
Congressman, Alaska, Retired
Board of Trade Bldg
Suite 403
1129 20th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Chesley R. Pruet
President, Chesley Pruet Drilling Co.
P.O. Box 31
315 E Oak Street
El Dorado, Arizona 71730
602-863-7196

Jack Ragle
President, Graham Crain Co.
200 Voorhees Street
Terre Haute, Indiana 47802
812-232-1044
317

Senator Edward F. Reilly, Jr.
430 Delaware
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048
913
316

Robert L. Shirkey
Major Gen. of the Army
1014 Argyle Bldg.
Kansas City, Missouri 64106
816

Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
former Cong. & Sen. of Ohio
2541 Waterside Drive, NW
Washington, DC 20008

Victor V. Veysey
former Cong. of California
960 San Pasqual #303
Pasadena, California 91106
213
795

Joseph Walker, Jr.
President, Chantilly Development Corp.
P.O. Box 17067, Dulles Airport
Washington, DC 20041

Louis A Weil, Jr.
Publisher
Journal & Courier
Lafayette, Indiana 47901
317

John C. Whitehead, Sr. Partner
55 Broad Street
New York, New York 10004
212

Hon. John S. Wold
former Cong. of Wyoming
Mineral Resource Center
139 W 2nd Street
Casper, Wyoming 82601
307

Hon. Edward L. Young
former Cong of South Carolina
Rt 5, Box 421
Florence, South Carolina 29501
843-

902478

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE/NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Alexander, Sr.
President - Alexander Company

Mr. and Mrs. Jack Allen
President
Alpare Research, Inc.

Robert H. Allen
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Gulf Resources and Chemical Corp.

Mr. B. B. Andersen
Chairman of the Board
B.B. Andersen Construction Co.

Betty Andujar
State Senator & Nat'l Committeewoman,
Texas

Frank A. Augsbury, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Augsbury Organization, Inc.

Mr. & Mrs. James W. Baker
Farmer

Stewart Bainen
Chairman of the Board
Quality Inns

Robert H.B. Baldwin
President, Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc.

Herbert Barness
Chairman, The Barness Organ.

Bernard H. Barnett
Barnett & Alagia

Tom E. Beal
Pres., International Village, Inc.

Hon. Frank J. Becker
Congressman, NY, Retired

Karl R. Bendetsen
Retired Chairman of the Board
Champion International

R. J. Bird, Attorney
Ober, Grimes & Shriver

Jack E. Black
Chairman of the Board
President Ford State Finance
Chairman 1976
American Exchange Bank & Trust

Ben B. Blackburn, Congressman
Georgia, Retired
Chairman of the Board - Heritage
Foundation

Hugh Branson, Vice President
Satellite Media Corp.

Norman Brinker, Chairman
Steak & Ale Restaurants of
America, Inc.

Hon. John Brown,
Governor, Retired (Ohio)

Mr. & Mrs. Maurice L. Brown
Chairman, The Maurice Brown Co.

Mr. & Mrs. Henry A. Bubb
Chairman of the Board
Capitol Fed. Savings & Loan Assoc

William N. Cafritz, President
Wm. Cafritz Development Co.

Charles E. Chamberlain
Congressman, Michigan, Retired

Anna C. Chennault
President, TAC International, Inc

8304042221 8

902072

~~Marlow W. Cook~~
~~Senator Kentucky~~, Retired

Mr. William C. Conner, Chairman
Emerties of Alcon Laboratories, Inc.

Paul W. Cronin, Congressman,
Massachusetts, Retired
President, Sun Solar Energy Co.

Robert B. Crosby, Sen. Partner, Crosby,
Guenvel, Davis, Kessner & Kuester

Carl T. Curtis, Senator, Nebraska,
Retired

Bill Davis, President
Davis Development Co.

Mrs. Juanita Daly

Hon. Shelby Cullom Davis
Ambassador

M. William Deitch
Chairman of the Board
Deitch Enterprises, Inc.

Mr. Armand S. Deutsch
President, Woodcrest Assoc., Inc.

Mrs. Walter Bridges Driscoll
Retired

Hon. Dave Durenberger
US Senator, Minnesota

Ambassador Guilford Dudley
The Governor - Tennessee

Hon. James Edwards
Governor, S. Carolina, Retired

Harrie Ellsworth (Hon.)
Congressman, Oregon, Retired

Hon. Norman A. Erbe
Governor, Iowa, Retired

John H. Ewing
State Stnator, New Jersey

Hon. Albert Fay
Ambassador

Charles K. Fletcher,
Congressman, California, Retired

(Eva Gabor) Mrs. Frank Jamison
Movie Actress

A. G. Galt (Gordon), Pres.
Pan American Engineering Co.

Kenneth R. Giddens, Director
Retired, Voice of America

Michael T. Halbouty
Consulting Geologist &
Petroleum Engineer

Seymour Halpern, Congressman, N
Retired - Executive Vice Pres.
Sydney S. Baron & Co.

Dr. Othell Hand
Director & Sr. Vice Pres.
American Family Life Assurance

Robert P. Hanrahan, Congressman
Illinois, Retired - Pres.
Robert P. Hanrahan Associates

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John Harmer, Lt. Governor,
California, Retired

Dick Heckmann, Mayor
Sun Valley, Idaho

Jeffrey P. Hillelson,
Congressman, Missouri, Retired

Hon. Horace A. Hildreth,
Governor, Maine, Ret.

Hon. Leo A. Hoegh, Governor,
Iowa, Retired

sman,
cutive
, Md.

Glen Holden, President
Security First Group

Roman L. Hruska, Senator and
Congressman, Nebraska, Ret.

William H. Hudnut, III, Mayor,
Indianapolis, [redacted] - Congressman,
Indiana, Retired

Oliver H. Hughes

Alan E. Huish, President
Huish Distributing Co.

Eli S. Jacobs, Chairman of the
Board - Eli S. Jacobs Co.

B. K. Johnson
Rancher & Investor

Herman Kaiser, Sr., President
Kaiser-Francis Oil Co.

Jack Kenney, President
Kenney Homes

Mr. John B. Kilroy
President - Kilroy Industries

Woodward Kingmen
Executive Vice Pres.
Croclar National Bank

Thomas S. Kleppe, Congressman,
North Dakota, Retired

Max L. Kuniansky
Owner, M. K. Const., Co.

John Leibold, Attorney

Billy Loflin, Chairman of the
Board - Bell Air Corp.

Clare Boothe Luce, Writer,
Congresswoman, Conn., Ret.

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William S. Mailliard
Congressman, California. Ret.

Peter J. Maraveleas, Pres.
Maraveleas Associates

Anthony Marshall
Ambassador, Retired
Banking Consultant

William McBride Love
Vice President
McBride & Silurian Oil Co.

O. D. McKee
Chairman of the Board
McKee Baking Co.

Walter L. McVey, Jr.
Congressman, Kansas, Ret.
Attorney

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William Miller
Republican Candidate for
Vice Pres. 1964
Congressman, NY, Retired

Rodney Mitchell, President
Tallasi Management Corp.

George Murphy
Senator, California, Retired

Francine Neff
U.S. Treasurer, Retired

Alvin O'Konski
Congressman, Wisconsin, Retired

Brad O'Leary
Chairman of the Board
P/M Productions

Walter C. Ploeser
Ambassador, Congressman,
Missouri, Retired

Hon. Howard Pollick
Congressman, Alaska, Retired

Hon. Wesley Powell
Governor, New Hampshire, Ret.

Hon. & Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff
U.S. Senator, Arizona
President, Rock Mountain Mgmt. Corp.

Dr. John H. Proctor
Chairman of the Board
Data Solutions

Chesley R. Pruet, President
Chesley Pruet Drilling Co.

Jack Ragle, President
Graham Crain Co.

David Q. Reed
Democrat State Representative, Ret

W:
Cl :icer
Rc

Edward F. Reilly, Jr.
State Senator - Kansas

nt

:orp.

Hon. G eorge Romney
Governor, Michigan, Retired

Ross Rowland, Jr.
Pres. Floor Broker Assoc.

Richard L. Roudebush
Congressman, Indiana, Retired
Administrator Veterans Affairs

Bill D. Saxon, Pres.
Saxon Oil Operations

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

Robert L. Shirkey
Army Major General, Attorney

Richard G. Shoup
Congressman, Montana, Retired
Director Washington Affairs
Union Pacific Corp.

W. C. Smith, President
Franklin Towne Realty, Inc.

Lloyd H. Smith,
Chairman of the Board
Tarafine Oil Corp.

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Hon. Robert E. Smylie
Governor, Idaho, Retired

Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
Cong. & Senator, Ohio, Ret.

Burt L. Talcott
Congressman, California, Ret.

Mrs. Frank G. Talley
Retired Business Exec.

Mr. & Mrs. Paul N. Temple
Chairman of the Board
Energy Capitol Company

Hon. Victor V. Veysey
Congressman, California, Ret.

Jerry Vinson

Joseph Walker, Jr.
President
Chantilly Development Corp.

George M. Wallhauser
Congressman, New Jersey, Retired
Sr. Vice Pres., U.S. Realty &
Investment Corporation

Les Ward
President, Ward Oil Co.

John F. Warren
State Chairman of Rep. Party of Texas
Publisher, Austin Citizen

Winston Weaver, Pres.
Rockingham Const. Co.

Louis A. Weil, Jr.
Publisher of Journal & Courier

Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb
Governor, Indiana, Retired

Mr. John C. Whitehead
Senior Partner
Goldman Sachs & Co.

Mrs. Thomas Williams, Jr.
Investor

Mr. Thomas Williams, III
Farmer

Hon. John S. Wold
Congressman, Wyoming, Ret

Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Wyatt

Wendell Wyatt
Congressman, Oregon, Retired
Republican State Chairman,
Oregon, Retired - Attorney

Hon. Ed Young
Congressman, S. Carolina, Ret.

Roger H. Zion
Congressman, Indiana, Ret.
President, Resources Development
Corporation.

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ADDITIONAL NAMES APPROVED BY LEGAL COUNSEL
TO SERVE ON THE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Ross Adair

Larry Adams

Harold Agnew

William Cafritz

Jeffrey Davis Chorney

Thomas H. Corson

George N. Craig

Robert B. Crosby

William K. Davis

Harris Ellsworth

Oliver H. Hughes

Addison Lanier

Julian LeCraw

Bob Mathias

George Meader

John C. Pritzlaff, Jr.

Harry Ptasynski

George W. Romney

~~Howard Ruff~~

Ramona Seeligson

John D. Vanderhoof

G.L. (Jerry) Vinson

Winston O. Weaver

902077

PERSONS ADVISED NOT TO SERVE ON
AFC STEERING COMMITTEE AS OF
JULY 21, 1980

WILLIAM E. CASSILLMAN, II

THOMAS B. CURTIS

DEAN DAVIS

LANE DWINELL

MRS. ELLEN ST. JOHN GARWOOD

MILLS E. GODWIN, JR.

MELVIN LAIRD

JOHN LODGE

WALES H. MADDEN, JR.

G. N. PARROTT

MAXWELL RABB

R. L. RICKENBAUGH

W. F. ROCKWELL, JR.

JOHN W. ROLLINS

DON W. SAMUELSON

ARTHUR SPITZER

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3 copies

Name	Date Received	Committee	Status
Mr. T. M. Alexander, Sr.		S	X
Mrs. T. M. Alexander, Sr.			
Mr. Jack Allen		S	X
Mrs. Jack Allen			
Mr. B. B. Andersen		S	X
Ms. Betty Andujar		S	XE
Mr. Frank A. Augusbury, Jr.			
Mr. Stewart Bainen			
Mr. Scott S. Bair			
Mr. James W. Baker		S	X
Mrs. James W. Baker			
Mr. Robert H.B. Baldwin			
Mr. Herbert Barness		S	X
Mr. Tom E. Beal			
Honorable Frank J. Becker			
Honorable R. Bendetsen		S	X
Mr. Jack E. Black		S	X
Mr. Ben B. Blackburn		S	X
Mr. Hugh Branson			
Mr. Norman Brinker		S	X
Honorable John Brown			
Mr. Henry A. Bubb			
Mrs. Henry A. Bubb			
Mr. Charles E. Chamberlain		S	X
Ms. Anna C. Chennault			

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Name	Date Received	Committee	Status
Mr. William C. Conner		S	XE
Mr. Marlow W. Cook			
Mr. Paul W. Cronin		S	X
Mr. Carl T. Curtis		S	X
Mr. Thomas B. Curtis		S	R
Mrs. Juanita Daly			
Honorable Deane C. Davis		S	R
Honorable Shelby C. Davis			
Mr. M. William Deitch		S	X
Mr. Armand S. Deutsch			
Mrs. Walter B. Driscoll			
Ambassador Guilford Dudley			
Honorable Dave Durenburger		S	XE
Honorable James Edwards		S	X
Honorable Norman A. Erre			
Mr. John H. Ewing		S	X
Honorable Albert Fay			
Mr. Charles K. Fletcher			
Honorable Hiram L. Fong			
Mr. A. G. Galt		S	X
Mr. Kenneth R. Giddens		S	X
Honorable Mills Godwin, Jr.		S	R
Mr. Robert P. Griffin			
Mr. Michel T. Halbouty			
Mr. Seymour Halpern			

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902097

Name	Date Received	Committee	Status
Dr. Othell Hand			
Honorable Robert P. Hanrahan		S	X
Mr. John Harmer		S	X
Mr. Dick Heckmann			
Honorable Horace A. Hildreth		S	XE
Honorable Jeffrey Hillelson		S	X
Honorable Leo A. Hoegh		S	X
Mr. Lawrence J. Hogan			
Mr. Glen Holden			
Honorable Roman L. Hruska		S	X
Mr. William H. Hudnut, III		S	X
Mr. Alan E. Huish		S	X
Mr. Eli S. Jacobs			
Mrs. Frank Jamison (Eva Gabor)			
Mr. B. K. Johnson		S	X
Mr. Herman G. Kaiser, Sr.		S	XE
Mr. John E. (Jack) Kenney, Jr.		S	X
Mr. John B. Kilroy			
Mr. Woodward Kingmen			
Mr. Thomas S. Kleppe		S	X
Mr. Max L. Kuniansky			
Mr Billy Laflin			
Mr. Melvin R. Laird		S	R
Mr. John Leibold		S	X
Honorable John Davis Lodge		S	R

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902098

Name	Date Received	Committee	Status
Mr. Billy E. Loflin			
Mr. William McBride Love			
Ms. Clare Boothe Luce		S	X
Mr. Wales Madden, Jr.		S	R
Mr. William S. Mailliard		S	X
Mr. Peter J. Maraveleas			
Mr. Anthony Marshall			
Mr. O. D. McKee			
Mr. Walter L. McVey, Jr.		S	X
Mr. William Miller		S	X
Mr. Rodney Mitchell			
Mr. George Murphy			
Mr. Alvin O'Konski			
Mr. Brad O'Leary		S	X
Mr. G. N. Parrott		S	R
Mr. Walter C. Ploeser		S	X
Honorable John C. Pritzlaff			
Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff			
Dr. John H. Proctor		S	X
Mr. Maxwell M. Rabb		S	R
Mr. David Q. Reed		S	XE
Mr. Willard Rockwell, Jr.		S	R
Mr. John Rollins		S	R
Honorable George Romney			
Mr. Richard L. Roudebush		S	X

3304222 6

Name	Date Received	Committee	Status
Mr. Rosse Rowland			
Mr. Bill D. Saxon		S	X
Honorable Harrison Schmitt		S	XE
Mr. Robert L. Shirkey			
Mr. Richard G. Shoup		S	X
Mr. Lloyd H. Smith			
Mr. W. C. Smith		S	X
Honorable Robert E. Smylie			
Mr. Arthur Spitzer		S	R
Honorable Robert Taft, Jr.			
Honorable Burt L. Talcott		S	X
Mrs. Franz G. Talley		S	XE
Mr. Paul N. Temple		S	X
Mrs. Paul N. Temple			
Honorable Victor V. Veysey			
Mr. Joseph Walker, Jr.			
Mr. George M. Wallhauser		S	X
Mr. Lew Ward			
Mr. John F. Warren		S	X
Mr. Louis A. Weil, Jr.			
Honorable Edgar D. Whitcomb		S	X
Mr. John C. Whitehead			
Mr. Thomas Williams, II		S	X
Mrs. Thomas Williams, II		S	X
Honorable John S. Wolo			

3 3 0 4 2 2 2 2 3

Name	Date Received	Committee	Status
Mr. Oscar Wyatt		S	X
Mrs. Oscar Wyatt		S	X
Mr. Wendell Wyatt		S	X
Honorable Edward L. Young			
Mr. Roger H. Zion		S	X

X - accepted
XE - accepted w/ explanation
R - Reject

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PERSONS ADVISED NOT TO SERVE ON
NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Mr. Thomas B. Curtis

Honorable Deane C. Davis

Honorable Mills Godwin, Jr.

Mr. Melvin R. Laird

Honorable John Davis Lodge

Mr. Wales Madden, Jr.

Mr. G. N. Parrot

Mr. Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. Willard Rockwell, Jr.

Mr. John Rollins

Mr. Arthur Spitzer

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Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-0304

Executive Committee of Americans for Change

Harrison (Jack), Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
(U.S. Senator-ret Nebraska)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

July 15, 1980

Hon. Frank Farrar
Box 919
Bitton, South Dakota 57430

Dear Frank:

I am delighted that you have agreed to serve on the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Enclosed are materials to bring you up to date on the committee's activities and a questionnaire which you should complete and return to this office as soon as possible. A return stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Please feel free to call me if you have any questions or need more information at 703/683-0304.

Sincerely,

Jack

Jack Schmitt
U.S. Senator

Enclosures

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Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE/NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Rejected

Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Alexander, Sr.
President - Alexander Company

Mr. and Mrs. Jack Allen
President
Alpare Research, Inc.

Robert H. Allen
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Gulf Resources and Chemical Corp.

Mr. B. B. Andersen
Chairman of the Board
B.B. Andersen Construction Co.

~~Betty Andujar~~
~~State Senator & Nat'l Committeewoman,~~
~~Texas~~

Frank A. Augsbury, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Augsbury Organization, Inc.

Mr. & Mrs. James W. Baker
Farmer

Stewart Bainen
Chairman of the Board
Quality Inns

Robert H.B. Baldwin
President, Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc.

Herbert Barness
Chairman, The Barness Organ.

Bernard H. Barnett
Barnett & Alagia

Tom E. Beal
Pres., International Village, Inc.

Hon. Frank J. Becker
Congressman, NY, Retired

~~Karl R. Bendetsen~~
~~Retired Chairman of the Board~~
~~Champion International~~

R. J. Bird, Attorney
Ober, Grimes & Shriver

Jack E. Black
Chairman of the Board
President Ford State Finance
Chairman 1976
American Exchange Bank & Trust

Ben B. Blackburn, Congressman
Georgia, Retired
Chairman of the Board - Heritage
Foundation

Hugh Branson, Vice President
Satellite Media Corp.

Norman Brinker, Chairman
Steak & Ale Restaurants of
America, Inc.

Hon. John Brown,
Governor, Retired (Ohio)

Mr. & Mrs. Maurice L. Brown
Chairman, The Maurice Brown Co.

Mr. & Mrs. Henry A. Bubb
Chairman of the Board
Capitol Fed. Savings & Loan Assoc.

William N. Cafritz, President
Wm. Cafritz Development Co.

Charles E. Chamberlain
Congressman, Michigan, Retired

~~Anna C. Chennault~~
~~President, TAC International, Inc.~~

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~~Marlow W. Cook~~
~~Senator Kentucky, Retired~~

Mr. William C. Conner, Chairman
Emerties of Alcon Laboratories, Inc.

Paul W. Cronin, Congressman,
Massachusetts, Retired
President, Sun Solar Energy Co.

Robert B. Crosby, Sen. Partner, Crosby,
Guenvel, Davis, Kessner & Kuester

Carl T. Curtis, Senator, Nebraska,
Retired

Bill Davis, President
Davis Development Co.

~~Mrs. Juanita Daly~~

~~Honorable Deane C. Davis~~
~~Governor, Vermont, Retired~~

Hon. Shelby Cullom Davis
Ambassador

M. William Deitch
Chairman of the Board
Deitch Enterprises, Inc.

Mr. Armand S. Deutsch
President, Woodcrest Assoc., Inc.

Mrs. Walter Bridges Driscoll
Retired

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US Senator, Minnesota

Ambassador Guilford Dudley
The Governor - Tennessee

~~Lane Dwinell, Governor~~
~~New Hampshire, Retired~~

Hon. James Edwards
Governor, S. Carolina, Retired

Harrie Ellsworth (Hon.)
Congressman, Oregon, Retired

Hon. Norman A. Erbe
Governor, Iowa, Retired

John H. Ewing
State Stnator, New Jersey

Hon. Albert Fay
Ambassador

Charles K. Fletcher,
Congressman, California, Retired

~~Hon. Hiram L. Fong~~
~~Senator, Hawaii, Retired~~

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Retired, Voice of America

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~~Governor, Virginia, Retired~~

Michael T. Halbouty
Consulting Geologist &
Petroleum Engineer

Seymour Halpern, Congressman, NY,
Retired - Executive Vice Pres.
Sydney S. Baron & Co.

Dr. Othell Hand
Director & Sr. Vice Pres.
American Family Life Assurance Co.

Robert P. Hanrahan, Congressman,
Illinois, Retired - Pres.
Robert P. Hanrahan Associates

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John Harmer, Lt. Governor,
California, Retired

Dick Heckmann, Mayor
Sun Valley, Idaho

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Congressman, Missouri, Retired

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Governor, Maine, Ret.

Hon. Leo A. Hoegh, Governor,
Iowa, Retired

~~Lawrence J. Hogan, Congressman,
Maryland, Ret. - Chief Executive
Officer, Montgomery County, Md.~~

Glen Holden, President
Security First Group
— Holshouser

Roman L. Hruska, Senator and
Congressman, Nebraska, Ret.

William H. Hudnut, III, Mayor,
Indianapolis, ~~Ind~~. - Congressman,
Indiana, Retired

Oliver H. Hughes, Chairman of the Board
Chief Executive Officer
Merchants National Bank & Trust Co.
Alan E. Huish, President
Huish Distributing Co.

~~Eli S. Jacobs, Chairman of the
Board - Eli S. Jacobs Co.~~

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Kenney Homes

Mr. John B. Kilroy
President - Kilroy Industries

Woodward Kingmen
Executive Vice Pres.
Croclar National Bank

Thomas S. Kleppe, Congressman,
North Dakota, Retired

Max L. Kuniansky
Owner, M. K. Const., Co.

— L[illegible]
— LaCrand

John Leibold, Attorney

~~Hon. John Davis Lodge
Governor, Conn., Ret.~~

Billy Loflin, Chairman of the
Board - Bell Air Corp.
— Lo[illegible]
Clare Boothe Luce, Writer,
Congresswoman, Conn., Ret.

~~Wales Madden, Jr.
National Campaign Director
John Connally for Pres. Comm. '80~~

William S. Mailliard
Congressman, California. Ret.
— [illegible]
Peter J. Maraveleas, Pres.
Maraveleas Associates

Anthony Marshall
Ambassador, Retired
Banking Consultant
— [illegible]
William McBride Love
Vice President
McBride & Silurian Oil Co.
— [illegible]
O. D. McKee
Chairman of the Board
McKee Baking Co.

Walter L. McVey, Jr.
Congressman, Kansas, Ret.
Attorney
— [illegible]

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William Miller
Republican Candidate for
Vice Pres. 1964
Congressman, NY, Retired

Rodney Mitchell, President
Tallasi Management Corp.

George Murphy
Senator, California, Retired

Francine Neff
U.S. Treasurer, Retired

Alvin O'Konski
Congressman, Wisconsin, Retired

Brad O'Leary
Chairman of the Board
P/M Productions

~~C. N. Parrott, President~~
~~Parrott Oil Corp.~~

Walter C. Ploeser
Ambassador, Congressman,
Missouri, Retired

Hon. Howard Pollack
Congressman, Alaska, Retired

Hon. Wesley Powell
Governor, New Hampshire, Ret.

Hon. & Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff
~~U.S.~~ Senator, Arizona
President, Rock Mountain Mgmt. Corp.

Dr. John H. Proctor
Chairman of the Board
Data Solutions

Chesley R. Pruet, President
Chesley Pruet Drilling Co.

~~Maxwell H. Rabb~~
~~Secretary of Cabinet under~~
~~President Eisenhower~~

Jack Ragle, President
Graham Crain Co.

David Q. Reed
Democrat State Representative, Ret

~~Willard Rockwell, Jr.~~
~~Chairman and Chief Exec. Officer~~
~~Rockwell International Corp.~~

Edward F. Reilly, Jr.
State Senator - Kansas

~~R. L. Rickenbaugh, President~~
~~Rickenbaugh Cadillac~~

~~John Rollins~~
~~Chairman of the Board RLC Corp.~~

Hon. George Romney
Governor, Michigan, Retired

Ross Rowland, Jr.
Pres. Floor Broker Assoc.

Richard L. Roudebush
Congressman, Indiana, Retired
Administrator Veterans Affairs

~~Don Samuelson~~
~~Governor, Idaho, Ret.~~

Bill D. Saxon, Pres.
Saxon Oil Operations

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

Robert L. Shirkey
Army Major General, Attorney

Richard G. Shoup
Congressman, Montana, Retired
Director Washington Affairs
Union Pacific Corp.

W. C. Smith, President
Franklin Towne Realty, Inc.

Lloyd H. Smith,
Chairman of the Board
Tarafine Oil Corp.

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Hon. Robert E. Smylie
Governor, Idaho, Retired

~~Arthur Spitzer~~
~~Chairman of the Board~~
~~Digas Company~~

Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
Cong. & Senator, Ohio, Ret.

Burt L. Talcott
Congressman, California, Ret.

Mrs. ~~Frank~~ G. Talley
Retired Business Exec.

Mr. & Mrs. Paul N. Temple
Chairman of the Board
Energy Capitol Company

Hon. Victor V. Veysey
Congressman, California, Ret.

G.L. Jerry Vinson

Joseph Walker, Jr.
President
Chantilly Development Corp.

George M. Wallhauser
Congressman, New Jersey, Retired
Sr. Vice Pres., U.S. Realty &
Investment Corporation

Les Ward
President, Ward Oil Co.

John F. Warren
State Chairman of Rep. Party of Texas
Publisher, Austin Citizen

Winston Weaver, Pres.
Rockingham Const. Co.

Louis A. Weil, Jr.
Publisher of Journal & Courier

Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb
Governor, Indiana, Retired

Mr. John C. Whitehead
Senior Partner
Goldman Sachs & Co.

Mrs. Thomas Williams, Jr.
Investor

Mr. Thomas Williams, III
Farmer

Hon. John S. Wold
Congressman, Wyoming, Ret

Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Wyatt, Owner
Coastal Corp.

~~Wendell Wyatt~~
~~Congressman, Oregon, Retired~~
~~Republican State Chairman,~~
~~Oregon, Retired Attorney~~

Hon. Ed Young
Congressman, S. Carolina, Ret.

Roger H. Zion
Congressman, Indiana, Ret.
President, Resources Development
Corporation.

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Keep
list for
nominations

Additional Names to National Steering
Committee, not yet approved by legal counsel

Edward J. Gurney (retired U.S. Senator Florida)
800 Greentree
Winter Park, Florida 32789
305 644-0550

Howard Ruff, Chairman of the Board, Target Inc.
Box 2000
San Ramon, California 94583
Attn: Neal Blair

Hon. James Holshouser, Governor, NC, retired
P.O. Box 328
Boone, North Carolina 28607

Hon. Joel Broyhill (retired Cong. Virginia)
4845 Old Dominion Drive
Arlington, Virginia 22207
703 534-1129 O
703 836-6676 H

Harold Agnew PRESIDENT GENERAL ATOMIC CO.
322 Punta Baja
Solana Beach, California 92075
714/455-2080

James. S. McDonald
McDonald Douglas Corp,
P.O. Box 516
St. Louis, Missouri 63166
314 232-0232

Hon. Bob Mathias retired Cong. Calif.
3355 Clukheights Drive
Colorado Springs, Colorado 80906
~~303-576-1130~~ 303-576-3355

H. Alexander ~~Agnew~~ Aguiar, President
Wisconsin Gear Manufacturing Corp.
Lake Steel Street
Green Lake, Wisconsin 54941
414/294-3586 Office
~~312/782-8333~~ Home

Martin Fridovich, Chairman of the Board, - Agri-Lei's Corp.
P.O. Box 6232
Lakeland, Florida 33803
813/644-3541

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Hon. Charles Brownson (Retired) Corp. Virginia
Box 62
Mount Vernon, Virginia 22121
703/765-3400

Harry Ptasynski Geologist - Petroleum Exploration & Devel. Corp.
P.O. Box 43
Casper, Wyoming 82602
307 234-8393
Approved

Approved
E. Ross Adair Ret Corp Indiana
2200 Ft. Wayne National Bank Building
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802
219/743-9706

Mrs. St. John Garwood
1802 San Gabriel Street
Auston, Texas 78701
512/476-4465

3304042236

William E. Casselman, II
2033 M Street, N.W.
Suite 701
Washington, D.C. 20036
202 466-5746

Dr. Ed R. Annis, M.D.
9999 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Suite 303
Miami Shores, Florida 33138
305-759-3384

Laurence J. Burton, Congressman, Utah, Retired
2701 Park Center
Apt. B 712
Alexandria, Virginia 22202
703-931-1801

William F. Quinn, Governor, Hawaii, Retired
1365 Lauhahi Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96821
808-547-5602

Lawrence R. Manuelito
President, Chusha Development Corp.
3600 Menual Blvd., N.E.
Suite 104
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87110
505/232-2550

Roger Stauder, Sales Associate Stauder Realty Service, Inc.
525 North Sherman Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin 53704
608/241-5500

George Meader, Congressman, Michigan, Retired
Rockland, MI 49960
906 886-7995

902870

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE/NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Those individuals listed below have agreed to be members of the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Mr. B.B. Andersen, Chairman
B.B. Andersen Construction Co.
Topeka, Kansas

Betty Andujar
State Senator, Texas
Fort Worth, Texas

Robert H. B. Baldwin, President
Morgan, Stanley & Co. Inc.
New York, New York

Jack E. Black, Chairman
American Exchange Bank & Trust
Norman, Oklahoma

Ben B. Blackburn, Chairman
Heritage Foundation
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Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

S.C. Sent
Ltr
Serge
Bill Sajna
WSI - this letterhead -

July 31, 1980

Theodore L. Sendak
Attorney General - State of Indiana
219 State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

8304042224

Dear Mr. Sendak:

I appreciate your interest in Americans for Change, a National Independent Committee, whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

As you can see by the list of our Steering Committee, we have brought together supporters of Governor Reagan and of other major candidates. As you read the list, you will see it contains present and former Republican officeholders as well as business and civic leaders such as yourself.

I do not believe Governor Reagan can be assured of election as President without your assistance. I would like you to participate in the general election and serve as ~~Finance~~ State Chairman for Americans for Change--Reagan for President in '80 Project.

It is of utmost importance that we receive your commitment as soon as possible so we can proceed to work toward the election of Ronald Reagan in November.

902725

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

I look forward to hearing from you and hope we can count on your participation as ~~Illinois~~ JPSI Area State Chairman.

Information and materials will be coming to you in the mail.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at (703)683-0304.

Yours very truly,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

HS/bjb

Enclosure

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902863

8/4/80

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FOR MEMBERSHIP ON
NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Mr. T. M. Alexander, Sr.

Mr. Jack Allen

Mr. B. B. Andersen

Ms. Betty Andujar

Mr. James W. Baker

Mr. Herbert Barness

Honorable R. Bendetsen

Mr. Jack E. Black

Mr. Ben B. Blackburn

Mr. Norman Brinker

Mr. Charles E. Chamberlain

Mr. William C. Conner

Mr. Paul W. Cronin

Mr. Carl T. Curtis

Mr. M. William Deitch

Honorable Dave Durenburger

Honorable James Edwards

Mr. John H. Ewing

Mr. A. G. Galt

Mr. Kenneth R. Giddens

Honorable Robert P. Hanrahan

Mr. John Harmer

Honorable Horace A. Hildreth

Honorable Jeffrey Hillelson

Honorable Leo A. Hoegh

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Honorable Roman L. Hruska

Mr. William H. Hudnut, III

Mr. Alan E. Huish

Mr. B. K. Johnson

Mr. Herman G. Kaiser, Sr.

Mr. John E. (Jack) Kenney, Jr.

Mr. Thomas S. Kleppe

Mr. John Leibold

Ms. Clare Boothe Luce

Mr. William S. Mailliard

Mr. Walter L. McVey, Jr.

Mr. William Miller

Mr. Rodney Mitchell

Mr. Brad O'Leary

Mr. Walter C. Ploeser

Dr. John H. Proctor

Mr. David Q. Reed

Mr. Richard L. Roudebush

Mr. Bill D. Saxon

Honorable Harrison Schmitt

Mr. Richard G. Shoup

Mr. W.C. Smith

Honorable Robert E. Smylie

Honorable Burt L. Talcott

Mrs. Franz G. Talley

Mr. Paul N. Temple

Mr. George M. Wallhauser

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Honorable Edgar D. Whitcomb

Mr. Thomas Williams, II

Mrs. Thomas Williams, II

Mr. Oscar Wyatt

Mrs. Oscar Wyatt

Mr. Wendell Wyatt

Mr. Roger H. Zion

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Steering Committee Resignations - 8/6/80

Anna Chennault

Marlow Cook

Juanita Daly

Hiram Fong

Robert P. Griffin

Lawrence J. Hogan

Howard Pyle

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8-10-80

ADDITIONAL NAMES APPROVED BY LEGAL COUNSEL
TO SERVE ON THE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

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Larry Adams

Harold Agnew

William Cafritz

Jeffrey Davis Chorney

Thomas H. Corson

George N. Craig

Robert B. Crosby

William K. Davis

Harris Ellsworth

Oliver H. Hughes

Addison Lanier

Julian LeCraw

Bob Mathias

George Meader

John C. Pritzlaff, Jr.

Harry Ptasynski

George W. Romney

Howard Ruff

Ramona Seeligson

John D. Vanderhoof

G.L. (Jerry) Vinson

Winston O. Weaver

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Mr. Harold M. Agnew

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Mr. Jack Allen

Mr. B. B. Andersen

Ms. Betty Andujar

Mr. James W. Baker

Mr. Herbert Barness

Honorable R. Bendetsen

Mr. Norman Bishop

Mr. Jack E. Black

Mr. Ben B. Blackburn

Mr. Neal Blair

Mr. Norman Brinker

Mr. William Cafritz

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Mr. Jeffrey Davis Chorney

Mr. William C. Conner

Mr. Thomas H. Corson

Mr. George N. Craig

Mr. Paul W. Cronin

Mr. Robert B. Crosby

Mr. Carl T. Curtis

Mr. William K. Davis

Mr. M. William Deitch

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Honorable James Edwards

Mr. Harris Ellsworth

Mr. John H. Ewing

Mr. A. G. Galt

Mr. Kenneth R. Giddens

Mr. C. McLain Haddow

Honorable Robert P. Hanrahan

Mr. John Harmer

Honorable Horace A. Hildreth

Honorable Jeffrey Hillelson

Honorable Leo A. Hoegh

Honorable Roman L. Hruska

Mr. William H. Hudnut, III

Mr. Oliver H. Hughes

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Mr. Herman G. Kaiser, St.

Mr. John E. (Jack) Kenney, Jr.

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Mr. William Miller

Mr. Rodney Mitchell

Mr. Brad O'Leary

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Mr. Harry Ptasynski

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Mr. Thomas Williams, II

Mrs. Thomas Williams, II

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Mrs. Oscar Wyatt

Mr. Wendell Wyatt

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H. Alexander Aguiar, President
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President, Alexander Company

Mr. & Mrs. Jack Allen
President, Alpare Research, Inc.

* Robert H. Allen
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Gulf Resources & Chemical Corp.

Mr. B. B. Andersen
Chairman of the Board
B. B. Andersen Construction Co.

Dr. Ed. R. Annis, M.D.

* Frank A. Augsbury, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Augsbury Organization, Inc.

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Farmer

* Stewart Bainen
Chairman of the Board
Quality Inns

* Robert H. B. Baldwin
President, Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc.

Herbert Barness
Chairman, The Barness Organization

* Bernard H. Barnett
Barnett & Alagia

* Tom E. Beal
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American Exchange Bank & Trust

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Chairman of the Board - Heritage Foundation

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Norman Brinker, Chairman
Steak & Ale Restaurant of America, Inc.

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* Hon. Albert Fay
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* Charles K. Fletcher
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* Dr. Othell Hand
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Thomas Emery's Sons

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Julian LeCraw Co.

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* Lawrence R. Manuelito
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* Anthony Marshall
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* O. D. McKee
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Congressman, N.Y. (Retired)

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* George Murphy
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* Francine Neff
U. S. Treasurer (Retired)

* Alvin O'Konski
Congressman, Wisconsin (Retired)

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Missouri (Retired)

* Hon. Howard Pollock
Congressman, Alaska (Retired)

* Hon. Wesley Powell
Governor, New Hampshire (Retired)

Sen. & Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff
State Senator, Arizona
President, Rock Mountain Mgmt. Corp.

Dr. John H. Proctor
Chairman of the Board
Data Solutions

* Chesley R. Pruet, President
Chesley Pruet Drilling Co.

Harry Ptasynski, Geologist
Petroleum Exploration & Development

* William F. Quinn, Governor,
Hawaii (Retired)

* Jack Ragle, President
Graham Crain Co.

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Dem. State Rep. (Retired)

* Edward F. Reilly, Jr.
State Senator, Kansas

* Hon. George Romney
Governor, Michigan (Retired)

* Ross Rowland, Jr.
Pres. Floor Broker Assoc.

Richard L. Roudebush
Congressman, Indiana (Retired)
Administrator Veterans Affairs

Howard Ruff
Chairman of the Board

* Arthur K. Salomon, President
Salomon Brothers

Bill D. Saxon, Pres.
Saxon Oil Operations

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
U. S. Senator, New Mexico

Ramona Seeligson
Private Investor
Wertheim & Co., Inc.

* Robert L. Shirkey
Army Major General, Attorney

* Richard G. Shoup
Congressman, Montana (Retired)
Director Washington Affairs
Union Pacific Corp.

W. C. Smith, President
Franklin Towne Realty, Inc.

* Lloyd H. Smith
Chairman of the Board
Tarafine Oil Corp.

Hon. Robert E. Smylie
Governor, Idaho (Retired)

* Roger Stauder, Sales Associate
Stauder Realty Service, Inc.

* Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
Cong. & Senator, Ohio (Retired)

Burt L. Talcott
Congressman, California (Retired)

Mrs. Franz G. Talley
Retired Business Exec.

Mr. & Mrs. Paul N. Temple
Chairman of the Board
Energy Capitol Company

John D. Vanderhoof
Governor, Colorado (Retired)

* Hon. Victor V. Veysey
Congressman, California (Retired)

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G. L. Jerry Vinson
Chairman of the Board
Sterling Petroleum Corp.

* Joseph Walker, Jr.
President
Chantilly Development Corp.

George M. Wallhauser
Congressman, New Jersey (Retired)
Sr. Vice Pres., U. S. Realty &
Investment Corporation

* Lew Ward
President, Ward Oil Co.

John F. Warren
State Chairman of Rep. Party of
Texas
Publisher, Austin Citizen

Winston Weaver, Pres.
Rockingham Const. Co.

* Louis A. Weil, Jr.
Publisher of Journal & Courier

Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb
Governor, Indiana, Retired

* Mr. John C. Whitehead
Senior Partner Goldman Sachs & Co.

Mrs. Thomas Williams, Jr.
Investor

Mr. Thomas Williams, III
Farmer

* Hon. John S. Wold
Congressman, Wyoming, Ret.

Mr. & Mrs. Oscar Wyatt, Owner
Coastal Corporation

* Hon. Ed Young
Congressman, S. Carolina, Ret.

Roger H. Zion
Congressman, Indiana, Ret.
President, Resources Development
Corporation

* indicates those individuals who have agreed to serve, but have not completed necessary paperwork.

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STEERING COMMITTEE CONVENTION LIST

Mr. B. B. Andersen — Plaza - 568-8000
Chairman of the Board
B.B.Andersen Construction Company
P.O. Box 1692
Topeka, Kansas 66601
913/233-2381

Betty Andujar — Ladisson Cadillic - 256-8000
State Senator & National Committeewoman, Texas
2951 Benbrook Blvd.
Fort Worth, Texas 76109
817-924-1932

Frank A. Augsbury, Jr. — Hyatt Regency - 593-1234
Chairman of the Board
Augsbury Organization Inc.
100 Lafayette Street
Ogdensburg, New York 13669
315/393-6600

Herbert Barness — Hyatt - 593-1234
Chairman
The Barness Organization
1352 Easton Road
Warrington, Pennsylvania
215/343-0700

Bernard H. Barnett — Hya-t Regency - 593-1234
Barnett & Alagia
1700 Kentucky Home Life Building
Louisville, Kentucky 40202
502/585-4131

Jack E. Black (?) — Plaza 568-8000
Chairman of the Board
President Ford State Finance Chairman 1976
American Exchange Bank & Trust
2438 Smoking Oak
Norman, Oklahoma 73070
405/329-2400

Norman Brinker — Plaza - 568-8000
Chairman, Steak & Ale Restaurants of America, Inc.
12890 Hillcrest Road
Dallas, Texas 75222
214/387-5000

8304042223

Anna C. Chennault — Plaza - 568-8000
President
TAC International, Inc.
1511 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
202/347-0516

Mr. William C. Conner, Chairman — Plaza - 568-8000
Emeritus of Alcon Laboratories, Inc.
2912 West Sixth Street
Fort Worth, Texas 76107
817/332-2912

M. William Deitch — Michigan Inn 539-6500
Chairman of the Board
Deitch Enterprises, Inc.
P. O. Box 2298
Elkhart, Indiana 46515
219/262-3611

Hon. Dave Durenberger — Sheraton Southfield - 557-4800
U.S.Senator, Minnesota
353 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510
202/224-3244

Ambassador Guilford Dudley — Plaza - 568-8000
The Governor
Life & Casualty Tower
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
615/244-9300

Lane Dwinell, Govenor, New Hampshire, Ret.
National Bank of Lebanon
94 Bank Street
Le-anon, New Hampshire 03766
603/448-1121
Vicount Hotel
Windsor 519/252-2741

Hon. James Edwards — Holiday I-n - Troy - 689-7500
Govenor, S. Carolina, Ret.
101 Venning Street
Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina 29464
803/884-3493 H
803/723-5304 O

John H. Ewing
State Senator, N. J.
Chairman of the Board, Retired
Abercrombie & Fitch
201/766-7757
O 115 Morristown Road
Bernardsville, N. J. 07924
Staying with friends
Mrs. Dee Kirk at Hyatt - 593-1234
or Dearborn Inn 271-2700

901166

8304042283

Hon. Albert Fay, Ambassador Plaza - 568-8000
515 Houston Avenue
Houston, Texas 77007
713/227-5251

Hon. Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Governor, Virginia, Ret.
Cedar Point
Crittenden Station
Suffolk, Virginia
804/238-2888 H
804/539-7349 - Sec. Barbara Warren

Michael T. Halbouty Radisson Cadillic 256-8000
Consulting Geologist &
Petroleum Engineer
5100 Westheimer Road
Houston, Texas 77056
713/622-1130

Dr. Othell Hand Detroit Plaza
Director & Sr. Vice Pres.
American Family Life Assurance Co.
P. O. Box 1459
Columbus, Georgia 31902
404/323-3431

Lawrence J. Hogan, Congressman, Maryland, Ret.
Chief Executive Officer, Prince George's County
8400 Hillview Road Holiday Inn - 278-4800
Landover, Maryland 20786
301/336-6891 & 952-3164 - O

Glen Holden, Sr., President Plaza - 568-8000
Security First Group
1800 Avenue of the Stars, Suite 1400
Los Angeles, California 90067

William H. Hudnut, III, Host International-941-9400
Mayor, Indianapolis,
Congressman, Indiana, Ret.
2501 City-County Bldg.
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204
317/633-6141

Eli S. Jacobs, Chairman of the Board Plaza 568-8000
Eli S. Jacobs Co.
645 5th Ave. #1803
New York, N.Y. 10021
212/755-2313

9304042223

Woodward Kingmen — Plaza 568-8000
Executive Vice President
Croclar National Bank
1010 Francisco Street
San Francisco, California 94109
415/477-7271

Hon. John Davis Lodge — Kingsley Inn 644-1400
Governor, Connecticut, Ret.
129 Easton Road
Westport, Ct. 06880
203/227-6192

O. D. McKee, Chairman of the Board — Mrs. Mestice Meyer
McKee Baking Company — Plaza 568-8000
P. O. Box 750
Collegedale, Tennessee 37315
615/496-2151

Maxwell M. Rabb — Plaza 568-8000
Secretary of Cabinet under President Eisenhower
Stroock & Stroock & Lavan
61 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10006
212/425-5200

John Rollins — Holiday Inn (Windsor)
Chairman of the Board RLC Corp. — 519/253-4411
2200 Concord Pike
Wilmington, Delaware 19803
302-658-8541

Hon Harrison Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico
248 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510
202/224-5521

Arthur Spitzer, Chairman of the Board
Digas Co. — Plaza 568-8000
9201 W. Olympic Blvd.
Beverly Hills, California 90212
213/278-2160

Lew Ward — Plaza 568-8000
President, Ward Oil Co.
P. O. Box 1187
Enid, Oklahoma 73701
405/234-3229

8304042293

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELEX: 197040 BAKHOST
TELECOPIER: (202) 857-0010

CLEVELAND, OHIO
ON COMMERCE BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8375

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
800 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32802
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-

August 22, 1980

Honorable Norbert T. Tiemann
5920 Autumn
Mclean, Virginia 22101

Dear Governor Tiemann:

Thank you for your interest in becoming a member of the National Steering Committee for Americans For Change and for responding to the Committee's questionnaire.

As you know, the purpose of the questionnaire was to help assure the Committee's independence when making expenditures in support of Governor Reagan in the 1980 Presidential Election. In reviewing your questionnaire I found that your association with Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign may jeopardize the independence of Americans For Change. Therefore, as legal counsel to Americans For Change I have advised the Chairman, Senator Schmitt, that you should not participate on the National Steering Committee. Non-participation on the National Steering Committee does not preclude you, however, from making an individual contribution to Americans For Change.

Again, many thanks for your interest in Americans For Change.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

cc: Senator Harrison Schmitt

8304042286

901619

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✓ no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✓ no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes ✓ no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

✓ yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

✓ yes no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

✓ yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes ✓ no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes ✓ no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, NORBERT T. TIEMANN, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902066

7-17-80
Date

Norbert T. Tiemann
Signature

83040122237

4. Preparation of position papers in transportation.

5. (?) Legal on Domestic and Economic policy advisory comm.

6. advice of requirements regarding transportation issues after the '80 convention.

8304042236

902067

8-25-80

AMERICANS FOR [illegible]ANGE NATIONAL STEERING CO[illegible]ITTEE
STATE BY STATE WITH EVENTS

ALABAMA

*Kenneth Giddens
Mobile
205/473-6268

ARIZONA

*Sen. John Pritzlaff
Scottsdate
602/947-7768
602/959-2012
Phoenix office
602/255-5685

*Mrs. Franz Talley
Scottsdale
non-published number

ARKANSAS

Chesely R. Pruet
El Dorado
501/863-7196

CALIFORNIA

*Bill Davis
Newport
714/752-2066

Armand Deutsch
Los Angeles
213/553-1214

CALIFORNIA - cont.

Eva Gabor
Beverly Hills
213/556-7953

Glen Holden
Los Angeles
213/556-2474

John Kilroy
El Segundo
213/772-1193

Woodward Kingmen
San Francisco
415/477-7271

Arthur Spitzer (can't serve on SC)
Beverly Hills
213/278-2160

Cong. Victor Veysey
Pasadena
214/795-9670
not in service

*Harold Agnew
Solana Beach
714/455-2080

8304042229

901762

8304042290

COLORADO

*Gov. Leo A. Hoegh
Chipita Park
303/684-9880

R. L. Rickenbaugh
(can't serve on SC)
Denver
303/573-7773

*Cong. Bob Mathias
Colorado Springs
303/576-3355

Denver luncheon Aug.29
Kristin

CONNECTICUT

Gov. John Davis Lodge
(cannot serve on SC)
Westport
203/227-6192

Stanford Sept.14 evening
Kristin

DELAWARE

John W. Rollins
(cannot serve on SC)
Wilmington
302/658-8541

WASHINGTON,DC

*T. M. Alexander, Sr.
202/686-0512

*Karl Bendetsen
202/462-4091

R. J. Bird
202/833-2266

Hugh Branson
202/462-1292

Cong Thomas Curtis
(cannot serve on SC)
h) 314/727-1257
o) 314/725-8788

*Cong. William Mailliard
202/234-8379

*Sen. George Murphy
202/638-6545

Cong. Howard Pollock
202/659-1867
703/527-8842

*Cong. Richard Shoup
703/892-2401

Sen. & Cong. Robert Taft, Jr.
202/223-6851

*Paul Temple
h) 202/265-7204
0) 202/243-0155

Joseph Walker, Jr.
703/471-4091

*Cong. Roger Zion
202/452-8211

William Casselman, II
(cannot serve on SC)
202/466-5746

DC luncheon Aug.18
Sarah

901763

8304042291

FLORIDA

Sen. Edward Gurney
Winter Park
305/849-0550

Martin Fridovich
Lakeland
813/644-3541

*Dr. Ed. R. Annis
Miami Shores
305/759-3334

GEORGIA

*Cong. Ben Blackburn
Atlanta
404/323-2255

Dr. Othell Hand
Columbus
404/323-3431

Max Kuniansky
Atlanta
404/355-6000

*Walter McVey, Jr.
Atlanta
404/261-5816

*Mrs. Thomas Williams, Jr.
Thomasville
912/226-1232

*Thomas Williams, III
Davo
912/226-1232

Atlanta breakfast Aug.28
Anne

HAWAII

Cong. Charles Fletcher
Honolulu
808/531-6868

*Cong. Clare Boothe Luce
Honolulu
808/734-4771

William Quinn
Honolulu
808/547-5600

IDAHO

Mayor Dick Heckmann
Sun Valley
208/788-4593
208/622-4511

Gov. Don Samuelson
(cannot serve on SC)
Sandpoint

*Gov. Robert Smylie
Boise
208/342-2837

Sun Valley
Anne

901764

ILLINOIS

*James Baker
Morris
815/942-4083

Gov. Norman Erbe
Arlington Heights
312/394-2265

*Cong. Robert Hanrahan
Lake Forest
312/234-1966
312/864-8066

*Alexander Aguiar
Evanston
h) 312/866-6566
o) 414/294-3586

Chicago breakfast Sept.15
Sarah

INDIANA

*William Deitch
Elkhart
219/262-3611

*Mayor William Hudnut, III
Indianapolis
317/633-6141

Jack Ragle
Terre Haute
812/232-1044

*Cong. Richard Roudebush
Noblesville
317/773-1114

Louis A. Weil, Jr.
Lafayette
317/432-5511

*Cong. Ross Adair
Fort Wayne
219/743-9706

Indianapolis luncheon Aug.25
Sarah

IOWA

KANSAS

*B.B. Anderson
Topeka
913/642-3800
913/649-7779

Henry Bubb
Topeka
913/235-1341

*Jeffrey Hillelson
Shawnee Mission
913/236-6670

*Oliver Hughes
Topeka
913/267-3291

Edward Reilly, Jr.
Leavenworth
913/682-1234
913/296-2391
Topeka office
913/296-7372

Wichita evening Sept.7
Kristin

901765

KENTUCKY

Bernard Barnett
Louisville
502/585-4131

MARYLAND

Stewart Bainen
Silver Spring
301/593-5600

*William Cafritz
Bethesda
301/320-3062
301/657-4774

*Tom Kleppe
Bethesda
301/365-1832

*Burt Talcott
Bethesda
202/785-4954

LOUISIANA

MAINE

*Horace Hildreth
Portland
207/781-4141

MASSACHUSETTS

*Paul Cronin
Lawrence
617/687-0044

Boston breakfast Sept.15
Sarah

8304042229

901766

MICHIGAN

Peter Maraveleas
Birmingham
313/646-2700

*George Romney
Bloomfield Hills
313/642-5011

*George Meader
Rockland
906/886-2995

MINNESOTA

Fred Bame
Minneapolis
612/331-5936

Minneapolis
Anne

MISSISSIPPI

MISSOURI

Maurice Brown
Kansas City
816/361-6000

Robert Griffin
Traverse City
616/946-1000

Tom Curtis
(advised not to serve)
Clayton
314/727-1257
314/725-8788

William McBride Love
St. Louis
314/361-0361

*Walter Ploeser
St. Louis
314/533-7410

* David Reed
Kansas City
816/221-0505

Robert Shirkey
Kansas City
816/842-3030

James McDonnell
St. Louis
314/232-0232

Kansas City breakfast Sept. 8
Kristin

MONTANA

8304042229

901767

NEBRASKA

*Robert Crosby
Lincoln
402/475-5131

Roman Hruska
Omaha
402/346-6000
402/345-1133

NEVADA

*Jack Kenney
Los Vegas
702/452-7714

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Gov. Wesley Powell
Hampton Falls
603/926-8787

Gov. Lane Dwinell
(advised not to serve)
Lebanon
603/448-1121

NEW JERSEY

*State Sen. John Ewing
Bernardsville
201/766-7757

NEW MEXICO

Mrs. Walter Bridges Driscoll
Sante Fe
505/982-9119

*Cong. Harris Ellsworth
Albuquerque
505/293-7319

Francine Neff
Albuquerque
505/765-1600

Laurence Manuelito
Albuquerque
505/232-2550

Dr. Garrey Carruthers
Las Cruces
505/522-2522

8304042295

901768

8304042295

NEW YORK

Frank Augsbury, Jr.
Ogdensburg
315/393-6600

Robert Baldwin
New York City
212/974-4000

Cong. Frank Becker
Lynbrook
516/599-1023

Amb. Shelby Cullom Davis
New York City
212/425-3212

Cong. Seymour Halpern
New York City
212/980-5370

*Cong. William Miller
Buffalo
716/853-2040

*Rodney Mitchell
New York City
212/248-3090

Maxwell Rabb
(advised not to serve)
New York City
212/425-5200

*Ross Rowland, Jr.
New York City
212/233-7407

John Whitehead
New York City
212/676-8000

Arthur Salomon
New York City
212/747-7000

NORTH CAROLINA

Gov. James Holshouser
Boone
919/692-9000
919/692-8871

NORTH DAKOTA

OHIO

Gov. John Brown
Columbus
No Listing

*John Leibold
Columbus
614/267-5354

Cincinnati breakfast Aug.25
Sarah

PENNYSLVANIA

Herbert Barness
Warrington
215/343-0700

Willard Rockwell, Jr.
(advised not to serve)
Pittsburgh
412/565-2000

W.C. Smith
Pittsburgh
412/364-4411

OKLAHOMA

*Jack Black
Norman
405/329-2400

*Herman Kaiser
Tulsa
918/743-6652

*Lew Ward
Enid
405/234-3229

Tulsa breakfast Sept.8
Kristin

RHODE ISLAND

OREGON

8304042297

901770

SOUTH CAROLINA

*Gov. James Edwards
Mt. Pleasant
h) 803/884-3493
o) 803/723-5304

Cong. Ed Young
Florence
o) 803/667-1979
h) 803/662-2347

SOUTH DAKOTA

TENNESSEE

Amb. Guilford Dudley
Nashville
615/244-9300

O.D. McKee
Collegedale
615/396-2151

Nashville luncheon Aug. 28
Carol

TEXAS

*Jack Allen
Perryton
806/435-2386

Robert Allen
Houston
713/658-0471

*Norman Brinker
Dallas
214/387-5000

*William Conner
Ft. Worth
817/332-2912

Amb. Albert Fay
Houston
713/227-5251

*A.G. (Gordon) Galt
Dallas
214/526-8656

Michael Halbouty
Houston
713/622-1130

Bill Loflin
Arlington
214/424-7531

*B.K. Johnson
San Antonio
512/227-5101

Wales Madden, Jr.
(advised not to serve)
Amarillo
806/374-2422
806/352-6529

G.N. Parrott
(advised not to serve)
214/631-3150

*Bill Saxon
Dallas
305/628-2600
214/369-8200

8304042299

901771

TEXAS - cont'd.

Lloyd Smith
Houston
713/658-0524

* G.L. (Jerry) Vinson
Wichita Falls
817/767-2575

* John Warren
Austin
512/478-2599

* Oscar Wyatt
Houston
h) 713/529-5049
o) 713/877-1400

Mrs. Ellen St. John Garwood
(advised not to serve)
Austin
512/476-4465

Midland evening Aug.28 - Breakfast Aug.29
Carol

8304042229

UTAH

*Alan Huish
Salt Lake City
801/972-8611

VERMONT

Gov. Deane Davis
Montpelier
802/233-5000

VIRGINIA

*Cong. Charles Chamberlain
McLean
202/785-9500

Gov. Mills Godwin, Jr.
(advised not to serve)
Suffolk
h) 804/238-2888
o) 804/539-7347

VIRGINIA - cont'd.

*Dr. John Proctor
Vienna
703/893-1360

*Winston Weaver
Harrisonburg
703/433-1000

Cong. Charles Brownson
Mt. Vernon
703/765-3400

Laurence Burton
Alexandria
703/931-1821

WASHINGTON

8304042230C

901773

SPECIAL EVENTS
FOLLOW-UP PROCEDURE

*All lists typed
*Include phone numbers when we have them

1. List of all persons invited

2. List of all persons who attended

3. List of all persons who regretted

4. Pledge cards and checks
   (These are turned into Brenda)

5. Brenda - prepare list for thank you letters.
   Include: Name — $ amount
   Address — code

   (list given to Carol to send to Media America for personalized thank you) *letter #1

6. Prepare list of those who attended luncheon but did not fill out pledge card
   Include: Name — telephone #
   Address

   (Have these persons telephoned the following day - unless we have decided another approach).

7. Prepare list of those who pledged to give a contribution
   Include: Name — $amount pledged
   Address

   (These turned into Brenda who will send Mailgram with B.R.E.)
   *Mailgram attached #2

8. Prepare list of those persons who pledged to raise money.
   Include: Name — $amount
   Address

   (These should be sent personalized letter #3 with several brochures, pledge cards, B.R.E.)

9. Prepare list of persons who did not attend luncheon.

   (Send personalized letter #4 with brochure, pledge card, B.R.E.)

*Note: All form letters have reference to Common Cause. These will have to be re-worked after case settled.

8304042301

901564

Curtis approved 8-25-80

August 8, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Carl Curtis

FROM: Brad O'Leary

The following is the procedureson disbursement authorization I propose:

Under $200 - One of two signatures:
Brad O'Leary X
Carol Read X

Over $200 - One of two signatures:
Brad O'Leary
Carol Reed

One of two signatures:
Sen. Jack Schmitt
Sen. Carl Curtis

Over $500 - Brad O'Leary /

One of two signatures:
Sen. Jack Schmitt.
Sen. Carl Curtis

901640

8304042230

MEMO TO: Jack Schmitt

FROM: Brad O'Leary

SUBJECT: July and August Fund Raising Schedule

Friday	July 11	BR	✓Albuquerque, NM
Sunday	July 13	Br	Las Vegas, Nevada
Thursday	July 17	Ln	Detroit, Michigan
Friday	July 18	Ln	✓Dallas, Texas
Friday	July 18	Dn	✓Houston, Texas
Saturday	July 19	Ln	✓San Antonio, Texas
Saturday	July 19	Dn	Midland, Texas
Sunday	July 20	Ln	St. Louis, Missouri
Monday	July 21	Br	New York, New York
Monday	Aug. 4	Br	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Thursday	Aug. 7	Ln	Seattle, Washington
Friday	Aug. 8	Ln	Orange County, California
Wednesday	Aug. 13	Br	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Wednesday	Aug. 13	Ln	Chicago, Illinois
Monday	Aug. 18	Br	Boston, Massachusetts
Monday	Aug. 25	Br	Baltimore, Maryland
Thursday	Aug. 28	Ln	Nashville, Tennessee
Thursday	Aug. 28	Dn	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Friday	Aug. 29	Br	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Friday	Aug. 29	Ln	Denver, Colorado

8304042305

902163

August 7, Thursday — Washington/Seattle/Eugene

7:50a — Depart Washington Nation on NW305

11:05a — Arrive Seattle. Chuck Tyson will pick you up at airport and take you to Washington GOP luncheon.

2:00p — Chuck Tyson will return you to the airport.

2:25p — Depart for Eugene, Oregon on RW 939.

3:22p — Arrive Eugene. John Hanks will pick you up and take you to University of Oregon for the dedication of their new telescope.

5:00p — Return to hotel for R and R.

6:00p — Cocktail party for major contributors.

7:00p — Dinner for Lane County Republican party.

RON - Eugene - The Valley River Inn

August 8, Friday — Eugene/Los Angeles

7:00a — Depart for Los Angeles on RW 9.

8:10a — Arrive San Francisco. Change to RW 937.

8:50a — Depart on RW 937.

9:57a — Arrive Los Angeles.

AFC Press Conference.

AFC luncheon.

RON - Los Angeles

August 9, Saturday — Los Angeles/Minneapolis/Fargo

8:05a — Depart on WA 508 for Minneapolis.

1:20p — Arrive Minneapolis. Change to RC 659. Your mother will also take RC 659.

902164

2:30p — Depart on RC 659 for Fargo.

3:18p — Arrive Fargo. Pick up car. Drive to Battle Lake.

8304042230

Top 85 Cities

Augusta Maine
*Boston
Hartford, Conn.
Concord NH
Newport, RI
Montpelier, VT
Albany, NY
Syracuse, NY
Rocester, NY
Buffalo, NY
*NY, NY
*Pittsburgh, PA
*Philadelphia, PA
Balitmore, MD
Wilimington, DEL
Camden, NJ
*Washington, DC
*Richmond, VA
*Charleston, W.VA
*Raleigh, NC
*Columbia, SC
*Miami, FLA
Tampa, FLA
*Orlando, FLA
Jacksonville, FLA
*Atlanta, GA
*Knoxville, TENN
*Nashville, TENN
*Memphis, TENN
*Louisville, KY
*Cincinnati, Ohio
*Columbus, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
*Indianapolis, IND
*Detroit, Michigan
*St. Louis, MO
*Jackson, MISS
*New Orleans, LA
Montgomery, ALA
Little Rock, ARK
*Kansas City, MO

Peoria, ILL
Springfield, ILL
*Chicago, ILL
*Des Moines, Iowa
*Minneapolis, Minnesota
*Omaha, NEB
*South Bend, IND
Bismark, North Dakota
*Wichita, KAN
*Oklahoma City, OK
**Dallas, Texas
**Houston, Texas
*Fort Worth, Texas
*Corpus Christi, Texas
**San Antonio, Texas
*Midland, Texas
Amarillo, Texas
Lubbock, Texas
El Paso, Texas
Wichita Falls, Texas
Albuquerque, NM
Sioux Falls, South Dakota
Cheyenne, WYO
*Denver, Colorado
Helena, MT
Boise, Idaho
Portland, ORE
*Seattle, Washington
Reno, NEV
*Los Vegas, NEV
Phoenix, AR
Scotsdale, AR
Tuscon, AR
Palm Springs, CA
*San Diego, CA
*Los Angeles, CA
*Orange County
*Salt Lake City, Utah
*Milwaukee, Wisconsin
*Tulsa, OK

902165

Top 85 cities

Augusta Maine	X Atlanta Ga
X Boston	X Knoxville Tenn
Hartford Conn	X Nashville Tenn
Concord N H.	X Memphis Tenn
Newport R I	X Chattanooga Tenn
Montpelier Vt.	X Louisville Ky
Albany N Y	X Cinn Ohio
X Syracuse N Y	Dayton Ohio
X Rocester N Y	X Columbus Ohio
X Buffalo N Y	X Cleveland Ohio
X N Y N Y	X Ind. Ind
X Pitts Penn	X Detroit Mich
X Phil Penn	X St. Louis Mo
Balt md	Jackson Miss
X Wilmington Del	New Orleans La.
X Camden N. J.	Montgomery Ala
X Wash D. C.	Little Rock Ark
X Richmond Va	X Kansas City Mo
Charleston West Va	Peoria Ill
X Raleigh No Carl.	Springfield Ill
X Columbia So Carl	X Chicago Ill
X Miami Fla	X Des Moines Iowa
Tampa Fla	X Mpls
X Orlando Fla	X Omaha Nebr
Jacksonville Fla	X South Bend Ind

902166

		Bismark No Dak	
	x	Wichita Kan	
	x	Oklahoma City Ok	
x	x	Dallas	
x	x	Houston	
	x	Fort Worth	
	x	Corpus Christi	
x	x	San Antonio	
	x	Midland	
3		Amarillo	
2		Lubbock	
2		El Paso	
4		Wichita Falls	
0		Albuquerque	
4		Sioux Falls So Dak	
3		Cheyenne Wyom	
3	x	Denver Colo	
		Helena Mont	
		Boise Idaho	
		Portland Oreg	
	x	Seattle Wash	
		Reno Nev	
	x	Las Vegas Nev	
		Phoenix Ariz	
		Scotsdale Ariz	
		Tucson Ariz	
		Palm Springs Calif	
	x	San Diego	
	x	Los Angeles	
	x	Orange County	
	x	San Francisco	
	x	Fresno	
		Salt Lake City	
	x	Milwaukee Wisc	
	x	Tulsa Okla	

902167

FUNDRAISING SCHEDULE

M August 18	B	
	L	Washington, DC
	E	
T August 19	B	Los Vegas
	L	San Francisco
	E	Bakersfield/Fresno
W August 20	B	San Diego
	L	Los Angeles
	E	Orange County
T August 21	B	Milwaukee
	L	Minneapolis
	E	South Band
F August 22	B	Columbus
	L	Cincinnati, Ohio
M August 25	B	Detroit
	L	Indianapolis
	E	Cleveland
T August 26	B	Pittsburgh
	L	Philadelphia
	E	Richmond
W August 27	B	Raleigh
	L	Atlanta, Georgia
	E	Chattanoga, Tenn.
T August 28	B	Memphis, Tenn.
	L	Nashville, Tenn.
	E	Midland, Texas
F August 29	B	Tulsa, Okla.
	L	Denver, Colorado
W Sept. 3	B	Boston, Mass.
	L	New York
	E	Wichita
T Sept. 4	B	Kansas City
	L	Chicago
	E	Fortworth
F Sept. 5	B	Dallas
	L	Houston
M Sept. 8	B	San Antonio
	L	Corpus Christi or New Orleans
	E	Miami
T Sept. 9	B	Orlando
	L	Columbia
	E	Knoxville
W Sept. 10	B	Louisville
	L	Des Moines
	E	Omaha
T Sept. 11	B	
	L	
	E	

330422306

902169

FUNDRAISING SCHEDULE

M August 18	B	
	L	Washington, DC
	E	
T August 19	B	Los Vegas
	L	San Francisco
	E	Bakersfield/Fresno
W August 20	B	San Diego
	L	~~Los Angeles~~
	E	~~Orange County~~
~~T August 21~~	B	~~Milwaukee~~
	L	~~Minneapolis~~
	E	~~South Band~~
F August 22	B	Columbus
	L	Cincinnati, Ohio
	E	
M August 25	B	Detroit
	L	Indianapolis
	E	Cleveland
T August 26	B	~~Pittsburgh~~
	L	~~Philadelphia~~
	E	~~Richmond~~
W August 27	B	~~Raleigh~~
	L	~~Atlanta, Georgia~~
	E	~~Chattanoga, Tenn.~~
T August 28	B	Memphis, Tenn.
	L	Nashville, Tenn.
	E	Midland, Texas
F August 29	B	~~Tulsa, Okla.~~
	L	Denver, Colorado
W Sept. 3	B	Boston, Mass
	L	New York
	E	~~Wichita~~
T Sept. 4	B	~~Kansas City~~
	L	~~Chicago~~
	E	~~Fortworth~~
F Sept. 5	B	~~Dallas~~
	L	~~Houston~~
~~M Sept. 8~~	B	~~San Antonio~~
	L	~~Corpus Christi or New Orleans~~
	E	~~Miami~~
~~T Sept. 9~~	B	~~Orlando~~
	L	~~Columbia~~
	E	~~Knoxville~~
~~W Sept. 10~~	B	~~Louisville~~
	L	~~Des Moines~~
	E	~~Omaha~~
~~T Sept. 11~~	B	

8304223O

902168

August 11, 1980

TO: BRAD O'LEARY

FROM: ANNE NICOLLS

RE: SCHEDULE FOR JOHN HARMER

It is my understanding that John Harmer is available to travel for Americans for Change on the following dates:

August 18 - Washington, D.C. (breakfast and luncheon)

August 19 -
San Francisco (luncheon)
Bakersfield/Fresno (evening)

August 20 - San Diego (breakfast) (this could be a problem as far as securing a flight)
Phoenix (luncheon)
Salt Lake City (evening)

August 25 - Detroit (breakfast)
Indianapolis (luncheon)

August 28 - Atlanta (breakfast)
Nashville (luncheon)
Midland, Texas (evening)

August 29 - Amarillo (breakfast)
Denver (luncheon)

Sept. 2 - Kansas City (luncheon)
Wichita (evening)

Sept. 3 - Tulsa (breakfast)

Sept. 8 - Pittsburgh (breakfast)
Philadelphia (luncheon)

** The remainder of September and October are pretty much open for Harmer to travel.

8304042310

902170

August 11, 1980

TO: BRAD O'LEARY

FROM: ANNE NICOLLS ANN

RE: SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR DAVE DURENBERGER

It is my understanding that Senator Dave Durenberger is available to travel for Americans for Change on the following dates:

August 18 - Washington, D.C. (breakfast and luncheon)

~~August 29 - Minneapolis (tentative) (evening only)~~

Sept. 2 - OPEN

Sept. 6 - OPEN

Sept. 7 - OPEN

Sept. 13 - OPEN

Sept. 14 - OPEN

Sept. 20 - OPEN

Sept. 21 - OPEN

Sept. 27 - OPEN

Sept. 28 - OPEN

3304223 11

902171

October 15

October 16

October 17

October 18

October 20

October 21

October 22

October 23

October 24

November 1

November 3

November 4

** Please note for scheduling purposes that Howard Ruff will be in:
Salt Lake City on October 11
San Diego on October 14
Houston on October 25
Sundays are <u>always out</u>

cc: Carol Reed
Neal Blair

3304042231

902172

August 7, 1980

TO: BRAD O'LEAPY

FROM: ANNE NICOLLS

RE: SCHEDULE FOR HOWARD RUFF

It is my understanding that Howard Ruff is available to travel for Americans for Change on the following dates:

August 18 - Washington, D.C. (breakfast and luncheon)

August 19 - ~~Las Vegas~~ (breakfast)
San Francisco (luncheon)
Bakersfield/Fresno (evening)

August 20 - San Diego (breakfast)
Phoenix (luncheon)
Salt Lake City (evening)

August 28 - Atlanta (breakfast)
Nashville (luncheon)
Midland, Texas (evening)

August 29 - Amarillo (breakfast)
Denver (luncheon)

September 4

September 5

September 13 (luncheon only- will be in NYC the 12th)

September 15 (will be in Chicago the 16th,17th,18th)

October 2

October 3

October 4

October 8

October 9

October 10

8304042231

902173

August 12, 1980

TO: BRAD O'LEARY

FROM: ANNE NICOLLS

RE: SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT - REVISED

The following is a revised schedule for the dates that Senator Jack Schmitt is available to travel for Americans for Change.

August 18 - Washington, D.C. (breakfast & luncheon)

August 25 - (breakfast)
Indianapolis (luncheon)

August 28 - Atlanta (breakfast)
Nashville (luncheon)
Midland, Texas (evening)

August 29 - Amarillo (breakfast)
Denver (luncheon)

Sept. 2 - Kansas City (luncheon)
Wichita (evening)

Sept. 3 - Tulsa (breakfast)

Sept. 7 - OPEN (breakfast only)

Sept. 8 - Pittsburgh (breakfast)
Philadelphia (luncheon)

Sept. 13 - OPEN (all day)

Sept. 14 - OPEN (all day)

Sept. 15 - OPEN (breakfast only) (Chicago tentative)

Sept. 20 - OPEN (breakfast only) (something could be done on way to Albuquerque)

Sept. 21 - OPEN (leaves Albuquerque in a.m.; rest of day is open)

Sept. 22 - OPEN (breakfast only)

Sept. 26 - OPEN (evening only)

Sept. 28 - OPEN

Sept. 29 - OPEN (breakfast only)

8304042231

902174

FUNDRAISING SCHEDULE

		SCHMITT/HARMER	DURENBERGER/RUFF
MONDAY August 18	B		B
	L	Washington, D.C.	L
	E		E
TUESDAY August 19	B	Las Vegas	B
	L	San Francisco	L
	E	Bakersfield/Fresno	E
WEDNESDAY August 20	B	San Diego	B
	L	Phoenix	L
	E	Salt Lake City	E
FRIDAY August 22	B	Columbus	B
	L	Cincinnati	L
	E		E
SATURDAY August 23	B		B
	L	Milwaukee	L
	E	Minneapolis	E
SUNDAY August 24	B	South Bend, Indiana	B
MONDAY August 25	B	Detroit	B
	L	Indianapolis	L
	E	Cleveland	E
THURSDAY August 28	B	Memphis	B Richmond
	L	Nashville	L Atlanta
	E	Midland, Texas	E Chattanooga
FRIDAY August 29	B		B Knoxville
	L	Denver	L Louisville
	E		E
TUESDAY September 2	B		B
	L	Kansas City	L Chicago
	E	Wichita	E
WEDNESDAY September 3	B	Tulsa	B Boston
	L	Houston	L New York
	E		E

3 0 4 0 4 2 2 3 1 5

902175
~~902174~~

		SCHMITT/HARMER		DURENBERGER/RUFF
FRIDAY	B	Raleigh, North Carolina	B	Birmingham, Alabama
September 5	L	Miami	L	Charleston, SC
	E	New Orleans	E	Orlando
SATURDAY	B		B	
September 6	L	Corpus Christi	L	Tampa
	E	Fort Worth	E	Biloxi, Mississippi
SUNDAY	B	Amarillo	B	Little Rock, Arkansas
September 7				
MONDAY	B	Pittsburgh	B	Des Moines
September 8	L	Philadelphia	L	Omaha, Nebraska

8304042316

902176
~~902175~~

1REED/C*MS 1HAMILL/S/MS

(713) 623-4300

HOUSTON OAKS HOTEL 5011 WESTHEIMER AT POST OAK HOUSTON TEXAS 7705
1 DELUXE TWIN $100.00
WED 010CT 1 NIGHT
GUARANTEED ARRIVAL **ASSURED RESERVATION**/703

MS C REED
218 N LEE-SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

Reservation Confirmation

WESTERN INTERNATIONAL HOTELS

*This is your Reservation Confirmation. We will hold your room for you until 6 p. m. A deposit or guarantee of payment is required for reservations held for arrival after that time.
Any change or cancellation of your reservation should be made prior to your stated arrival time or 6:00 p.m. on the arrival date.
Please call the hotel directly, or throughout the continental U.S. dial toll free 800-228-3000
In Alaska & Hawaii, call 800-228-1212

1HARMER/JOHN 1REED/CAROL

HOUSTON OAKS HOTEL 5011 WESTHEIMER AT POST OAK HOUSTON TEXAS 7705
2 MEDIUM SINGLE $75.00
WED 150CT 1 NIGHT
GUARANTEED ARRIVAL /

Our check-out time is 1:00 p. m. If you plan to arrive before 3:00 p. m., we will do our best to accomodate you. We recommend an arrival time after 3:00 p. m.. Then your room will be assigned as quickly as possible

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. LEE STE:319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314
ATTN:CAROL REED

Reservation Confirmation

WESTERN INTERNATIONAL HOTELS

*This is your Reservation Confirmation. We will hold your room for you until 6 p. m. A deposit or guarantee of payment is required for reservations held for arrival after that time.
Any change or cancellation of your reservation should be made prior to your stated arrival time or 6:00 p.m. on the arrival date.
Please call the hotel directly, or throughout the continental U.S. dial toll free 800-228-3000
In Alaska & Hawaii, call 800-228-1212

1SCHMITT/HARRISON/SENATOR 1OLEARY/BRAD

HOUSTON OAKS HOTEL 5011 WESTHEIMER AT POST OAK HOUSTON TEXAS 7705
2 MEDIUM SINGLE $75.00
WED 150CT 1 NIGHT
GUARANTEED ARRIVAL /

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. LEE STE:319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314
ATTN:CAROL REED

Reservation Confirmation

WESTERN INTERNATIONAL HOTELS

*This is your Reservation Confirmation. We will hold your room for you until 6 p. m. A deposit or guarantee of payment is required for reservations held for arrival after that time.
Any change or cancellation of your reservation should be made prior to your stated arrival time or 6:00 p.m. on the arrival date.
Please call the hotel directly, or throughout the continental U.S. dial toll free 800-228-3000
In Alaska & Hawaii, call 800-228-1212

HHRMER/JOHN 1REED/CAROL

UUSTON OAKS HOTEL 5011 WESTHEIMER AT POST OAK HOUSTON TEXAS 7705
2 MEDIUM SINGLE $75.00
ED 15OCT 1 NIGHT
UHRANTEED ARRIVAL /

0 4 2 2 3 1 3

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. LEE STE:319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314
ATTN:CAROL REED

Reservation Confirmation

WESTERN INTERNATIONAL HOTELS

Your Reservation Confirmation. We will hold your room for you until 6 p. m. A deposit or guarantee of payment is required for reservations held for arrival after that time.
Any change or cancellation of your reservation should be made prior to your stated arrival time or 6:00 p.m. on the arrival date.
Please call the hotel directly, or throughout the continental U.S. dial toll free **800-228-3000**
In Alaska & Hawaii, call **800-228-1212**

Western Growers Association

Serving The Fresh Produce Industry Since 1926
P.O. BOX 2130, NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92663
TELEPHONE (714) 833-6364 AFTER AUGUST 1, 1980 (714) 641-3000

Send copy to Holder

OFFICERS—1980

JOHN NORTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
GEORGE LINDEMANN, SENIOR VICE CHAIRMAN
LAEL LEE, VICE CHAIRMAN
DON SMITH, TREASURER
DARYL ARNOLD, PRESIDENT

August 11, 1980

The Honorable Jack Schmitt
United States Senator
New Senate Office Building
Washington D.C. 20510

8304042231 8

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I am flattered and honored to be included among your choices to serve on the California Advisory Committee of "Reagan for President in '80".

However, as President of the Western Growers Association there are limits on my time and I feel that I would be unable to devote adequate time to your committee's efforts while providing my full-time energies to our members.

Once again, thank you for your consideration and my most earnest wishes for success in your endeavors.

Sincerely,

Daryl Arnold

DARYL ARNOLD

DA:ly

DIRECTORS—1980

902519

DONALD BARKLEY, EDISON, CALIFORNIA • MARTIN BEDOIAN, BLYTHE, CALIFORNIA • KENNETH BELIER, GUADALUPE, CALIFORNIA • DENNY BERTELSMAN, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • DOMENICK BIANCO, BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA • RALPH BODINE, SUN CITY, ARIZONA • DONALD BROCK, EL CENTRO, CALIFORNIA • C.W. BRYGGMAN, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • J.L. CAPPELLO, BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA • A.H. CASTON, CALIPATRIA, CALIFORNIA • D.F. DANNA, SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA • ANDREW D'ARRIGO, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • THOMAS DEARDORFF, OXNARD, CALIFORNIA • JOHN DERDIVANIS, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • DONALD F. DRISCOLL, WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA • JOHN ELMORE, BRAWLEY, CALIFORNIA • H.J. ESCHER, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA • ROBERT L. ESSICK, FULLERTON, CALIFORNIA • LARRY FRENCH, BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA • B.E. GIOVANNETTI, WOODLAND, CALIFORNIA • JACK HART, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • JACK HUBBARD, IRVINE, CALIFORNIA • A. NEAL JACK, BRAWLEY, CALIFORNIA • DON M. JOHNSTON, EDISON, CALIFORNIA • ARNOLD KIRSCHENMANN, EDISON, CALIFORNIA • LAEL LEE, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • GEORGE LINDEMANN, LOS BANOS, CALIFORNIA • CARL SAM MAGGIO, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • JACK McMANUS, GLENDALE, ARIZONA • JOHN McPIKE, WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA • THOMAS M. MERRILL, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • ROBERT MEYER, [illegible] CITY, CALIFORNIA • ISAMU MINAMI, GUADALUPE, CALIFORNIA • DAVE MOORE, BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA • JOHN NORTON, PHOENIX, ARIZONA • GARY PASQUINELLI, YUMA, ARIZONA • THOMAS PEREZ, FIREBAUGH, CALIFORNIA • WILLIAM RAMSEY, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • JOHN RUSO, YUMA, ARIZONA • TED TAYLOR, SALINAS, CALIFORNIA • JOE TOMASELLO, WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA • THOMAS VUJOVICH, OXNARD, CALIFORNIA

2

berry industries corporation

Kruska
Follow up
Send copy to Valdez

August 15, 1980

PERSONAL

The Honorable Harrison H. Schmitt
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Jack:

I am writing in regard to your newly formed Reagan support organization, Citizens for Change. This appears to be a clever way in which to raise funds for the defeat of the incumbent President. I would be interested in hearing more about your organization and its structure in California.

Although I have not been active in politics in recent years, the 1980 campaign promises to be an interesting one, and I am looking for a way to become involved. Perhaps we can help you with your activities in the Los Angeles area.

You will be interested to know that I continue to be active in petroleum-related businesses with our company. Recently, I have had the occasion to make several trips to Farmington, New Mexico and find your part of the country fascinating.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Arne Kalm
President

AK/bh

930422320

902518

P.O. Box 1830 • Long Beach, California 90801 • (213) 437-0481 • Telex 65-6474

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELEX: 197643 BAKHOST
TELECOPIER: (202) 887-0010

In Cleveland, Ohio
1956 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8378

In Columbus, Ohio
100 East Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 228-1541

In Denver, Colorado
500 Capitol Life Center
Denver, Colorado 80203
(303) 861-0600

In Orlando, Florida
250 CNA Tower
Orlando, Florida 32802
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-

AUG 25 1980

FYI

August 22, 1980

Honorable Melvin R. Laird
1730 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.
Suite 212
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Laird:

Thank you for your initial interest in becoming a member of the National Steering Committee for Americans For Change.

With respect to the letter of June 16, 1980 from your assistant, Ms. Hawley, I agree that your association with Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign may jeopardize the independence of Americans For Change if you were to serve on the Steering Committee. Therefore, as legal counsel to the committee I have advised the Chairman, Senator Schmitt, that you should not participate on the National Steering Committee by mutual agreement. Nonparticipation does not preclude you, however, from making an individual contribution to Americans For Change.

Again, many thanks for your interest in Americans For Change.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

cc: Senator Harrison Schmitt

8304042321

901618

MELVIN R. LAIRD
Suite 212
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

June 16, 1980

Dear Mr. Harmer:

Mr. Laird is in Europe and will not be returning to the office until the end of next week. In addition to your letter of June 6, I have also received a statement concerning conflicts of interest from the AMERICANS FOR CHANGE Committee. I have not forwarded this form to Mr. Laird in Europe inasmuch as conflicts exist which would prevent him from becoming a member of the Committee.

Already committed to work for and on behalf of Governor Reagan in the 1980 campaign, he would be in direct violation of the Committee's rules. I know he will honor these long-standing commitments. He also plans to devote most of October to the Reagan campaign.

I did want you to know of his conflicting interests prior to his return. I am sure you will understand the situation and not count on him as a member of the AMERICANS FOR CHANGE Committee. He will, of course, be in touch with you upon his return from Europe.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Laurie Hawley
Administrative Assistant

Mr. John L. Harmer
Suite 405
1025 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20036

8304042232

902151

SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR HARRISON "JACK" SCHMITT AUGUST 3&4, 1980

Sunday
August 3

10:25 am - Depart National Airport, TWA #501 *

11:26 am - Arrive St. Louis. To be met by Roy Pfautch - 314-367-3[illegible]
436-4[illegible]

11:35 am - Depart airport for Chase Park Plaza Hotel
314-361-2500

12:15 pm - Arrive Chase Park Plaza Hotel. Check in.

12:45 pm - Depart hotel for media visits

1:00 to 5:00 pm has been blocked out for media visits. As of 3 pm only one visit has been confirmed with at least 4-6 more being set up by Pfautch who will let you know when you arrive. The confirmed visit is:

2:00 pm - St. Louis Globe Democrat. This is the largest St. Louis daily paper. It is Newhouse newspaper; Republican. Offices are at 12th & Delmar, St. Louis; 342-1212.

5:00 pm - Return to hotel. Rest time.

6:00 pm - Depart hotel for residence of William McBride Love **
8 Portland Place, St. Louis
314-361-0361

6:15 pm - Arrive Love residence. Buffet dinner.

8:30 or 9:00 pm - Depart Love residence for hotel.

Monday
August 4

5:45 am - Depart hotel for airport. To be driven by Roy Pfautch.

6:35 am - Depart St. Louis, TWA #266

9:22 am - Arrive Washington National.

---

* Carry on luggage if possible. Retrieval of luggage takes 40 minu[illegible] due to airport construction.

** William McBride Love is a very wealthy St. Louisian. He was former Missouri Governor Kip Bond's Finance Chairman; Reagan for Presid[illegible] Finance Chairman, 1976; Reagan delegate, 1976. Owner of McBride O[illegible] Has oil interests in Tuscon & Denver.

*** Pfautch will have biographies of other notables you should be awa[illegible]

901609

STEERING COMMITTEE INVITE

I would like to meet with as many of the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change as possible on Monday, August 18th in Washington, D.C.

Can you join me for breakfast at 8:00 at the Mayflower Hotel and attend a luncheon presentation at 12:00 noon.

The purpose of this meeting will be to hold preliminary discussion on how best to spend our funds to impact the Presidential elections.

We will review media programs as well as give you an analysis of a nationwide poll we have commissioned to go into the field immediately after the Democrats select a nominee.

Please RSVP - yes only - to Kristin Hueter at 202-683-0304 or 202-683-5258. Kristin can also handle hotel reservations.

I look forward to seeing you on the 18th.

Warmest personal regards,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt

8304042232 4

902079

Goldman, Sachs & Co. | 55 Broad Street | New York, New York 10004
Tel: 212-676-8277

John C. Whitehead
Senior Partner

Goldman Sachs

August 25, 1980

The Honorable John L. Harmer
Co-Chairman, Executive Committee
Americans for Change
128 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Mr. Harmer:

It has just come to my attention that I am listed as a member of the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change. I have no record of having agreed to join this Committee, but if I did it was inadvertent. I am not sure of the function of the Steering Committee, since I have not carried out any responsibilities as a member of the Committee, nor have you asked me to do so. However, I suspect it is really not appropriate for me to be a member, and I must therefore request that you not carry me as such. Of course, this does not mean that I have anything less than complete sympathy with your goals.

Very truly yours,

JCW:las

8304042325

902715

Nashville to go out Fri. 15th

We would like for you to be our guest for lunch on Thursday, August 28, at the Hyatt Regency in the Regency IV Room at 12:15 p.m.

United States Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt of New Mexico, John Harmer, former Lt. Governor under Ronald Reagan, and Howard Ruff, Investment Consultant and author will be flying in from Washington Thursday morning especially for this luncheon.

The purpose of their visit is to acquaint you with the upcoming Presidential Campaign and to discuss Governor Reagan. The Presidential race is very important to all of us and we hope that you will find the time to come to this luncheon.

Sincerely,

RSVP 749-1347

Guilford Dudley, Jr. Ted Lazenby

8304042232 6

902638

8304042327



DATE 9/4

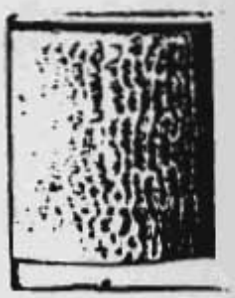
DEADLINE

NAME: Ted Sendick

TELEPHONE (317) 232-6201 SUBJECT AEC

POINTS TO COVER (He's Atty Gen. of Indiana)
Was decided he would be
for State Chairman.

STAFF INITIALS Brad H's INITIALS/DATE 9/4



Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 4, 1980

Attorney General Theodore Sendak
219 State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 3 2 6

Dear Ted:

Enclosed please find a fundraising letter for your use in Indiana.

Senator Schmitt asked me convey to you his thanks for your efforts in this area. Further, your work and time were a great help in making the luncheon meeting a success.

I have sent by UPS 1000 - #10 envelopes, 1000 Business reply envelopes, and 1000 pledge cards. I have also enclosed a few sheets of stationary to enable you to have it reprinted.

Please let me know if you have any questions or need further assistance.

Sincerely,

Sarah Ellsworth
SE/gdl

902449

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 22, 1980

Dear Republican Friend:

We are well aware that this is the time of year that we receive daily, letters asking for contributions for political candidates for National, State and local offices.

All of these campaigns have merit, and deserve your support.

Frankly, we are very concerned about the future of this country and realize that Carter has the position of the Presidency to promote free publicity of "manana" programs to cover up his record of highest unemployment, highest inflation, highest taxes, highest immorality among White House aides and courtesans.

To help Reagan and a cooperative Congress revitalize the American spirit, American defense, American freedoms, American jobs in the private sector, we have to help get Reagan elected.

The federal law today clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as we are supporting---AMERICANS FOR CHANGE--- can raise and spend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan. Contributions to AMERICANS FOR CHANGE will provide bumper stickers, television time, radio and newpaper ads for the Reagan candidacy.

Please read the enclosures and join us in supporting AMERICANS FOR CHANGE in supplying access for Ronald Reagan in his media efforts to tell his side before the election. Many thanks.

Cordially yours,

John K. Snyder
Co-Chairman for Indiana

Theodore L. Sendak
Co-Chairman for Indiana

Senator William Ezra Jenner
Honorary Chairman for Indiana

902250

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Enclosures

DATE Sept 4 '80 DEADLINE: ASAP

NAME: Gov. Jimmy Edwards

TELEPHONE: 803/ 722-5204 SUBJECT: AFC

POINTS TO COVER: Gov. Edwards called - has been asked to be co-chair with Thurmond on Campaign '80 (Jordan & Watkins also) AFC

Rod asked to call Watkins immediately (local)

STAFF INITIALS: Rod H's INITIALS/DATE: 9/4

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3 - fundraisers -
media
surrogate for Reagan -

need Sen Edwards to be more
effective.

JAMES B. EDWARDS, D.M.D.
ORAL & MAXILLOFACIAL SURGERY
61 GADSDEN STREET
CHARLESTON, S.C. 29401
(803) 723-5504

September 8, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
Russell Senate Office Building
Room 248
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I appreciate your call on the third, and have discussed my situation with several people around the state. After giving it much consideration, I feel that I can best serve our cause working here in South Carolina with Senator Thurmond, Carroll Campbell, Bryan Patrick, Harry Dent and others to carry our state for our team.

I will try to locate somebody of statue to help you in your fund raising efforts here in the state, and will be back in touch with you.

Thank you for your consideration, and I hope you can understand my predicament. Thank you, too, for what you are doing in behalf of this worthy cause.

With warmest regards,

James B. Edwards

JBE/bw

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Senator Jack Schmitt ... Taped message for Americans for Change September 5, 1980

Hello, this is Senator Jack Schmitt of New Mexico. I am using this special way to reach you today because my message is both urgent and important.

I asked that this message be given to you because I want to personally bring you up to date on the committee I chair called... Americans for Change. In fact, you should have recently received a letter from me about our activities.

I organized Americans for Change last June with the help of such distinguished Americans as Senator Dave Durenberger and former Senator Carl Curtis. Our purpose is to independently assist Governor Reagan's Presidential campaign in voter turnout and media advertising. As you know, under the Federal Election Law you can no longer contribute directly to the Reagan campaign because Presidential general election campaigns are funded only by federal dollars.

However, independent organizations can spend money on behalf of a candidate. Organized labor is going to put millions into the Carter campaign just like it did in 1976.

Americans for Change was organized to combat both this effort by organized labor and the great power of an incumbent President to get media attention.

Unfortunately, the minute I explained to the national news media our plans and our goal to assist the Reagan campaign, Common Cause filed suit against us in an effort to stop our legal exercise of First Ammendment rights.

902827

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I am pleased to tell you that their efforts failed. And on August 28th the Federal Courts decided in our favor. In view of recent polls showing a close election, this court decision couldn't have come at a better time.

This decision means that individual contributions to Americans for Change can be used by us without any threat of further litigation. I guarantee we'll use all contributions to immediately buy radio, TV and newspaper ads aimed directly at disseminating the excellent executive record of Governor Reagan and at exposing the disastrous record of the Carter Administration.

In fact we've already started. You may have seen our ads in daily newspapers. The important thing now is that we accellerate our efforts.

Americans for Change's only goal is to elect Ronald Reagan and George Bush. I'd like to ask you to help me reach that goal.

In a moment, my assistant will be back on the line to talk with you. I hope, as a personal favor to me, you'll make a pledge to send a contribution immediately.

It's the best way you can help Governor Reagan and his campaign for the Presidency.

Thank you very much. Now, here's my assistant.

902828

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HARRISON "JACK" SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

August 28, 1980

Mr. John Petrick
6038 N. 32nd Ave.
Phoenix, AZ 85017

Dear Mr. Petrick:

I hope you read in your local newspaper Friday of the great victory won in the federal courts on behalf of Ronald Reagan. The victory clears all legal obstacles to the active involvement of civic leaders such as yourself in our Reagan campaign effort. If you and I can move now in the wake of the court's ruling, our effort could win the election for Reagan.

I know our efforts can equalize the financial advantage that Carter now enjoys. We can offset the millions that will be spent for him by organized labor. We can compensate for the millions he can spend on federal projects as the incumbent. We can balance free media he can get as president.

If you missed the story in your paper or on national news, the federal court struck down an attempt by a coalition led by Common Cause, the Carter/Mondale Campaign and the Federal Election Commission to stop our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I think you know why our committee was originally singled out by Common Cause for this lawsuit. At the time of our filing all other independent committees raising funds were organizations already in existence with a common and limited ideological base. These committees did not have as their primary concern the election of Reagan, indeed most of their budget was for overhead, fund raising and Congressional and Senate races.

We were the first committee to file whose primary concern was the election of Governor Reagan. I think you have also seen that our National Steering Committee includes prominent Democrats, Republicans and Independents from all political spectrums not bound by narrow ideology. The list includes Governors, Senators, Congressmen and Business leaders from every state in our country.

I think you understand how dangerous this has made us to the Carter/Mondale and Common Cause political conspiracy. They determined that we had to be destroyed. I can't tell you how delighted I am that the court struck a blow for freedom by affirming our constitutional right to accept and spend contributions for T.V., newspaper and radio ads on behalf of Ronald Reagan. In view of the recent polls showing a close election this decision could not have come at a more opportune time.

Mr. Petrick, I'm writing you this letter not only to bring you up to date but to ask for your help.

902829

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE

3304042333

A great deal of confusion exists on how best to help elect Governor Reagan. He has personally sent letters asking for your help in electing Republican Senate and Congressional candidates. These are the only appeals the Federal law allows him to make because of public financing of Presidential elections.

I know you have also been asked for contributions to the Republican Party to help Reagan and all other Republican candidates by registering and turning out voters. But the federal law limits how the party can use this money. They can not buy T.V., radio, newspaper or even spend money to communicate through the mails on behalf of Reagan. In addition, because the funds raised will help all Republicans running, it can not serve as an outlet for participation by Democrats and Independents.

I want you to know that we think there are many positive ways you may be able to contribute to help elect Reagan. But a contribution to our committee would be the most effective way to communicate Reagans views to the American voter, and it may be the only way Democrats and Independents will be able to financially help Governor Reagan.

The federal law clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as ours can spend funds ~~for T.V., radio, newspaper or other voter communications and education devices~~ on behalf of Governor Reagan.

We are going to ask you for a contribution to this effort and we will make you a special pledge. I will guarantee that 100% of any contribution that you make with this appeal will be spent for media within 72 hours of our receiving your check. You may rightfully ask how I can make such a commitment.

I can make that pledge because our legal fees and operation costs have been paid for through the contributions and efforts of a number of your friends including former Governor George Romney of Michigan, former Governor Jimmie Edwards of South Carolina, Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado and Senator George Murphy of California.

We need help because time is running out and there is no question that Common Cause and the Carter/Mondale committee were successful in putting a chilling effect on our early fundraising efforts. But their effort was not as successful as they had hoped. A number of Americans stepped forward and made an early contribution which has already allowed us to begin a media campaign. You may have seen our ads in major dailies and The Wall Street Journal.

We need your commitment to buy radio, T.V. time and newspaper space. I hope you care enough about the outcome of this election and the future of our country to help.

Can I count on you and your spouse for a contribution of $2,000, $1,000, $500 or $250 made out to "REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80"? We will begin to buy additional time and space seven days from today. Governor Reagan and America need your help. Please respond.

Sincerely,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

902830

3304042336

Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt
Republican-New Mexico
In the United States Senate
September 8, 1980

.....

MR. PRESIDENT: Once again, I must sadly bring to the Senate's attention the continuing attack on our basic freedoms growing out of the desperation of the committee to re-elect the President. My concern is based on the spectre of a threat so ugly, that, unless nipped in the bud, it poses a serious threat to our most fundamental rights as free Americans: Freedom of speech and Freedom of press.

As you are aware, I am National Chairman of an independent political organization called Americans for Change, an organization with the purpose of raising and expending funds in behalf of the Republican national ticket. Americans for Change recently prevailed in major litigation in Federal Court. A suit to stop our activities brought by Common Cause and joined in by the Federal Election Commission, was rejected outright and unanimously by a three judge panel.

Our principle for existence is basic: The basic right of First Amendment freedom of speech and association. Now that the court has once again upheld the rights of Americans for Change and other Americans to participate fully in the election process, the Carter-Mondale Campaign Committee, in its desperation, has taken another truly unprecedented step to stifle freedom of speech. On July 24th, I informed the Senate of the Carter-Mondale Committee's efforts to intimidate the radio and television broadcasters of the country with threats of litigation if they ran paid advertising by Americans for Change or other independent committees.

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Last Friday, they struck again, Mr. President. The Carter-Mondale Campaign Committee petitioned the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for a drastic and major reinterpretation of the equal time provisions as they apply to the broadcasting of political advertisements. Obviously waiting until they had failed to stop free speech in the courts, this committee petitioned the FCC for a Declaratory Ruling, which if granted, would require broadcasters to give free time, I repeat: to give free time to the Carter-Mondale Committee equivalent to time bought by independent committees in which use of the voice and/or image of a Presidential candidate occurs.

This request for a ruling, if granted, would have the practical economic effect of forcing broadcasters to avoid selling time to many independent committees. Such a demand is particularly offensive and dangerous since Carter is the incumbent and thus has enjoyed free time galore throughout his first term and still does enjoy a vast media advantage in the campaign.

In addition, the FCC, with a 4-3 Democratic majority, has set the ridiculous and pre-emptive deadline of Friday, September 12th for public comment. This effectively four day comment period is without precedent when it comes to a major change in policy in political broadcasting. Ordinarily, at least 30 days for comment would be afforded, and the FCC might hold a hearing before deciding the matter.

Mr. President, the intent of the Carter-Mondale Campaign Committee is clear. It is trying to accomplish, through abuse of Presidential power, and abuse of the power of the incumbency, and abuse of political control of the FCC, what it could not accomplish in the courts. To stifle this voice through coercion, threats and intimidation. To stifle all opposition to the re-election of Jimmy Carter by suppressing freedom of speech.

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Where will the Carter abuse of power stop? What other intimidation is in the wings? Was not a crass attempt to prevent the legal receipt of campaign funds by Reagan enough? Was not the nearly treasonous confirmation of highly secret data on bomber development enough? Was not the political use of Ambassadors and of federal employees in the Department of Health and Human Services enough? Was not the blatant use of Presidential press conferences on the tragic situation in Iran to win primaries enough?

Next, will the FEC, the FCC, the Justic Department and other regulatory agencies be called on to close down more opposition political activities? Don't tell me that the first steps in such an effort haven't been taken! They have been taken before the courts, before the FEC, and now before the FCC. Arguments have even been made in federal court that Americans for Change was illegal because it had too many members. Fortunately, and rightly, the court rejected those arguments.

Are other moves planned so that opposition political groups above a particular size are prevented free association and free speech? God help us...I hope Carter and his cronies will stop this insane and repetitive attack on our American institutions.

Many political experts and observers have forecast that the presidential campaign of 1980 will be the "dirtiest" in history. I must state bluntly that, tragically, these forecasts seem to be coming true.

In 1976 candidate Jimmy Carter roamed this nation from one end to the other giving Americans new hope about morality and open government...preaching of love and honesty and integrity and confidence in our elected leaders.

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We already learned, ong ago, that those preachings were empty words. The conduct of the Presidency and many associated with it for these nearly four years prove that fact beyond doubt.

This latest blatant attack on freedom of speech and expression by the Carter political organization is a new low. I am shocked and distressed and deeply concerned both as a United States Senator and as an American citizen over this latest tactic by a group of desperate short-sighted people.

The tactic will not go unchallenged. As Chairman of Americans for Change I have asked our attorneys to consider a response to both this latest outrage, and previous chicanery by the Jimmy Carter political machine.

A news conference will be held tomorrow morning to discuss options open to us.

The fight has begun. And the real fight has become the protection of the basic rights of free Americans as much as who will be their next president.

In conclusion, let me answer some critics of my remarks before they pose the question. My concerns are not primarily political, although clearly the outcome of the presidential election is at stake. To emphasize this point, let me assure the Senate that Americans for Change probably would not be affected directly by this latest desperate attack on freedom of speech by Carter-Mondale. Americans for Change has no plans at this time to use the voice and/or image of presidential candidates in its political advertisements; however, that has been our tactical judgment. It should never be a judgment forced upon us by this blatant attempt to intimidate, or worse, unconstitutionally control and coerce the broadcast industry.

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My concern here today is not to protect Republican fortunes in this election year...rather it is to protect the basic rights of American citizens to speak in behalf of the candidates of their choice and the basic rights of the press to sell advertising without intimidation by the federal government.

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RADIO ACTUALITY

September 8, 1980

This is Senator Jack Schmitt.

I have today called to the Senate's attention the political desperation of the committee to re-elect the President in its continuing attacks on our basic First Amendment freedoms. The court has already upheld the rights of independent expenditure committees, including Americans For Change of which I am National Chairman. Now the Carter-Mondale committee is attempting to stifle the voice of independent political action committees through a petition to the Federal Communications Commission requiring broadcasters to give free time, I repeat; to give free time to the Carter-Mondale Committee equivalent to time bought by independent committees in which the voice and/or image of a Presidential candidate is used.

This request for a ruling, if granted, would have the practical economic effect of forcing broadcasters to avoid selling time to many independent committees. Such a demand is particularly offensive and dangerous since Carter is the incumbent and thus has enjoyed free time galore throughout his first term and still does enjoy a vast media advantage in the campaign. The intent of the Carter-Mondale Committee is clear. It is trying to accomplish through abuse of Presidential power and and abuse of political control of the FCC, what it could not accomplish in the courts. To stifle all opposition to the re-election of Jimmy Carter by suppressing freedom of speech. The fight has begun. And the real fight has become the protection of the basic rights of free Americans as much as who will be their next president.

. . . . . .

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Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 9, 1980

THE FOLLOWING LETTER HAS BEEN DISPATCHED TO ALL BROADCASTERS

Dear Broadcaster:

The Federal courts have unanimously ruled in the case of Common Cause vs. Americans for Change in your favor; and in favor of Americans for Change, the independent expenditure committee I chair supporting Ronald Reagan for President.

In a desperate effort to stop us, the Carter/Mondale Committee and Common Cause, a lobby organization, tried to persuade the courts and the Federal Election Commission that there is something wrong with what we are doing. Then they sent a threatening letter (dated July 18, 1980) to broadcast licensees suggesting that you might get into some kind of trouble if you carried our spots while this litigation is pending.

Well, we are pleased to report that we have won these lawsuits, clearly and decisively, in the Federal District Court in Washington, D. C. The Court's decisions are attached for your information.

If there was any cloud over our activities, it is gone. With your cooperation, we are going to express ourselves pursuant to our constitutional right to participate in the election process.

902411

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change
Add One

Let me add that the other scare tactics used by Carter/Mondale in their July 18 letter were and are equally unfounded.

We do not intend to use our spots for any personal attacks on Jimmy Carter. But even if we did, Carter/Mondale are wrong in saying it would mean that you would have to offer time to Jimmy Carter. The FCC has clearly said that a licensee may avoid a Section 315 "equal opportunities" cycle by requiring that a spokesperson be substituted for the candidate in making a rebutal to any personal attack.

Secondly, while we question Carter/Mondale's contention that a "use" (i.e., personal appearance by a candidate) in our spots would trigger an equal time requirement for all candidates, the issue is moot anyway, because we don't intend to include a "use" by a candidate whom we support.

As for your obligations under the Fairness Doctrine, we are confident that you will continue to give full and fair coverage to all controversial issues of public importance raised in this campaign, so we fail to see how broadcast of our spots will incur any new obligations whatsoever.

Finally, we see no basis upon which broadcast of any of our spots would require you to give away any free time.

We are sure you welcome the news of our success in this litigation because it means that citizens who care about the future of this country can be heard.

Whether or not you share our dissatisfaction with the performance of the Carter administration, we hope you will permit us to exercise our rights as citizens during this campaign.

902412

Very truly yours,

Harrison Schmitt

Harrison H. Schmitt
U. S. Senator

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CARTER/MONDALE PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE, INC.
1413 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 789-7200

Robert S. Strauss, Chairman
Tim Kraft, National Campaign Manager
S. Lee Kling, Treasurer
Evan S. Dobelle, National Finance Chairman

July 18, 1980

Dear Broadcaster:

It has come to the attention of the Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc. that allegedly "independent" supporters of Ronald Reagan's campaign plan massive purchases of broadcasting time to air highly controversial spots, containing attacks on either the President, other leading Democrats, or the Democratic Party generally. The Wall Street Journal, for example, reported on June 19, 1980, page 1, that groups identified as "Americans for Change," "Citizens for Reagan in '80," "Americans for Reagan," and "The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund" are among those which intend to spend over $50 million to try to influence the outcome of the November election. (See also the attached New York Times editorial and a recent Associated Press article on the commericals apparently already being distributed by one of the groups.)

The Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc., the official and authorized campaign committee for President Carter, and the Democratic National Committee have filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission against these so-called "independent groups", the Reagan for President Committee, and others alleging that the Federal Election Campaign Act will be violated if the Republican nominees receive public funding of their campaign while at the same time receiving massive support from alleged "independent" backers.

In addition, a lawsuit was recently filed by Common Cause against one of these groups challenging its independent status and charging that the proposed expenditures in support of Reagan's candidacy will seriously distort and undermine the plan for public financing of Presidential election campaigns enacted by Congress in 1974. Finally, the Federal Election Commission this week has filed its own action seeking a judicial ruling that would have the effect of prohibiting these groups from making their planned multi-million dollar expenditures while the Reagan campaign is also accepting more than $29 million in taxpayer funds. These cases are pending in the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C.

902413

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.

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We are confident that these proceedings will establish that such groups are not permitted under [redacted] law to make such expenditures on behalf of a presidential candidate who also is receiving public financing. Further, we believe that it will be determined that the particular committees in question and their organizers are not, and cannot be, truly independent of the Reagan campaign.

However, in either event, the purchase of broadcasting time by the so-called "independent" groups under such circumstances raises serious legal questions which you should consider.

Even if some or all of these groups are deemed legally capable of making independent expenditures for Reagan as a matter of federal election law:

*They are not entitled to the reasonable access provision of Section 312(a)(7) of the Communications Act.

*The broadcast of programs dealing with controversial issues of public importance paid for by such "independent" groups may obligate you under the FCC's Fairness Doctrine to provide time without charge for the broadcast of opposing viewpoints.

*Any such program which constitutes a personal attack will obligate you, under the FCC rules, to notify the person or persons attacked and to offer them a free opportunity to respond.

*To the extent any such program involves a "political use" by a qualified candidate within the meaning of Section 315(a) of the Communications Act, you will be required to offer equal time to all other legally qualified candidates, and, to the extent that the political use was without cost to the candidate whose candidacy was promoted in the broadcast, you would be required to offer free time to all other legally qualified candidates. See Letter to Hon. Mike Monroney, 40 F.C.C. 251 (1952).

If, as claimed in the actions mentioned above, the groups in question are found to be acting in concert with the Reagan for President Committee or otherwise ineligible for the making of "independent expenditures," then:

*The purchase by them of broadcast time may involve serious violations of law that could potentially involve a participating station in litigation before courts and federal agencies.

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*The purchase of time by such groups would obligate a station to provide equal opportunities to all opposing candidates and their affiliated supporters.

As is apparent from this letter, we believe that expenditures, by allegedly independent backers of one candidate, of massive funds for the purchase of broadcast time to influence the result of the Presidential Election in favor of that candidate is a direct threat to the delicately balanced system of campaign spending limitations and public financing mandated by Congress for the conduct of Presidential elections.

We hope you will give careful consideration to the problems inherent in use of the broadcast media for these purposes and, if you have any questions, we urge you to consult with your counsel before accepting requests for the purchase of political broadcast time by any group which is not the official, authorized committee of a qualified candidate.

Sincerely,

Timothy G. Smith

Timothy G. Smith
General Counsel

cc: Federal Communications Commission

Attachments

TGS:jm

8304042316

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
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U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 5, 1980

This progress report on Americans for Change will keep you up-to-date on our campaign plans.

We are very pleased that contributions to date are more than sufficient to cover all anticipated administrative and operation costs through election day.

Now 100 percent of every dollar raised will be spent to help assure the election of Ronald Reagan and other Federal officials.

As you may be aware, the "Americans for Change" committee was awarded a unanimous decision in the federal courts dismissing attempts by Common Cause and the Federal Election Commission to obstruct independent efforts in behalf of the Reagan-Bush ticket.

Attached are copies of the decision by that three judge panel. We understand that the Court's written opinion will be available in the near future.

Although the Court battle has interfered with our efforts and obviously has had a chilling effect on our fundraising activities, Americans for Change is well into its major programs.

902416

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Of the first $300,000 we have raised, $170,000 has been spent as independent expenditures. Of this amount, $110,000 was devoted to our voter "kit" program, along with $50,000 spent on newspaper ads and $10,000 committed to radio. I believe this puts our actual Reagan expenditures well ahead of all the independent committees but one. The remaining funds were spent for legal fees ($25,000) and organizational and fundraising costs ($105,000). We anticipate our overhead to be 25 percent of the first million raised and 15 percent of every million after that. We anticipate spending a minimum of one million dollars in our voter kit program; one million on newspaper ads; and one million on radio and T.V. Our programs, however, are designed to be open-ended.

Programmatically, we are initiating a combined radio, television and newspaper advertising campaign to familiarize voters with the Reagan record as well as stimulate a higher voter turnout on election day. The newspaper ads are being placed in the dailies of major cities and swing states and in major national papers such as the Wall Street Journal. We hope to demonstrate the quality of the Reagan record as Governor of California as compared to the dismal record of President Carter. I have also included some letters we have received in response to our ads. All such letters are available for examination, should someone on your staff be interested.

Our independent Voter Chairman Program is also underway. This program is designed to recruit at least one hundred thousand independent voter chairmen for Reagan, each of whom will be responsible for identifying 10 new Reagan supporters and encouraging them to vote. This program is designed to deliver one million voters to the polls on election day.

902417

Americans for Change
Add Two

Attached are samples from the "kit" materials these Chairmen will receive to assist their efforts. I have included their instruction manual and pass out material.

As I indicated the Court fight cost us resources, contributions and time. However, we still have been moderately successful in our fundraising and we have remained solvent. As we continue to move towards November 4th, we shall keep you informed of our campaign, and please feel free to call me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Jack

Harrison "Jack" Schmitt
U.S. Senator (R. - N.M.), Chairman

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8 [redacted] 0 4 0 4 2 2 3 5 2

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Federal Election Commission,

Plaintiff

v.

Americans For Change, et al.,

Defendants

C.A. 80-1754

Three-Judge Court

FILED

AUG 28 1980

JAMES F. DAVEY, Clerk

ORDER

The Court, having before it the pleadings, motions, affidavits, and briefs of the parties and amici curiae, heard oral argument on August 19, 1980. Because of the nature of the case the Court is of the view that the decision, like the briefing and argument, should be expedited, with opinion or opinions to follow.

It is therefore ORDERED

1. That the motion of the American Civil Liberties Union Fund of the National Capital Area for leave to participate as Amicus Curiae is GRANTED.
2. That the motion of Common Cause to intervene is DENIED.
3. That the motion of the Plaintiff Federal Election Commission for Summary Judgment is DENIED.
4. That the motions of the Defendants Americans for Change, Americans for an Effective Presidency, and Fund for a Conservative Majority for Summary Judgment are GRANTED.
5. That all other pending motions by all parties are DENIED.

Edward A. Tamm
EDWARD A. TAMM
Circuit Judge

Malcolm Richard Wilkey
MALCOLM RICHARD WILKEY
Circuit Judge

JOHN GARRETT PENN
District Judge

AUG 28 1980

902419

SIDNEY S BARON AND CO D SMITH
540 MADISON AVE 23 FLOOR
NEW YORK NY 10022

western union Mailgram

4-038037S247 09/03/80 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP FCHB
2129805383 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 47 09-03 0218P EST

REGAN FOR PRESIDENT 1980 PROJECT
218 NORTH LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

ATTN MR WILLIAM E MILLER
DEAR BILL
AM DELIGHTED TO ACCEPT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NEW YORK STDERING
COMMITTEE OF "RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1980"

SEYMOUR HALPERN
SIDNEY S BARON AND CO

1420 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

830404

902738

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

DATE 9-3-80 DEADLINE:

NAME: Bill Davis of Newport Beach, CA

TELEPHONE 714/752-2066 SUBJECT $25,000.

POINTS TO COVER He's on our national steering Committee and you have talked to him before - just need a push to raise funds he said he would.

STAFF INITIALS DW H's INITIALS/DATE 9/4

8304042235

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 10, 1980

8304042353

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We hereby formally demand that you order Carter/Mondale Presidential Campaign Committee Inc., your authorized campaign committee, to immediately retract its letter of July 18, 1980 to broadcast licensees. Subsequent events have confirmed that the letter contains false and misleading statements.

The letter used the premise of then-pending lawsuits by Common Cause and the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to threaten dire consequences to licensees who sell commercial spots to independent committees. The letter contended that it was settled law that other candidates are entitled to free equal time if the independent committee spots contain a "political use" by a qualified candidate for public office.

On August 28, the lawsuits were lost by Common Cause and the FEC, and the whole basis for the letter was rejected by the court.

Then, on September 4, Carter/Mondale filed a pleading with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) where they admitted, for the first time, the existence of a policy dating all the way back to 1964 which clearly does not require free equal time. The FCC was asked by Carter/Mondale to reverse that policy.

901782

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

On both a legal and moral basis, it is imperative that you order your committee to clarify both fact and law with a retraction of the July 18 letter. Failure to do so leads only to the conclusion that there has been, is and continues to be a willful plan to deceive, coerce and intimidate the broadcast licensees of this country.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt
Chairman

David Durenberger
Co-Chairman

8304042336

901783

Conference hours open — no one available for times circled

PHONE CONFERENCE LIST--September 13, 1980

10:00	Senate Trust Members
10:30	National Steering Committee/Major Contributors
11:00	Eagles
11:30	Midland Regrets
12:00	Senate Trust Members
12:30	National Steering Committee/Major Contributors
1:00	FREE
1:30	FREE
2:00	Senate Trust Members
2:30	National Steering Committee/Major Contributors
3:00	Eagles
3:30	Midland Regrets
4:00	Senate Trust Members
4:30	National Steering Committee/Major Contributors

8004042357

Conference calls booked

Senate Trust Members

10:00
12:00
2:00
4:00

National Steering Committee
Major Contributors

✓ 10:30
✓ 12:30
✓ 2:30
4:30

Midland Regrets

✓ 11:30
3:30

Eagles

✓ 11:00
3:00

900450

National Steering Committee Phone Conference -- September 11, 1980

5:00 p.m. to 5:15 p.m.

Oliver Hughes/Kansas	913/267-3291	
G.L. (Jerry) Vinson/Texas	817/767-2575	or 817/322-4426
Bernard H. Barnett/KY	502/585-4131	
Jack E. Black/Ok	405/329-2400	
Hon. John Brown-Gov./Ohio	614/466-8300	
~~Hon. Albert Fay Am./ Texas~~	713/227-5251	
B.K. Johnson/Texas	512/227-5101	
Herman Kaiser, Sr./Ok	918/743-6652	
Bill D. Saxon/Texas	214/369-8200	or 305/628-2600
Mr. or Mrs. Oscar Wyatt/Tx	713/529-5049	
Lew Ward/Ok	405/234-3229	
Hon. or Mrs. John C Pritzlaff/Ar	602/255-5685	
~~Francine Neff/NM~~ (out of town till 9/15)	505/765-1600	

5:25 p.m. to 5:40 p.m.

~~Hon. James Holshoser/NC~~		
Hon. Joel Broyhill/Va.		
Ben B. Blackburn/ Geo.	404/325-2255	
Wm. N. Cafritz/Md.	301/320-3062	
M. William Deitch	219/262-3611	
Amb. Guilford Dudley/ Tenn.	615/244-9300	
Hon. James Edwards-Gov./SC	803/723-5304	
Kenneth R. Giddens/Alabama	205/432-5505	
~~Dick Heckmann,~~Mayor/Idaho	208/622-4511	
~~Glen Holden/Calif.~~	213/556-2474	
Wm. Miller/NY	716/853-3040	
Rodney Mitchell/NY	212/248-3090	
Mr. or Mrs. Paul Temple/Wash DC	202/243-0155	or 202/265-7204

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900451

PHONE CONFERENCE LIST FOR Nat'l Steering Committee / Major Contributors

1.	L.E. Barbee	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
2.	Lewis Pedicini +	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
3.	Jeffrey Cherney +	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
4.	Howard Wilkins Dir/Y	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
5.	Bascom Mitchell	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
6.	Charles Harrington * Eagle	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
7.	William Miller Steering Com.	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
8.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
9.	NOTE:	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
10.	* call operator in adv. to	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
11.	approve him for this phone	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
12.	conference grouping/time.	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
13.	Harrington is an Eagle but	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
14.	was the only one to accept	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
15.	a conference at the 3:00	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
16.	time slot. Operater	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
17.	would like to call him	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
18.	back to see if he can	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
19.	be available at 2:30 and	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
20.	therefore included in	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
21.	this Louis call.	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
22.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
23.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
24.	(	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
25.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
26.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
27.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
28.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$900452
29.		NO	WC	M	SBM	&P

11:00

PHONE CONFERENCE LIST FOR Eagles

1.	Constantine Eristoff	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
2.	Hon. Anthony Marshall	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
3.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
4.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
5.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
6.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
7.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
8.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
9.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
10.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
11.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
12.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
13.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
14.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
15.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
16.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
17.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
18.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
19.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
20.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
21.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
22.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
23.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
24.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
25.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
26.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
27.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
28.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$00453
29.		NO	WC	M	SBM	&P

3 6 0 2 4 0 4 0 3 8

PHONE CONFERENCE LIST FOR Nat'l Steering Committee
Major Contributors

1.	Mr./Mrs. Paul Temple	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
2.	Mrs. Mike Hildebrand	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
3.	Jack Stahl	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
4.	Al Saterdal	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
5.	John O' Donnell	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
6.	William Moss	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
7.	Glen Nelson No one	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
8.	Abraham Ruth	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
9.	Standford McCormick	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
10.	Ruff Ramsland	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
11.	Jim Russell	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
12.	Rod Mitchell Steering	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
13.	Patrick Ryan	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
14.	Midland Regist	NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
15.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
16.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
17.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
18.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
19.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
20.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
21.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
22.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
23.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
24.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
25.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
26.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
27.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P
28.		NO	WC	M	SBM	$P 900454
29.		NO	WC	M	SBM	&P

PHONE CONFERENCE LIST FOR Natl Steering Committee
Major Contributors

1.	Jack Black	O	✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
2.	Gov. John Brown	Steering	✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
3.	William Miller			NO	WC	M	SBM $P
4.	Rodney Mitchell	+		NO	WC	M	SBM $P
5.	G. N. Parrott	+	✓ ✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
6.	Frank Winegar	O	✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
7.	John Mc Camish			NO	WC	M	SBM $P
8.	Walter O'Connell		✓ ✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
9.	Dr. Joseph Boyd		✓ ✓ Fla	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
10.	William Jenner		✓ ✓ Ind	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
11.	E. M. Kirtland		✓ ✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
12.	Paul Arneson			NO	WC	M	SBM $P
13.	Fred Bame	+		NO	WC	M	SBM $P
14.	Thomas Flood III	+		NO	WC	M	SBM $P
15.	Jerry Freeman	+	O ✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
16.	Gordon Berg	+	O ✓ 25K	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
17.	David Reed	+		NO	WC	M	SBM $P
18.	Patrick Ryan	+		NO	WC	M	SBM $P
19.	John Shad	+	✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
20.	William Smith	+	✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
21.	Sherman Unger	+	✓	NO	WC	M	SBM $P
22.	William Wineguist	+		NO	WC	M	SBM $P
23.	Bill Gator			NO	WC	M	SBM $P
24.	Steve Jurigan			NO	WC	M	SBM $P
25.				NO	WC	M	SBM $P
26.				NO	WC	M	SBM $P
27.	+ Senate Trust Members			NO	WC	M	SBM $P
28.	who somehow found their way			NO	WC	M	SBM $P 900455
29.	into this time frame. ii			NO	WC	M	SBM &P

PHONE CONFERENCE LIST FOR Midland Regets

1. Mr/Mrs. Frank Agar NO WC M SBM $P
2. Mr/Mrs. John Hendrix NO WC M SBM $P
3. NO WC M SBM $P
4. NO WC M SBM $P
5. NO WC M SBM $P
6. NO WC M SBM $P
7. NO WC M SBM $P
8. NO WC M SBM $P
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25. NO WC M SBM $P
26. NO WC M SBM $P
27. NO WC M SBM $P 900456
28. NO WC M SBM $P
29. NO WC M SBM &P

8304042236

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
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Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

3304042235

Thank you for attending the breakfast meeting at the Chicago Club, Monday, September 15th.

The Wall Street Journal advertisement was well received across the country as well as the several radio ads we have been running in selected media markets. Governor Reagan and George Bush need more help like this.

Right now the most pressing financial need we have is to raise 1.54 million dollars in the next 36 days. We need this money for radio and newspaper ads in key swing states across the country. Our media plan shows that this amount of money would give us excellent saturation in these markets.

Can we count on you to send a contribution of $1,000, $2,000, or $5,000 today?

The big Labor Unions are already spending a projected 10 to 15 million dollars to re-elect Jimmy Carter. In 1976, they spent 11 million to elect him President. In addition, Carter is using the extraordinary power of incumbency to the hilt. Governor Reagan and George Bush are up against incredible odds, and unless people like you lend your financial support, we may

902457

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

You are cordially invited to
Be our guest for

BREAKFAST

Hosts:

Senator Jack Schmitt
Senator Dave Durenberger

Wednesday, September 17, 1980

7:30 a.m.

Fairfax Hotel/Potomac Room

2100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

8304022350

You are cordially invited to
Be our guest for

BREAKFAST

Hosts:

Senator Jack Schmitt
Senator Dave Durenberger

Wednesday, September 17, 1980

7:30 a.m.

Fairfax Hotel/Potomac Room

2100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

901242

September 17, 1980

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 3 6 6

Enclosed is a tape of two radio commercials dealing with Carter's failure to debate Reagan.

I would like to run the second commercial on the tape starting next Monday, September 22. We have committed all available funds to run the commercial in a number of key areas.

Will you agree to raise $1,000, $2,000 or $5,000 by next Monday so we can run this commercial in your state?

Please call me directly on my private DC line 703/683-5258.

I will instruct our media firm to buy radio time in your area based on your pledge.

If you cannot raise the funds yourself, will you try to recruit someone to take on this task?

This radio ad takes great advantage of Carter's failure to debate but must be run on local radio next week.

Please respond today---the timing is crucial.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely,

902666

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

830422367

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 19, 1980

Dear John:

I know you are aware that I serve as Chairman of Americans for Change, an independent expenditure committee formed in behalf of Ronald Reagan for President.

As has been obvious since May, it has been necessary for me as a member of the National Republican Senatorial Committee to curtail my participation in the committee's strategy sessions. It is the desire of all who serve on the executive committee of Americans for Change to avoid any possible perception of collusion on our part with any committee, organization or person formally connected with the Reagan for President principal campaign committee or with any committee, organization or person who may have inside knowledge as to the plans of the Reagan for President committee.

I look forward to resuming a more active role in the Senatorial Committee program in 1981.

Sincerely,

Jack

The Honorable John Heinz
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

901563





UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

H. JOHN HEINZ III
PENNSYLVANIA

September 22, 1980

8304042236E

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Jack:

Thank you for your note regarding the possible conflict between your leadership role in Americans for Change and your participation in the NRSC.

We are all proud of the work you are doing with A.F.C., and I certainly understand and support your desire to be free of even the slightest appearance of conflict of interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Heinz

JH/ml

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

901562

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

John G.

C 00 30 40 42 25 5

Dear Mr. Yeager,

Thank you very much for your generous contribution of $ 1,000.00 to Americans for Change.

To meet the strict reporting requirements of the Federal Election Commission, we need the following information from you:

____ Home Address: 366 Tynebridge Houston 77024

____ Place of Employment: 1200 Milam " 77002

____ Business Phone: 713 658 0203

____ Business Address: 1200 Milam Houston 77002

____ Principal Job Title: President

____ Self-Employed: ✓ Yes _____ No

This information is necessary to insure that your contribution is properly credited to the Reagan in '80 Project. We will appreciate your returning this letter to us with the requested information.

Thank you again for your contribution and support. We appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

14

Stan Huckaby

Stan Huckaby
Assistant Treasurer
Americans for Change

901752

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

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U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

Paper 16

September 22, 1980

Westall Williams
Western Bentonite
Saint Jo, TX

Dear Mr. Williams,

We wish to thank you for your contribution of $25.00 dated September 17, 1980. The regulations of the Federal Election Commission require that we ask you to complete this brief form, sign it, and return this letter to us.

Please check the appropriate space below.

_____ This check was drawn on an account controlled by an incorporated entity.

__✓__ This check was not drawn on an account controlled by an incorporated entity and represents my personal funds.

Westall Williams
(signature)

We regret the inconvenience, but this information is required by Federal law.

We hope you understand our position, and we thank you for your support and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Stan Huckaby
Asst. Treasurer

SH:kp

901751

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

C 00042237

MEMO TO: Jack Schmitt

FROM: Brad O'Leary

CONFIDENTIAL

We've just completed our first detailed analysis of a likely contest between Carter and Reagan.

Some of this information is based on polling data done by individual organizations within each state, the rest is based on professional assessments by our steering committee or political professionals not associated with Reagan's campaign.

States where Reagan has a lead over Carter

Arizona	New Hampshire
Alaska	New Mexico
California	Nebraska
Colorado	North Dakota
Idaho	Oklahoma
Indiana	Oregon
Iowa	Utah
Kansas	Vermont
Maine	Virginia
Montana	South Dakota
Nevada	Wyoming

States where Carter leads over Reagan

Alabama	Michigan
Arkansas	North Carolina
Delaware	Rhode Island
D.C.	South Carolina
Kentucky	West Virginia
Hawaii	Wisconsin (northern part)
Massachusetts	Tennessee
Minnesota	Maryland
Missouri	Georgia

States where neither candidate seems to be leading

Connecticut	Ohio
Florida	Pennsylvania
Louisiana	New York
Illinois	Texas
Mississippi	Washington
New Jersey	Wisconsin (lower two-thirds)

We would like to reproduce this to each steering committee member.

902654

8304042371

FUND RAISING SOURCES

AS OF SEPT. 9, 1980

	Received	Pledges	Total
Precinct Kit	$14,500		$14,500
Allott, Dominick	5,700		5,700
Barnes, ~~Norman~~ Bida	19,500	$ 3,000	22,000
Barnett, Barney		25,000	25,000
Beame, Fred	1,000	24,000	25,000
Brinker, Norman	27,600	4,000	31,600
Curtis, Carl	1,000		1,000
Dudley/Lazenby	3,500		3,500
Durrenberger, Dave	2,200		2,200
Fay, Al		10,000	10,000
Harmer, John	29,800	25,000	54,800
Henderson, Joe	21,500	5,500	27,000
Lanier, Addison	3,800		3,800
Massachusetts		25,000	25,000
O'Leary, Bradley	29,600	6,500	36,100
Ruff, Howard	22,300	22,700	45,100
Schmitt, Jack	57,600	16,000	73,600
Sendeck/Snyder	3,200		3,200
Temple, Paul		5,000	5,000
Yates, Payton	1,700		1,700
Misc.	6,000		6,000
	$248,800	$171,700	$419,500

8304042237

901489

MEMO TO: Jack Schmitt

FROM: Brad O'Leary

SUBJECT: July and August Fund Raising Schedule

Friday	July 11	BR	Albuquerque, NM
Sunday	July 13	Br	Las Vegas, Nevada
Thursday	July 17	Ln	Detroit, Michigan
Friday	July 18	Ln	Dallas, Texas
Friday	July 18	Dn	Houston, Texas
Saturday	July 19	Ln	San Antonio, Texas
Saturday	July 19	Dn	Midland, Texas
Sunday	July 20	Ln	St. Louis, Missouri
Monday	July 21	Br	New York, New York
Monday	Aug. 4	Br	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Thursday	Aug. 7	Ln	Seattle, Washington
Friday	Aug. 8	Ln	Orange County, California
Wednesday	Aug. 13	Br	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Wednesday	Aug. 13	Ln	Chicago, Illinois
Monday	Aug. 18	Br	Boston, Massachusetts
Monday	Aug. 25	Br	Baltimore, Maryland
Thursday	Aug. 28	Ln	Nashville, Tennessee
Thursday	Aug. 28	Dn	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Friday	Aug. 29	Br	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Friday	Aug. 29	Ln	Denver, Colorado

8304042237

September 12, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : Brad O'Leary

FROM: Carol Reed

RE : Legal Letter

Following is a list of those who received the Legal Letter and the totals:

Eagles	195
Trust	230
Steering Committee	73
California	999
Dallas	480
Washington, D. C.	265
Indianapolis	293
Detroit	681
Atlanta	399
Denver	348
Connally	2,228
Houston Pearson Grp.	2,235
TOTAL	8,526

8304042237

902447

Kit, FYI

FUND RAISING SOURCES
as of October 13, 1980

SOURCE	RECEIVED	PLEDGES OR ANTICIPATED	TOTAL
ALLOTT/Dominick	$14,500	$ 2,000	$16,500
BERG, Gordon		10,000	10,000
BRINKER/STALEY	31,500	17,000	47,000
BARNETT, Barney		10,000	10,000
BARNES, Libba	21,500	1,000	22,500
BLACKBURN/LECRAW	5,300	2,500	7,800
Chicago	4,500	500	5,000
CURTIS, Carl	1,500		1,500
CONNER, Bill	3,500	47,500	50,000
DURNBERGER/BEANE	3,200	25,000	28,200
DEBACA, Fernando		15,000	15,000
FAY, Al		15,000	15,000
GOERING, Harold	5,000	3,500	8,500
HECKMAN, Dick	10,000	5,000	15,000
HARMER, John	33,800	18,000	51,800
HENDERSON, Joe	29,500	500	30,000
KAUFMAN, George	3,500		3,500
LOVE, Bill	17,000	3,000	20,000
LANIER, Addison	3,800	10,000	13,800
Las Vegas	1,000	9,000	9,000
LAZENBEY	4,000	1,000	5,000
New York	6,800	7,800	14,600
O'LEARY, Brad	36,700	2,500	39,200
Phoenix		10,000	10,000
Precint Kit	30,400	1,000	31,400
RUFF, Howard	23,300	21,700	45,000
Ruff letter	20,000	240,000	260,000
ROWLAND	5,000	5,000	10,000
SCHMITT, Jack	74,900	10,000	84,900
SMITH, Bill	2,700	12,300	15,000
SENDECK/SNYDER	3,200	4,800	8,000
TEMPLE, Paul		10,000	10,000
THOMPSON, Dick	1,000	4,000	5,000
Wichita/Kansas City		5,000	5,000
YATES, Payton	3,400	3,800	7,200
	$404,500	$533,400	$937,900

3304042237

901630

BOSTON September 15, 1980 Senator Dave Durenberger
John Harmer

9/14 John Harmer flight arrival

United #366 lv. Salt Lake City 7:05 am
arr. Boston 3:02 p.m.

AIRPORT PICK UP BY LARRY NOVAK

Senator and Mrs. Durenberger flight arrival

Delta #468 lv. Washington, D.C. 2:20 pm
arr. Boston 3:31 pm

AIRPORT PICK UP BY LARRY NOVAK

4:00 p.m. Durenberger/ Harmer to drive to Estate of Jessie Cox in Cohasset. (Driven by Larry Novak)

5:00 p.m. Arrive Cox estate.

7:00 p.m. Depart Cox estate. Drive to Boston for private dinner at Pier 4. (12 guests)

10:00 pm Return to hotel - Sheraton Boston (617/236-2000)

9/15

7:45 am Depart hotel for Harvard Club, Federal Street, Boston (617/426-4471)

8:00 am AFC breakfast - 125 guests

9:45 am Harmer/ Durenberger depart Harvard Club for airport. Driven by Larry Novak.

Senator and Mrs. Durenberger flight departure

Eastern #375 lv. Boston 10:45 am
arr. Washington, D.C. 12:02 pm

John Harmer's flight schedule

United #857 lv. Boston 10:50 am
arr. Chicago 12:14 pm

Larry
361-8585

901061

8304042376

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

WEEK ENDED Sept. 20, 1980

Beginning Cash Balance	$ 17,712.98
Receipts	39,198.15
Expenditures	41,677.99
Ending Cash Balance	15,233.14

Cumulative Totals

Contributions:

Check and cash contributions	$ 248,808.55	
In-kind Contributions	11,499.12	
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS		260,307.67

Expenditures:

Actual expenditures	233,575.41	
In-kind expenditures	11,499.12	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		245,074.53

8304042237

901634

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

WEEK ENDED September 14, 1980

Beginning Cash Balance	$ 37,330.41
Receipts	~~37,263.40~~
Expenditures	(56,880.83)
Ending Cash Balance	17,712.98

Cumulative Totals

Contributions:

Check and cash contributions	$ 209,610.40	
In-kind Contributions	11,499.12	
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS		221,109.52

Expenditures:

Actual expenditures	191,897.42	
In-kind expenditures	11,499.12	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		203,396.54

8304042237E

901636

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

WEEK ENDED August 29, 1980

Beginning Cash Balance	$ 27,702.07
Receipts	10,899.00
Expenditures	(29,509.66)
Ending Cash Balance	9,091.41

Total of expenditures authorized, but invoices not received -0-

Invoices received and ready for payment:

Date	Vendor	Amount
8-27-80	Omsco, Inc. (Second person charge for rent)	37.50
	TOTAL	37.50

Total Contributions to Date	138,359.00
Total Expenditures to Date	129,267.59

83040422379

FUND RAISING SOURCES

AS OF SEPT. 2, 1980

	Received	Pledges	Total
Barnes, Libba	$19,500	$3,000	$22,000
Brinker, Norman	24,600	7,000	31,600
Harmer, John	19,800	65,000	81,000
Henderson, Joe	9,500	17,500	27,000
Lanier, Adison	2,500		2,500
O'Leary, Brad	18,600	11,000	29,600
Ruff, Howard	20,100	25,000	45,100
Schmitt, Jack	39,600	16,000	55,600
	$156,200	$124,500	$300,700

8304023 8C

901639

BUDGET FOR SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER

Legal Fees	$ 25,000
Media Consulting	$ 20,000
Press	$ 20,000
Rent	$ 7,000
Staff	$ 39,000
Phones	$ 20,000
Travel	$ 15,000
Wall Street Journal	$ 22,000
Accounting	$ 30,000
Volunteer Chairmen Kits	$ 35,000
	$ 233,000

Close Down Sept 15 — 80,000

Total — $153,000

8304042381

901629

8304042238

DATE 9/26/ 4:30 DEADLINE: _____

NAME: Albert Montaño

TELEPHONE # (312) 664-3877 SUBJECT _____

POINTS TO COVER Re: Mr. Iwahaka

_____

_____

STAFF INITIALS CC. H's INITIALS/DATE _____





901495

September 29, 1980

Mr. Alfred Montano called wanting to speak to the Senator.

He wants to use his computerized telephone service to help the Reagan campaign in Illinios.

Computer system uses the Governor's voice to answer questions, etc. over the telephone without the Governor having answer each question individually.

Mr. Montano is a friend of Mr. Fernando Oazaca from California, who is a friend of the Senator.

Mr. Montano wants either someone involved in the Reagan campaign or someone not offically involved to fund the service.

The company that designed the system is based in Chicago and Dallas. He would not tell me the name. He wants to discuss that with the person deciding if it can be used or not.

Mr. Montano can be reached at 312-564-3877 or he will be calling back on Wednesday.

Sharon

8304042238

INGRAM CORPORATION
LIFE AND CASUALTY TOWER · NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219
TELEPHONE 615 244-9300

GUILFORD DUDLEY, JR.
VICE CHAIRMAN

September 29, 1980

Senator Harrison Schmitt
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

Although I did give the luncheon with Ted Lazenby for your PAC Americans for Change, sponsors of Reagan for President in '80, I have been advised by our attorneys that I will have to abandon any work for any PAC since I was designated Vice Chairman of the Prelude to Victory Dinner campaign put on by the RNC here and the State Republican Committee.

Actually my wife is Chairman of this dinner, and, therefore, I had very little choice but to work for it as Vice Chairman. This does, apparently, eliminate my being able to work for PACs in the future although at the time I did agree to do it, I had no such affiliation.

I wish you luck in your enterprise which is an excellent one, and I wish I could continue to work on it with you.

Sincerely,

Guilford Dudley, Jr.

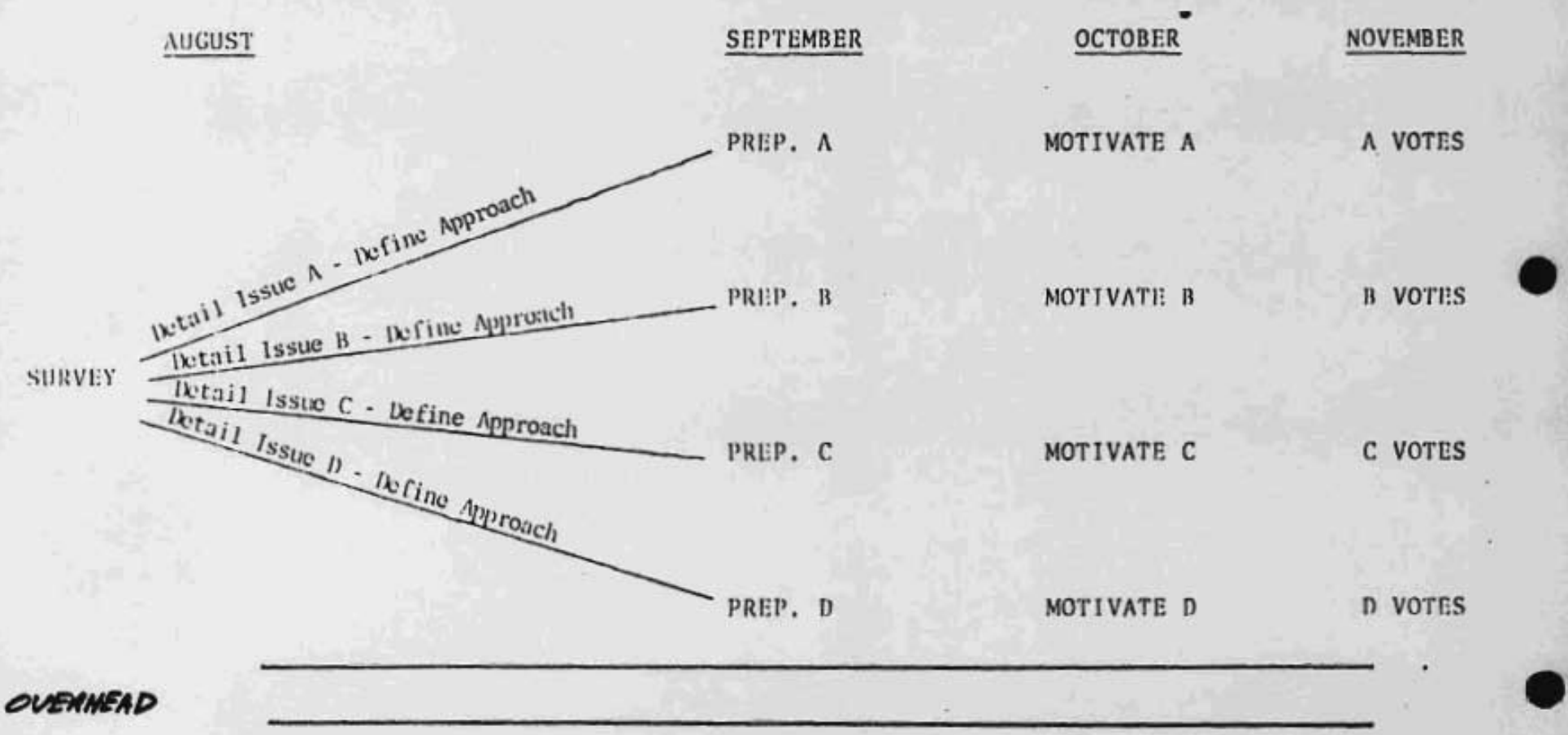
GD/ls

P. S. I might mention that I am an Eagle and a member of Jack Heinz's Inner Circle and have contributed the limit for myself and my family to the Reagan campaign.

9020

8304042238 5

MEDIA STRATEGY (DRAFT) #3



901612

A

A - Concern about national security

- mid to upper middle class

- male/white and blue collar/youth?

Approach

TV	RADIO	PRESS	MAGS
~~½ hr Prime w/promo~~ ?	Drive		News
	Youth	Media	Airline
	C & W		Men's

PREP - Develop focus to concern - DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THIS WAY

- Soviet encroachment on resources
- Soviet military threat
- U.S. weakness

MODIVATE - FEEL GOOD ABOUT AMERICA AGAIN

- Reagan's policies
- Reagan's team

9304042233 6

B

B - Concern about jobs

-mid to lower-middle class
-male and female/blue collar

Approach

TV	RADIO	PRESS	MAGS
A.M. ?	Drive	Store	POP
	C&W	Programs	Women's
	Rock	[redacted]g	Men's
		Yellow	Sports

PREP - Focus concern - DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THIS WAY

- loss to imports
- loss of technological lead
- energy dependence

MODIVATE - FEEL GOOD ABOUT YOUR FUTURE

- Reagan's policies
- Reagan's California record

901613

C

C - Concern about prices

- mid to lower middle class/elderly
- female/blue collar

Approach

TV	RADIO	PRESS	MAGS
A.M.?	Talk Drive	Store Yellow	Women's

PREP - Focus concern - DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THIS WAY

- inflation caused by government
- inflation and productivity
- inflation and deficits
- inflation and taxes

MODIFY - Get control over your income

- Reagan's policies
- Reagan's California record

8304042239 7

D

D - Concern about national prestige

- middle class/retired military
- male/blue collar

Approach

TV	RADIO	PRESS	MAGS
?	C&W Drive	Programs Bowling	Men's

Surrogates?

PREP - Focus concern - DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THIS WAY

- foreign attempts to manipulate
- loss of influence
- loss of technological lead
- loss of space lead

MODIFY - FEEL GOOD ABOUT AMERICA AGAIN

- Reagan's policies
- Reagan's team
- New attempts at manipulation

901614

E - Concern about energy
E - Concern about regulation

BRANCH, GUNTER & SACRE, INC.
90 WEST WIEUCA ROAD, N.W.
SUITE 233
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30342

JOHN E. BRANCH, JR.
CARL S. GUNTER
CHARLES M. SACRE III

PHONE
(404) 255-3332
TWX
810-751-3364

October 2, 1980

Ms. Anne Nicolls
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

RE: Luncheon
Monday, September 22, 1980
Capitol City Club
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Anne,

As per our phone conservation on Thursday, October 2nd, I am enclosing the "John Connally For President" donors list. Fortunately, I worked with the same list on the Connally Campaign, so my list had current phone numbers. This was a great help and a time-saver in calling. Elaine Thurston mailed me several lists to work also.

Anne, the $200.00 for my efforts, that you mentioned, is acceptable.

I enjoyed working with you and if I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call.

Hello to Kristin.

Sincerely,

Debra A. Barry

Debra A. Barry

DAB/jp

900608

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

October 9, 1980

David

Dear ~~National Steering~~ Committee Member:

I have enclosed a cassette tape of several Reagan/Bush radio spots dealing with the economy. Our committee will run these commercials in swing states.

I want to tell you how critical a period we are entering with the election only four weeks away. Your support at this time could make the difference.

I need to ask for your help in raising funds for advertising on TV, radio and in newspapers. Can I count on your assistance?

In particular, I hope you will consider sending out one of the enclosed letters to friends in your area which you know can help.

I have asked one of my staff members to call you and see which letter you might use and how many tapes we can send you.

Please respond today--the timing is crucial.

Sincerely,

Jack

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

901998

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Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Harrison Schmitt
Senator Dave Durenberger

FROM: Brad O'Leary, Executive Director
"Reagan for President in 80"

SUBJECT: Electoral Vote Total as of October 3, 1980

The following is a breakdown of the probable electoral vote totals based on the most recent state-by-state poll available. As you know, 270 electoral votes are needed to win. A great deal of fluctuation exists with all the polls we have looked at and could change substantially in a week.

CARTER STATES		LEANING CARTER		REAGAN STATES		LEANING REAGAN	
Alabama	9	Minnesota	10	Nevada	3	Louisiana	10
Georgia	12	Texas	26	Arizona	6	Mississippi	7
South Carolina	8	Florida	17	Utah	4	Ohio	25
North Carolina	13	Michigan	21	Idaho	4	Illinois	26
Tennessee	10	Pennsylvania	27	Montana	3	Delaware	3
Arkansas	6	New York	41	N. Dakota	8	New Jersey	17
Missouri	12	Rhode Island	4	Nebraska	4	Connecticut	8
W. Virginia	6	Oregon	6	Kansas	5	Maine	4
Maryland	10		152	Oklahoma	7	California	45
D.C.	3			Colorado	8	Washington	9
Massachusetts	14			Wyoming	3	New Mexico	4
Hawaii	4			New Hampshire	4		158
Kentucky	9			Vermont	3		
	116			Virginia	12		
				Wisconsin	11		
				Indiana	13		
				Alaska	3		
					112		

TOTAL 268

TOTAL 270

901999

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Do you have any idea how close this election will be?

I have enclosed a confidential memo showing a state by state breakdown if the election were held today.

I think you will agree that it could be the closest election this country has ever seen and we have seen some close ones.

In 1960 Kennedy was elected by <u>less</u> than one vote a Precinct; in 1968 Nixon was elected by <u>less</u> than one vote a Precinct; and, in 1976 Carter won election by <u>less</u> than one vote a Precinct.

I have enclosed a tape that contains the type of tough radio ads that could result in our winning that one extra vote in precincts in some of the swing states.

Will you take the responsibility for one Precinct? Will you send the funds necessary to carry Reagan's message to undecided voters?

The 16 million that Reagan reportedly will spend on media will mainly be spent for TV and allows him to spend an average of $550 for each precinct in our fifty states.

That is frankly not enough!

You may have been asked for additional funds by the RNC or your state party but their funds are limited by law to be spent on phone banks and support materials.

None of the funds raised can be used for TV, radio, newspapers or direct mail to communicate on behalf of Reagan or Bush.

902000

8304042391

I want you to know we still have political freedom in this country, but heaven help us if Carter gets re-elected.

I hope you are mad enough to send a contribution for this effort.

This will be the last appeal you will receive. There is just enough time to use the money you send. There is no time left to ask you again.

If you can not help please return to my attention the cassette tape in time for me to mail it to someone else.

8304042239

Paid for by Americans for Change, U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman, New Mexico; U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer (Ret.) Nebraska. Not authorized by any candidate.

902001

I'm mad as hell! I hope this letter leaves you as upset as I am.

I am disgusted with the mud-slinging campaign that Carter and his political cronies have decided to wage against Governor Reagan. I agree with Gerald Ford's statement that "Carter intemperate and totally misleading statements demean the office of the Presidency."

I know the Reagan campaign has taken the high road against Carter, and Reagan is to be admired as a man and as an American for his decision.

But I believe someone must begin to respond to Carter's attempts to destroy Governor Reagan's integrity. I believe an organization called Americans for Change is attempting such an effort through airing radio commercials like those on the tape I've enclosed.

Let me tell you the commercials are really tough. The Carter campaign has been trying every tactic they can think of to stop them from being aired.

They took this committee that is being headed by two U.S. Senators, Jack Schmitt of New Mexico and Dave Durenberger of Minnesota, to federal court to try and stop them from spending funds on Reagan's behalf. The Carter campaign lost in court.

Jimmy Carter's political cronies then tried to intimidate broadcasters and the FCC to halt the sale of time to air these tough commercials. They lost at the FCC but about 10% of all radio stations have refused to see time for these ads because of fear of losing their licenses.

3304042393

The federal law clearly states that in addition to Reagan's actual campaign only a committee like Americans for Change can spend funds for TV, radio, newspaper and other communication tools on his behalf.

I am going to ask you for a contribution to this effort and I will make you a special pledge. I will guarantee that 100% of any contribution that you make will be spent for media 72 hours after we receive your check.

I can make this pledge because in addition to making a personal donation for this media program, I have paid for the cost of this mailing.

I have already helped this year on a number of occasions, I was asked to help again. I did so because I fear what could happen to this country if Carter is re-elected.

Can I count on you to donate enough to make the difference in at least one Precinct?

Regards,

P.S. If you can not help please return to my attention the cassette tape in time for me to mail it to someone else.

Paid for by Americans for Change, U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman, New Mexico; U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer, (Ret.) Nebraska. Not authorized by any candidate.

902003

8304042239

STATE OF INDIANA
ATTORNEY GENERAL
INDIANAPOLIS
46204

THEODORE L. SENDAK
ATTORNEY GENERAL

October 9, 1980

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
Chairman
AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

Because I have agreed to accept an appointment as a member of a Criminal Justice Advisory Committee for the Reagan campaign effective after this letter's date, I am formally writing you this letter tendering my resignation as Co-Chairman for Indiana of the AMERICANS FOR CHANGE organization. This will keep either group from having any legal entanglements on my account.

John Snyder will continue to do a great job for you and AMERICANS FOR CHANGE. I am glad I was able to be of some help, too.

Because of my years of work as Attorney General here and as an officer of the National Association of Attorneys General, perhaps I can be of some positive help on the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee.

I have enjoyed working with you and your people. Hope we get to visit more often after November 4.

Best personal wishes for continuing success.

Yours truly,

Ted Sendak

TLS/s

Theodore L. Sendak

8304042239

901650

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sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
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Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

October 10, 1980

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee St.
Alexandria, VA 22314

This serves as notice of an In-Kind contribution to Americans For Change in the amount of $5,000.00 for professional services and list purchases

Sincerely,

Bradley O'Leary

Bradley O'Leary

8304042239E

900618

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

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Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

October 10, 1980

Americans For Change
218 N Lee St.
Alexandria, VA 22314

This serves as notice of an In-Kind Contribution to AMERICANS FOR CHANGE in the amount of $5,000.00 for professional services and list purchases.

Sincerely,

John L. Harmer

John Harmer
Lt. Governor

83040422397

900619

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Kurt,

Thelma [redacted] see this track. She wants it to be an in-kind contribution.

830404223 9 E

900620

8-20-80

MEMO TO: Martha

FROM: Brenda

RE: PM Reimbursements

Brad should have received reimbursements for the following expenses:

	DATE	TO WHOM	PURPOSE	COST
✓	5-26	Crilley	June Office Rent	$460
			Deposit	$460
✓	6-21	Continental	To Austin & LA	$404
		Beverly Wislhire	Hotel Room & Long Distnance calls	$450.83
✓	6-25	Crilley	July rent, services 2nd person charge	$1,889.44
✓	6-30	Stotts	Office supplies	79.61
✓	7-3	Burrelle's	Clipping service	$105.00
✓	7-9	MediaAmerica	Postage for Free Speech Letter	$200
✓	6-24	InstaPrint	Computer list	$269.59
✓	6-19	Buttons & Badges	AFC Buttons	$171.60
✓	6-23	Bishop & Bryant	Typesetting for brochures, buttons	
			Delivery charges	50.80
✓	6-26	Federal Express	Materials to Harmer	70.32
	6-10	Brenda Jones	Petty Cash	$200
	7-1	Brenda Jones	Petty Cash	$100
*	7-21	Western Union Electronic Mail	Mailgrams to Dallas	$200
*	7-15	NRC Copycenters	Detroit printing	31.44

Please check your records for verification of all reimbursements.

Attached are copies of purchase orders.

* Reimbursements to Brad O'Leary

✓ 7-3 D&F Furniture office furniture $1,038.81

✓- completed invoices on file

900192

8304042399

MEMO TO: Martha

FROM: Brenda

RE: PM Reimbursements

Brad should have received reimbursements for the following expenses:

DATE	TO WHOM	PURPOSE	COST
5-26	Crilley	June Office Rent	$460
		Deposit	$460
6-21	Continental	To Austin & LA	$404
	Beverly Wislhire	Hotel Room & Long Distnance calls	$450.83
6-25	Crilley	July rent, services 2nd person charge	$1,889.44
6-30	Stotts	Office supplies	79.61
7-3	Burrelle's	Clipping service	$105.00
7-9	MediaAmerica	Postage for Free Speech Letter	$200
6-24	InstaPrint	Computer list	$269.59
6-19	Buttons & Badges	AFC Buttons	$171.60
6-23	Bishop & Bryant	Typesetting for brochures, buttons	
		Delivery charges	50.80
6-26	Federal Express	Materials to Harmer	70.32
6-10	Brenda Jones	Petty Cash	$200
7-1	Brenda Jones	Petty Cash	$100
7-21	Western Union Electronic Mail	Mailgrams to Dallas	$200
7-15	NRC Copycenters	Detroit printing	31.44

392.72

8304042240

Please check your records for verification of all reimbursements.

Attached are copies of purchase orders.

* Reimbursements to Brad O'Leary

6-12-80	Typewriter, add machine Kaufmann		143.60
7-3-80	Office furniture		1,028.89
7-25-80	Copy Machine		300.00
7-25-80	Contract labor		300.00

901041

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR PERIOD $95,453.76 plus in-kind contribs.

Post Election Report - Independent Expenditures

Alexandria Sign Designers Poster Printing	10/16/80	36.40
Biospherics National Newspaper Ad Production	10/24/80	1,312.50
Campaign Marketing Group Phone & Mailings Reissuance of ck 1138	10/16/80 10/20/80 11/24/80	216.56 1,500.00 758.45
Captiol Telecomminications Production of Radio Ads	10/16/80	3,080.00
Communication Specialists Printing & Mailing of Brochures, Bumper Strips, Buttons, & Precinct Materials.	10/20/80 10/22/80 10/28/80 11/7/80 11/14/80	2,500.00 15,000.00 20,000.00 10,000.00 3,000.00
Coporate Data Services Processing & Mailing	10/24/80	176.00
Curry Copy Center Printing of Reagan material ADVERTISING	10/30/80	401.52
Goodnight Consulting Group Radio Production, Placement of Radio & Newspaper Ads, ~~Misc Office expenses~~	10/16/80 10/17/80 10/20/80 10/20/80 10/22/80 10/23/80 10/29/80 10/30/80 10/31/80 11/14/80 11/24/80	2,500.00 20,000.00 2,500.00 2,500.00 70,000.00 70,000.00 50,000.00 5,000.00 14,000.00 1,500.00 2,500.00
MediAmerica Printing & Mailing of Reagan support letters	10/16/80 10/16/80 10/16/80 10/24/80 10/28/80	2,000.00 2,000.00 2,000.00 10.809.06 2,348.86
Moore & Moore Lithographers Printing of materials in support of Reagan	10/20/80 10/20/80 10/24/80	975.00 576.00 2,570.00

321,760.35

901029

8304042401

Post Election Report Independent Expenditures

	10/22/80	25.000.00
Mountain States Direct Mail	10/16/80	10,000.00
Printing of Reagan support letters	10/20/80	5,000.00
~~and placement of Radio Ads~~ in	10/20/80	2,500.00
Ku. Voter Mail.	10/20/80	2,500.00
	10/28/80	25,000.00
	11/5/80	7,500.00
	11/5/80	5,000.00
	11/7/80	18,000.00
	11/14/80	10,000.00
	11/14/80	10,000.00
l	11/14/80	10,000.00
P/M Creative Productions	10/14/80	5,000.00
Postage - Reimbursement - Mailgrams	10/16/80	3,740.00
Reimbursement of Expenses, Fees for Political Management and staff salaries		
Preferred List	10/30/80	797.48
List Purchase for Voter Mail		
Radar Advertising	10/24/80	1,136.00
Production of Newspaper Ads		
Shafer & Feld, Inc.	10/28/80	600.37
Printing of material in support of Reagan		
Suburban Printing Co.	10/30/80	275.60
Printing of materials in support of Reagan	11/7/80	223.60
Systems '80	10/16/80	1,318.37
Printing & Mailing of	10/24/80	2,726.90
Reagan support letters	11/14/80	3,000.00
Target, Inc.	11/7/80	5,000.00
List Purchase for Voter Mail	11/14/80	1,500.00
U. S. Postmaster	10/16/80	500.00
Postage	10/24/80	1,000.00
	10/30/80	1,000.00
The Washington Star	10/31/80	5,148.66
Placement of Newspaper Ads		
Western Union	10/16/80	800.00
Working deposit on telegrams		

~~139,267.00~~
164,266.98

901030

830422403

Post Election Report - Expenditures

American Airlines Delivery Charges	10/16/80	45.93
American Security Bank Payroll Tax Deposit & Bank Charges	10/20/80 10/20/80 10/20/80 bank charges	1,200.00 1,200.00 1,500.00 46.75
Audio Security Associates Security Services	10/24/80	625.00
Linda Avedon Contract Labor - Fundraising	10/24/80	150.00
Baker & Hostetler Legal Fees for law suit	11/5/80 11/7/80 11/16/80 11/20/80 11/24/80	5,000.00 5,000.00 8,000.00 2,000.00 6,000.00
Doris D. Baron Contract Production work on Radio Ads	10/16/80 11/7/80	1,350.00 525.00
Best TV Rental Equipment Rental	10/28/80 11/14/80	25.00 23.90
Best Western of Las Cruces Expenses - Events - Las Cruces Fundraising Reception	11/7/80	71.35
Braniff Airlines Delivery Charges	10/23/80 10/29/80	40.00 40.00
Burrelli's Press Clipping Service Press Clipping Services	10/20/80	127.55
C & P Telephone Telephone Charges	10/24/80 11/5/80 11/24/80	4,968.39 24.04 3,206.09
Carte Blanche Meals, Hotel Lodging, & Air Travel for Harmer, Schmitt, O'Leary for 30 days.	10/28/80	7,585.30
George Cherpelis Expenses - Events - Fundraising Luncheon - Chicago	11/7/80	307.02
The Chicago Club Expenses - Events - Fundraising Breakfast - Chicago	10/24/80	907.04
Germaine Cloniger Contract Labor - Accounting	10/30/80	20.00
Keith Copeland ~~Fundraising Fee~~ Purchase list for Voter Dial	10/30/80	2,000.00
		51,988.30

901031

8304042403

Post Election Report - Expenditures

Sarah Davis Payroll		10/16/80	214.57
Diner's Club International Meals, Hotel Lodging, Air Travel		11/5/80	3,466.72
Senator David Durenburger Reimbursement - Travel & Subsistance		10/31/80	128.29
Elaine Elder Contract Labor - Dallas Phone followup		10/16/80	49.00
Sarah Ellsworth Net Payroll		10/16/80	10.52
Emery Air Freight Delivery Charges		11/14/80	17.00
Lolly Eskay - contract labor - accounting		10/24/80	5.00
Evening News Broadcasting Equipment Rental & Supplies		10/24/80	1,090.00
F/P Research Associates Delivery Charges		10/16/80 11/14/80	101.45 14.40
Federal Express, Inc. Delivery Charges	10/24/80 1,560.30	10/16/80 10/30/80 11/5/80 11/14/80	252.07 482.47 31.00 107.65
Mel Field Contract Labor - Accounting		10/24/80	5.00
Harry Flamm Contract Labor - Accounting		10/24/80	10.00
Heidi Gaede Reimbursement - Telephone Charges		11/5/80	63.50
Tracy Hayward Payroll & Reimbursement - Travel & Subsistance		10/16/80 10/24/80 11/7/80 11/14/80 11/21/80	17.98 285.21 349.19 15.75 349.19
Maryann Hrichak Contract Labor - Accounting		10/30/80 10/31/80	75.00 60.00

~~7,195.96~~

8,761.26

901032

8304042204

Post Election Report - Expenditures

Kristin Hueter	10/24/80	920.74
Payroll & Reimbursement - Travel	10/28/80	452.88
& Subsistance	11/5/80	282.40
Brenda Jones	10/24/80	442.85
Payroll,	10/24/80	76.83
Petty Cash - B. Jones	10/24/80	15.30
Reimbursement - Travel & Subsistance	10/28/80	218/68
	10/30/80	15.30
Kaufman Office Equipment	10/24/80	112.32
Equipment Rental		
Kelly Services, Inc.	11/5/80	177.23
Contract Labor - Accounting	11/14/80	92.09
	11/24/80	343.69
Beth Lichte	10/16/80	85.00
Contract Labor - Accounting	10/30/80	20.00
Victoria Long	10/16/80	170.00
Contract Labor - Accounting		
Mark Lyons	10/24/80	10.00
Contract Labor - Accounting		
The Neil House	11/14/80	413.45
Expenses - Events - Fundraising Luncheon - Columbus		
New York Athletic Club	10/24/80	58.88
Lodging		
OMSCO	10/16/80	180.40
Office Rent, Clerical Services, Photcopying	10/30/80	2,243.68
& Telephone Answering		
PDQ Delivery	10/16/80	18.25
Delivery Charges	10/24/80	709.80
	11/5/80	67.50
P/M Creative Productions	10/14/80	5,000.00
Reimbursement of Expenses, Fee for		
Fundraising Management and [illegible]		
Kurt Pantzer	10/24/80	416.69
Payroll &	10/24/80	51.00
Reimbursement - Travel & Subsistance	10/30/80	27.20
	11/7/80	468.67
	11/14/80	51.00
	11/21/80	468.67
	11/24/80	13.60

901033 12,624.10

C 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 4 0 5

Post Election Report - Expenditures

Chris Parmerly Contract Labor - Accounting	10/24/80	15.00
Helen B. Payne Contact Labor - Accounting	10/24/80	126.00
Political Financial Services Accounting Fees, Office Expenses, Clerical work.	11/5/80	3,637.75
Frank Pulli Furniture Rental	10/24/80	1,200.00
Carol Reed Payroll, Reimbursment - Travel & Subsistance	10/24/80 10/24/80 10/28/80	1,164.56 423.90 456.19
Response Marketing Group Reimbursement of Office Expense	11/24/80	7.29
Restaurant Associates Expenses - Events - Fundraising Dinner - New York	10/24/80	893.13
Senator Harrison Schmitt Air Travel Expenses	10/31/80	98.00
Jim Slack Contract Labor - Accounting	11/14/80	15.00
Charlie Smith Contract Labor - Accounting	11/14/80 11/24/80	127.50 275.00
Holly Steele Contract Labor - Accounting	10/30/80 11/14/80	40.00 20.00
Fred Steffens ~~Fundraising Post-1~~ Reimbursement - Travel & Subsistance and ~~Staff~~ salaries. ~~Compliance~~	10/16/80 10/30/80	1,176.80 1,852.45
Chas. Stott & Co. Office Supplies	11/14/80	136.71
TCD Business Machine Service Equipment Rental	11/7/80	114.40
Marcy Toscher Contract Labor - Accounting	10/24/80 10/30/80	15.00 20.00

11,804.68

901034

8304042240

Post Election Report - Expenditures

Kevin Van Fleet Contract Production work on Radio Advertisements	10/28/80	1,000.00
Vogel's Telephone Answering Service Phone Bank Work	10/16/80	28.95
Washington Services, Inc. News Release Services	10/24/80	45.00
The Washinton Post - George Upright Newspaper Subscription	11/24/80	8.93
Dianne Welch Reimbursement - Travel & Subsistance	10/30/80	86.74
Jerry Wiser Contract Labor - Accounting	10/30/80	20.00
Xerox Corporation Equipment Rental	11/24/80	218.40
		1,408.02

33040422407

901035

Post Election Report - Contibutions to Political Committees

Republican Recount Committee Contribution to recount of Senate races	11/5/80	5,000.00
Buchanan for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Citizens for O'Neal Contribtuion	10/31/80	1,000.00
Friends for Jim Abnor Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Friends of Al D'Amato Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Friends of Mack Mattingly Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Goldwater for Senate Committee Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Gorton for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Paula Hawkins for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Murkowski for U.S. Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
McNary for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Nickles for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Quayle for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Re-Elect Bob Packwood Committee Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Spector for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Stewart Ledbetter for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00
Grassley for Senate Contribution	10/31/80	1,000.00

21,000.00

901036

3304042240

Post Election Report - Contribution Refunds

Accucom Data Inc. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	100.00
Allan Products, Inc. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	25.00
Bill Bailey, Inc. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	10.00
Michael Burleson, M.D. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	100.00
Lloyd J. Cope, M.D. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	50.00
Cowen Studios, Inc. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	25.00
Dishman Decorating & Painting Contribution Refund	11/24/80	100.00
Dutro Mat Mfg. Co. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	20.00
Fehlig Brothers Contribution Refund	11/7/80	25.00
J.B. Hargroder, M.D. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	100.00
Kauai Gold, Ltd. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	50.00
Keystone, Inc. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	25.00
Len Granath & Co.	11/24/80	25.00
Midwest Distributing Services, Inc.	11/24/80	25.00
M Wayne Reynolds, M.D.	11/24/80	25.00
Dale L. Schwartz, M.D.	11/24/80	50.00
Smith Food & Vending Co.	11/24/80	25.00
Velda Rose Estate, Inc. Contribution Refund	11/24/80	50.00

: 830.00

901037

330422405

MEMO TO: Kurt

FROM: Brenda

RE: October 9 checks

Enclosed please find checks totaling $9,702.80 received in Americans for Change office on October 9.

Regarding -

Code	Qty	Total
117	1	500
120	1	1980

33040422410

MEMO TO: Kurt

FROM: Brenda

RE: October 8 checks

Enclosed please find checks totaling $7,364.20 received in Americans for Change office on October 8.

Dad

Reagan Team - Cuts

Code	Qty	$ Total
121	1	19.80

Schmitt Kit

115	1	100.00

Retired Kits

2	39.60

8304042241 1

901624

MEMO TO: Kurt

FROM: Brenda

RE: October 10 checks

Enclosed please find checks totaling $8,100.80 received in Americans for Change on October 10.

3RD

Inc Returned Ck + with $1.50
Cr Schm. Ck Code 10c $100.30
Dr Inc Code for $19.50

8304042241 2

Direct Mail Costs

1.	Postage	8.4
2.	Carrier Envelope #10 standard window printed one color on one side 24# white wove	1.4
3.	Reply Envelope #9 Business reply, printed one color on one side on 24# white wove	1.3
4.	Computer Letter and Computer Response 11x17 Printed two colors on one side on 60# white offset	3.2
5.	Brochure	3.0
6.	Creative Design Copy for envelope, letter, and response form	2.0
7.	Data Processing Print name, address, salutation on computer letter and name address on computer form	2.8
8.	Lettershop Affix 3rd class stamp to carrier, document cover, fold, and slit computer form, insert 3 enclosures, seal, sort, tie, bag and mail	1.9
9.	List Rental	6.0

Letter Cost $.30 each

8304042241 3

901983

Schedule of Payments of Debts and Obligations

October 7, 1980

Vendor	Amount Payable	Amount Of Payment	Date Of Payment	Balance On Account
Auto Clerk Services #1255	369.97			
Debra A. Barry #1256	200.00			
Best TV Rental #1245	25.00			
Burrelle's Press Clipping #1257	127.55			
Campaign Marketing Group	1,716.56	1,500.00 #1258		216.56
Campaign Marketing Group		216.56		
Carte Blanche	3,805.16 #1259			
Communication Specialists		5,000.00 #1260		
		2,500.00 #1261		
		2,500.00 #1262		
Claridge Printing	1,187.99 #1263			
Corporate Data Services	426.00 #1264			
Crilley Warehouse Executive Offices	3,608.01 #1265			
Goodnight Consulting Group		2,500.00 #1266		
		2,500.00 #1267		
		2,500.00 #1268		
John McLean	1,250.00 #1269			
Doris Baron	112.50 #1270			
10-6 Brenda Jones	~~29.07~~ #1271			

8304042241

901729

Schedule of Payments of Debts and Obligations

Vendor	Amount Payable	Amount Of Payment	Date Of Payment	Balance On Account
Melissa Lanier	395.00 #1272			
10-6 Hal Lions	~~3,445.00~~ #1247	3,445.00	10/6/80	0.00 ✓
Malcolm MacDougall #1246	6,200.00	2,700.00	10/6/80	3,500.00
Cicily Maton	510.35 #1273			
MediAmerica	3,643.82	405.04 #1274		3,238.78
		1,217.94 #1275		2,020.84
10-6		~~2,020.84~~ #1276		
10-6 Mary Miller	~~250.00~~ #1277			
Moore & Moore Lithographers	1,866.00	975.00 #1278		891.00
		315.00 #1279		576.00
		576.00 #1280		
Mountain States Direct Mail	11,987.55	5,000.00 #1281		6,987.55
		2,500.00 #1282		4,487.55
		2,500.00 #1283		1,987.55
PDQ Delivery	505.70 #1284			
P/M Creative Productions	3,625.33 #1247			
Palmer House Company	30.60 #1286			
10-6 Kurt Pantzer	~~17.00~~ #1287			
Payroll Tax Deposit		~~1,200.00~~ #1294		
10-6		1,200.00 #1295		
		1,500.00 #1296		

8304041 901730

Schedule of Payments of Debts and Obligations

Vendor	Amount Payable	Amount Of Payment	Date Of Payment	Balance On Account
Spectrum Photographic Services	57.72 #1288			
Radar Advertsing	864.06 #1289			
10-6 Carol Reed	~~319.15~~ #1292			
The Regency Hotel	334.17 #1290			
10-6 U.S Postmaster	~~250.00~~ #1291			
Payroll Week ending 10/10/80				
Chas. G. Stott	327.47 #1293			

330404241 2

901731

MARY KAY

1. October 10, Friday

RED LION INN - OMAHA
(402) 346 - 7600

2. October 12 - 15th

MINDEN, NEB · Residence call early
(308) 832 - 1131 in the morning
don't mail to Minden

3. " 16th & 17th

RED LION INN - OMAHA EAST 6th St.
(402) 346 - 7600

843 - CONWAY
6

Dianna Welsch
· will be gone

OFFICE 8 3 [illegible] 9 1 7

Cancelled

C1959

ACCTS/CLAIMS
FILED

U:30

KEEP COPY TO BE FILED FROM THIS OFFICE

901732

Schedule of Payments of Debts and Obligations

October 7, 1980

Vendor	Amount Payable	Amount Of Payment	Date Of Payment	Balance On Account
Auto Clerk Services	✓1255 369.97	369.97	Oct 9	—
Debra A. Barry	✓1256 200.00	200.00	Oct 9	—
Best TV Rental	25.00			
Burrelle's Press Clipping	127.55			
Campaign Marketing Group	1,716.56	1,500.00		216.56
Campaign Marketing Group		216.56		
Carte Blanche	3,805.16			
Communication Specialists		5,000.00		
	✓1261	2,500.00	Oct 9	—
		2,500.00		
Claridge Printing	1,187.99			
Corporate Data Services	426.00			
Crilley Warehouse Executive Offices	3,608.01			
Goodnight Consulting Group		2,500.00		
		2,500.00		
		2,500.00		
~~John McLean~~ VOID	~~1,250.00~~	PAID BY GOODNIGHT	REIM. GOODNIGHT	
✓1270 Doris Baron	112.50	112.50	Oct 9	—
Brenda Jones	29.07			

8304042241 e

901748

Schedule of Payments of Debts and Obligations

Vendor	Amount Payable	Amount Of Payment	Date Of Payment	Balance On Account
Melissa Lanier #1272	395.00 ✓	395.00	October 9	—
Hal Lions	3,445.00	3,445.00	10/6/80	0.00
Malcolm MacDougall #1246	6,200.00	2,700.00	10/6/80	3,500.00
Cicily Maton #1273	510.35	510.35	Oct. 9	—
MediAmerica	3,643.82	405.04 #1274	Oct 9	3,238.78
		#1275 ✓ 1,217.94	Oct 9 ~~1,217.94~~	2,020.84
		#1276 ✓ 2,020.84	Oct 9 2,020.84	405.04
Mary Miller	250.00	_____	_____	_____
Moore & Moore Lithographers	1,866.00	975.00	_____	891.00
	✓1279	315.00	Oct 9	576.00
		576.00	_____	_____
Mountain States Direct Mail	11,987.55	5,000.00	_____	6,987.55
		2,500.00	_____	4,487.55
		2,500.00	_____	1,987.55
PDQ Delivery	505.70	505.70	Oct 9	—
P/M Creative Productions	3,625.33	_____	_____	_____
Palmer House Company 1280	30.60	30.60	Oct 9	—
Kurt Pantzer	17.00	_____	_____	_____
Payroll Tax Deposit	_____	1,200.00	_____	_____
		1,200.00	_____	_____
		1,500.00	_____	_____

8304042241 9

901749

Schedule of Payments of Debts and Obligations

Vendor	Amount Payable	Amount Of Payment	Date Of Payment	Balance On Account
Spectrum Photographic Services	~1288 57.72	57.72	Oct 9	—
Radar Advertsing	~1289 864.06	864.06	Oct 9	—
Carol Reed	319.15			
The Regency Hotel	334.17 ~1290	334.17	Oct 9	—
U.S Postmaster	250.00			
Payroll Week ending 10/10/80				
CHAS STOTT & CO.	327.47 ~1293	327.47	Oct 9	—

8304042420

901750

Political Expenses - INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Bishop & Bryant Media Production - News ads	11,769.07	Ind Exp.
Burrelli's Newsclipping Services	205.25	NO
Buttons & Badges Campaign buttons	400.40	IND
Maria Dennison Press Secretary expenses	144.00	NO Payroll
Evening News Broadcasting Schmitt taping	170.00	YES
Gill, Brunner & Associates Consulting Fees - PR	6,176.37	NO
Goodnight Consulting Group Media Production - Newspaper & Radio	47,400.00	YES
Radar Advertising Services Media Productions - News Ads	715.00	YES
Duff Thomas Consulting Fees - PR	2,000.00	YES
	68,980.09	

THIS REFERS TO concerning law suit

PR legal battles

L/A

L/A

8302422 Double

Schedule on back of report

Analysis of expenditure made period listed

State of income + expense

Independent Expenditure L/A

901735

Fundraising Expenses -

MediAmerica Printing & Mailing	15,624.12	YES
Metro Graphics Expenses for Voter Kits	430.98	YES
Moore & Moore Printing	209.00	YES
Mountain States Direct Mail Printing & Mailing	9,923.11	YES
Murat Shrine Club Expenses - Events - Luncheon	202.89	NO
Anne Nicolls Payroll & T&S Reimbursement	2,472.44	NO
Brad O'Leary T&S Reimbursement, Postage, & Mailgrams	1,661.32	NO
Lloyd Pierson Fundraising & Postage	782.00	NO
Preferred Lists, Inc. List Purchase	5,780.00	YES
Carol Reed Payroll & T&S Reimbursement	8,390.60	NO
Response Marketing Group Phone Bank	184.14	YES
Harrison Schmitt T&S Reimbursement	2,545.99	NO
Stamford Marriott Hotel Expenses - Events - Reception	600.00	NO
Tavern On The Green Deposit on Event Hall	2,000.00	? NO
U. S. Postmaster Postage	7,678.00	NO
Western Union Electronic Mail Working Deposit On Telegrams	4,157.00	NO
Carl Wolfson Entertainer Fees	300.00	? NO
	941.79	

SALARIES & LODGING

MAILERS

330404222

901736

Allocation Of Expenses To Be Determined

C & P Telephone Telephone Charges	5,885.28	NO
Carte Blanche Meals & Lodging	13,533.29	NO
Communication Specialists Printing & Mailing	13,079.62	YES
Curry Copy Center Photocopy	419.25	NO
P/M Creative Producitons Consultant Fees, [redacted], Postage, Furniture, Telephone Charges	15,101.52	NO
	48,018.96	

Contribution Refunds

The Runglin Co.	250.00

8304042242

Overhead Expenses -

Alexandria Sign Designers Poster Printing	881.92	AND
American Security Payroll Tax Deposit & Bank Charges	5,208.92	Do
Audio Security Associates Security Services	625.00	call back
The Baker Committee Furniture & Office Equipment	581.50	NO
Best TV Rentals Equipment Rental	128.70	NO
H. H. Cook Moving Charges	200.00	NO
Brenda Jones Expenses & Payroll As Administrative Secretary	3,097.78	NO [legal fees]
Kaufman Office Equipment Equipment Rental	260.00	NO
OMSCO (Crilley Warehouse) Office Rent & Clerical Services	8,622.90	NO
PDQ Delivery Delivery Charges	683.30	NO
Potomac Temporaries Contract Labor - Clerical	31.80	
Frank Pulli Residential Rent - For C. Reed	1,000.00	
Stotts Office Supplies	513.91	
TCD Business Machine Service, Inc. Equipment Rental	67.20	
Towne Fair Used Furniture Store Furniture	41.60	
Washington Post Subscription	20.47	
Xerox Corporation Equipment Rental & Supplies	321.93	

21,491.20

8304042242

901738

Legal And Accounting Expenses

Baker & Hostetler Consultant Fees - Legal	25,000.00
Kurt Pantzer Payroll	291.94
Political Financial Services Consultant Fees - Accounting	7,078.33
Reese, Yeatman & Associates Bonding	321.00
	32,691.27

NO

8304042425

901739

FUNDRAISING

Lonney E. Adams	N	T & S Reimbursements	$ 820.19
Americans Airlines	N	Delivery Charges	39.20
Auto Clerk Services	YES	Printing 1 mailing 3FX	900.00
		Printing & mailing 3FX	200.00
Libba Barnes	YES	Reimb. for mailgrams, postage & suite/Detroit	378.04
Randie Cain	NO	Contract labor	150.00
Cal Simmons Travel	NO	Air Travel	917.06
Campaign Marketing Group	YES	Phone & Mailing	534.10
		Phone & Mailing	758.45
Sarah Davis Contract Labor - Clerical	NO	214.57	
Denver Athletic Club Expenses - Events - Luncheon	NO	749.00	
Detroit Plaza Hotel Lodging & Telephone Charges	NO	329.55	
Diner's Club Meals & Lodging	NO	1,920.00	
Sarah Ellsworth Payroll	NO	3,349.74	
Envelopes Unlimited Printing ~~of Pledge Cards~~	YES	249.06	
F/P Research Associates ~~Consultant Fees - Fundraising~~ & List Purchase		3,500.00	NO
Federal Express Delivery Charges	NO	933.76	
Tracy Hayward Payroll & T & S Reimbursement	NO	982.76	
Kristin Hueter Payroll & T&S Reimbursement	NO	3,979.21	
Joyce Valdez & Associates Printing & Mailing ~~Advance~~		5,000.00	IND

~~25,965.69~~
25,954.69

8304042426

901740

Third Quarter Expenditures - Vendors Needing Statements

October 13, 1980

American Security	Bank charges
Audio Security	~~D.H. needed~~ ✓
The Baker Committee	~~50.00 Invoice needed~~
Best TV Rental	~~#1090 @ 49.90~~ ~~#1198 @ 24.90~~
Bishop & Bryant	~~#1093 - 3,130.40~~ ~~#1095 - 2,765.00~~ ~~#1097 - 17.21 - Xerox~~ - Newspaper Printing Group ~~#1099 - 1,226.00~~
C & P Telephone	~~#1112 @ 86.88 Carol's Apt.~~ ~~#1120 2,517.76 A.F.G.~~
Randie Cain	#1039 - Pollster - telephone
Cal Simons	~~#1184 @ 917.06~~ 917.00
Carte Blanche	~~#1186 @ 9,175.00~~
Communication Specialists	~~#1201 @ 10,000.00~~
H.H. Cook	~~#1064 @ 100.00~~
Denver Athletic Club	#1128 @ 749.00
Diner's Club	~~#1182 @ 1,920.00~~
Kristin Hueter	#1175 @ 500.00
Brenda Jones - Petty Cash	~~#1152 @ 98.57~~ ~~#1052 @ 100.00~~ ~~#1116 @ 99.75~~ ~~#1181 @ 77.73~~
Joyce Valdez	#1038 @5,000.00
MediAmerica	~~#1129 @ 5,000.00~~
Mountain States Direct Mail	~~#1060 @ 5,000.00~~ ~~#1130 @ 4,923.11~~
P/M Creative	#1155 @ 520.00 Labels for broadcaster #1059 @ 3,600.00 List Purchase - attached to PM Form
P.F.S	~~#1132 @ 3,500.00~~
Frank Pulli	~~#1053 @ 500.00~~ ~~#1098 @ 500.00~~

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Carol Reed	#1184 @ 575.00 need receipts
Reese, Yeatman & Assoc.	#1202 @ 321.00
Stamford Marriott	#1179 @ 600.00
U.S. Postmaster	#1140 @ 1,428.00 #1164 @ 3,000.00 ~~#1180 @ 3,000.00 need receipts~~ Med America
Washington Post	~~#1107 @ 20.47~~
Western Union	~~#1061 @ 2,000.00~~ ~~#1062 @ 157.80~~ #1189 @ 1,000.00 not yet received
Goodnight Wires	Totals 47,400.00

~~Find Frank Lloyd Pierson invoice~~

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FIELD EXPENDITURES

Debra Berry	Contract Labor-Clerical	200.00
Sarah Ellsworth	Payroll	354.53
Harvard Club	Expenses - Event Fundraising - Breakfast Boston	850.00
Hyatt Regency	Expenses - Events Fundraising - Reception Nashville	425.71
Jean Pierre Rest.	Expenses - Politcal Staff Luncheon	306.00
The Jockey Club	Expenses - Events Fundraising - Breakfast Wash D.C.	287.50
~~Melissa Sadler~~	Expenses - Events Fundraising - Breakfast & Lunch	395.00
Hal Lions	7,000 Envelopes [redacted] Recording of Radio ads	3,445.00
Cicily Maton	Reimbursement/Misc. Expenses	510.35
Mary Miller	Contract Labor - Clerical	250.00
Palmer House Co.	Conference Room Rental	30.60
The Regency Hotel	Lodging & Meals	334.17
Sheraton-Boston Hotel	Lodging	469.48
Fred Steffens	Reimbursement - Travel & Subisstance	137.28
The University Club	Expenses - Political [redacted] Luncheon for D.C. Board Pres and Nancy Dinner	1,069.12

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Overhead Expenditures

American Airlines	Delivery Charges	136.30
American Security Bank	Payroll Tax Deposit Service Charges	1,200.00 7.00
Best TV Rental	Equipment Rental	25.00
C & P Telephone	Telephone Charges	60.88
Carte Blanche	Meals, Hotel Lodging and airline travel	3,805.16
Curry Copy Center	Photocopy	731.32
Emery Express	Delivery Charges	67.95
Federal Express	Delivery Charges	350.98 269.73
Tracy Hayward	Payroll & Reimbursement Of Misc. Expenses	4.65 308.41
Kristin Hueter	Payroll & Reimbursement/Misc. Expenses	264.66 920.74
Human Events	Subscription	13.00
Brenda Jones	Payroll & Reimbursement/Misc. Expenses	10.88 97.50 22.85 29.07
Kaufman Office Equipment	Equipment Rental	115.23
Anne Nicolls	Payroll	568.72
Brad O'Leary	Reimbursement/Misc. Expenses	223.34
OMSCO, Inc. (Crilley)	Office Rent, utilities, services and reproduction charges	3,608.01
PDQ Courier Services	Delivery Charges	203.75 505.70
P/M Creative Productions	Office Supplies, Travel Expenses, Telephone Charges, Reimbursement for Insurance	3,974.53

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OVERHEAD EXPENDITURES

Kurt Pantzer	Payroll & Reimbursement/Misc Expenses	446.49 17.00
Political Financial Serv.	Accounting Fees, Office Expenses and Clerical and Secretarial Services on Federal Report	3,926.90
Frank Pulli	Residential Rent	500.00
Carol Reed	Payroll & Reimbursement/Misc. Expenses	319.15 1,164.56
Senator Harrison Schmitt	Reimbursement - Travel & Subsistance	544.62
Spectrum Photographic Serv.	Photography	57.72
Speedy Rubber Stamp	Rubber Stamp	4.19
Chas. Stott & Co.	Office Supplies	13.00 327.47
TCD Business Mach, Serv.	Equipment Rental	124.40

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INDEPENDENT EXPENDI[redacted]ES _ Cont.

Mountain States Direct Mail 10 East South Temple Suite 696 Salt Lake City, UT 84133	Printing [redacted] of Reagan support letters Watters states + ad placement letters	10/10/80 10/13/80 10/14/80 10/15/80	9,000.00 10,000.00 10,000.00 5,000.00
Malcolm MacDougall S S C & B 1 Dag-Hammarskjold Plaza New York, NY 10017	Radio Production and [redacted] Placement of ads	10/6/80	2,700.00
Norrell Services, Inc. P.O. Box 12429 Atlanta, GA 30355	Phone Bank follow up	10/1/80	218.00
Larry Novak 98 Business St. Hyde Park, MA 02136	Postage, Printing, & Telephone Expenses	10/1/80	245.00
Radar Advertising 13773 N. Central Expressway Suite 1251 Dallas, TX 75243	Newpaper Ad Production	10/9/80	864.06
U. S. Postmaster Alexandria, VA	Postage	10/8/80	250.00

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Independent expenditures

Alexandria Sign Design 1204 King St. Alexandria, VA 22314	Poster Printing	10/1/80	249.60
Auto Clerk Services	Postage Printing & Mailings	10/9/80	369.77
Doris D. Baron 8300 Skillman Dallas, TX 75231	National Newspaper Ad. Production work	10/3/80 10/9/80	637.00 112.50
Biospherics 4928 Wyaconda Rd. Rockville, MD 20852	National Newspaper Ad Production	10/3/80	493.50
Campaign Marketing Group 310 First St, SE Washington, D.C. 20003	Telephone sells ~~Phone &~~ and Mailing and postage	10/1/80	1,500.00
Claridge Printing Co. 2170 West Yale Ave. Englewood, CO 80110	Printing Reagan material	10/10/80	1,187.99
Colorado Campaigns 1532 Emerson Rd. Suire 301 Denver, CO 80218	Telephone ~~Phone &~~ Mailing, postage, for Colorado Mailing	10/1/80	1,706.29
Communication Specialists P.O. Box 1529 Austin, TX 78767	Printing - Reagan [redacted] [illegible]	10/3/80 10/10/80 10/9/80	1,758.68 5,000.00 2,500.00
Goodnight ~~Consulting~~ advertising Group 16475 Dallas Parkway Suite 240 Dallas, TX 75248	Radio [redacted] Production and Placement	10/1/80	4,534.16
MediAmerica 1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12 Alexandria, VA 22311	Printing & Mailing Reagan support letters	10/1/80 10/3/80 10/9/80 10/9/80 10/8/80	3,445.00 1,119.61 4,900.16 405.04 1,217.94 2,020.84
Goodnight	Wire Transfers Placement of Radio and Newspaper ads	10/3/80 10/8/80 10/9/80	20,000.00 1,800.00 2,000.00
Moore & Moore Lith. 1840 Fenwick St.,NE Washington, D.C. 20002	Printing of Reagan mailing	10/1/80 10/9/80	2,738.00 315.00

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N LEE HIGHWAY STE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

western union Mailgram

1-075012 U276046 10/02/80 ICS WA16614 FCHD
00437 MLTN VA 10/01/80

BRAD OLEARY
218 N LEE SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

WE CORDIALLY INVITE YOU TO BE OUR GUEST FOR COCKTAILS ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15 AT 5:30 P.M. AT THE BAYOU CLUB, 8550 MEMORIAL.

WE ARE HOSTING THIS EVENT TO PRESENT AN UPDATE ON THE REAGAN-BUSH CAMPAIGN AND TO BRIEF YO ON HOW YOUR EFFORTS AT THIS CRITICAL TIME CAN BE MOST EFFECTIVE..

U. S. SENATOR HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT, NEW MEXICO AND JOHN HARMER, FORMER CALIFORNIA LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR UNDER RONALD REAGAN WILL FLY FROM WASHINGTON TO BRIEF YOU ON THE MEDIA PLAN FOR THE FINAL WEEKS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

WITH ROUGHLY FOUR WEEKS BEFORE THE ELECTION, WE FEEL THAT IT IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT YOU BE PRESENT.

PLEASE RSVP TO 522-2756.

SINCERELY,

MURPHY BAXTER
AMB. AL FAY
JERRY FINGER
HERB FRENSLEY
AMB. JIM HARGROVE
THAD HUTCHESON
CAPT. JIM LOVELL
JIMMY LYON
JOHN MORAN
SANDY MCCORMICK
BEN WOODSON
ADM. ALAN SHEPPARD

PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, CHAIRMAN, U.S. SENATOR HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT, NEW MEXICO; TREASURER, U.S. SENATOR CARL T. CURTIS (RET.) NEBRASKA. NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE.

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MGMCOMP MGM

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

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[DATE]

[ARD]

Dear [1]:

You are invited to attend a luncheon in support of Ronald Reagan sponsored by the Reagan in '80 Project of Americans for Change to be held on Thursday, October 9, in the President's Room of the Hotel Utah at 12 noon.

You will be the guest of U.S. Senator Jack Schmitt and myself for this luncheon. Senator Schmitt and I will review campaign developments, answer questions, and solicit financial support for the media program for Reagan and Bush sponsored by Americans for Change.

Please R.S.V.P. to Joann at 364-1676 by Wednesday, October 8.

Yours very truly,

John L. Harmer
Former Lt. Governor, California

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1775 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

October 6, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt, Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Senator Schmitt:

Enclosed is an article entitled "Carter's Record" from The New Republic of October 4, 1980.

It occurs to me that a most useful project of Americans for Change would be to place full-page advertisements in leading big-city newspapers which would present a full reprint of this article. Because the article comes from a liberal publication (which in this same issue urges its readers to vote for John Anderson) and because it constitutes a thorough and devastating criticism of the Carter record, I think it would be very effective among independent voters.

Sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen

Enclosure

cc: The Honorable Carl T. Curtis (w/enc.)
Mr. Brad O'Leary (w/enc.)

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Carter's Record

President Carter deserves credit for a few genuine accomplishments. Most notable is the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Carter's Middle East record is not free of farce (remember the UN vote flip-flop?), and we have deep worries about what he might try in a second term; but at Camp David and in his later shuttle diplomacy, Carter displayed finesse and perseverence that paid off in a major step toward peace. The Panama Canal treaty merely recognized a just and historically inevitable claim, but Carter showed guts and skill in shepherding it through the Senate despite widespread hostility. Decontrol of domestic oil prices was another act of courage against unreasoning but powerful opposition, while getting the windfall profits tax that makes decontrol palatable required both determination and legislative skill. Deregulation of airlines, trucks, and railroads was a useful step toward remaking our economy along uninflationary lines. Carter's early stand against pork barrel water projects—despite some backtracking—was another admirable rejection of interest-group politics. Carter has generally been very good on the environment, for example in protecting the Alaskan wilderness. And he has placed record numbers of qualified minorities and women in judgeships and other government appointments.

But for every exercise of courage, consistency, skill, or wisdom during the past four years, there have been repeated demonstrations of cowardice, vacillation, clumsiness, and bad judgment.

Carter's most important failure has been managing the economy. When he became president, the unemployment rate was 7.4 percent and inflation the previous year had been 4.8 percent. Campaigning in 1976, Carter had added up inflation and unemployment to a "misery index" of 14, which he called "a travesty." In August 1980, unemployment was 7.6 percent and inflation the previous year had been 12.8 percent, for a "misery index" of over 20. The dollar of 1976 is worth 69 cents today. In 1976, Carter charged that the average worker's take-home pay was less, in real terms, than in 1968. It was: a fraction of one percent less. Today it is more than nine percent less than in 1976. Despite regular fireworks displays, Carter has done nothing of any consequence to alter the tragic trade-off between inflation and unemployment.

During the 1976 campaign, Carter called six percent inflation "terrible, unacceptable," but in fact he accepted this inflation rate without much fuss for the first 15

A Few Numbers

Unemployment Rate
January 1977—7.4 percent
August 1980—7.6 percent

Inflation rate
1976—4.8 percent
latest 12-month period—12.8 percent

Consumer Price Index
January 1977—175.3
August 1980—249.4

Average take-home pay (private sector production worker with three dependents, 1967 dollars)
January 1977—$90.83
August 1980—$82.94

Gross national product (1972 dollars)
1976—$1,273 billion
1979—$1,432 billion

National debt
June 30, 1977—$632 billion
September 17, 1980—$892 billion

Price of gold
November 3, 1976—$125.75
September 23, 1980—$715

Cost of barrel of imported oil (delivered)
January 1977—$13.61
August 1980—$33.02

Amount spent on imported oil
1976—$44.7 billion
1979—(preliminary) $60 billion

Government-to-government arms sales agreements
1976—$13.2 billion
1979—$14.4 billion

Number of federal civilian employees (excluding Postal Service)
January 1977—2,119,037
February 1980—2,172,682

Number of pages in Federal Register
1976—57,072
1979—77,498

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months of his administration. (No doubt he would gladly accept it again.) In April 1978, with inflation over seven percent, came the first of his many "plans" to deal with it. This plan consisted of hiring Robert Strauss as "special counsellor on inflation" to fly around the country and try to cajole prices down. It didn't work.

Next plan: In October 1978, with inflation up over eight percent, Carter announced a complicated system of "voluntary guidelines" to be enforced by Alfred Kahn and an expanded wage and price bureaucracy. He threatened to cut off government contracts for anyone who violated the guidelines, but never actually did so. He proposed a dubious system of tax incentives to go with the guidelines, but never pursued them through Congress.

In September 1979, with inflation well into double digits, Carter unveiled a "national accord" with labor leaders to create a Pay Advisory Committee and Price Advisory Committee to formulate new guidelines. Labor's condition for joining was that the guidelines not be enforced. Carter agreed.

In October 1979, as all previous inflation records were toppling, Carter's new Federal Reserve chief, Paul Volcker, decreed a severe tight money policy. This was the only serious anti-inflation move of Carter's administration. Carter had said in 1976, "I pledge to . . . the American people that, if I am elected, we will never use unemployment and recession as a tool to fight inflation." But this was the essence of Volcker's move, and it had White House support.

In March 1980, with inflation running at 18 percent, Carter announced that he would balance the 1981 budget (submitted with a large deficit only six weeks before). He also ordered the Federal Reserve Board to impose credit controls, intended to induce a recession. The controls worked. The economy shrank faster in the second quarter of 1980 than any time since World War II. As for the balanced budget, in August Carter suddenly embraced "supply-side" economics and proposed various new spending initiatives and tax cuts, all of which will increase the 1981 budget deficit.

That's it so far: four or five (depending on how you count) "plans" to cure inflation, radically varied in design, all more show than substance, each presented as if it alone were the true cross. Yet while these grand schemes have come and gone, the Carter administration has continued old and created new government policies that maintain artificially high prices for special interest groups. Carter's innovations in the field of government-induced inflation include the 1977 International Sugar Agreement, whereby poor third world countries agree not to inflict too much of their inexpensive sugar on us, and the steel trigger-pricing sys-

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tem, which in effect sets a minimum price for steel and prevents imports from undercutting it. Just last week it was reported that the administration plans to increase the steel trigger price by 10 to 12 percent. Buy your car now.

In 1976 Carter said, "A government which cannot ensure for its citizens an opportunity to work does not deserve their support." Two weeks ago 26,200 people, mostly black, applied for 75 entry-level jobs with Social Security in Baltimore. Over four years Carter has proposed various jobs programs providing various mixtures of job training, government jobs, and incentives to private employers. They have suffered various fates, including fatal wounds by Carter himself in his budget-slashing phases. None has aspired to anything like guaranteeing a job to all who want one, which Carter promised. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, endorsed by candidate Carter, was gutted of all content by Carter's operatives before the president signed the ruins with a flourish two years ago. Already Carter has used his authority to postpone its meaningless deadlines for reducing unemployment.

Carter is the first president with a full term to deal with the "energy crisis"—meaning, really, the problem of being too dependent on expensive and unreliable foreign oil. Oil imports have dropped from 7.3 million barrels a day four years ago to six million barrels a day recently. But the bill for imported oil has gone up from $44 billion in 1976 to $60 billion last year. Imports are down for four reasons: OPEC's price increase from $13 to $32 a barrel (plus delayed adjustment to earlier gouges); the recession; the Alaskan pipeline; and price decontrol. Carter deserves full credit for the last item, had nothing to do with the third, and presumably does not wish credit for the first two.

Other than decontrol, which it took him more than two years to come around to, Carter's various energy sparklers have contributed almost nothing to getting OPEC off our backs. These initiatives have been a characteristic mix of flashy gestures (declaring the "moral equivalent of war," creating the Energy Department), silly party favors (insulation tax credits), and grandiose boondoggles (Solar Energy Research Institute, Synthetic Fuels Corporation). There have been the usual zigzags. In 1975, candidate Carter criticized President Ford's proposal to waste billions developing synthetic fuels. Four years and a couple of energy "plans" later, during the gas lines panic of 1979, Carter—desperate for a bold move—descended from Camp David to propose spending $88 billion to subsidize an energy source that won't be available for years, will cost far more than OPEC yet dreams of charging, and will savage the environment in the process.

Meanwhile, Carter has shied away from a stiff, rebated gasoline tax—the one government tool that would most dramatically reduce oil consumption. If Carter had decontrolled oil prices and pushed through a 50 cent gas tax at the time of his MEOW speech—and done nothing else—OPEC would have been unable to double its prices in 1979 and gasoline, despite the tax, would cost less than it does today.

The only special qualification candidate Carter offered the voters in 1976, apart from his basic goodness and honesty, was his alleged talent as an administrator of efficient government. Therefore he made a great point that it was "a top priority of mine to completely revise the structure of the federal government," to end the "bureaucratic mess," waste, and so on. We don't regard this as an especially urgent matter, but just for some comic relief, the results are as follows. There are more federal employees than ever. No Cabinet departments have been eliminated, and two have been added. One new department—Energy—already is notorious for mismanagement. The other new department—Education—was desired by no one except the National Education Association.

Carter's civil service "reform" turned the Civil Service Commission into three new agencies. As with energy conservation, Carter's incentive system for bureaucratic efficiency turns out to be all carrot and no stick. It is not significantly easier to fire an incompetent worker than it was before. The new "senior executive service" was supposed to be so risky that fewer than half the eligible top-level bureaucrats would volunteer for it; yet, according to the current *Washington Monthly*, it's such a gravy train that 98.8 percent have signed up. "Ear," the *Washington Star* gossip column, told recently of an assistant secretary of transportation who got $20,000 from Carter's "incentive" program, then quit the next day.

Carter promised to reduce the number of federal agencies from 1,900 to 200, and to use "zero-based budgeting" to cut out wasteful programs. He eliminated some defunct advisory committees, but no single agency with a client group to protect it. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, for example, a pork barrel for police departments, started out on the cut list and ended up getting a budget increase.

On to a more serious subject, tax reform. "A disgrace to the human race." Carter called the tax code in 1976, promising to simplify it, eliminate loopholes and tax shelters, make it more progressive. The only reforms President Carter sent to Congress were a proposed squeeze on business expense deductions and a crackdown on tax shelters. He pushed neither and neither got anywhere. All three major changes in the tax law during Carter's administration have made it less progressive, not more so. There was a stiff increase in the social security tax—a flat levy on workers' wages that doesn't apply to income from capital or to salaries over a certain amount. There was a 20 percent cut in the tax on capital gains, a multibillion-dollar tax break where four-fifths of the benefit goes to the richest two percent of taxpayers. And the biggest loophole in the tax code, which was closed in 1976, was reopened in 1979, permitting profits on inherited property to escape tax completely. This

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loophole cost the government $10 billion in 1980, with virtually the entire benefit going to the leisure class. Carter threatened to veto the change, but lost his nerve when it was attached to the windfall profits tax bill.

Regarding other long-standing items on the liberal agenda, Carter has been similarly two-faced. In 1976 he promised to push for a "national, comprehensive, mandatory health insurance program." He said he was "committed" to this, it was one of his highest priorities, he would act immediately, the usual. In the event, it took him three years to produce a desultory program consisting primarily of "catastrophic" insurance for the middle class, which he never pushed. An earlier hospital cost containment bill was rejected twice by Congress. In 1976 Carter also "committed" himself to handgun control, including a ban on Saturday Night Specials, but never even introduced legislation on the subject. Carter did keep his promise promptly to introduce comprehensive welfare reform setting federal minimum support levels. He watered down his program twice in attempts to get it through Congress, but so far without success. Meanwhile inflation has drastically reduced welfare benefits in most states.

The same absence of coherent strategy and commitment that has left Carter's domestic policy in shards has infected his foreign policy as well. In 1976 he wanted to pull US troops out of Korea and to slash the defense budget. In 1977 he declared that the United States was now free of any "inordinate fear of communism." Then came a reversal. He did not pull the troops out of Korea. He has recommended defense increases of $100 billion over the next five years. Afghanistan, he said, caused the scales to fall from his eyes about the Soviet Union. In his Democratic convention acceptance speech, Carter said that he is now a wiser man. His supporters say he has learned on the job these last four years and will do better next time.

But the cost of Jimmy Carter's education has been high, and his reversal doesn't leave us any more secure. An orgy of tough talk and machinery buying does not make American strength seem reliable in the world. Our European allies now hold Carter—and us, as a result—in something very close to contempt. Why shouldn't they? Carter mounted a vigorous campaign to persuade them to deploy the neutron bomb, only to forgo the weapon at the last minute, leaving them high and dry. Lacking a clear vision of his own, he allowed policy to be ennunciated now by hawkish Zbigniew Brzezinski, then by dovish Cyrus Vance, and sometimes by super-dovish Andrew Young. The Carter deck of advisers has been reshuffled. Young is gone as a result of one of the administration's many fiascos at the United Nations. Only Brzezinski has survived. Recall those Brzezinski triumphs: racing the Chinese up the Great Wall, proclaiming that the winner could

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attack Moscow; pointing an automatic weapon at Afghanistan across the Khyber [illegible]s; declaring that the United States should go up in flames with the shah of Iran.

Carter appealed to liberals in 1976 with two idealistic foreign policy themes—reducing arms sales abroad, and making respect for human rights a standard in our relations with both allies and adversaries. In both these areas, the moral force of high rhetoric and some early achievements have been undermined by later extreme, often inept, exercises in realpolitik.

Carter said in his debate with President Ford, "We have become the arms merchant of the world," and promised shortly after taking office that in his administration arms sales would be "an exceptional policy implement" rather than the normal course of business. But after a brief drop, foreign arms sales are higher than ever. The 1978 sale of 60 F-15 jets to Saudi Arabia was a typical disenchanting episode. It was explained as a way to get Saudi moderation in OPEC and cooperation with the Camp David peace process. Skeptical senators were assured that the Saudis did not want and would not get extra parts needed to make the planes offensive as well as defensive weapons. The Saudis ostracized Egypt for making peace with Israel, doubled the price of oil, then came back last summer for those extra parts. The administration unofficially said the request would be honored in order to preserve our "ongoing dialogue" with the Saudis, but put off an official decision until after the election.

In human rights, Carter slid rapidly from Pollyannaish naiveté to world-weary cynicism, without much of a stopover in that middle ground where pragmatism and principle are in uneasy balance. A month after taking office, he sent a letter of support to Russian dissident Andrei Sakharov. But within a year he was toasting the shah of Iran as a leader beloved of his people, and had approved $5.5 billion in arms sales for this "island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world." By last month, the administration was voting in the United Nations to seat Pol Pot's regime as the recognized government of Cambodia. When Polish workers rose up in August demanding their human rights, the Carter administration made clear to the world its wish that the whole episode should fade away as quickly as possible. No words of support were offered, for fear of inciting the Soviets. "Some people are concerned every time Brezhnev sneezes," Carter had said in 1977.

The Carter administration has overseen a giant step backward for nuclear arms control. In 1976 we were on the verge of a SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union. Carter's grandstanding and inept negotiations set back the timetable by two years. Meanwhile momentum was lost and hostility to the treaty had time to ferment. Carter completed the treaty in 1979, only to walk away from it in the face of a tough Senate ratification fight and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Nuclear proliferation is another area where principled rhetoric has melte[illegible]o excesses of realpolitik like the current White House campaign to sell nuclear fuel to India, despite clear evidence that India has used past shipments to make bombs.

After three years without a serious international emergency to test him, Carter faced three major episodes in rapid succession starting about a year ago. He efficiently exploited them all for political gain, without improving any of the three undesirable situations. First, as a warm-up, came the revelation of 2,500 Russian combat troops stationed in Cuba. Though they had been there for many years and posed no threat to the United States, Carter gave this discovery full "crisis" treatment, sternly warning that the troops' presence was "unacceptable" and ordering a practice storming of the beach at Guantanamo. The fuss lasted a couple of weeks. The Russian troops are still there.

Next came the seizure of our embassy and its inhabitants in Tehran. At first Carter pulled out all the rhetorical stops, canceling all campaign appearances and suggesting that anything less than maximum hullabaloo—as well as any criticism of his own efforts—was disloyalty bordering on treason. When this technique started to backlash and when his dashing rescue attempt collapsed in tragedy ("an incomplete success," Carter called it), Carter performed the most cynical reversal of his administration. He announced that the situation was "alleviated," resumed campaigning, and adopted a policy of silence about the hostages. The hostages are still there.

Then came the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, another rhetorical extravaganza ("could be the most serious crisis since World War II"), a few semi-serious gestures (including abandonment of SALT), then a fading of interest. The occupation forces are still there. Zero for three.

Finally, a word about the Carter administration's boast that it has not involved this country in a war (amended, after the Iran rescue disaster, from a claim that no American soldier had died in combat). Peace is a fine thing, but it is no special trick for the leader of a superpower to maintain peace for four years, if peace is the only goal. The challenge is to preserve peace while also protecting America's interests in the world. These interests include the ability to maintain peace and security in the future. Similarly, it is not difficult to avoid economic catastrophe, as Carter has done, if you are willing to think only in the short term.

Carter's reckless caution, his willingness to mortgage the future for serenity in the present, in matters of both economy and security, is symbolized by a matter that came back to haunt the US suddenly last week: the strategic petroleum reserve. In his MEOW speech Carter grandly announced that previous plans were inadequate: he intended to salt away twice as much—one billion barrels of oil by 1985—to give us leverage against future OPEC price increases and to protect us in the case of a cutoff. With Iraq and Iran dropping

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bombs on each other's oil fields and [redacted]ng to block the Persian Gulf, both these contingencies may arrive at any moment. We are not prepared. Reserve purchases stopped early in 1979 at only 92 million barrels. Carter recently declined to start them again, partly as another felicitation of the Saudis and partly to cut a billion dollars from the budget.

In 1980 we are only slightly less secure and respected in the world and only slightly less prosperous at home than we were in 1976. After four more years of Carter's inept but cautious leadership, we might be only slightly less secure, respected, and prosperous than we are now.

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Phillip W. Buchen
1775 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

PLEASE USE ZIP CODE

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt, Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

902619

1. Brenda -

COLUMBUS/CINCINNATI SCHEDULE

Wednesday, October 22

9:44 pm - SCHMITT arrives Columbus - met by volunteer Tim Morriss (will be identified with a sign or button) - provided by Governor Brown - AA #440

Drive directly to NEIL HOUSE for check-in

Taps - NEIL HOUSE HOTEL (614) 221 - 5221

Thursday, October 23

10:30 am - HARMER arrives Columbus - met by Kristin Hueter or volunteer - TWA # 119

Drive directly to Neil House for LUNCHEON

SCHMITT to be making phone calls from hotel room

12:15 pm - LUNCHEON begins in Parlor # 9 - Headtable:

(Co-Host)	John Liebold (Attorney, Nat'l Steering)
	John Harmer
	Jack Schmitt
(Co-Host)	Governor John Brown (former Ohio Lt. Governor & briefly Governor, Nat'l Steer.)

Noteable attendees:

Senator John Bricker (former U.S. Senator & former Governor of Ohio)
Congressman Sam Devine (current U.S. Congressman)
Congressman Chalmers Wylie (current U.S. Congressman)

2:00 pm - LUNCHEON CONCLUDES - Late check-out, depart directly to airport

Driven by volunteer provided by John Brown or taxi

4:00 pm - LV Columbus - OH # 615 (Hueter has tickets for SCHMITT/HARMER)

4:40 pm - ARR Cincinnati - met by Mr. Bruce Avedon (whose daughter Linda helped with the Lanier Dinner) or another volunteer

Drive directly to Lanier Residence

5:15 pm - ARR LANIER RESIDENCE (Melissa & Add Lanier) 513/321 - 6933
2582 Grandin Road

----------BRIEF R & R----------

6:30 pm - COCKTAILS SERVED

902156

(continued next page)

3304042244

Thursday, October 23 (CONTINUED)

7:30 pm - DINNER SERVED

8:30 pm - APPROX - Remarks - Tape - Closing

Hosts: Melissa & Addison Lanier
Assisted by: Linda Avedon

Noteables in attendance:

Senator & Mrs. Aronoff (attended previous Cincinnati breakfast)

9:30 pm - Dinner concludes - guests depart

TAPS - SCHMITT/HARMER - Lanier Residence (513) 321 - 6933

Friday, October 24

7:00 am - Depart Lanier Residence for airport

7:55 am - SCHMITT LV AA # 107 to Albuquerque

10:36 am - ARR Albuquerque

# #

8304042241 5

902157

C/O AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

The following radio stations have not accepted our advertising:

Max Cohen
General Sales Manager
KTRH-AM
510 Lovett Blvd.
Houston, Tx. 77001

Jim Stanton
Sales Manager
WBAP/KSCS
5900 Barnett
Fort Worth, Tx. 7618[illegible]

Chief Levine
General Sales Manager
KABC-AM
3321 S. La Cienega
Los Angeles, Ca. 9001[illegible]

John Kennedy
General Sales Manager
WMBD-AM
3131 W. University
Peoria, Ill. 61604

Mel Owens Jr.
National Sales Manager
KUZZ/KBXX
1209 N. Chester
Bakersfield, Ca. 933[illegible]

Robert Bochicchio
Sales Manager
KJOI-FM
2533 Briarcrest Road
Beverly Hills, Ca. 9[illegible]10

Donald Richa[illegible]
General Sale[illegible] Manager
WTMJ-AM
720 E. Capit[illegible] Drive
Milwaukee, W[illegible] 53201

James Zdanek
General Sales Manager
WSHH-PM
Broadcast Pla[illegible]/Crane Avenue
Pittsburg, Pa. 15220

Lee Larson
General Sales Manager
KLOS-FM
3321 S. La Cienega
Los Angeles, [illegible]. 90016

Dave Woodward
VP/General Manager
KPNW-A/F
1345 Olive
Eugene, Ore. [illegible]403

Bob Atkins
General Sales Manager
KOMO-AM
100 4th Ave.
Seattle, Wa. [illegible]3109

Suzzanne Mast[illegible]com
Acting Sales Manager
KFOG-FM
900 N. Point
San Francisco [illegible]. 94109

Please send a copy of this information/form letter(?) to:

Barbara Chayer
Chayer & Associates
6001 Stillman [illegible]9
Dallas, Tx. 7[illegible]1

902350

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

RADIO MARKET LIST

10/5-6 Special	COST/WEEK	COST/3 WEEKS
Minneapolis (22 spots) WCCO Dallas - WRR-FM (42 spots) Pittsburgh - WTAE (25 spots)	$7,500	--
10/6 Regular		
Dallas/Fort Worth	$11,000	$33,000
Houston	12,000	36,000
	$23,000	$69,000
10/13 Priorities		
Minnesota (3 way race)	$9,200	$27,000
Duluth-Superior	$ 750	$ 2,200
Fargo-Moorhead	950	2,850
Minneapolis-St. Paul	7,500	22,500
New Mexico (Carter regain)	$3,650	$10,950
Albuquerque	2,950	8,850
Farmington	250	750
Santa Fe	250	750
Roswell	200	600
Texas (Key close race)	$9,200	$27,600
Amarillo	1,400	4,200
El Paso	3,100	9,300
Lubbock	1,500	4,500
Midland-Odessa	1,200	3,600
Tyler-Longview	2,000	6,000
	$22,050	$66,100
10/13 Next States		
Illinois	$4,400	$13,200
Peoria	2,600	7,800
Springfield	1,800	5,400
Connecticut (1% Reagan lead)	$9,750	$29,250
Hartford	5,000	15,000
New Haven	4,750	14,250
Pennsylvania	$7,500	$22,500
*Pittsburgh	7,500	22,500

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901497

10/13 Next States (cont.)

Florida		$17,200		$51,600
Fort Lauderdale/Hollywood	4,100		12,300	
Orlando	4,400		13,200	
Tampa-St. Petersburg	6,000		18,000	
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton	2,700		8,100	
New York		$14,900		$44,700
Buffalo	5,700		17,100	
Rochester	5,200		15,600	
Syracuse	4,000		12,000	
	$53,750		$161,250	
		$303,900		

8304042416

8 3 0 4 0 4 3 2 4 4 9

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

RADIO CASH FLOW

MARKET	WEEK OF - 10/6	10/13		10/20		10/27		
Minneapolis								
Dallas	$ 7,500							
Pittsburgh								
Dallas/Fort Worth	11,000	11,000		$ 11,000				
Houston	12,000	12,000		12,000				
Minnesota		9,200		9,200		9,200		
New Mexico		3,650		3,650		3,650		
Texas		9,200		9,200		9,200		
			$45,050		$45,050		$45,050	
Illinois		4,400		4,400		4,400		
Connecticut		9,750		9,750		9,750		
Pennsylvania		7,500		7,500		7,500		
Florida		17,200		17,200		17,200		
New York		14,900		14,900		14,900		
	$30,500	$98,000		$98,800		$98,800		$303,900

901499

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

October 8, 1980

Mr. John F. McKenna
McKenna, Incorporated
York, Maine 03909

Dear Mr. McKenna:

Enclosed is your check in the amount of $50.00 dated September 27, 1980.

Federal Election law will not allow us to accept checks that are drawn on corporate accounts. An individual, however, may contribute up to $5000.00 to this independent expenditure committee. If you would like to make a contribution to Americans for Change as an individual, your check would be acceptable and appreciated.

We hope that you understand our position and we thank you for your support and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Stan Huckaby
Assistant Treasurer
Americans for Change

SH/asn
encs.

8304042436

901627

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Account Number

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

____	(1) Classified Information	____	(6) Personal privacy
____	(2) Internal rules and practices	____	(7) Investigatory files
____	(3) Exempted by other statute	X	(8) Banking Information
____	(4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information	____	(9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical)
____	(5) Internal Documents		

Signed Rose A. Wasserman

Date 6/20/83

FEC 9-21-77

33040422431



901628

UNDERSIGNED THIS CHECK WHEN PAID IS ACCEPTED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT

DATE		AMOUNT	

IF INCORRECT PLEASE RETURN. NO RECEIPT NECESSARY

McKENNA, INCORPORATED
McKENNA'S SEPTIC TANK SERVICE
JOHN F. McKENNA, STONE MASON
YORK, MAINE 03909

9038

PAY TO THE ORDER OF American Ser Change

9/27 1980 52-5/112

$ 50.00/100

**50 DOLLARS 00 CTS

DOLLARS

Maine National Bank
We Can Help
YORK, MAINE 03909

⑈330404224⑈

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

Dear Reagan Supporter:

I have sent you a Reagan Independent Voter Kit and I hope you will distribute these materials to your friends and neighbors.

If you are able to do this I would appreciate your making a contribution in the enclosed envelope so that we are financially able to mail these kits to additional voters like yourself.

If you are unable to disperse these materials please forward the package back to us.

Thank you,

Harrison Schmitt

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U. S. Senator New Mexico
Chairman, Americans for Change

8304042243

902259

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE.
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE.

7 October, 1980

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

Mr. John McCarte
P. O. Box 61961
New Orleans, LA 70160

Dear Mr. McCarte:

Do you have any idea how close this election will be?

I have enclosed a confidential memo showing a state by state breakdown if the election were held today. I think you will agree that it could be the closest election this country has ever seen and we have seen some close ones.

In 1960 Kennedy was elected by less than one vote a Precinct; in 1968 Nixon was elected by less than one vote a Precinct; and in 1976 Carter won election by less than one vote a Precinct.

I have enclosed a tape that contains the type of tough radio ads that could result in our winning that one extra vote in precincts in some of the swing states.

Let me tell you the commercials are really tough. The Carter campaign has been trying every tactic they can think of to stop them from being aired.

They took this committee that is being headed by myself and U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger of Minnesota, to federal court to try and stop them from spending funds on Reagans behalf. The Carter campaign lost in court.

Jimmy Carter's political cronies then tried to intimidate broadcasters and the FCC to halt the sale of time to air these tough commercials. They lost at the FCC but about 10% of all radio stations have refused to sell time for these ads because of fear of losing their licenses.

I want you to know we still have political freedom in this country, but heaven help us if Carter gets re-elected.

Will you take the responsibility for one precinct. Will you raise the funds necessary to carry Reagans message to undecided voters in one two or three precincts.

This will be the last appeal you will receive. There is just enough time to use the money you send. There is no time left to ask you again.

Can I count on you to donate or raise enough to make the difference in at least one precinct.

Regards

Jack

Harrison (Jack) Schmidtt
U.S. Senate, (R, New Mexico)

902253

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE.
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE.

8304042245

Please send the following mailgram to all names circled on the list to immediately follow the copy.

Please charge this to Americans for Change, account number HVA 3399587, 218 N. Lee Suite 319, Alexandria, VA 22314

8304042245

902196

I have sent you under separate cover by express mail a tape of two radio commercials dealing with Carter's failure to debate Reagan.

I would like to run the second commercial on the tape starting next Monday, September 22. We have committed all available funds to run the commercial in a number of key areas.

Will you agree to raise $1,000, $2,000 or $5,000 by next Monday so we can run this commercial in your state?

Please call me directly on my private DC line 703/683-5258.

I will instruct our media firm to buy radio time in your area based on your pledge.

If you cannot raise the funds yourself will you try to recruit someone to take on this task?

This radio ad takes great advantage of Carter's failure to debate but must be run on local radio next week.

Please respond today - the timing is crucial.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

C 33043422456

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

western union Mailgram

1-018007U261037 09/17/80 ICS WA16614 FCHD
00196 MLTN VA 09/17/80

BRENDA JONES
218 N LEE SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

I HAVE SENT YOU UNDER SEPARATE COVER BY EXPRESS MAIL A TAPE OF TWO RADIO COMMERCIALS DEALING WITH CARTER'S FAILURE TO DEBATE REAGAN.

I WOULD LIKE TO RUN THE SECOND COMMERCIAL ON THE TAPE STARTING NEXT MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22. WE HAVE COMMITTED ALL AVAILABLE FUNDS TO RUN THE COMMERCIAL IN A NUMBER OF KEY AREAS.

WILL YOU AGREE TO RAISE $1,000, $2,000 OR $5,000 BY NEXT MONDAY SO WE CAN RUN THIS COMMERCIAL IN YOUR STATE?

PLEASE CALL ME DIRECTLY ON MY PRIVATE DC LINE 703/683-5258.

I WILL INSTRUCT OUR MEDIA FIRM TO BUY RADIO TIME IN YOUR AREA BASED ON YOUR PLEDGE.

IF YOU CANNOT RAISE THE FUNDS YOURSELF WILL YOU TRY TO RECRUIT SOMEONE TO TAKE ON THIS TASK?

THIS RADIO AD TAKES GREAT ADVANTAGE OF CARTER'S FAILURE TO DEBATE BUT MUST BE RUN ON LOCAL RADIO NEXT WEEK.

PLEASE RESPOND TODAY - THE TIMING IS CRUCIAL.

THANKING YOU IN ADVANCE, I AM

SINCERELY,

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
U. S. SENATOR, NEW MEXICO

0222 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

902213

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

230422437

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

November 4, 1980

Dear Marted Enterprises

Thank you very much for your generous contribution of $25.00 dated October 18, 1980

The regulations of the Federal Election Commission require that we ask you to complete this brief form, sign it and return this letter to us.

Please check the appropriate spaces below:

BRUCE BERNHARD
PO BOX 24
SAUSALITO CA 94965

Marted Enterprises
P.O. Box 24
Sausalito, CA 94965

___ Self-Employed ___Yes ___No.

X Occupation Landfill Manager

X Place of Employment San Quentin Disposal San Rafael Ca

Is the address above correct? X Yes ___No

_____ This check was drawn on an account controlled by an incorporated entity.

X The check was not drawn on an account controlled by an incorporated entity and represents my personal funds.

signature

We hope that you understand the necessity of this request, we appreciate your support and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Brad O'Leary

Bradley O'Leary
Executive Director

901733

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

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Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

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Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
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Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

November 4, 1980

Dear

We have recently received a contribution from you for $ for AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, sponsors of 'Reagan for President in 80 Project'. It appears that your check is written on a partnership account. The Federal Election Commission requires that a partnership check be handled in one of the following ways:

1) We must have written authorization to allocate the total contribution based on the profit sharing percentage of each partner. This would mean that each partner has made a contribution to AMERICANS FOR CHANGE equal to his profit sharing percentage times the total amount of the check.

or

2) We must have written authorization that the amount of the check will be charged directly against the profits of any designated partner/contributor.

Enclosed is a form on which to indicate your partnership status as defined above. Signing it and returning it to us will fulfill the Federal Election Commission requirements.

We appreciate your support, and thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Bradley O'Leary
Executive Director

BO:kp
Enclosure

901652

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

_____ Address _____

_____ Occupation _____

_____ Place of Employment _____

1) _____ Please allocate the partnership contribution based on each partner's profit sharing percentage. Attached is a listing of all partners, their addresses, their profit sharing percentage, and each partner's signature. We certify that the check was not drawn on a corporate account and represents our personal funds.

2) _____ This is to inform you that the contribution which you received from a partnership bank account will be charged directly against my profits of the partnership. This check was not drawn on an account controlled by an incorporated entity and represents my personal funds

_____ This is to inform you that my contribution is written on a business owned solely by me, therefore the contribution is to be credited only toward me. I certify that is was not drawn on an account controlled by an incorporated entity and represents my personal funds.

_____ _____

signature date

8304042250

901653

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-0304

Executive Committee of Americans for Change

Harrison (Jack), Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
(U.S. Senator-ret Nebraska)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

8304042436I

Dear

On June 5th of this year a group of 100 nationally prominent political, business and civic leaders such as yourself formed a national political committee in part to raise and to spend funds on the general election in support of Governor Ronald Reagan.

Together we were successful in the formation of Americans for Change--Reagan for President in '80 Project, a National Independent Committee, whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan.

I would like for you to join me as a member of the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change. I feel that your participation is most important if we are to meet our goals.

Enclosed are materials pertaining to the committee and a form which must be completed if you are willing to participate.

If you have any questions, please call me at (703) 683-0304.

Yours very truly,

Eva Gabor
National Steering Committee

902634

Enclosures

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

MEMORANDUM

TO : Brad O'Leary

FROM: Carol Reed

RE: : State Steering Committee Letter

Following is a list of those states that received the State Steering Committee letter:

1. Connecticut
2. Ohio
3. New Jersey
4. New York
5. Minnesota
6. Georgia
7. Oklahoma
8. Nebraska
9. N. Carolina
10. S. Carolina
11. Montana
12. Wyoming
13. Idaho
14. Hawaii
15. New Mexico

8304042246 2

218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314
Suite 304

Americans for Change

July 24, 1980

CONTACT: Duff Thomas
703-683-5258
703-430-0540

CHAIRMAN OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE CHARGES ATTEMPT BY CARTER/MONDALE COMMITTEE TO INTIMIDATE BROADCASTERS.

Alexandria, Va. - - Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (R-NM) today responded to the Carter/Mondale Campaign Committee's letters sent to local radio and TV stations threatening those stations with legal actions if pro-Reagan ads produced by independent committees are broadcast. Senator Schmitt is Chairman of Americans for Change, a committee organized in part to raise money to produce and present pro-Reagan ads on radio and TV.

"We don't think radio and TV broadcasters across the nation will be intimidated by the Carter/Mondale Campaign," Schmitt told the U.S. Senate. "We know the law and broadcasters know the law. We have every legal right to buy commercial broadcasting time to present our point of view," Schmitt added. "This blatant attempt at coercing broadcasters could backfire on the Carter campaign," Schmitt noted. He went on to tell his colleagues, "it is blatant intimidation bordering on harassment."

(MORE)

902673

Authorized and paid for by Americans for Change, an independent committee.
Senator Jack Schmitt, Chairman.

8304042243

"First Common Cause falsely accused Americans for Change of using the media to communicate with the Reagan campaign," Schmitt added. "Now the Carter campaign is trying to prevent us from legally employing broadcast advertising for our messages to the American people," Senator Schmitt said.

Carter/Mondale has filed complaints before the Federal Election Commission, and, Common Cause has filed a suit in Federal court against Americans for Change. The FEC has joined in the litigation.

"These actions appear to be an effort to stifle political debate," Schmitt said. "When all is said and done, we think the law will continue to support our constitutional right to communicate with the American voter and broadcasting stations will be quite willing to accept media ads for this purpose," Senator Schmitt concluded.

-30-

33040422454

902674

3-4-80

Date

Name
Address

Dear Mr. :

Thank you so much for agreeing to serve on the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Because of your help and concern, the formation of Americans for Change has been successful. I am looking forward to working with you toward our common goal of electing Governor Ronald Reagan in November.

If there is any special area you would like to contribute to please let us know. Also, please notify me if you would be willing to host an event or work with us on an event in your city.

Enclosed are materials to bring you up to date on the activities of Americans for Change.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 703/683-0304.

Yours very truly,

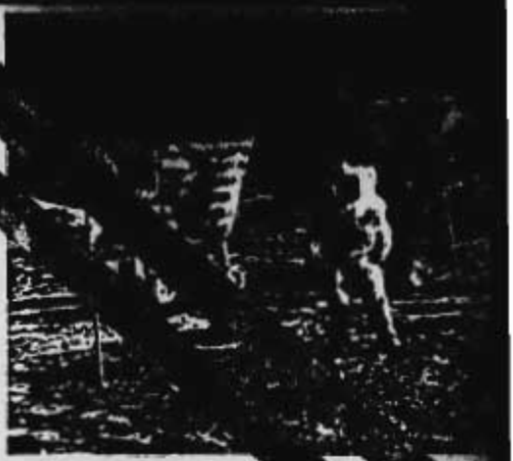
Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator
New Mexico

Enclosures

Disclaimer

902635

8304042465



Dear Fellow American,

I was privileged eight years ago to be part of an American team that landed on the moon. Ours is the only flag that has ever flown there. At that time Ronald Reagan was completing a second successful term as Governor of California. Americans were proud of their country and flag.

I invite you to join me as a member of Americans for Change in helping to send Ronald Reagan to Washington as our President, so Americans can once again be proud of their flag and country.

The federal law prohibits you from contributing directly to the Reagan general election campaign and limits the amount of funds that he can spend on voter educational material. I urge you to become a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and to accept the responsibility of identifying 10 Reagan voters in your community and urging them to vote on November 4, 1980.

Each person who becomes a member of Americans For Change and sends $19.80 will receive a Reagan Independent Voter Kit which will contain the educational material listed below.

If you have any questions, please call me or our committee co-chairman, John Harmer, a former Lt. Governor to Ronald Reagan. We can be reached at (703) 683-0304. With our Reagan precinct kit, you could be the vital factor for victory for Governor Reagan in your neighborhood.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

U.S. Senator
Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
(New Mexico)

S 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 4 6 6

REAGAN INDEPENDENT VOTER KIT

contains:

- -1 voter identification and turnout instruction kit
- -2 Reagan window signs
- -10 Reagan election-grams
- -20 Reagan buttons
- -20 Reagan bumper stickers
- -50 issue brochures, Each on one of 5 issues, Inflation; National defense; Tax Reduction; Reduction of government regulation; and Balanced Budget.

Yes, I would like to receive my own Reagan Independent Voter Kit. Enclosed is my check payable to Americans For Change in the amount of $19.80.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ zip _____

Occupation _____

Name of Employer _____

Phone (home) _____ (office) _____

901976

Send to:
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

SEP 8 2 38 PM '80

0021120

September 1, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell SOB
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I hope you read in your local newspaper Friday of the great victory won in the federal courts on behalf of Ronald Reagan. The victory clears all legal obstacles to the active involvement of civic leaders such as yourself in our Reagan campaign effort. If you and I can move now in the wake of the court's ruling, our effort could win the election for Reagan.

I know our efforts can equalize the financial advantage that Carter now enjoys. We can offset the millions that will be spent for him by organized labor. We can compensate for the millions he can spend on federal projects as the incumbent. We can balance free media he can get as president.

If you missed the story in your paper or on national news, the federal court struck down an attempt by a coalition led by Common Cause, the Carter/ Mondale Campaign and the Federal Election Commission to stop our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I think you know why our committee was originally singled out by Common Cause for this lawsuit. At the time of our filing all other independent committees raising funds were organizations already in existence with a common and limited ideological base. Thse committees did not have as their primary concern the election of Reagan, indeed most of their budget was for overhead, fund raising and Congressional and Senate races.

We were the first committee to file whose primary concern was the election of Governor Reagan. I think you have also seen that our National Steering Committee includes prominent Democrats, Republicans and Independents from all political spectrums not bound by narrow ideology. The list includes Governors, Senators, Congressmen and Business leaders from every state in our country.

I think you understand how dangerous this has made us to the Carter/ Mondale and Common Cause political conspiracy. They determined that we had to be destroyed. I can't tell you how delighted I am that the court struck a blow for freedom by affirming our constitutional right to accept and spend contributions for T.V., newspaper and radio ads on behalf of Ronald Reagan. In view of the recent polls showing a close election this decision could not have come at a more opportune time.

Senator Schmitt I'm writing you this letter not only to bring you up to date but to ask for your help.

901968

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE

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A great deal of confusion exists on how best to help elect Governor Reagan. He has personally sent letters asking for your help in electing Republican Senate and Congressional candidates. These are the only appeals the Federal law allows him to make because of public financing of Presidential elections.

I know you have also been asked for contributions to the Republican Party to help Reagan and all other Republican candidates by registering and turning out voters. But the federal law limits how the party can use this money. They can not buy T.V., radio, newspaper or even spend money to communicate through the mails on behalf of Reagan. In addition, because the funds raised will help all Republicans running, it can not serve as an outlet for participation by Democrats and Independents.

I want you to know that we think there are many positive ways you may be able to contribute to help elect Reagan. But a contribution to our committee would be the most effective way to communicate Reagans views to the American voter, and it may be the only way Democrats and Independents will be able to financially help Governor Reagan.

The federal law clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as ours can spend funds for T.V., radio, newspaper or other voter communications and education devices on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I am going to ask you for a contribution to this effort and I will make you a special pledge. I will guarantee that 100% of any contribution that you make with this appeal will be spent for media within 72 hours of our receiving your check. You may rightfully ask how I can make such a commitment.

I can make that pledge because our legal fees and operation costs have been paid for through the contributions and efforts of a number of your friends including former Governor George Romney of Michigan, former Governor Jimmie Edwards of South Carolina, Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado and Senator George Murphy of California.

We need help because time is running out and there is no question that Common Cause and the Carter/Mondale committee were successful in putting a chilling effect on our early fundraising efforts. But their effort was not as successful as they had hoped. A number of Americans stepped forward and made an early contribution which has already allowed us to begin a media campaign. You may have seen our ads in major dailies and The Wall Street Journal.

We need your commitment to buy radio, T.V. time and newspaper space. I hope you care enough about the outcome of this election and the future of our country to help.

Can I count on you and your spouse for a contribution of $2,000, $1,000, $500 or $250 made out to "REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80"? We will begin to buy additional time and space seven days from today. Governor Reagan and America need your help. Please respond.

Sincerely,

Jack

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

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Senator Harrison "Jack" Schmitt
Republican-New Mexico
the United States Senate
September 8, 1980

MR. PRESIDENT: Once again, I must sadly bring to the Senate's attention the continuing attack on our basic freedoms growing out of the desperation of the committee to re-elect the President. My concern is based on the spectre of a threat so ugly, that, unless nipped in the bud, it poses a serious threat to our most fundamental rights as free Americans: Freedom of speech and Freedom of press.

As you are aware, I am National Chairman of an independent political organization called Americans for Change, an organization with the purpose of raising and expending funds in behalf of the Republican national ticket. Americans for Change recently prevailed in major litigation in Federal Court. A suit to stop our activities brought by Common Cause and joined in by the Federal Election Commission, was rejected outright and unanimously by a three judge panel.

Our principle for existence is basic: The basic right of First Amendment freedom of speech and association. Now that the court has once again upheld the rights of Americans for Change and other Americans to participate fully in the election process, the Carter-Mondale Campaign Committee, in its desperation, has taken another truly unprecedented step to stifle freedom of speech. On July 24th, I informed the Senate of the Carter-Mondale Committee's efforts to intimidate the radio and television broadcasters of the country with threats of litigation if they ran paid advertising by Americans for Change or other independent committees.

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Last Friday, they struck again, Mr. President. The Carter-Mondale Campaign Committee petitioned the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for a drastic and major reinterpretation of the equal time provisions as they apply to the broadcasting of political advertisements. Obviously waiting until they had failed to stop free speech in the courts, this committee petitioned the FCC for a Declaratory Ruling, which if granted, would require broadcasters to give free time, I repeat: to give free time to the Carter-Mondale Committee equivalent to time bought by independent committees in which use of the voice and/or image of a Presidential candidate occurs.

This request for a ruling, if granted, would have the practical economic effect of forcing broadcasters to avoid selling time to many independent committees. Such a demand is particularly offensive and dangerous since Carter is the incumbent and thus has enjoyed free time galore throughout his first term and still does enjoy a vast media advantage in the campaign.

In addition, the FCC, with a 4-3 Democratic majority, has set the ridiculous and pre-emptive deadline of Friday, September 12th for public comment. This effectively four day comment period is without precedent when it comes to a major change in policy in political broadcasting. Ordinarily, at least 30 days for comment would be afforded, and the FCC might hold a hearing before deciding the matter.

Mr. President, the intent of the Carter-Mondale Campaign Committee is clear. It is trying to accomplish, through abuse of Presidential power, and abuse of the power of the incumbency, and abuse of political control of the FCC, what it could not accomplish in the courts. To stifle this voice through coercion, threats and intimidation. To stifle all opposition to the re-election of Jimmy Carter by suppressing freedom of speech.

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Where will the Carter abuse of power stop? What other intimidation is in the wings? Was not a crass attempt to prevent the legal receipt of campaign funds by Reagan enough? Was not the nearly treasonous confirmation of highly secret data on bomber development enough? Was not the political use of Ambassadors and of federal employees in the Department of Health and Human Services enough? Was not the blatant use of Presidential press conferences on the tragic situation in Iran to win primaries enough?

Next, will the FEC, the FCC, the Justic Department and other regulatory agencies be called on to close down more opposition political activities? Don't tell me that the first steps in such an effort haven't been taken! They have been taken before the courts, before the FEC, and now before the FCC. Arguments have even been made in federal court that Americans for Change was illegal because it had too many members. Fortunately, and rightly, the court rejected those arguments.

Are other moves planned so that opposition political groups above a particular size are prevented free association and free speech? God help us...I hope Carter and his cronies will stop this insane and repetitive attack on our American institutions.

Many political experts and observers have forecast that the presidential campaign of 1980 will be the "dirtiest" in history. I must state bluntly that, tragically, these forecasts seem to be coming true.

In 1976 candidate Jimmy Carter roamed this nation from one end to the other giving Americans new hope about morality and open government...preaching of love and honesty and integrity and confidence in our elected leaders.

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We already learned, ong ago, that those preachings were empty words. The conduct of the Presidency and many associated with it for these nearly four years prove that fact beyond doubt.

This latest blatant attack on freedom of speech and expression by the Carter political organization is a new low. I am shocked and distressed and deeply concerned both as a United States Senator and as an American citizen over this latest tactic by a group of desperate short-sighted people.

The tactic will not go unchallenged. As Chairman of Americans for Change I have asked our attorneys to consider a response to both this latest outrage, and previous chicanery by the Jimmy Carter political machine.

A news conference will be held tomorrow morning to discuss options open to us.

The fight has begun. And the real fight has become the protection of the basic rights of free Americans as much as who will be their next president.

In conclusion, let me answer some critics of my remarks before they pose the question. My concerns are not primarily political, although clearly the outcome of the presidential election is at stake. To emphasize this point, let me assure the Senate that Americans for Change probably would not be affected directly by this latest desperate attack on freedom of speech by Carter-Mondale. Americans for Change has no plans at this time to use the voice and/or image of presidential candidates in its political advertisements; however, that has been our tactical judgment. It should never be a judgment forced upon us by this blatant attempt to intimidate, or worse, unconstitutionally control and coerce the broadcast industry.

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My concern here today is not to protect Republican fortunes in this election year...rather it is to protect the basic rights of American citizens to speak in behalf of the candidates of their choice and the basic rights of the press to sell advertising without intimidation by the federal government.

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Jan approved 8-18-82

Dear Friend:

I am writing this letter in a white hot haze of anger and indignation. I am angry because the Federal Election Commission won't let me say these things in THE RUFF TIMES, nor include this letter in support of Americans for Change along with a regular edition of THE RUFF TIMES, free of charge, as a contribution from a public-spirited citizen involved in the political process. Even though we pass every word of THE RUFF TIMES through the best election legal counselors in the U.S., I have not been able to financially support editorially any candidate in the coming election without breaking the law. Because Target Publishers is a corporation, and corporate contributions are prohibited by law, if I solicit political contributions in THE RUFF TIMES, or insert an enclosure with THE RUFF TIMES that could be remotely construed as a solicitation for funds for a candidate, it would be an illegal corporate contribution.

I think it is crucial for America that Ronald Reagan beat Jimmy Carter in November and as National Finance Co-Chairman for Americans for Change, I have accepted the responsibility of raising twenty million dollars to make independent expenditures to help elect Governor Reagan. To get the ball rolling I have decided to appeal to you who respect my advice enough to pay me good money for my judgments and opinions every two weeks.

Let me explain why I am so disturbed over the election laws and so anxious to elect Ronald Reagan, then I would like to show you how you can help change the course of history.

I have "sworn eternal hostility towards any form of tyranny over the minds and hearts of men," to quote Thomas Jefferson. The federal election laws were designed to protect incumbents in office and most specifically, Democratic incumbents. As a publisher, my First Amendment rights are deeply affected when my freedom to say what I please in my publication is ground under by tyrannical law. Also, your right to hear my opinion is trampled on by these crazy laws.

In order to help, I have been literally forced to rent our mailing list to Americans for Change because the FEC won't allow me to let them use it gratis, as the fair market rental value of the list would be above the artificial limit imposed on contributions to a PAC, to say nothing of the

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above mentioned illegal corporate contributions. So Americans for Change has to pay Target good money for this service. I would rather contribute three years as a public-spirited citizen, and I can't even give it back as a personal contribution as I have already made my contribution to the legal limit of five thousand dollars. What a sad waste of money! When a monstrous camel has his nose in the tent of freedom!

When Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt of New Mexico, one of the last astronauts to stand on the moon, and Chariman of Americans for Change, asked me to be National Finance Co-Chairman for Americans for Change, I jumped at the chance, because my sense of fairness has been offended.

The election laws provide that presidential elections are to be federally funded, each candidate receiving $29.4 million. This on the face of it, seems imminently fair, but the incumbent, particularly a Democratic incumbent, has an immense advantage in that he can make well timed "Presidential" decisions and garner millions of dollars worth of free press exposure, surrounded by the awesome trappings of the office of the President. He also has organized labor. In the last election it was estimated they spent eleven million dollars for his election, and provided an army of disciplined workers to "get out the vote" at the grass roots. This time he also has the National Education Association, with many American teachers propagandizing your kids to bring home the Carter message.

The $29.4 million received by the Reagan campaign will only pay for the national media the official Reagan campaign committee can travel for the candidate instead. There will be nothing left over for the grass roots activities necessary to offset the organized labor efforts. The official Reagan forces have no equivalent resources and pools of workers to offset Carter's immense advantages.

That's where Americans for Change comes in. Under the Federal election laws, and a key Supreme Court decision, political action committees or individuals working completely independently of a candidate or his organization can make "independent expenditures" for and in behalf of that candidate. Americans for Change is the most prestigious of several groups working towards this end. We will raise twenty million dollars and expend it in those key states we believe the election will be won or lost. It is not only my job to raise the money, but I am in the position to make significant inputs as to how, where and when this money will be spent, although, of course, the final decisions will be made by Senator Schmitt who is serving as chairman for Americans for Change, and he is darn good at it.

Our national steering committee represents the best that America has to offer in terms of successful concerned citizens, both religiously and politically experienced.

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This is no Mickey Mouse organization but a major effort which, in our opinion, will determine the outcome of this election. The alternatives are pretty simple if we raise the money and spend it wisely. Ronald Reagan will probably be elected. If we don't, this election will be much closer than anyone anticipated and Ronald Reagan could very well lose. In fact, one of the biggest problems we face is the over confidence that so many people, who observed that he has the election wrapped up, said your contribution is not needed. We are also fighting the fact that many Americans have excluded him because of the federal funding of the campaign it is not necessary nor possible to make individual contributions.

Did you know that if you want to contribute to Ronald Reagans campaign that it would be illegal under the campaign financing laws? The only way that you can be financially involved in the presidential elections process is through PACs such as ours.

Let me explain why I am backing Ronald Reagan.

If you have been reading me very carefully over the past few years you know I am a political maverick. I've maintained my independence so that I could declare "a plague on all their houses" but I don't agree with our elected leaders. Up until recently, I have argued that the Presidential election was not as important as the House and Senate races, so you could safely ignore the presidency. As a result, I formed my own political action committee to assist in several of these races. I was wrong. We cannot elect our Senate and House candidates unless Reagan has a strong lead, but my first motivation is to give him "coat tails" by propelling him to a sweeping, dramatic, decisive victory that will help us change the face of Congress.

I want to elect Ronald Reagan because he is a proven competent administrator. When everything has finally boiled down, the presidency is essentially an executive position requiring executive skills. He must know when and how to delegate. Jimmy Carter's executive skills are miniscule or non-existant.

Ronald Reagan demonstrated executive abilities in Sacramento, he ran a tight ship and it was probably the best administered State House in the country. Jimmy Carter, as an executive, is a disaster. His staff work and his choice of aides and close associates has been demonstrated by such intellectual and moral giants as Peter Bourne, Ham Jorden, and Bert Lance, to say nothing of brother Billy. To show you Jimmy's sense of how the President should spend his time, he even personally handled the schedule for the White House tennis court, for crying out loud!

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Ronald Reagan is a gutsy and honest man. He has made some pronouncements which from a pragmatic political point of view I wish he had not made, but even then, I do guarantee he was speaking the truth. Here is a man with the political courage to say what he believes, even if it was to his political disadvantage. I admire him for that.

I've interviewed Ronald Reagan on my TV show, and in conversation before, during and after the show. I found him to be thoughtful, concerned, and to have far greater intellectual depth than some of his carefully prepared, sometimes simplistic speeches of one-liners would indicate, and the Reagan haters would try to tell you. He has a degree in economics and is hard-money oriented. He is in favor of the ultimate restoration of a gold backed currency. When it comes to a basic understanding of economics there is hardly a basis for comparison between the two men.

I am fully convinced that Ronald Reagan is prepared to do some awfully tough things that incumbent President Carter not only hasn't the guts to do, but he doesn't even understand the doing!

Ronald Reagan is perceived internationally as much tougher than Jimmy Carter. Fidel Castro has publicly announced his preference for Jimmy Carter over Ronald Reagan. I think that tells us alot about the Communist reception of the relative strength of the two men.

At a recent fund-raising meeting in Newport News, after we had made our case for Ronald Reagan, one man stood up and said, "I was an executive at a major Hollywood studio who had the responsibility for negotiating with the Screen Actors Guild. Before Ronald Reagan became president of the union, the Screen Actors Guild was ineffective, in utter chaos, and had no negotiating strength. When Ronald Reagan became president, we found a tough fair negotiator. He drove hard bargains, and he did it in record time. Based on my negotiating experience with Ronald Reagan, I would love to have him negotiating with the Russians."

Jimmy Carter is proud of his negotiations of Salt II as an accomplishment that could not be achieved by previous Presidents. He achieved his "success" by simply accepting Russian demands that the previous President had rejected. Any idiot could do that! Ronald Reagan wants to send an unmistakable signal to the world that we refuse to unilaterally give away our strength. The Russians have an interesting habit of not paying the bill once the service has already been rendered, so they have no reason to make concessions.

I believe that Ronald Reagans negotiating strength lessens the chance of war. You do not avoid war by granting an aggressor his objectives without a fight, you avoid a

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war by helping the aggressor to understand that there will be immense consequences and that you do have the guts to take a stand. The history of the Russians is that they retreat from strength. They only move when they sense no resistance from us. Under Carter, they have moved into Afganistan. They judged the man correctly.

The Carter administration, if elected, could give us four of the most disastrous years in the history of western civilization. I wouldn't kid you that the election of Ronald Reagan will immediately stop inflation in its tracks nor in one _____ swoop remove the danger from an increasingly fractured world. It would take some four to ten years to turn this country around, and the road to heaven may lead through the valley of the shadow of death. But I also believe that if the ship of state sails through the inflationary fire storms ahead, national survival depends on having someone at the helm who understands and believes in the capitalists free enterprise system, who understands the role of profits and the need to reduce the tax burden on the Ameican citizen so that he can make productive free market decisions with his money, rather than handing it over to government to hand over to someone else.

The alternatives are clear. A vote for Jimmy Carter is a vote for more of the same ineptitude and hideously misperceived domestic and foreign policy.

As I said in HOW TO PROSPER DURING THE COMING BAD YEARS, the nation is about to go through its greatest test since the Civil War and the question is, "do you want Carter or Reagan to be at the helm" the alternative could be war or peace, financial clash or merely a close "brush with the economic grim reaper."

Now, how can you help? Obviously our first need is money. Twenty million dollars. I have laid my reputation on the line by pledging our subscribers for a minimum of two million dollars. That represents about twelve dollars from every subscriber. Many of you will not respond, and that means that those who do respond will have to do better than that, a minimum contribution should be twenty five dollars or more.

Contribution limit is five thousand dollars for each individual, which would be five thousand dollars for a husband, five thousand dollars for a wife, up to a total of twenty five thousand dollars in contributions fron any one person in a federal election. Many of you have been blessed with much success in this life and can afford this--even if it hurts a bit, if you can, I beg you to do so. That contribution will entitle you to be on our State Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

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But if you can't give five thousand dollars, don't be embarrassed to vie less. Give what ever you can, and if you must, make contributios on a monthly basis between now and the election. September, October, and November will give you the opportunity to make three such contributions. Whether you contribute twenty five dollars or five thousand dollars, do the best you can. This may be your last chance to make a contribution to a free election, becaue after this election is over, when Americans for Change has succeeded as we anticipate it will, there will be massive political and legal efforts to prohibit organizations such as ours from ever being effective again.

How will your money be used? We will buy radio and television time in carefully selected markets in both large and small cities so that the things that Ronald Reagan will be clearly spelled out to offset the half truths and distortions about him that will be coming from the Carter camp.

There will be an attempt to represent Ronald Reagan as "shallow and dangerous", which is ironic coming from one of the most shallow and dangerous men ever to occupy the Presidency. There will be an attempt to divert attention from the inexcusably inept Carter Administration record that would be laughable if it were not for the fact that we are really in the most perilous times in our history and I see nothing funny about it.

Your money is the same money which will be used to raise other money. As your thousand dollars could be responsible for raising ten thousand to twenty thousand dollars to help the cause, it will be appreciated far out of proportion to the amount you give. The money will also be used to print and distribute independent voter kits which are composed of bumper stickers, badges, and literature for distributing in your neighborhood, and we hope to work closer with our Discussion Groups in the distribution of such materials.

Our administrative costs are zilch. We have some but they are kept to a minimum. Neither I nor Senator Schmitt nor John Harmer and Senator Duvenburger, who act as co-chairmen, are receiving compensation of any kind other than the above mentioned fees paid to Target in order to make this mailng possible, and I've already told you how mad I am about that. It's criminal that this type of expenditure should be required unnecessarily increasing the cost of a political campaign.

I would like to emphasize that we do not represent Governor Reagan nor his campaign. We have no relationship, communication, coordination whatsoever with that organization. I have even eliminated all social contact with anyone who is remotely associated with the Reagan campaign.

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Remember that committees such as Americans for Change are the only way that you can contribute to the political process in this election year.

The nation has blessed us with much success. Subscribers to THE RUFF TIMES have gnerally been blessed more than others. Now is the time for you to give tangible evidence as to whether or not you care about the future of this country. This is not just another election. This could be a major turning point in the history of Western civilization. Which way it turns could depend on a handful of votes and a few swing states, since this election is going to be a heck of a lot closer than anyone anticipates. The contest is going to be a barn burner. Let's make sure we win.

Sincerely,

Howard J. Ruff

HJR:lmp

Disclaimer

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Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 11, 1980

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Gene Kirtland has indicated to us you may be interested in Americans for Change, a National Independent Committee, whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

I hope you are willing to participate in the general election by working and contributing to Reagan for President in '80. I hope you will use the card and envelope enclosed to make a commitment of support today.

If we can answer any questions or be of assistance to you, please feel free to call 703/683-5221.

Yours very truly,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator
New Mexico

Enclosures

902609

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-0304

Executive Committee of Americans for Change

Harrison (Jack), Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
(U.S. Senator-ret Nebraska)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

July 25, 1980

I appreciate your interest in Americans for Change, a National Independent Committee, whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

You can see by the list of those who have expressed their interest to serve on our Steering Committee, we have brought together supporters of Governor Reagan with those of the other major candidates. As you read the list, you will see it contains present and former officeholders as well as business and civic leaders such as yourself.

I hope you are willing to participate in the general election by working and contributing to Americans for Change. I hope you will use the card and envelope enclosed to make a commitment of support today.

If we can answer any questions or be of assistance to you, please feel free to call 703/683-0304.

Yours very truly,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U. S. Senator
New Mexico

Enclosures

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Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change/National Steering Committee

Those individuals listed below have agreed to be members of the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Mr. B. B. Andersen, *Chairman*
B. B. Andersen Construction Co.
Topeka, Kansas

Betty Andujar
State Senator, Texas
Fort Worth, Texas

Robert H. B. Baldwin, *President*
Morgan, Stanley & Co. Inc.
New York, New York

Jack E. Black, *Chairman*
American Exchange Bank & Trust
Norman, Oklahoma

Ben B. Blackburn, *Chairman*
Heritage Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia

Hugh Branson, *Vice President*
Satellite Media Corp.
Washington, D.C.

Norman Brinker, *Chairman*
Steak & Ale of America, Inc.
Dallas, Texas

Hon. John Brown,
Former Governor of Ohio
Columbus, Ohio

Charles E. Chamberlain
U.S. Congressman, (ret)
McLean, Virginia

Anna C. Chennault, *President*
T.A.C. International, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

William C. Conner, *Chairman*
Alcon Laboratories, Inc.
Fort Worth, Texas

Hon. Marlow W. Cook
U.S. Senator (ret)
Washington, D.C.

Hon. Deane C. Davis,
Former Governor of Vermont
Montpelier, Vermont

Hon. Guilford Dudley, *Ambassador*
Nashville, Tenn.

Hon. Dave Durenberger
United States Senator
Minnesota

Hon. James Edwards
Former Governor of
South Carolina

Hon. Norman A. Erbe,
Former Governor of Iowa

Hon. John H. Ewing
State Senator, New Jersey

Hon. Albert Fay, *Ambassador*
Houston, Texas

Hon. Hiram L. Fong
U.S. Senator (ret)
Hawaii

Mrs. Frank Jamison (Eva Gabor)
Actress, Beverly Hills, Calif.

A. G. Galt, *President*
Pan American Engineering
Dallas, Texas

Kenneth R. Giddens
Retired Director of
Voice of America

Hon. Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Former Governor of Virginia

Hon. James Holshouser
Former Governor
North Carolina

Seymour Halpern
U.S. Congressman, (ret)
New York

Robert P. Hanrahan,
U.S. Congressman, (ret)
Illinois

Hon. Leo Hoegh
Former Governor of Iowa

Lawrence J. Hogan
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Maryland

Hon. Roman Hruska
U.S. Senator (ret)
Nebraska

Glen Holden, *President*
Security First Group
Century City, California

William H. Hodnut, III
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Mayor, Indianapolis, Ind.

B. K. Johnson, *Rancher*
San Antonio, Texas

John E. (Jack) Kenney, Jr.
Las Vegas, Nevada

Hon. Thomas S. Kleppe
U.S. Congressman (ret)
North Dakota

Woodward Kingman, Exec.
Vice President, Crocker Bank
San Francisco, Calif.

Hon. John Davis Lodge
Former Governor
Connecticut

Wm. McBride Love
St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. Clare Boothe Luce
U.S. Congresswoman (ret)
Connecticut

Wales Madden, Jr.
Former National Campaign
Director-Connally for President
Amarillo, Texas

Hon. William Mailliard,
U.S. Congressman (ret)
California

Hon. William Miller
1964 Republican Candidate
for Vice President
U.S. Congressman (ret)
New York

Hon. George Murphy
U.S. Senator (ret)
California

Hon. Francine Neff
Former U.S. Treasurer
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Hon. Alvin O'Kinski
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Wisconsin

Hon. Walter C. Ploeser, *Ambassador*
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Missouri

Hon. & Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff
State Senator
Arizona

Hon. David Q. Reed
Member, Connally Steering Committee
Kansas City, Mo.

Maxwell M. Rabb
Former Cabinet Secretary
Eisenhower Administration
New York, New York

Willard Rockwell, Jr.
Chairman Rockwell International
Pittsburgh, Penn.

Hon. George Romney
Former Governor
Michigan

Ross Rowland, *President*
Floor Broker Association
New York, New York

Richard Roudebush,
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Indiana

William D. Saxon, *President*
Saxon Oil Operations
Winter Park, Florida

Hon. Robert E. Smylie
Former Governor of Idaho
Idaho

Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
U.S. Senator, (ret)
Ohio

Lew Ward, *President*
Ward Oil Co.
Enid, Oklahoma

John F. Warren, *Former Chairman*
Republican Party of Texas
Austin, Texas

John C. Whitehead, *Senior Partner*
Goldman Sachs & Co.
New York, New York

Mrs. Thomas Williams, Jr.
Thomasville, Ga.

Mr. Thomas Williams, III
Connally Steering Committee
Georgia

Hon. John S. Wold
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Wyoming

Hon. Edward L. Young
U.S. Congressman (ret)
South Carolina

Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb
Former Governor
Indiana

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2040 GOLF ROAD, GLENVIEW, ILLINOIS, 60025 • GLENVIEW PHONES: [illegible]
CHICAGO LINE: 583-0075

from the Desk of

VICTOR YACKTMAN

October 6, 1980

Dear Voters For President. The Big Date is Nov. 4, 1980:

What motivated the attached and following was a substantial contribution made payable to "Reagan and Bush Compliance Fund" sent to me with a memo stating, "Now we wait until November". My desks are loaded with work. I am weeks behind in getting it out, in spite of my over 80 hour week - but there is nothing more pressing than helping to get our country turned around! I cannot over emphasize that this is one of the most crucial Presidential elections in our lifetime. Contributions of money are very important to the campaign but we cannot stop there. With the sorry job done by the Carter administration in these past four years, we don't have to make any apology for going all out for the Reagan and Bush team!

The Carter administration has piled up a national debt in excess of three hundred billion, an increase of 42% in just 3½ years. It took prior liberal administrations forty years to attain double that amount. Should Carter get re-elected he will assume that we are giving him a blank check to spend all he wants. Right now he is dishing it out like there is no tomorrow in his desperate attempt to get re-elected. We are not only risking uncontrolled inflation but our very lives and freedom.

If I sound like an alarmist, believe me I am, and we all should be. We have only ourselves to blame for neglecting our duties to our government and to our country for so many years, duties that our forefathers carried on. We should always keep in mind that we have a government "of the people, by the people and for the people." It is time that we assume our responsibilities and participate in a greater way to make our political leaders understand what we expect from them besides casting our vote.

The unfortunate situation is that the average worker or voter appears to understand only how much he has in his pocket and if his stomach is full. It's difficult for some of them to comprehend how much is a billion dollars or a trillion dollars. The spendthrift Democrats have so conditioned us during the past forty-five years, (with the exception of the ten years of Eisenhower and Ford administrations), that to most people going a few more billion in debt is not all that crucial. They feel that we have survived all of this in the past and that there have always been people predicting doom and bust and we are still going on. I recall when Social Security was first placed into effect a few people predicted that in 50 years instead of its cost being 1½% it was going to be over 10%. Well it is 12½%

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now and still it is not enough. We should have had a law that all employees and employers contribute a like amount to an insurance program which would provide the worker with similar benefits. It would have cost a lot less and predictably at only 20% of the present cost of administrating the program because of our inefficient bureaucrats.

All we have to do is to remember Carter's promises four years ago and the tall tales he told us then and how he has broken these promises. Yet, there are too many people who are afraid of a change. Fortunately, there are many disenchanted Democrats turning Republican to vote for Reagan. You will read Leon Jaworski's views on why he feels Carter is "Not fit". He is heading a group, "Democrats For Reagan". Anytime Reagan makes a statement Carter wants to twist it around and use some scare tactics to discredit it. We must go all out and do all we can to get the vote out for Reagan and Bush in addition to electing Senators and Congressmen to replace those who have been too liberal with our money.

If only we had something to show for the trillion dollars of deficits. But roughly the statistics show we spent $1.50 on bureaucratic red tape for every $1.00 given for the benefit of any program. If all other businesses can operate on an overhead of 12% to 20% why should the bureaucrats be so wasteful? You can readily see the waste all about you. Thus we don't have to take anything away from the needy. Just check out the hundreds of examples of federal waste whether it be in HUD housing, dispensing welfare, the energy program or the multitude of other needless and wasteful programs that have no reason for their existence.

I am sure you are aware of much of what I am pointing out and some of you know much more! War is declared by Congress - not the president! Please read the attached carefully and if you need additional copies get in touch with my office promptly or you may have access to a Xerox machine and can get additional copies quickly. Keep spreading the word and get the vote out. We have no other choice to assure our recovery and turning this country around.

The Republican victory is in your hands!

Vic and Pauline Yacktman

Vic and Pauline Yacktman

Following excerpt from Ruff Times, written by Howard Ruff in Oct.1,1980 Iss. Publ. twice mo. by Target,Inc. PO Box 2000,San Ramon,Cal.94583 Subs.$95 to $120 per yr. Circl over 160,000

NOW READ THE TRUTH

Meanwhile, former President Gerald R. Ford, campaigning for Ronald Reagan and Republican congressional candidates in New Jersey, said Carter acted "cowardly" in criticizing the Federal Reserve Board. Ford accused Carter of trying to make the institution a "scapegoat" for rising interest rates.

"I find it unbelievable," Ford told an audience in Saddle Brook, N.J. "He [Carter] appointed them. They're his board.

"I personally have great admiration for Paul Volcker. His problem is he has a lousy running mate, Jimmy Carter."

SEN. JOHN TOWER [R. Tex.], defending the board against Carter's criticism, said the President "has shot his only serious ally in the economic battle."

Tower said government spending, not Fed action, is responsible for the increases in interest rates.

"Actually, the estimated $60 billion budget deficit for 1980 deserves the lion's share of blame for the latest spiral of interest rates," he said.

"Somebody in the government had to bite the bullet and begin a serious effort to dampen inflation," he said. "The Fed has used the only means at its disposal, restricting the money supply."

I'll never forget that dramatic moment in the FORD-CARTER debate when Gerald Ford recited how inflation was down and unemployment was down and the country was in an improving condition under his administration. Jimmy Carter turned to him and said, "Shame on you!" He then recounted the number of people who were out of work and the amount of purchasing power that had been lost to inflation. In my opinion, that moment of masterful demagoguery, truly Olympian in its grandeur, may have turned enough votes around to have produced a victory by less than one vote per precinct, but a victory nonetheless. (Close counts only in horseshoes.)

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CHICAGO LINE: 663-0075

from the Desk of

VICTOR YACKTMAN

October 1, 1980

WHY WE ARE GOING TO VOTE FOR RONALD REAGAN AND GEORGE BUSH

Many of us have witnessed several Presidential and other political campaigns. Yet, never in the 200 year history of our Country has a candidate received 100% votes, when 20,000 or more voters went to the polls. There just aren't 100% same thinking large groups of people. At this juncture, our Country is in the worst condition it has been in during the past 50 years. We are drastically vulnerable in the areas of inflation, lack of jobs and military strength. We cannot lick inflation for long periods by directing Paul Volcker to increase interest rates. Each time the economy appears to be breathing again inflation rears its ugly head. Knowledgeable people know that the chief cause of inflation is our federal government's overspending!

Ronald Reagan has repeatedly stated that federal spending must be reduced. Exorbitant taxes must be reduced and business must be given the incentive necessary to create jobs. It is unfortunate, that union bosses, for their own selfish reasons, fear to acknowledge these simple facts! When Reagan was Governor of California he did not allow people to starve or were they refused medical aid when they needed it. It appears that many people have a fear that the Republican administration is going to slash needy social programs or take away sweetheart jobs that many have in government, or scores of similar reasons.

The other side of the coin is that we must curb inflation and lose no time in doing it. If the private sector of business is given the proper incentives and the red tape is reduced, the private sector can absorb all the people that want to work including those who lose political jobs. They were readily absorbed in California when Proposition 13 displaced them, because business was able to pour the tax savings back into their businesses. We can then restore sanity in government and the soundness of the dollar. Eisenhower was doing a good job along these lines for 8 years. Gerald Ford did an excellent job for his short term in reducing inflation and reducing the federal payroll.

Why should we risk another four years of Carter's multitude of blunders when he can't control his own staff and lacks the respect of Congress? He appears to have good intentions, but the road to hell is paved with good intentions. Why doesn't Carter speak of his accomplishments instead of resorting to scare tactics to discredit Reagan? Can you imagine a poor performer holding a responsible position in industry, or a poor coach or team player stating if you fire me your company or team will go to pot! Carter apparently believes that the American people who believed what he told them four years ago have forgotten his broken promises. Where is that good life he promised us in 1976? Each year of his presidency has grown progressively worse.

Some people are critical of Reagan's stand on the ERA. There is actually very little that Reagan can do about it. This is a question for the individual States. Abortion is a pro and con issue that we believe will remain

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controversial as long as humans are on Earth. So let's not make a major decision based on minor issues. We do know that Reagan has proved himself a capable Governor and also did well at the jobs he held before he became Governor. He knows how to select staff people for the job they need to do. He also knows how to lead and inspire them to do a good job. Compare that with Carter's record as Governor and President.

Millions of homes, condominiums and apartments need to be built. They are practically at a standstill for lack of mortgage financing. Our automobile manufacturers finally got the message about building small cars, but they still can't sell them if people have to pay exorbitant interest rates to buy them! Just these two prime industries affect our entire economy. We are hurting millions of innocent people whether they have jobs or not with these horrendous interest rates. Yes, high rates will help hold down inflation as long as we have 8 to 10 millions unemployed, but they will never solve the inflation problem, until we reduce federal spending!

In the meantime millions of people are suffering because the wrong steps are being taken and we have the wrong doctors diagnosing and treating our painful ills. This all leads up to the top man directing them. Let's not forget that there are many big people who favor and benefit from this kind of program and are spending millions to keep the status quo. So it is about time that we recognize the truth and the necessity to change to competent leadership.

Many people are so discouraged that they say they are not going to vote at all or that they are going to express their discontent by voting for a third candidate. That kind of attitude is not going to solve our pressing problems. After all Reagan won his nomination over 13 other aspirants. Those of us who are voting for Reagan strongly appeal to the rest to re-assess their thinking. It is entirely too risky at this point in time to play games. We must elect a competent leader!

If we are serious about solving the problems now facing us, we have no alternative but to give the opportunity to the only man who is now available to us. One, who obviously should be given the chance to do a better job. No matter what we say or think, we cannot expect to convince everyone to vote for Reagan. But, please make use of your vote. It is deplorable that in the last presidential election only 54% of the eligible voters utilized their privilege to vote. Too many took for granted that Gerald Ford was going to win so did not bother to vote. This could very well be our last opportunity to save ourselves from disaster.

The combination of Reagan and Bush is a great team. Let's keep in mind that Bush was the runner-up. God forbid that anything happens to Reagan during his term in office, but if necessary we have a good back up man. We have two good men on this team to handle the President's job. We will have them if YOU will just make the effort to talk to people who seem to be undecided. If you agree with our assessment, make copies of this report, or quickly ask us for more copies. Then ask others to review the above and we are confident you can help add a lot more votes in favor of the Reagan/Bush team. You owe it to yourself to make this effort. God bless America.

Our Hands In Yours,

Victor Yacktman Pauline Yacktman

Vic and Pauline Yacktman

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AP Laserphoto

Carter 'not fit'.

Former Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski said Monday he will head a "Democrats for Reagan" group though he once labeled the GOP candidate an extremist. "I'd rather have a competent extremist than an incompetent moderate," Jaworski said. He said that Reagan's choice of George Bush as his running mate and an hour-long meeting with Reagan changed his mind about the Republican. "I have been deeply disappointed in President Carter's lack of leadership, his vacillations, and his lack of consistent goals," he commented.

Don't give up on turning this country around.

THE CARTER RECORD

GIVING UP ON THE BUDGET

When Carter took office, America had a national debt of $709.1 billion. Four years later, we're $1.01 trillion behind in our bills, an increase of 42%, and still adding.

GIVING UP ON INFLATION

In 1976, Carter promised to reduce inflation from 4.8% to 4.0% by 1980. Instead, Carter allowed inflation to rise to 6.8% in his first year, 9.0% in his next year, 13.3% by the end of 1979 and to 18.2% in the first quarter of this year.

THE REAGAN RECORD

TURNING THINGS AROUND

Before Reagan, California had a public debt of $197 million and was going broke to the tune of $1 million a day. At the end of his term, Reagan had the state $554 million in the black.

TURNING THINGS AROUND

Reagan beat inflation in California, where the rate had been higher than the national average prior to his taking office. Reagan held inflation to the national average for two years and then brought it under the U.S. average his last six years.

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GIVING UP ON JOBS

Carter promised to reduce unemployment to 4 - 4½% by the end of his term. We now have 7.8% unemployment, with 8.2 million people out of work. That figure is expected to mushroom to a shameful 9%.

TURNING THINGS AROUND

As governor of California, Reagan implemented ingenious ways to put even the hard core unemployed to work. He developed programs to train and employ more than 75,000 minority youths and chronic unemployed. The same kind of thing can be done for America, and he's the man to do it.

GIVING UP ON LOWER TAXES

Already, Carter has hit the American worker with the largest single tax increase in history. The feds now swallow up 1/5 of the average citizen's income. And Carter's load of new taxes will mean increased taxes of about $200 billion a year for the next decade.

TURNING THINGS AROUND

During his 8-year term as governor of California, our most populous state, Reagan returned $5.7 billion in tax relief to the people where it belonged. For the nation, Reagan has already said he will cut your income taxes. And he's proved he knows how to do it.

If you give up now, you'll be giving more later. With four more years of Jimmy Carter, you'll have less of what you want, and more of what you don't want. Less productivity. Less efficiency. Less leadership. More taxes. More inflation. More unemployment. Carter's record doesn't just speak for itself. It shouts.

You can help turn this country around by voting for Ronald Reagan and George Bush, the men who will give America the changes we all know are possible.

With a contribution of time or money to Americans for Change, sponsors of the "Reagan for President in '80" advertising campaign, you'll help spread the word for the change American needs. Right now.

Reagan for President in '80

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Paid for by

Americans for Change

Senator Harrison Schmitt (R. - N.M.) Chairman

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314. Phone 703-683-5221.

All Phones (312) 725-1133

VPX Corporation

2640 Golf Road, Glenview, Illinois • 60025

October 22, 1980

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
Americans For Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

Dear Senator:

Thank you very much for yours of October 16th. I have already made two large mailings to my people. One last June and the last one the first part of October. In case you have not seen this, the three page message, I am enclosing another copy for your reference. The third page I had borrowed from you people entitled "Don't Give Up On Turning This Country Around". I have been getting many favorable comments. Calls for additional copies and that it was helping to get the fence sitters into the Reagan column.

Only a couple of days ago I received the attached from my long time friend Mr. Fred B. Elsing, Sr. from Alexandria, La. He has been a hard working Republican who helped to elect the Republican Governor in Louisiana and he has been working hard for Governor Reagan. This message should be relayed to Governor Reagan somehow as there is no time to lose to clarify this point because we are getting the same reactions from many other areas about his getting us into war.

The problem is that Governor Reagan has been too honest and is making some of the same mistakes that Goldwater was doing because he was too honest. The first step is to win the presidency and then do the job that needs to be done. Anyone with any sense ought to know that the last thing Governor Reagan would want to do is to get us into war.

My last report written to Governor Reagan was dated October 9th in which I had given him an accounting of the monies that we have raised. A total of $7,480. Of this amount $2,700 was turned over to me by some of my friends and the other $4,780 came from the Yacktman family, including my two sons, daughter, granddaughter and so on. I feel you are doing a good job so I am including an additional $200 made payable to The Americans For Change. There is no question but that you will put it to good use. I am glad to see Howard Ruff on your executive committee. He is another real American that is doing a grand job.

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There have been many positive signs in favor of Governor Reagan and I hope that the trend will continue and above all that the voters will turn out to make sure that he is our next President.

My Hand In Yours,

Victor Yacktman

CC: Governor Ronald Reagan
10960 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

Howard Ruff
Target Publisher
P O Box 2000
San Ramon, Calif. 94583

P.S. Just finished reading Current Ruff Times in which Howard explains the Americans for Change.

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Sen Harrison

Post Office Drawer 7387
Alexandria, Louisiana 71306
October 17, 1980

Governor Ronald Reagan
10960 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear Governor Reagan:

There is one problem I have constantly heard, here in Louisiana and Texas, when I have talked to people about voting for you. That is, I have been told so many times that they could not vote for you because you would get us into war. Of course, I know where this is coming from, but I seriously think you need to make some kind of strong reply to this group of people. Advise them that the Republican Party is not one that gets us into war, but we are the party that gets us out of war. Of course, you know how to combat this problem, and I urge you to do so.

We finally got a Republican Governor here in Louisiana, as you know.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely,

Fred B. Elsing, Sr.
FBE;sr:ba

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REAGAN WILL HELP TO REDUCE THIS NONSENSE MOST OF US EXPERIENCE



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Howard Ruff, Publisher

The Ruff Times

P.O. Box 2000
San Ramon, California 94583

Dear Friend:

I once played the role of the Mikado in Gilbert and Sullivan's famous musical. One of my favorite lines was, "Virtue is triumphant only in theatrical performances."

I guess I'm going to have to swallow those words. God is in his heavens, and there is justice after all. It's quite a story.

As I told you in THE RUFF TIMES, I was at the Detroit National Convention and met with Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt of New Mexico, Chairman of Americans for Change, an independent political action committee acting in support of the candidacy of Governor Ronald Reagan.

Senator Schmitt asked me at that time to be the National Finance Co-Chairman for Americans for Change. I jumped at the chance because my sense of fairness had been offended by the federal election laws.

First, the law provides that Presidential elections are to be federally funded, each candidate receiving $29.4 million. This, on the face of it, seems eminently fair, but the incumbent, particularly a Democratic incumbent, has an immense advantage in that he can make well-timed "Presidential" decisions and garner millions of dollars worth of free press exposure, surrounded by the awesome trapping of the office of the President.

He also has organized labor. In the last election, it was estimated that they spent $11 million for his election and provided for an army of disciplined workers to "get out and vote" at the grass roots. This time he also has the National Education Association with many of America's teachers propagandizing your kids to bring home the Carter message.

The $29.5 million received by the Reagan campaign will only pay for the national media and the travel expenses for the official Reagan campaign committee. There will be nothing left over for the grass roots activities necessary to offset the organized labor efforts. The official Reagan forces have no equivalent resources or pools of workers to offset Carter's immense advantages.

That's where Americans for Change comes in. Under the federal election laws and a key Supreme Court decision, political action committee or individuals working completely independently of a candidate or his organization can make "independent expenditures" for and in behalf of that candidate.

Americans for Change is the most prestigious of several groups working toward this end. We will raise $3 million and expend it in those few states where we believe the election will be won or lost. It is not only my job to raise the money, but I am in a position to make significant inputs as to how,

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where, and when the money will be spent, although, of course, the final decision will be made by Senator Schmitt who is serving as Chairman for Americans for Change, and he is darn good at it.

Second, I knew that Americans for Change had been sued by Common Cause, the Federal Election Commission, and the Carter-Mondale committee, alleging that it was not a truly independent committee and, therefore, should be limited to a total contribution of $1,000 for the Reagan campaign and should not be able to make independent expenditures. I knew this could be a bum-rap.

Third, there was a clumsy attempt by the Carter-Mondale committee to intimidate radio and TV broadcast stations with a letter which implied that if a station sold Americans for Change any advertising time that they would probably be involved in litigation with the U.S. Government, and they would be required to make equal time available, free of charge, to all other candidates.

Well, now you can believe in the Tooth Fairy, Santa Claus, and the Easter Bunny. A three judge panel ruled three to nothing against the complainants and in favor of Americans for Change. We now have the legal green light to raise our money and to expend it in behalf of Governor Reagan.

I think it is critical for America that Ronald Reagan beat Jimmy Carter in November, and as National Finance Co-Chairman for Americans for Change, I have accepted the responsibility of raising the $3 million. To get the ball rolling, I have decided to appeal to you who respect my advise enough to pay me good money for my judgements and opinions every two weeks.

Let me explain why I am so anxious to elect Ronald Reagan; then I would like to show you how you can help change the course of history.

This is no Mickey Mouse organization but a major effort which, in my opinion, will determine the outcome of this election. The National Steering Committee represents the best that America has to offer in terms of successful, concerned citizens, both financially and politically.

The alternatives are pretty simple. If we raise the money and spend it wisely, Ronald Reagan will probably be elected. If we don't, this election will be much closer than anyone anticipated, and Ronald Reagan could very well lose.

In fact, one of the biggest problems we face is overconfidence in that too many people assume he has the election wrapped up and, therefore, feel that their contribution is not needed. We are also fighting the fact that many Americans, because of the federal funding of a campaign, believe that it is not necessary or possible to make individual contributions.

Did you know that if you want to contribute to Ronald Reagan's campaign that it would be illegal under the campaign financing laws? The only way that you can be financially involved in the Presidential election's process is through PACs such as Americans for Change.

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Let me explain why I am backing Ronald Reagan. If you have been reading me very carefully over the past few years, you know I am a political maverick. I've maintained my independence so that I could declare "a plague on all their houses" when I don't agree with our elected leaders.

Up until recently, I have argued that the Presidential election was not as important as the House and Senate races, so you could safely ignore the Presidency. As a result, I formed my own political action committee to assist in several of these key races.

I was wrong. Both are important. We cannot elect our Senate and House candidates unless Ronald Reagan runs a strong race, so my first motivation is to give him "coat tails" by propelling him to a sweeping, dramatic, decisive victory that will help us change the face of Congress.

I want to elect Ronald Reagan because he is a proven competent administrator. When everything is finally boiled down, the Presidency is essentially an executive position requiring executive skills. He must know when and how to delegate. Jimmy Carter's executive skills are miniscule or non-existent.

Ronald Reagan demonstrated executive abilities in Sacramento. He ran a tight ship, and it was probably the best administered Statehouse in the country.

Jimmy Carter, as an exective, is a disaster. His staff work and his choice of aides and close associates have been demonstrated by such intellectual and moral giants as Peter Bourne, Ham Jordan, and Bert Lance, to say nothing of brother Billy. To show you Jimmy's sense of how the President should spend his time, he even personally handled the schedule for the White House tennis courts, for cryin' out loud!

Ronald Reagan is a gutsy and honest man. He has made some pronouncements which, from a pragmatic political point of view, I wish he had not made. But even then, I know down deeply he was speaking the truth. Here is a man with the political courage to say what he believes, even if it is to his political disadvantage. I admire him for that.

I've interviewed Ronald Reagan on my TV show, and in conversation before, during, and after the show, I found him to be thoughtful, concerned, and to have far greater intellectual depth than some of his carefully prepared, sometimes simplistic speeches of one-liners would indicate and the Reagan haters would try to tell you.

He has a degree in economics and is hard-money oriented. He is in favor of the ultimate restoration of a gold backed currency. When it comes to an understanding of basic economics there is hardly a basis for comparison between the two men.

I am fully convinced that Ronald Reagan is prepared to do some awfully tough things for the good of the country that Carter not only hasn't the guts to do, but he doesn't even understand the doing!

Ronald Reagan is perceived internationally as much tougher than Jimmy Carter. Fidel Castro has publicly announced his preference for Jimmy

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Carter over Reagan. I think that tells us a lot more about communist perception of the relative strength of the two men.

At a recent fund raising meeting in Newport Beach, after we had made our case for Ronald Reagan, one man stood up and said,

> "I was an executive at a major Hollywood studio who had the responsibility for negotiating with the Screen Actors Guild. Before Ronald Reagan became president of the union, the Screen Actors Guild was ineffective, in utter chaos, and had no negotiating strength. When Ronald Reagan became president of the Guild, we found a tough, fair negotiator. He drove hard bargains and he did it in record time. Based on my negotiating experience with Ronald Reagan, I would love to have him negotiating with the Russians.

Jimmy Carter has touted his negotiations of Salt II as an accomplishment that could not be achieved by previous Presidents. He achieved his "success" by simply accepting Russian demands that the previous Presidents had rejected. Any idiot could do that!

On the other hand, Ronald Reagan wants to send an unmistakable signal to the world that we refuse to unilaterally give away our strength. The Russians have an interesting habit of not paying the bill if the service has already been rendered, so they have no reason to make concessions.

I believe that Ronald Reagan's negotiating strength lessens the chance of war. You do not avoid war by granting an aggressor his objectives without a fight, you avoid a war by helping the aggressor to understand that there will be immense consequences and that you do have the guts to take a stand.

The history of the Russians is that they retreat from strength. They only move when they sense no resistance from us. Under Carter, they have moved into Afghanistan. They judged the man correctly.

The Carter Administration, if elected, could give us four of the most disastrous years in the history of western civilization. I wouldn't kid you that the election of Ronald Reagan will immediately stop inflation in its tracks nor in one fell swoop remove the danger from an increasingly frightened world. It would take from four to ten years to turn this country around, and the road to Heaven may lead through the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

But I also believe that as the Ship of State sails through the inflationary fire storms ahead, national survival depends on having someone at the helm who understands and believes in the capitalist free enterprise system, who understands the role of profits and the need to reduce the tax burden on the American citizen so that he can make productive free market decisions with his money, rather than handing it over to government to hand over to someone else.

The alternatives are clear. A vote for Jimmy Carter is a vote for more of the same ineptitude and hideously misperceived domestic and foreign policy.

As I said in HOW TO PROSPER DURING THE COMING BAD YEARS, the nation is about to go through its greatest test since the Civil War and the

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question is, "Do you want Carter or Reagan to be at the helm?" The alternative could be war or peace, financial chaos or merely a close "brush with the economic grim reaper."

Now, how can you help? Obviously our first need is money--$3 million. I have laid my reputation on the line by pledging our subscribers for a minimum of $2 million. That represents about $12 from each subscriber. Many of you will not respond and that means that those who do respond will have to do better than that. A minimum contribution should be $25 or more.

The contribution limit is $5,000 for each individual, which would be $5,000 for a husband, $5,000 for a wife, up to a total of $25,000 in contributions by any one person in a federal election calendar year.

Many of you have been blessed with much success in this life and can afford to give that much--even if it hurts a bit. If you can, I beg you to do so. That contribution will entitle you to be on your State Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

But if you can't give $5,000 don't be embarrassed to give less. Give whatever you can, and if you must, make contributions on a monthly basis between now and the election. September, October, and November will give you the opportunity to make three such contribution. Whether you contribute $25 $1,000 or $5,000, do the best you can. This may be your last chance to make a contribution to a free election, because after this election is over, when Americans for Change has succeeded as we anticipate it will, there will be massive political and legal efforts to prohibit organizations such as ours from ever being effective again.

How will your money be spent? We will buy radio and television time in carefully selected markets in both large and small cities so that the things that Ronald Reagan stands up for will be clearly spelled out to offset the half truths and distortions about him that will be coming from the Carter camp.

There will be an attempt to represent Ronald Reagan as "shallow and dangerous", which is ironic coming from one of the most shallow and dangerous men ever to occupy the Presidency.

There will be an attempt to divest attention from the inexcusably inept Carter Administration record that would be laughable if it were not for the fact that we are living in the most perilous times in our history, and I see nothing funny about it.

In addition to advertising, the money will also be used to print and distribute independent voter kits which are composed of bumper stickers, badges, and literature for distribution in your neighborhood, and we hope to work closer with our Discussion Groups in the distribution of such materials.

Our administrative costs are zilch. We have some paid staff, but they are kept to a minimum. Neither I, Senator Schmitt, nor John Harmer and Senator Durenburger, who act as co-chairmen, are receiving compensation of any kind.

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Remember that committees such as Americans for Change are the only way that you can contribute to the political process in this election year.

The nation has blessed us with much success. Subscribers to THE RUFF TIMES have generally been blessed more than others. Now is the time for you to give tangible evidence as to wheter or not you care about the future of this country.

This is not just another election. This could be a major turning point in the history of western civilization. Which way it turns could depend on a handful of votes and a few swing states, since this election is going to be a heck of a lot closer than anyone anticipates. The contest is going to be a "barn burner." Let's make sure we win!

Sincerely,

Howard J. Ruff

HOWARD J. RUFF

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Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

October 31, 1980

8304225003

Enclosed is your check in the amount of $
dated

Federal election law will not allow us to accept checks that are drawn on corporate accounts. However, you may make a contribution to Americans For Change ("Reagan for President in '80") as an individual.

If you are not able to draw on a personal account and would still like to participate in the election process through a contribution, we would like you to consider our recommendation to send your contribution to FREE.

FREE, Foundation for the Registration of Election Education, is an organization working to eliminate vote fraud in this country. They are tax deductable and will accept and appreciate corporate contributions.

Their address is: FREE
Suite 405
1025 Connecticut Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Attn: Tom Bell

We thank you for your support and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary
Executive Director

901753

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

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Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

Copy of letters sent on October 14th, 1980. Contributors attached.

8304042501

Dear

Thank you very much for your generous contribution of $ to Americans for Change.

To meet the strict reporting requirements of the Federal Election Commission, we need the following information from you:

____ Home Address: _____

____ Place of Employment: _____

____ Business Phone: _____

____ Business Address: _____

____ Principal Job Title: _____

____ Self-Employed: _____ Yes _____ No

This information is necessary to insure that your contribution is properly credited to the Reagan in '80 Project. We will appreciate your returning this letter to us with the requested information.

Thank you again for your contribution and support. We appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

~~Joan Huckaby~~
~~Assistant Treasurer~~
Americans for Change

901734

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

August 21, 1980

Dear Fellow American,

I was privileged, eight years ago, to be part of an American Astronaut team that landed on the moon. The members of that team raised the American Flag during that final trip. Today the Stars and Stripes is still the only flag that has ever flown on the surface of the moon.

I hope you also remember that in that same year Ronald Reagan was completing his second successful term as Governor of our country's largest state, California.

I clearly remember that this was a time when Americans were proud of their Flag and country. I remember it as a time when we believed that creativity, determination and our work ethic would allow Americans to overcome any obstacle.

I must ask you to reflect a minute on just what has happened to our country? Do we no longer have leaders in our government capable of achieving solutions to our problems? Solutions that eight years ago we were clearly able to achieve. Have we lost our ability to achieve greatness? Is there no hope for the future?

I share your sense of frustration as we see a deepening recession causing layoffs and entire plants to close as unemployment reaches almost 8%. Your ability to save and plan for the future is being subverted by double digit inflation Carter refuses to control.

You and I read daily about our allies who treat the Carter administration with public condescension and private contempt. Our enemies act as if America is a second rate power that can be blackmailed by any petty dictator that desires.

I have heard with my own ears Carter stating that the problems of America are too complicated for him and his advisors to solve.

Jimmy Carter has clearly demonstrated that he is a hopelessly inept and indecisive President who is content to be manipulated by domestic inflation and recession and by any petty despot who seeks to humble America.

I believe our country is still the greatest nation on the face of the earth. You and I as American citizens can hope and dream of a better tomorrow. We know such a tomorrow is achievable.

I am willing to work and dream of a better future and I know you

902247

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PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE.

8304042250 2

share my feelings. But we need to be led by men and women who can inspire this country to unleash the competitive drive that tamed our frontiers.

As Governor of California, Ronald Reagan was able to attract just such high calibre men and women to serve in state government. I want you to know they were men and women who helped lead the state of California into eight years of prosperity, low unemployment and inflation that never topped 3%.

I believe Ronald Reagan and the American leaders he will bring to Washington will make positive contributions for a better American. A Reagan administration can better deal with the problems of faltering industry, inflation, too little energy development, pollution, crime, inadequate national defense and a frustrating sense that America has lost its will to lead the forces of freedom in a dangerous and volatile world.

I invite you to join me as a member of our independent committee whose goal is to send Ronald Reagan to Washington as the next President of the United States, so Americans can once again feel a sense of pride in their flag and their country.

The federal law prohibits Ronald Reagan from accepting a financial contribution from you for the general election. The law also limits the amount of money Reagan can spend on voter educational material for your friends and neighbors. You, however, may make an independent contribution for this material and distribute it on behalf of Governor Reagan. Will you help?

I know you understand that the federal election law gives a tremendous advantage to an incumbent President who is willing to use almost unlimited Government funds, government employees and government resources to promote his candidacy.

I urge you to become a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and accept the responsibility of identifying 10 Reagan voters in your community and urging them to vote on Nobember 4, 1980.

Only if you agree to serve can we be guaranteed a fair and balanced election. I am afraid that without your participation Carter will use the incumbency for an unfair advantage that Reagan may not be able to overcome.

If you agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman, you will receive an election kit with detailed information on how you can help.

Your kit will contain Reagan buttons, bumper strips and window signs that can also be used as yard signs. You will also receive brochures on the five issues of greatest concern to Americans today.

I will also send you detailed instructions on how to go about

8304042250

recruiting 10 of your friends and neighbors to make a commitment to support Governor Reagan.

Your kit will include membership identification as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and 10 electiongrams to mail to your friends the Sunday before the election.

I believe you must help if we are to elect a President who will show strong leadership, strength of character, and a man we can be proud of as he serves us and as he solves the problems confronting American. That man is Ronald Reagan.

You must become involved if Reagan is to become President.

I hope you will help by sending a contribution of at least $19.80 which will cover the cost of the Reagan Independent Voter Kit. Any additional funds you wish to contribute will allow us to distribute kits to Reagan supporters who cannot afford to make a contribution.

I want you to understand that the election in your state could be decided by just one vote per precinct. Your committment to help could make the difference in this election.

May I count on you for a committment to Governor Reagan and the future of our Country .....

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

Harrison "Jack" Schmitt
U. S. Senator, New Mexico

8304042250 4

902249

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

August 28, 1980

Mr. John Petrick
6038 N. 32nd Ave.
Phoenix, AZ 85017

Dear Mr. Petrick:

I hope you read in your local newspaper Friday of the great victory won in the federal courts on behalf of Ronald Reagan. The victory clears all legal obstacles to the active involvement of civic leaders such as yourself in our Reagan campaign effort. If you and I can move now in the wake of the court's ruling, our effort could win the election for Reagan.

I know our efforts can equalize the financial advantage that Carter now enjoys. We can offset the millions that will be spent for him by organized labor. We can compensate for the millions he can spend on federal projects as the incumbent. We can balance free media he can get as president.

If you missed the story in your paper or on national news, the federal court struck down an attempt by a coalition led by Common Cause, the Carter/ Mondale Campaign and the Federal Election Commission to stop our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I think you know why our committee was originally singled out by Common Cause for this lawsuit. At the time of our filing all other independent committees raising funds were organizations already in existence with a common and limited ideological base. These committees did not have as their primary concern the election of Reagan, indeed most of their budget was for overhead, fund raising and Congressional and Senate races.

We were the first committee to file whose primary concern was the election of Governor Reagan. I think you have also seen that our National Steering Committee includes prominent Democrats, Republicans and Independents from all political spectrums not bound by narrow ideology. The list includes Governors, Senators, Congressmen and Business leaders from every state in our country.

I think you understand how dangerous this has made us to the Carter/ Mondale and Common Cause political conspiracy. They determined that we had to be destroyed. I can't tell you how delighted I am that the court struck a blow for freedom by affirming our constitutional right to accept and spend contributions for T.V., newspaper and radio ads on behalf of Ronald Reagan. In view of the recent polls showing a close election this decision could not have come at a more opportune time.

Mr. Petrick, I'm writing you this letter not only to bring you up to date but to ask for your help.

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901961

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE

A great deal of confusion exists on how best to help elect Governor Reagan. He has personally sent letters asking for your help in electing Republican Senate and Congressional candidates. These are the only appeals the Federal law allows him to make because of public financing of Presidential elections.

I know you have also been asked for contributions to the Republican Party to help Reagan and all other Republican candidates by registering and turning out voters. But the federal law limits how the party can use this money. They can not buy T.V., radio, newspaper or even spend money to communicate through the mails on behalf of Reagan. In addition, because the funds raised will help all Republicans running, it can not serve as an outlet for participation by Democrats and Independents.

I want you to know that we think there are many positive ways you may be able to contribute to help elect Reagan. But a contribution to our committee would be the most effective way to communicate Reagans views to the American voter, and it may be the only way Democrats and Independents will be able to financially help Governor Reagan.

The federal law clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as ours can spend funds for T.V., radio, newspaper or other voter communications and education devices on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I am going to ask you for a contribution to this effort and I will make you a special pledge. I will guarantee that 100% of any contribution that you make with this appeal will be spent for media within 72 hours of our receiving your check. You may rightfully ask how I can make such a commitment.

I can make that pledge because our legal fees and operation costs have been paid for through the contributions and efforts of a number of your friends including former Governor George Romney of Michigan, former Governor Jimmie Edwards of South Carolina, Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado and Senator George Murphy of California.

We need help because time is running out and there is no question that Common Cause and the Carter/Mondale committee were successful in putting a chilling effect on our early fundraising efforts. But their effort was not as successful as they had hoped. A number of Americans stepped forward and made an early contribution which has already allowed us to begin a media campaign. You may have seen our ads in major dailies and The Wall Street Journal.

We need your commitment to buy radio, T.V. time and newspaper space. I hope you care enough about the outcome of this election and the future of our country to help.

Can I count on you and your spouse for a contribution of $2,000, $1,000, $500 or $250 made out to "REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80"? We will begin to buy additional time and space seven days from today. Governor Reagan and America need your help. Please respond.

Sincerely,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

901962

8304042506

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-0304

Executive Committee of Americans for Change

Harrison (Jack), Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
(U.S. Senator-ret Nebraska)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

September 2, 1980

Mr. Charles Fanucchi
Tri-Fanucchi Farms, Inc.
P. O. Box 656
Arvin, CA 93203

8304042507

Dear Charles:

I hope you read in your local newspaper Friday of the great victory which we won in the federal courts. If you missed the story in your paper or on national news, the federal court struck down an attempt led by Common Cause, the Carter/Mondale Campaign, and the Federal Election Commission to stop our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

Our efforts can equalize the financial advantage that Carter now enjoys. We can offset the millions that will be spent for him by organized labor. We can compensate for the millions he can spend on federal projects as the incumbent. We can balance the free media he can get as president.

It is easy to see why our committee was originally singled out by Common Cause for this lawsuit. At the time of our filing all other independent committees raising funds were organizations already in existence with a common and limited ideological base. These committees did not have as their primary concern the election of Reagan, indeed most of their budget was for overhead, fund raising and Congressional and Senate races.

We were the first committee to file whose primary concern was the election of Governor Reagan. Our National Steering Committee includes prominent Democrats, Republicans and Independents from all political spectrums not bound by narrow ideology. The list includes Governors, Senators, Congressmen and Business leaders from every state.

You can understand how dangerous this has made us to the Carter/Mondale and Common Cause political conspiracy. They determined that we had to be destroyed. I can't tell you how delighted I am that the court struck a blow for freedom by affirming our constitutional right to accept and spend contributions for T.V., newspaper and radio ads on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

Charles, I am writing you this letter not only to bring you up to date but to ask for your help.

901972

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change/National Steering Committee

Those individuals listed below have agreed to be members of the National Steering Committee of Americans for Change

Mr. B. B. Andersen, *Chairman*
B. B. Andersen Construction Co.
Topeka, Kansas

Betty Andujar
State Senator, Texas
Fort Worth, Texas

Robert H. B. Baldwin, *President*
Morgan, Stanley & Co. Inc.
New York, New York

Jack E. Black, *Chairman*
American Exchange Bank & Trust
Norman, Oklahoma

Ben B. Blackburn, *Chairman*
Heritage Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia

Hugh Branson, *Vice President*
Satellite Media Corp.
Washington, D.C.

Norman Brinker, *Chairman*
Steak & Ale of America, Inc.
Dallas, Texas

Hon. John Brown,
Former Governor of Ohio
Columbus, Ohio

Charles E. Chamberlain
U.S. Congressman, (ret)
McLean, Virginia

Anna C. Chennault, *President*
T.A.C. International, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

William C. Conner, *Chairman*
Alcon Laboratories, Inc.
Fort Worth, Texas

Hon. Marlow W. Cook
U.S. Senator (ret)
Washington, D.C.

Hon. Deane C. Davis,
Former Governor of Vermont
Montpelier, Vermont

Hon. Guilford Dudley, *Ambassador*
Nashville, Tenn.

Hon. Dave Durenberger
United States Senator
Minnesota

Hon. James Edwards
Former Governor of
South Carolina

Hon. Norman A. Erbe,
Former Governor of Iowa

Hon. John H. Ewing
State Senator, New Jersey

Hon. Albert Fay, *Ambassador*
Houston, Texas

Hon. Hiram L. Fong
U.S. Senator (ret)
Hawaii

Mrs. Frank Jamison (Eva Gabor)
Actress, Beverly Hills, Calif.

A. G. Galt, *President*
Pan American Engineering
Dallas, Texas

Kenneth R. Giddens
Retired Director of
Voice of America

Hon. Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Former Governor of Virginia

Hon. James Holshouser
Former Governer
North Carolina

Seymour Halpern
U.S. Congressman, (ret)
New York

Robert P. Hanrahan,
U.S. Congressman, (ret)
Illinois

Hon. Leo Hoegh
Former Governor of Iowa

Lawrence J. Hogan
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Maryland

Hon. Roman Hruska
U.S. Senator (ret)
Nebraska

Glen Holden, *President*
Security First Group
Century City, California

William H. Hudnut, III
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Mayor, Indianapolis, Ind.

B. K. Johnson, *Rancher*
San Antonio, Texas

John E. (Jack) Kenney, Jr.
Las Vegas, Nevada

Hon. Thomas S. Kleppe
U.S. Congressman (ret)
North Dakota

Woodward Kingman, *Exec.*
Vice President, Crocker Bank
San Francisco, Calif.

Hon. John Davis Lodge
Former Governor
Connecticut

Wm. McBride Love
St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. Clare Boothe Luce
U.S. Congresswoman (ret)
Connecticut

Wales Madden, Jr.
Former National Campaign
Director-Connally for President
Amarillo, Texas

Hon. William Mailliard,
U.S. Congressman (ret)
California

Hon. William Miller
1964 Republican Candidate
for Vice President
U.S. Congressman (ret)
New York

Hon. George Murphy
U.S. Senator (ret)
California

Hon. Francine Neff
Former U.S. Treasurer
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Hon. Alvin O'Kinski
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Wisconsin

Hon. Walter C. Ploeser, *Ambassador*
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Missouri

Hon. & Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff
State Senator
Arizona

Hon. David Q. Reed
Member, Connally Steering Committee
Kansas City, Mo.

Maxwell M. Rabb
Former Cabinet Secretary
Eisenhower Administration
New York, New York

Willard Rockwell, Jr.
Chairman Rockwell International
Pittsburgh, Penn.

Hon. George Romney
Former Governor
Michigan

Ross Rowland, *President*
Floor Broker Association
New York, New York

Richard Roudebush,
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Indiana

William D. Saxon, *President*
Saxon Oil Operations
Winter Park, Florida

Hon. Robert E. Smylie
Former Governor of Idaho
Idaho

Hon. Robert Taft, Jr.
U.S. Senator, (ret)
Ohio

Lew Ward, *President*
Ward Oil Co.
Enid, Oklahoma

John F. Warren, *Former Chairman*
Republican Party of Texas
Austin, Texas

John C. Whitehead, *Senior Partner*
Goldman Sachs & Co.
New York, New York

Mrs. Thomas Williams, Jr.
Thomasville, Ga.

Mr. Thomas Williams, III
Connally Steering Committee
Georgia

Hon. John S. Wold
U.S. Congressman (ret)
Wyoming

Hon. Edward L. Young
U.S. Congressman (ret)
South Carolina

Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb
Former Governor
Indiana

901973

A great deal of confusion exists on how best to help elect Governor Reagan. He has personally sent letters asking for your help in electing Republican Senate and Congressional candidates. These are the only appeals the Federal law allows him to make because of public financing of Presidential elections.

I know you have also been asked for contributions to the Republican Party to help Reagan and all other Republican candidates by registering and turning out voters. But the federal law limits how the party can use this money. They can not buy T.V., radio, newspaper or even spend money to communicate through the mails on behalf of Reagan. In addition, because the funds raised will help all Republicans running, it can not serve as an outlet for participation by Democrats and Independents.

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I am asking you for a contribution to this effort and I will make you a special pledge. I will guarantee that 100% of any contribution that you make with this appeal will be spent for media within 72 hours of our receiving your check. You may rightfully ask how I can make such a commitment.

I can make that pledge because our legal fees and operation costs have been paid for through the contributions and efforts of a number of your friends including former Governor George Romney of Michigan, former Governor Jimmie Edwards of South Carolina, Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado and Senator George Murphy of California.

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We need your commitment to buy radio, T.V. time and newspaper space. I hope you care enough about the outcome of this election and the future of our country to help.

Can I count on you and your spouse for a contribution of $2,000, $1,000, $500 or $250 made out to "REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80"? We will begin to buy additional time and space seven days from today. Governor Reagan and America need your help. Please respond.

Yours very truly,

John

901974

JOHN L. HARMER, Co-Chairman
Former Lt. Governor of California

3304042250



Dear Fellow American,

I was privileged eight years ago to be part of an American team that landed on the moon. Ours is the only flag that has ever flown there. At that time Ronald Reagan was completing a second successful term as Governor of California. Americans were proud of their country and flag.

I invite you to join me as a member of Americans for Change in helping to send Ronald Reagan to Washington as our President, so Americans can once again be proud of their flag and country.

The federal law prohibits you from contributing directly to the Reagan general election campaign and limits the amount of funds that he can spend on voter educational material. I urge you to become a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and to accept the responsibility of identifying 10 Reagan voters in your community and urging them to vote on November 4, 1980.

Each person who becomes a member of Americans For Change and sends $19.80 will receive a Reagan Independent Voter Kit which will contain the educational material listed below.

If you have any questions, please call me or our committee co-chairman, John Harmer, a former Lt. Governor to Ronald Reagan. We can be reached at (703) 683-0304. With our Reagan precinct kit, you could be the vital factor for victory for Governor Reagan in your neighborhood.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

U.S. Senator
Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
(New Mexico)

8304042251C

REAGAN INDEPENDENT VOTER KIT

contains:

- -1 voter identification and turnout instruction kit
- -2 Reagan window signs
- -10 Reagan election-grams
- -20 Reagan buttons
- -20 Reagan bumper stickers
- -50 issue brochures, Each on one of 5 issues, Inflation; National defense; Tax Reduction; Reduction of government regulation; and Balanced Budget.

Yes, I would like to receive my own Reagan Independent Voter Kit. Enclosed is my check payable to Americans For Change in the amount of $19.80.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ zip _____

Occupation _____

Name of Employer _____

Phone (home) _____ (office) _____

Send to:
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

901975

paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

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Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 2, 1980

Dear Mr. Esserman:

Sorry you were not able to attend our Americans For Change luncheon held at Perino's Restaurant on August 8th, but I am sure you want to know what happened. This note is to bring you up to date on the remarkable success that began there and is continuing right now.

We were delighted with the response to the luncheon. The number of people who attended in spite of summer vacation and other commitments was even better than expected. Everyone came away with a renewed understanding of just how important the issues are which confront America in this Presidential election year. I believe that this is one of those critical elections which will continue to shape or finally reshape the policies which will determine our fate for the rest of this century. What we began at Perino's will be an important part of that process.

Please do not feel that you have been left out just because things are now moving so rapidly. Your help -- both financial and otherwise -- is still crucial for us to be successful in countering the $40 million being poured into this campign by interests loyal to Jimmy Carter. Your contribution and your help in urging your friends to contribute are essential if we are to get our message heard by millions of Americans before election day. Television, radio and print media are expensive but absolutely necessary if we are to finally convince people that we can no longer afford a government that is no longer even able to afford itself.

Please contribute now, and feel free to call me at (703) 683-5221 if you have any further questions.

Thank you,

Jack

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator New Mexico

902639

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Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
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U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 5, 1980

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 5 1 2

This progress report on Americans for Change will keep you up-to-date on our campaign plans.

We are very pleased that contributions to date are more than sufficient to cover all anticipated administrative and operation costs through election day.

Now 100 percent of every dollar raised will be spent to help assure the election of Ronald Reagan and other Federal officials.

As you may be aware, the "Americans for Change" committee was awarded a unanimous decision in the federal courts dismissing attempts by Common Cause and the Federal Election Commission to obstruct independent efforts in behalf of the Reagan-Bush ticket.

Attached are copies of the decision by that three judge panel. We understand that the Court's written opinion will be available in the near future.

Although the Court battle has interfered with our efforts and obviously has had a chilling effect on our fundraising activities, Americans for Change is well into its major programs.

900943

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Of the first $300,000 we have raised, $170,000 has been spent as independent expenditures. Of this amount, $110,000 was devoted to our voter "kit" program, along with $50,000 spent on newspaper ads and $10,000 committed to radio. I believe this puts our actual Reagan expenditures well ahead of all the independent committees but one. The remaining funds were spent for legal fees ($25,000) and organizational and fundraising costs ($105,000). We anticipate our overhead to be 25 percent of the first million raised and 15 percent of every million after that. We anticipate spending a minimum of one million dollars in our voter kit program; one million on newspaper ads; and one million on radio and T.V. Our programs, however, are designed to be open-ended.

Programmatically, we are initiating a combined radio, television and newspaper advertising campaign to familiarize voters with the Reagan record as well as stimulate a higher voter turnout on election day. The newspaper ads are being placed in the dailies of major cities and swing states and in major national papers such as the Wall Street Journal. We hope to demonstrate the quality of the Reagan record as Governor of California as compared to the dismal record of President Carter. I have also included some letters we have received in response to our ads. All such letters are available for examination, should someone on your staff be interested.

Our independent Voter Chairman Program is also underway. This program is designed to recruit at least one hundred thousand independent voter chairmen for Reagan, each of whom will be responsible for identifying 10 new Reagan supporters and encouraging them to vote. This program is designed to deliver one million voters to the polls on election day.

900944

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 5 1 3

Americans for Change
Add Two

Attached are samples from the "kit" materials these Chairmen will receive to assist their efforts. I have included their instruction manual and pass out material.

As I indicated the Court fight cost us resources, contributions and time. However, we still have been moderately successful in our fundraising and we have remained solvent. As we continue to move towards November 4th, we shall keep you informed of our campaign, and please feel free to call me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Jack

Harrison "Jack" Schmitt
U.S. Senator (R. - N.M.), Chairman

33040422514

900945

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N LEE SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

Mailgram

1-011006U250013 09/06/80 ICS WA16614 FCHE
00186 MLTN VA 09/06/80

BUSINESS REPLY

BRENDA JONES
218 N LEE STE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

I APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST IN AMERICANS FOR CHANGE -- REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80 PROJECT. WE HAD A SUCCESSFUL LUNCHEON IN NASHVILLE AND I'M SORRY YOU WERE UNABLE TO ATTEND. I WOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO CONSIDER SERVING ON THE TENNESSEE STEERING COMMITTEE.

I DO NOT BELIEVE GOVERNOR REAGAN CAN BE ASSURED OF ELECTION AS PRESIDENT WITHOUT YOUR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. I HOPE YOU ARE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GENERAL ELECTION BY WORKING AND CONTRIBUTING TO AMERICANS FOR CHANGE -- REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80 PROJECT AND WILL USE THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE TO MAKE A COMMITMENT OF SUPPORT TODAY.

IT IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT WE RECEIVE THIS CHECK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO WE CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD THE ELECTION OF RONALD REAGAN IN NOVEMBER.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO CALL ME AT (703) 683-5221.

YOURS VERY TRULY,

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
U.S. SENATOR NEW MEXICO

902208

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

western union Mailgram

DEAR SENATOR SCHMITT:

I SUPPORT YOUR STAND FOR RONALD REAGAN.

I AGREE TO SERVE ON MY STATE'S STEERING COMMITTEE.....
ENCLOSED IS A CONTIBUTION TO HELP
(MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80)

.....$5,000 .....$1,000

.....$2,500 .....$.....

.....I WILL ALSO RAISE $.....

....
NAME OCCUPATION

....
ADDRESS NAME OF EMPLOYER

.....
CITY STATE ZIP

PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE

REFOLD ENTIRE MAILGRAM SO THAT RETURN ADDRESS AND PERMIT NO. SHOWS
***** THROUGH WINDOW OF BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE. NO POSTAGE NEEDED.*****

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 004923ALEXANDRIA VA
----------POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE----------

RETURN TO: AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N LEE SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

1922 EST

902209

MGMCOMP MGM

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

8 3 0 4 0 1 2 2 5 1 7

NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

The fastest way to get the word around... **Mailgram®** ...and back

Refold entire Mailgram so return address at bottom shows through window of this envelope.

Seal and mail
No postage needed

Dear :

I appreciate your contribution to Americans for Change -- Reagan for President in '80 Project.

I know that U.S. Senator Jack Schmitt has already acknowledged your contribution, but I wanted to take this opportunity to personally thank you for your generosity.

After working eight years with Governor Reagan as Lieutenant Governor in California, I believe he is America's finest candidate for President of the United States.

I hope we can count on your continued support so that we will be able to ensure the election of Ronald Reagan in November.

If you have any questions or I can be of any assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call (703) 683-5221.

Sincerely,

John Harmer
Co-Chairman

P.S. Enclosed is a copy of the ad that appeared in the Wall Street Journal on Monday, September 15. If you would like to see this ad run in your local newspaper please make a contribution in the enclosed envelope.

8304042519

October 3, 1980

Garrey Carruthers and Bill Lutz have indicated to me you may be interested in Americans for Change, a National Independent Committee, whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

I hope you are willing to participate in the general election by working and contributing to Reagan for President in '80. I hope you will use the card and envelope enclosed to make a commitment of support today.

If we can answer any questions or be of assistance to you, please feel free to call 703/683-5221.

Yours very truly,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator
New Mexico

Enclosures

8304042252C

901154

MEMO TO: Jeff Pinkle

FROM: Brenda Jones

RE: Tape Mailing

Enclosed please find the final copy for the tape mailing. The inserts will follow this evening.

Please send this to all the names that are circled. You may be able to pull these from your tape instead of re-keypunching all the names. There are about 250 names. The list dated October 7, 1980 are additional names which you probably do not have on file yet.

On the letter, I do want it to read:

"Dear ~~National Steering Committee Member~~: Friend in Democracy "

8304042252 1

902256

FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT COMPLIANCE
BY INDEPENDENT, UNENDORSED OR NON-AUTHORIZED SUPPORTERS

Gentlemen:

We are interested in purchasing broadcast time over KHOW AM/FM, Denver (Station Call Letters) facilities. In that regard please be advised that the undersigned is the chairman of the Americans for Change (Name of Organization), and in that regard I hereby certify has follows:

The above-named organization is purchasing advertising time as an "independent expenditure" under the terms of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Our expenditures are not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in connection with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or any agent or authorized committee of any candidate. Neither the candidate whose election is advocated nor his authorized committee provided us with information about the candidate's plans, projects or needs with a view toward our expending any monies on the candidates behalf.

We understand that this letter in no way obligates you to furnish any broadcast facilities.

8304042252

_____
Signature

Americans for Change
Name of Organization

_____
Date

901479

National Conservative
Political Action Committee

1500 wilson blvd. suite 513 arlington, va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

September 25, 1980

Mr. Craig Bulkeley
708 Hamvasy
Tyler, TX 75701

Dear Craig:

I think the Carter puzzle is very clever, and would be an excellent gimmick either as a premium to contributions or something distributed as an media gimmick.

Unfortunately, it is something we simply can't budget for. I would encourage you to contact any or all of the following organizations which have Reagan independent expenditure programs:

Mr. Ralph Galliano
Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Blvd., suite 1401
Arlington, VA 22209
(703) 524-4400

Mr. Brad O'Leary
Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St.
Alexandria, VA 22314
(703) 683-5221

Mr. Don Fierce
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Suite 415
1225 19th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 785-3188

Mr. Carter Wrenn
The Congressional Club
3825 Barrett Drive #300
Box 18848
Raleigh, NC 27619
(919) 782-5700

Once again, thank you for your interest in the campaign. It is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John T. (Terry) Dolan
Chairman NCPAC

JTD:nkm

cc: Mr. Don Fierce
Mr. Ralph Galliano
Mr. Brad O'Leary
Mr. Carter Wrenn

902601

83042252 3

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

December 8, 1980

Senator-Elect Robert Kasten
Kasten for U.S. Senate
8665 N. Port Washington Rd.
Milwaukee, WI 53217

Dear Senator Kasten

I am pleased to enclose a contribution of $250 toward the retirement of your campaign debt.

As you may know, our fundraising activity was delayed by a law suit filed against us by Common Cause and the FEC which we won in Federal court in late August.

Most of our efforts during the election were concentrated on the raising of one million dollars for the election of Ronald Reagan. Now that the election is over, we are looking toward assisting in the retirement of Republican campaign debts.

Sincerely Yours,

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary
National Vice Chairman

BO'L/kfp

8304225247

901952

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

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U.S. Senator, New Mexico

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Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

December 5, 1980

Senator-Elect Steve Symms
Symms for Senate
Box 471
Boise, ID 83701

Dear Senator Symms,

I am pleased to enclose a contribution of $250 toward the retirement of your campaign debt.

As you may know, our fund-raising activity was delayed by a law suit filed against us by Common Cause and the FEC which we won in Federal court in late August.

Most of our efforts during the election were concentrated on the raising of one million dollars for the election of Ronald Reagan. Now that the election is over, we are looking toward assisting in the retirement of Republican campaign debts.

Sincerely Yours,

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary
National Vice Chairman

Enclosure
BO'L/kfp

901953

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Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

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U.S. Senator, New Mexico

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Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

December 5, 1980

Senator-Elect Warren Rudman
Warren Rudman for U.S. Senate
Box 2016
Concord, NH 03301

Dear Senator Rudman,

I am pleased to enclose a contribution of $250 toward the retirement of your campaign debt.

As you may know, our fundraising activity was delayed by a law suit filed against us by Common Cause and the FEC which we won in Federal court in late August.

Most of our efforts during the election were concentrated on the raising of one million dollars for the election of Ronald Reagan. Now that the election is over, we are looking toward assisting in the retirement of Republican campaign debts.

Sincerely Yours,

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary
National Vice Chairman

Enclosure
BO'L/kfp

901954

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

30422526

Americans for Change
Sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

December 5, 1980

Senator-Elect Jeremiah Denton
Denton for Senate
3443 Armour Dr.
Box 1980
Mobile, AL 36601

Dear Senator Denton,

I am pleased to enclose a contribution of $250 toward the retirement of your campaign debt.

As you may know, our fundraising activity was delayed by a law suit filed agianst us by Common Cause and the FEC which we won in Federal court in late August.

Most of our efforts during the election were concentrated on the raising of one million dollars for the election of Ronald Reagan. Now that the election is over, we are looking toward assisting in the retirement of Republican campaign debts.

Sincerely Yours,

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary
National Vice Chairman

Enclosure
BO'L/kfp

901955

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Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

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U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

December 5, 1980

Senator-Elect John East
John East for Senate Committee
Box 26493
Raleigh, NC 27611

Dear Senator East,

I am pleased to enclose a contribution of $250 toward the retirement of your campaign debt.

As you may know, our fundraising activity was delayed by a law suit filed against us by Common Cause and the FEC which we won in Federal court in late August.

Most of our efforts during the election were concentrated on the raising of one million dollars for the election of Ronald Reagan. Now that the election is over, we are looking toward assisting in the retirement of Republican campaign debts.

Sincerely Yours,

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary
National Vice Chairman

Enclosure
BO'L/kfp

901956

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

8304042523

BRUCE MCBREARTY

Hello, (Name) _____ my name is _____.

U.S. Senator Jack Schmitt has asked me to call you to bring you the good news that the recent lawsuit against independent expenditures for Reagan has been settled in Governor Reagan's favor. This crucial decision means that you can now make a contribution directly to Americans for Change to buy television, radio, and newspaper advertising for the Reagan Presidential Campaign.

As you might know, financial contributions cannot be made directly to the Reagan campaign since it is federally funded. Therefore, you can help Governor Reagan with additional radio, television, and newspaper coverage by contributing to our organization, which has been created for the sole pirpose of helping Ronald Reagan win the election in November.

U.S. Senators Jack Schmitt of New Mexico, and Senator Dave Durenberger of Minnesota are co-chairing this important committee, and any contribution you could make would be spent within 72 hours for television, radio or newspaper advertising for Reagan.

The polls are dangerously close... Please help us fight President Carter's advantage in the White House - Help us get Ronald Reagan on television and radio around the country - the time to act is <u>now</u> so that the crucial media space can be reserved.

The Senators thank you very much for your support and committment to Reagan's Presidency.

902463

3304042252

(Paid Political Advertisement) (Paid Political Advertisement) (Paid Political Advertisement)

8304042590

Inevitable

It used to be thought that progress was inevitable...
But now we know otherwise.



We know that our standard of living can go down. America's world position can deteriorate. That scarcity can seem the only commodity with a future. Now, some say decline is inevitable –

It isn't.

Under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, America can recapture its destiny, can be productive again, can be respected again, and we can start living like Americans again.

That's the Reagan commitment. If he wins. But a Reagan presidency is not inevitable. Not unless you help make it happen. Find out how ... write to:

"Reagan for President '80"
PROJECT
Americans for Change
U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
(703) 683-5221

Americans for Change

Paid for by Americans for Change
Chairman, U.S. Senator Jack Schmitt, New Mexico
Treasurer, U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska
Not authorized by any candidate.

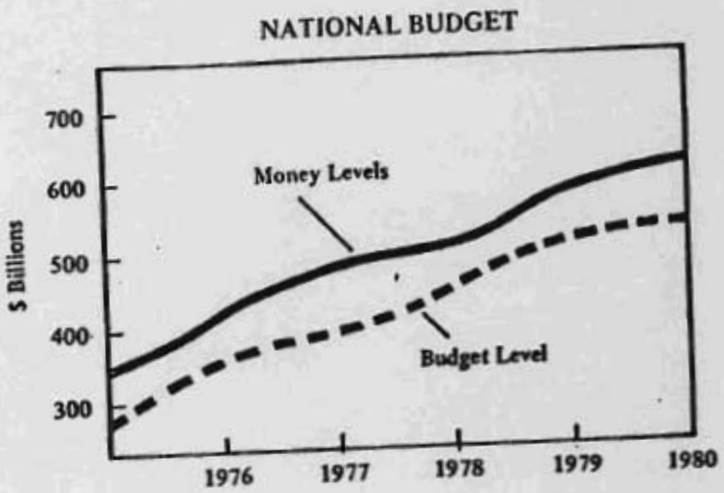
TELL ME HOW — THANKS - Jesse M. Smith

JESSE M. SMITH
6709 SUNFLOWER COURT
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
46224

901240

Jesse M. Smith
6709 Sunflower Ct.
Indianapolis, IN 46224

We cannot afford another four years of Jimmy Carter.



Ronald Reagan wants to get America out of the RED.

If elected President, he promises to:

- "Reduce federal spending and limit spending to a percentage of the gross national product."
- "Seek ways to reduce the size of the Executive Branch and halt the increase in the number of federal employees."
- "Curb reckless lending practices under which federal credit programs have soared soared out of control."
- "Oppose financing of congressional election campaigns with federal funds."

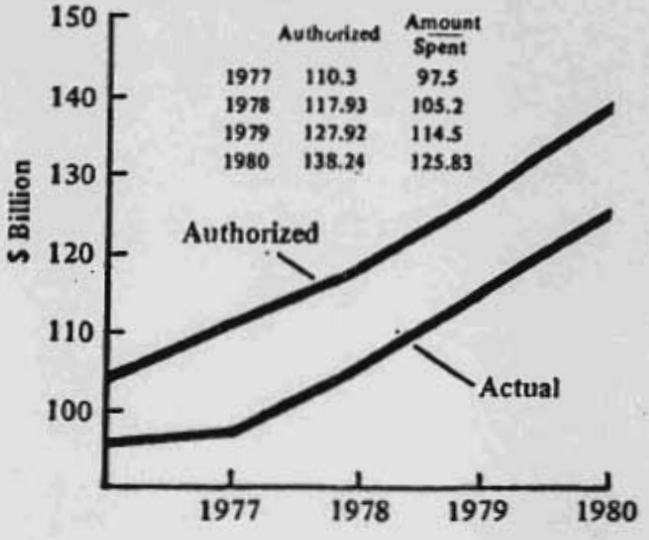
Americans for Change

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

902676

Ronald Reagan is tired of America being pushed around.

National Defense Budget



	Authorized	Amount Spent
1977	110.3	97.5
1978	117.93	105.2
1979	127.92	114.5
1980	138.24	125.83

"American defense planning and appropriations have entered the most crucial period since 1950."

"The amount spent on National defense by the Carter administration after inflation, is the lowest in 15 years."

"...more money has been authorized by Congress to improve our National defense BUT President Carter has not utilized it."

Ronald Reagan says if elected he will set new National Defense Goals:

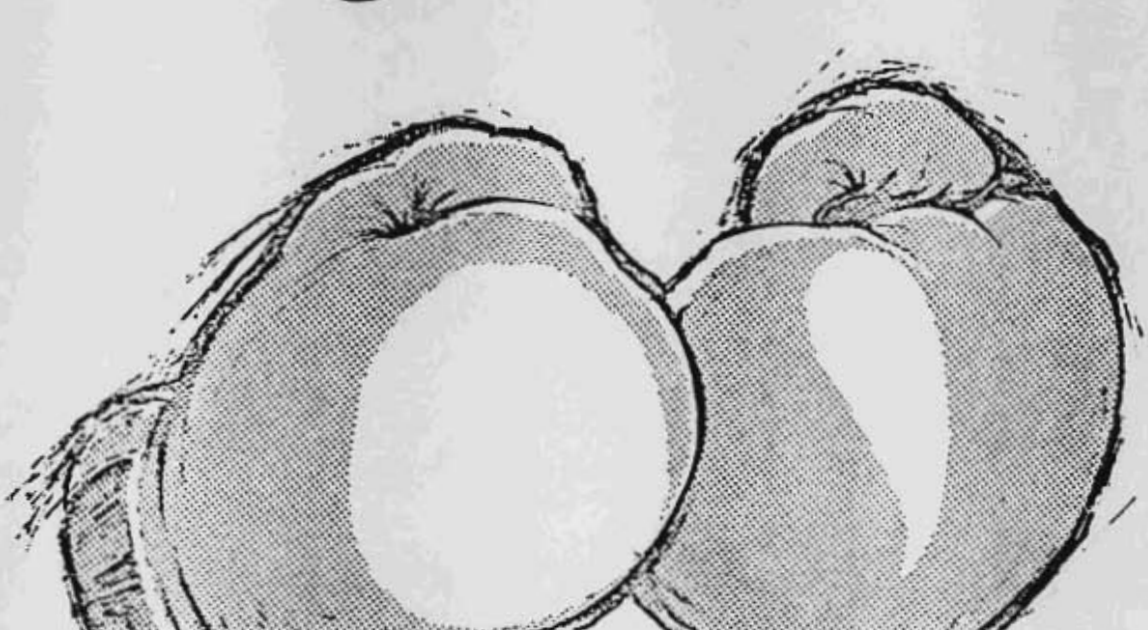
- To achieve overall military and technological superiority over the Soviet Union.
- Strengthen conventional military forces and expand airlift capability.
- Increase military pay and benefits to halt erosion of trained power.

902679

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

8304042253 2

Fight Back



Join Americans for Change in helping to send Ronald Reagan to Washington as our President, so Americans can once again be proud of their flag and country.

The federal law prohibits you from contributing directly to the Reagan general election campaign and limits the amount of funds that he can spend on voter educational material.

Become a Reagan independent voter chairman and accept the responsibility of identifying 10 Reagan voters in your community and urging them to vote on Nov. 4.

Each person who becomes a member of Americans for Change and sends $19.80 will receive a Reagan Independent Voter Kit which will contain the educational materials listed on the coupon below.

902680

REAGAN INDEPENDENT VOTER KIT
contains:
- 1 voter identification and turnout instruction kit
- 2 Reagan window signs
- 10 Reagan election grams
- 20 Reagan buttons
- 10 Reagan bumper stickers
- 50 Issue brochures on 5 issues: Inflation, National defense, Tax reduction, Reduction of government regulation, and Balanced Budget.

Yes, I would like to receive my own Reagan Independent Voter Kit. Enclosed is my check payable to Americans for Change in the amount of $19.80.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Occupation_____
Name of Employer_____
Phone (home)_____ (office)_____

Send to: REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

Americans for Change

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

8304042253

America needs someone who can make tough foreign policy decisions for the 80's.

That someone is Ronald Reagan.

Here are a few of his stands:

Soviet Union

"Reject the fundamentally flawed Salt II Treaty negotiated by the Carter Administration" and "Pursue hard bargaining for equitable and enforceable arms agreement, but accept no agreements that do not fundamentally enhance our national security."

"Support a policy of peace through strength and declare the premier challenge to check the Soviet Union's global ambitions."

China

"Continue building a working relationship with China, but strengthen relations with Taiwan."

Middle East

"Seek a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

"Reject the involvement of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) in a peace settlement."

South East Asia

Refuse to expand relations with Vietnam so long as it continues its brutal expansion and genocide.

Maintain U.S. troops in Korea.

Restore a strong American role in Asia and the Pacific.

If you would like to find out more about Ronald Reagan and Foreign Policy write to:

Americans for Change

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80
Americans for Change
281 N. Lee Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

902681

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

8304042253

8304042255 35

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80

218 North Lee Street – Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 683-5221

902398

8304042536

If you were unable to be with Jack Schmitt and me last Wednesday to hear about AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, we want to let you know that the purpose of this organization is raising money for Texas radio spots and newspaper ads in Texas weeklies.

Unfortunately, because of our idiotic FEDERAL ELECTION laws none of the money raised at the big $1,000.00-a-plate dinner in Houston last month can be used for media.

This has made it necessary for funds to be raised by an independent committee to provide the money necessary for radio and newspaper ads.

Won't you please help by sending your check made payable to: "REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80" at: 515 Houston Avenue
Houston, Texas 77007

One of the best pollsters in the country just told me that the race is "nip and tuck" in Texas, so every effort must be made for Reagan/ Bush to win on November 4th.

We desperately need your help.

Sincerely,

Al Fay

901651

NECE
MAILED IN
UNITED STATE

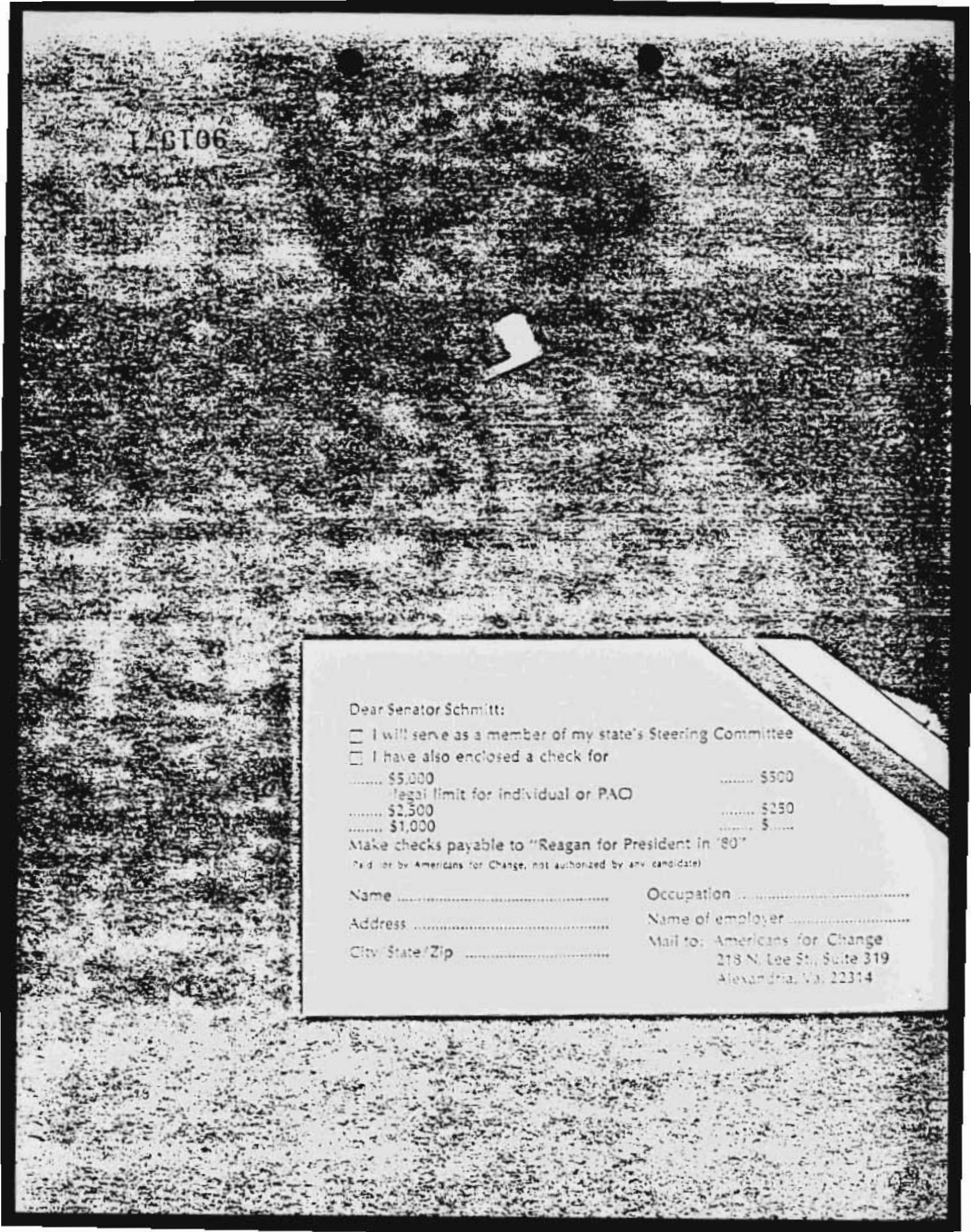
BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 4923 ALEXANDRIA, VA

Postage will be paid by addressee

"Reagan for President 80"

218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314


I-GT06
Dear Senator Schmitt:
I will serve as a member of my state's Steering Committee
I have also enclosed a check for
..... $5,000
(legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250
..... $.....
Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"
Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)
Name .....
Address .....
City/State/Zip .....
Occupation .....
Name of employer .....
Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

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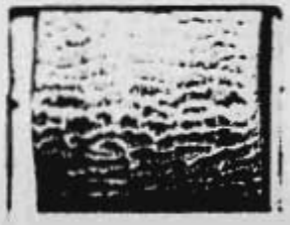


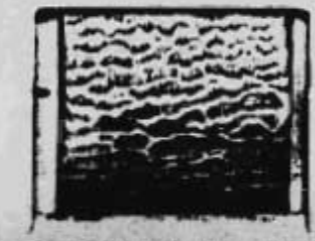
AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80

To:

901262





CUT GOVERNMENT WASTE; CONTROL INFLATION; BALANCE BUDGET; CLEAN UP WELFARE PROGRAMS; PROTECT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

REAGANGRAM

REAL FOREIGN POLICY LEADERSHIP; STRONG DEFENSE PROGRAM; PEACE THRU STRENGTH; [redacted]

(2-016271E058)PD 02/29/76 1107
1107A EST

To

I HOPE YOU SHARE MY CONCERN IN THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR FOR THE DANGER CONFRONTING YOUR FAMILY AND OUR COUNTRY. I BELIEVE WE MUST FIGHT TO RALLY OUR FELLOW AMERICANS AGAINST JIMMY CARTERS POLICIES THAT ARE DESTROYING AMERICAS ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND MORAL VALUES.

I AM COMMITTED TO THIS FIGHT AND WILL DO EVERYTHING I CAN DO TO ELECT RONALD REAGAN AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. MY SUCCESS AND GOVERNOR REAGANS ELECTION WILL DEPEND GREATLY ON YOUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP. I CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL WITH YOUR UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT.

I NEED YOUR ASSISTANCE IN DISTRIBUTING BROCHURES, BUMPER STRIPS AND BUTTONS TO YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO SERVE AS A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT CHAIRMAN IN _____.

IF YOU AGREE WE WILL SEND YOU A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT KIT BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 15 AND OCTOBER 15. YOUR ONLY RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE TO DISTRIBUTE THIS INFORMATION TO POTENTIAL REAGAN VOTERS.

I KNOW YOU WILL WANT TO HELP ME IN THIS ENDEAVOR BECAUSE YOU WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL PUT AMERICANS BACK TO WORK THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO HAS THE LEADERSHIP ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS IN RESTORING A HEALTHY ECONOMY FOR OUR NATION. RONALD REAGAN CAN DO THIS AS HE ALSO SERVES AS YOUR WATCHDOG AGAINST NONESSENTIAL SPENDING BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION PUNITIVE TO THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A BALANCED BUDGET, FAIR PROFIT FOR FARMERS, A REDUCTION IN FEDERAL INCOME TAXES AND WHO HAS PLEDGED AND SHOWN HIS ABILITY TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT THAT HARASSES AND BURDENS SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND INTERFERES IN OUR DAILY LIVES.

902223

B 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 5 4 0

14

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE CAPABLE OF DETERRING SOVIET MILITARY AND POLITICAL AGGRESSION.

I BELIEVE THAT WE ALL WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL SHOW STRONG LEADERSHIP, STRENGTH OF CHARACTER AND A MAN THAT WE CAN BE PROUD TO SERVE US AS HE SOLVES THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING AMERICA.

YOU MUST BECOME INVOLVED IF REAGAN IS TO BECOME PRESIDENT DUE TO THE STRONG OPPOSITION OF LIBERAL SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS WORKING FOR JIMMY CARTER.

I HOPE YOU WILL HELP BY SENDING A CONTRIBUTION FOR TV, RADIO, NEWSPAPER ADS AND PRECINCT KITS. WE NEED BOTH YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND YOUR TIME TO SERVE AS AN INDEPENDENT REAGAN PRECINCT CHAIRMAN.

MAY I COUNT ON YOU FOR A COMMITMENT TO GOVERNOR REAGAN AND THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY . . .

HARRISON "JACK" SCHMITT
U.S. SENATOR NEW MEXICO

8304042254 1

902224

15

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

HON. HARRISON SCHMITT, Chairman
HON. CARL CURTIS, Treasurer

An Independent Committee not
authorized by any candidate
or official campaign committee.

FROM: Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Occupation_____ Company Name_____

☐ Check if self-employed ☐ Check if federal employee

☐ Check if sole proprietorship

Dear Senator Schmitt:

☐ I will agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Precinct Chairman for _____.

☐ I cannot serve but will make a contribution.

Enclosed is: ☐ $25 ☐ $250 ☐ $2,500

☐ $50 ☐ $500 ☐ $5,000

☐ $100 ☐ $1,000 ☐ $_____

(make checks payable to Reagan for President in '80)

Please use my contribution for:

☐ Reagan Independent Precinct Kits. Each kit costs $25 and includes buttons, bumper strips, brochures and yard signs.

☐ Radio spots and newspaper ads in my community on

☐ energy ☐ the economy ☐ defense
☐ inflation ☐ tax deduction ☐ Government waste
☐ Government overregulation of family or community
☐ Government overregulation of business & industry

☐ TV ads of endorsements of Ronald Reagan by prominent Democrats and officials in your community.

I also believe your committee should consider spending funds for

_____

_____

_____.

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

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★REAGAN ELECTIONGRAM★

I think you understand the risk you and your family and our country take if you do not vote on Tuesday; four more years of Carter. The Presidential election in your state may be decided by one vote. Yours may be the vote that counts! You must vote as early as possible on Tuesday, November 4, 1980, to insure Ronald Reagan becoming our next President.

Thank you,

Harrison Schmitt

U. S. Senator
Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
Chairman, American for Change

Reagan Independent Voter Chairman

002218

From: _____

_____

_____

Place
10¢
Stamp
Here

TO:

982243

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

Dear Reagan Independent Voter Chairman:

During the thirty-one days in October I hope you will agree to commit Ronald Reagan five hours of your time.

That's all it will take to identify 10 Reagan voters and remind them of why they should vote on election day.

I am going to ask you to participate in the following simple steps to accomplish this task.

1. Identify 25 likely prospects to find your 10 Reagan voters. (Form 1)
2. Ask these people as you see them about their choice in November.
3. Ask those that are for Reagan for a committment to vote on November 4 and give them a button and a bumper strip.
4. Those that are undecided, tell them why you're for Reagan and give them a brochure on Reagan's stand on the issues.
5. Send them an election gram Saturday morning November 1 jointly signed by myself and you. (Warning!! In order to insure delivery on Monday it must be mailed by 11 a.m. from a local post office!!)
6. Call them on Monday evening to be sure they received the post card and that they intend to vote Tuesday morning.
7. Call each one Tuesday from 4 p.m. to 5 p.m. to thank them for Voting. If they have not voted remind them once again of your committment to Governor Reagan to be responsible for 10 votes and how impossible it will be for you to keep that pledge unless they vote on the way home from work or leave their home to vote right away.
8. Mail to me the results of your efforts. (Form 2) I intend to personally deliver to President Reagan your report bound together in a leather binder with the reports of every Voter Chairman. This will be a keepsake he can treasure while he serves as your President. I will give him this binder on Inauguration Day.

I can't tell you how much we are counting on you to be successful in this task. Winning this election may be the result of the efforts of Reagan Independent Voter Chairmen such as yourself. I want to tell you how much I appreciate your committment of support.

Sincerely yours,

Harrison Schmitt

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator
New Mexico

902244

P. S. I have enclosed additional Reagan Independent Voter Chairman forms. I hope you will ask each individual who agrees to support Reagan if they would be interested in serving as a Reagan Voter Chairman. If so give them a form so they can receive a kit similar to yours.

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE

8304042545

REAGAN VOTER PROSPECT FORM

Form

List 25 people likely to vote for Reagan. They might be your doctor, your dentist, neighbors, co-workers, fellow worshipers, members of your civic club, relatives, salespeople, tradesmen, friends. Check your Christmas card list for all possibilities.

Name	Responds For Reagan	Responds For Carter	Undecided	Will Commit Vote
1.				
2.				
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902245

REAGAN INDEPENDENT VOTER CHAIRMAN ACTION REPORT

Form 2

TO: U. S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt

FROM: Reagan Independent Volunteer Chairman

SUBJECT: The following is the results of my efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan

Reagan Voter (Please print)	Made Commitment	Mailed Election Gram	Called Main	Called Them Reminded to Vote Again	Called Them Confirmed Voted	Did not Vote
1. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
2. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
3. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
4. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
5. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
6. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
7. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
8. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
9. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						
10. Name Address City, State, Zip Phone: Home ____ Work ____						

902246

(On Wednesday, November 5, 1980 mail your completed report in the enclosed envelope. Please use a stamp if possible.)

Americans for Change

sponsors of REACAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 15, 1980

John Snyder
56 K. St. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20045

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 5 1 6

Dear John:

We hope you share our concern in this presidential election year for the danger confronting your family and our country. We believe we must rally our fellow Americans to fight against Jimmy Carter's policies that are destroying America's economic, social, and moral values.

We are committed to this fight and will do everything to elect Ronald Reagan as President of the United States. The success of Governor Reagan's election will depend greatly on your willingness to help. And he can only be successful with your unqualified support.

I know you will want to help us in this endeavor because you want a President who will put Americans back to work through increased productivity by the private sector, and who has the leadership ability to work with the Congress in restoring a healthy economy for our nation.
know you want a President who will continue to fight for a balanced budget, for fair profit for farmers, and a strong defense posture.

The federal law clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as we are supporting can spend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

Can you help by sending a contribution to buy radio, TV time and newspaper space? Governor Reagan and America need your help. Please respond.

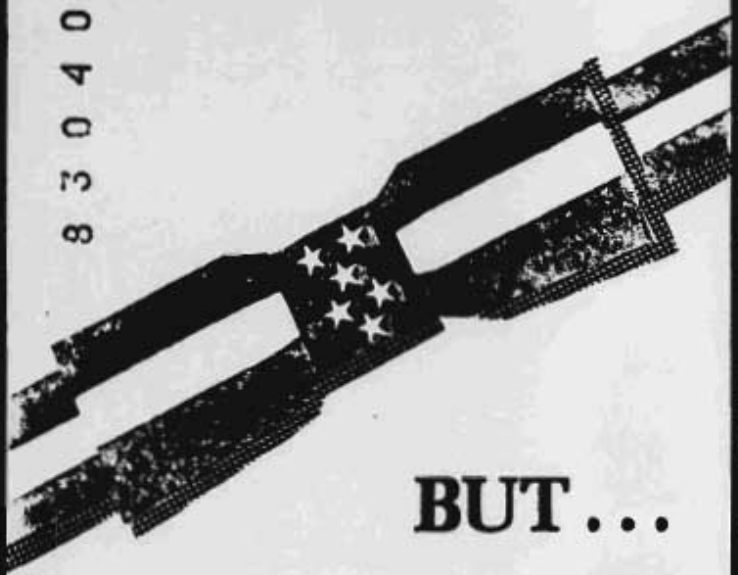
Sincerely,

902448

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Federal Law Prohibits Ronald Reagan

From taking your personal contribution



BUT...

830402 5

902399

THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION GUARANTEES YOUR RIGHT TO JOIN WITH OTHER AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

We are an independent political committee designed to increase citizen participation and awareness in the 1980 elections. One hundred people on June 5, 1980, formed AMERICANS FOR CHANGE to provide an avenue of expression for concerned citizens. This committee will enable them to participate more fully in the '80 elections, with special emphasis on the Presidential election.

"Reagan for President in '80" is being sponsored by Americans For Change because federal campaign financing laws prohibit national candidates from accepting personal contributions since they receive federal funds.

We are looking for [illegible] interests and feelings and who [illegible] participate in an organization which will be [illegible] Presidency who can make the necessary [illegible] Reagan.



Republican Presidential Candidate Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan and his campaign manager, John Harmer, Americans For Change.



RONALD REAGAN WILL RECEIVE ONLY $29 MILLION FROM THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION.

Because of the new federal laws, there are only a limited number of ways you can participate in the Presidential Election this year. If you wish to participate more fully in this election one legal and effective way is through an independent project, such as "Reagan for President in '80," one of several projects planned by Americans for Change.

If you want to see a change in this nation in 1980 it's going to take much more than the $29 million that the federal government is allowing Ronald Reagan. By comparison, in 1972 George McGovern spent $43 million on his Presidential bid. With inflation and the reduced value of the dollar, in 1980 dollars this would mean McGovern spent nearly $80 million compared to the $29 million Reagan will be allowed to spend.

Considering that Americans spend more than $575 million, or $2.67 for every man, woman, and child in the country on shampoo, $29 million isn't much to elect a man who will be leading this nation for the next four years.

Sen. Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman, Americans For Change.





Harrison (Jack) Schmitt standing with flag on the moon.

If you are saying, "Well that's for a whole year and the actual election is only one day," look at this. Americans sparkled, sizzled, flared and boomed with $240 million in fireworks this year, virtually all of it on or about July 4, 1980.

902400

"THE COURT HELD THAT TRULY INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES NOT COORDINATED WITH OFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD NOT BE FORBIDDEN...."
—*The New York Times*
Sunday, June 15, 1980

"What they are planning are called 'independent expenditures,' and they're perfectly legal. The law says a presidential candidate who accepts federal funds for his campaign can't accept or spend any other money. But the Supreme Court ruled in 1976 that individuals or committees can't be restrained from spending money independently—and independence is the key to it—to support or oppose any candidate for the presidency, the Senate or the House.

"Democrats fume that the pro-Reagan groups are using a loophole in the law to get around the spending limit on a federally financed presidential campaign. 'They're asking for a lot of trouble,' says John White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee." —*The Wall Street Journal*
Thurs. June 19, 1980

★ ★ ★

"One of the most ambitious groups is the newly formed 'Americans for Change.' They have filed as a multi-candidate political action committee, but primarily they will be concentrating on Reagan's election.... They have a wide spectrum of Republicans on their advisory board, but all of them have scrupulously avoided ties to the Reagan campaign.

"The group is welcoming contributions up to $5,000, no matter what an individual has already contributed to candidates, within the yearly $25,000 limit on political contributions.

"Because of this independent political activity has been on behalf of Reagan and not on behalf of Carter, many liberals are suggesting that the Reagan camp is deviously exploiting some 'loophole' in the federal election law.

"Yet these kinds of efforts do not spring from some legal flaw in the campaign financing act, but from the Supreme Court's *Buckley* v. *Valeo* decision which held that such independent campaigns were a guaranteed, constitutional right grounded in the 1st Amendment.

"There is also the hint from the media that Reagan, as a result of the independent operations, could end up with twice as much money as President Carter, thus putting him at a clear disadvantage. But this line of argument obviously overlooks the fact that the President, with almost unlimited access to the media, many billions of federal dollars he can ladle out to potential voters and an army of federal workers at his command, will have the greater advantage by far.

"And with the big labor unions also working their independent efforts on behalf of the President, the Carter camp will still be playing Goliath to the Reagan camp's David."
—*Human Events*
June 21, 1980

"The legal limits don't apply to committees that have no direct contact with the campaign organization, but spend on behalf of the candidate. Thus, several committees intend to avoid the spending ceiling on Reagan's behalf.

"Under the current federal election law, the Republican and Democratic nominees each get $29.4 million for the general election campaign, and they are barred from raising or spending any other funds." —*The Christian Science Monitor*
Monday, June 9, 1980

★ ★ ★

"A group of prominent Republicans yesterday said they will take advantage of a provision of the law and pump $20 million to $30 million into efforts to elect Ronald Reagan president.

They may do so under the provision allowing committees unlimited spending on behalf of a candidate as long as the committees have no direct contact with his campaign."
—*San Francisco Examiner*
Friday, June 6, 1980

★ ★ ★

"Under the election law, the major party presidential candidates each get $29.4 million in federal funds to finance their general election campaign, and are limited to spending no more than that amount. But as long as a person or group acts independently of a candidate, he or it can spend as much as desired to promote a candidacy. The Supreme Court in 1976 ruled unconstitutional a provision in the law that would have limited independent contributions.

"Fred Eiland, a spokesman for the Federal Election Commission, which oversees federal campaigns, confirmed that the law would not require the members of the group refrain from social contacts with Reagan or his aides."
—*The Minneapolis Tribune*
Friday, June 6, 1980

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"A group of influential Republicans yesterday launched a drive to raise from $20 million to $30 million to promote Ronald Reagan's presidential candidacy by taking advantage of a loophole in federal election law.

"If successful, the group, headed by Sen. Harrison Schmitt (R.-N.M.), would be in position to make 'independent expenditures' almost equal to the $29.4 million in federal campaign funds major party nominees receive and are limited to spending under law.

"The group, called Americans for Change, could do so by exploiting a provision in federal election law allowing unlimited spending by committees as long as they have no contact with the campaign." —*The Washington Post*
June 6, 1980

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HOW CAN I PARTICIPATE IN THE COMMITTEE?

As you probably know, the chief financer of Presidential general elections is the federal government, through the use of your tax dollars. But, for those who like to participate in our electoral system with financial support, the prohibition on direct contributions to Presidential candidates can be frustrating.

By joining with us you can contribute up to $5,000 as an individual and up to $5,000 as a Political Action Committee. This amount is over and above any contributions which you may have already given as long as you do not exceed the $25,000 limit on total contributions to all federal candidates and political committees that support them in a calendar year.

HOW WILL I KNOW HOW MY MONEY IS USED?

Your thoughts and suggestions are actively sought and needed. The decisions on expenditures must be controlled by the Committee. But, you will be kept completely up to date on the activities and expenditures of Americans For Change and "Reagan for President in '80" project through regular written communications.

We need to make a change in Washington in 1980—and that change is embodied in one man, Ronald Reagan. Not only will we have a change in the Presidency, but there will be a new cabinet with competency that can be respected.

BUT UNDER WHAT AUTHORITY CAN I PARTICIPATE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL GENERAL ELECTION?

"The term 'independent expenditure' means an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion, of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate."

—Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as amended.

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PLEASE JOIN US TO MAKE A CHANGE FOR A BETTER AMERICA

Make check payable to Americans for Change.
281 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Paid for by Americans For Change, not authorized by any candidate.

902402

Dear Friend,

I want to personally invite you to help elect Ronald Reagan the next President of the United States.

By joining with thousands of your interested and concerned citizens you can participate in the newly founded "Reagan for President in '80," project, established to raise over $20 million on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

The funds collected from those who share Ronald Reagan's dream for a better and more prosperous America will be used for a media drive to inform the voters of the choice they have this year—in this critical Presidential election.

Much of what we raise will be spent for independent expenditures in accordance with federal election laws.

Without your help and commitment we will be unable to achieve our goal of informing the public about Ronald Reagan. The need is great and is immediate.

Please join us. Become another American who will stand up and be counted for the change we all know is possible under responsible leadership, such as Ronald Reagan will provide.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt (R.-N.M.)
Chairman

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	Sept 29	Oct 6	Oct 13	Oct 20	Oct 27	Nov 3	Nov 10	Left	1981
GAL								25,000	25,000
ESS			3,000			2,000		3,000	3,000
EDIA	5,500	2,500	2,500	3,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	3,500	
ENT		3,500				1,000		1,000	1,000
C & XEROX		1,000				2,000		1,000	1,000
ONES		1,500		3,500		1,500		4,000	4,000
RAVEL	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	3,000	3,000
CCOUNTING		4,500				4,500		15,000	15,000
OLUNTEER KITS		5,000		5,000	2,500	5,500		15,000	
IRECT MAIL	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	25,000	10,000
RINTING		1,000		1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	3,000	
VENTS	2,500	2,500	2,500	4,000	4,000	2,500	2,500	2,500	
ISC	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	
TAFF		6,000		6,000		6,000		2,000	
UFF								133,000	
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						47,000		236,500	



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4 1800
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8000
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11600

1800
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9000
3600
45000

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INDEPENDENT VOTERS
OF AMERICA
P.O. Box 11628
Pioneer Station
Salt Lake City, Utah 84147

Additional copies of this brochure can be purchased from the above address for orders of 100 or more at a cost of $10.00 per hundred.

SHOULD RONALD
REAGAN BE OUR
NEXT PRESIDENT?

A CANDID
interview
with a man
who worked
closely with
RONALD
REAGAN
for eight years.

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When Ronald Reagan began serving as Governor of California, John Harmer also began serving as a California State Senator. Since California's Senate is a full time occupation, with each senator representing over half a million people, Harmer had frequent contact with Governor Reagan.

In 1970 Harmer was elected the Chairman of the Senate Republican caucus. This made Harmer the Governor's liason with the Senate and Reagan's chief spokesman on the Senate floor. With these assignments, Harmer worked with Governor Reagan on a daily basis for the next four years.

In 1974 Reagan appointed Harmer the Lieutenant Governor of California. The Harmer Family now resides in Bountiful, Utah and John Harmer has his business offices in Salt Lake City.

Printed by:

INDEPENDENT VOTERS OF AMERICA

P.O. Box 11628
Pioneer Station
Salt Lake City, Utah 84147

-WALT PLUMB, *TREASURER*

A candid interview with a man who worked closely with Governor Ronald Reagan for eight years.

QUESTION:

After eight years of working with Ronald Reagan, what are your personal impressions about him as a candidate for President?

Harmer:

I believe he has three exceptional qualifications which make him far and away our finest candidate for President. These are his capacity as a *leader*, his *integrity*, and his *intellect*.

LEADERSHIP! I have been with him on many occasions when legislators, his own staff, or others would predict disastrous consequences if he stuck with his guns and proceeded with the programs he was advocating.

Consistently, when others were in doubt, the Governor stayed by his position. Every time they sought to dissuade the Governor the prophets of doom were proven to be wrong. In effect, he outnumbered the whole legislature—often going directly to the public when the legislature disagreed with him. He could mobilize a tremendous base of public support for what he wanted.

The legislature usually had no choice but to support him. He was an extremely effective leader—both because he had the strength of his convictions, and the capacity to persuade others to follow him.

INTEGRITY! I have been equally impressed with his absolute honesty. In all the time that I knew him and in all the decisions that I watched him make, I never once saw him tarnish his integrity with compromise.

As chief executive of the state, he made official appointments on the basis of merit only—on the basis of the service the individual could render, and not as a matter of political expedience.

He signed legislation on the basis of its merit, as well. He vetoed bills of my own when I was the Republican Leader of the Senate because he disagreed with them. Though he needed me desperately to work for him in the Senate, he refused to be compromised in his approach to legislation, whether I was its author or anyone else.

INTELLECT! I also found him a man of great intellect. I sat with him many times when he heard ex-

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going to destroy higher education in California; the University of California would no longer be the number one institution of its kind in the world. But, as the debate went on, it became more and more evident that Reagan was right: tuition-free education in California was subsidizing the rich, not the poor, because it was the rich whose children were going to these institutions.

Much the same thing happened with his proposal on welfare reform. The legislature was adamently opposed to enacting any Reagan proposals. So the Governor took his case to the people, made the point clearly and effectively that welfare in California was a fraud on taxpayers and recipients alike, and that change had to come. When it did—because of Reagan's leadership—it was astounding to see those public officials who had so bitterly opposed the program demanding some of the credit for implementing it.

In the same way, I believe Governor Reagan's statement on the need to cut taxes, reduce federal expenditures, and to index tax rates addresses itself to a critical problem in a way deliberately calculated to stir up the kind of debate in this country that is needed to determine whether his proposed solution is completely feasible. I am sure Reagan doesn't believe that he has the final answer—but he recognizes the scope and urgency of the problem, and he recognizes that someone has got to mobilize the brains and the resources of this country to solve it. In my view, he has only demonstrated, again, that he is indeed an effective leader.

QUESTION:

Briefly, why do you feel so strongly that Ronald Reagan ought to be the President of the United States?

Harmer:

I believe that the California Reagan took over in 1967, was, embryonically, a mirror of the United States in 1980. It was Ronald Reagan and his leadership which turned a dangerous, near tragic situation around, providing solutions in California to many of the crucial problems that face the entire Country today. He demonstrated beyond question that his brand of leadership, intellect, integrity and commitment could solve those problems. What he did for California, he can do for the Nation. When he balanced the State budget, people said it couldn't be done. When he took on an antagonistic Legislature dominated by an opposition party, and had them do his bidding, people had said it couldn't be done. When he took a tax structure that was totally out of kilter, and remodeled it so that it enhanced the economy instead of stifling it, people had said it couldn't be done.

If there is any man prepared by experience—and with a record of achievement—to be President of the United States and deal effectively with our problems, that man can only be Ronald Reagan!!!



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

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

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planations of complex issues for the first time. Not only did he grasp them easily, but he was able to effectively communicate to others the information that had been given to him. He could also apply that information to problem situations, quickly and effectively evaluate its impact on the State. He has a very facile mind—an ability to quickly penetrate a problem, grasp it, react to it. That capacity is basic to intelligent, dynamic leadership.

QUESTION:

What would you say were his major accomplishments?

Harmer:

Compare California to New York, and thank Ronald Reagan for the difference. More than anything else, Ronald Reagan stopped the State of California from drifting into the abyss of tragic bankruptcy that engulfed New York. When he came to office, the State was spending a million dollars a day more than it was taking in. It was hiring new employees at the rate of 8,000 people per year.

We had a welfare program that induced would be recipients from all over the country to come to California, and an extremely disproportionate tax structure that was depressing the State's economy.

Under Ronald Reagan, this trend was reversed. Runaway State bureaucracy was curtailed. Our financial house was put in such good order that for the first time in over 30 years California received a triple A bond rating. The Reagan welfare reforms were copied all over the Country, and saved California taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars.

He stopped, then reversed the State's drift toward [illegible] fiscal chaos, raising the State's financial condition from a deficit of nearly three quarters of a billion dollars when he took office to a surplus of nearly half a billion when he left—a total shift to solvency of more than a billion and a quarter dollars, in the same years when other states were going bankrupt. He gave California a [illegible] tax and expenditure tax program and left educational and welfare systems that were soundly [illegible] yet broadly responsive to the needs of the people.

QUESTION:

[illegible] answer to one [illegible] questions that under Reagan's administration, taxes in the state of California went more than doubled?

Harmer:

Much of that increase was simply a shifting of taxes from one source to another. The effective tax burden on the Californian went up less than it did for any major industrial state in the Country. While it is true that the dollar volume of the State budget more than doubled under Reagan, most of this money was collected to relieve local taxpayers of property and other tax burdens. When Governor Reagan came to office, we had an extremely unfair and inequitable tax structure. The result of tax reforms which he instituted was to reduce the disproportionate tax burden on the property owner, lower the business inventory tax which was stifling our economic growth, and made it possible for local governments to have the resources they needed for healthy, essential growth.

QUESTION:

What do you think of the Governor's proposal to cut income taxes by 30% and the indexing of tax rates? Do you believe that can really be done?

Harmer:

I think you see in that proposal a classic example of the Reagan style of leadership. Let me explain my analysis this way:

I can think of situations in California where Reagan was told by editorial writers, fuzzy-minded liberals, and leaders of the Legislature, that absolute chaos would follow if his reform proposals were enacted. Having raised the issues, however, and forcing debate on them, Reagan also forced solutions to the surface. The solutions weren't always precisely what he had originally proposed, but they were workable solutions, often close to what Reagan wanted. And they had been achieved only because he had taken the first, bold controversial step.

Our number one problem in this country today is big government eating us out of house and home. We have unemployment and inflation because government cannot stop spending. Reagan says he feels this process can be reversed, and he has proved in the past that he can implement such a reform.

For instance, when Reagan came into office, the cost of higher education in California was rising rapidly, and the State was finding it increasingly difficult to support tuition-free universities. Reagan then proposed that there should be a tuition charge for those students that could afford to pay. The reaction of the academic community to this proposal was hysterical: Reagan was

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AMERICANS FOR CHANGE 8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 5 6 C

218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Additional copies of this brochure can be purchased from the above address for orders of 100 or more at a cost of $10.00 per hundred.

SHOULD RONALD REAGAN BE OUR NEXT PRESIDENT?

A CANDID interview with a man who worked closely with RONALD REAGAN for eight years.



When Ronald Reagan began serving as Governor of California, John Harmer also began serving as a California State Senator. Since California's Senate is a full time occupation, with each senator representing over half a million people, Harmer had frequent contact with Governor Reagan.

In 1970 Harmer was elected the Chairman of the Senate Republican caucus. This made Harmer the Governor's liason with the Senate and Reagan's chief spokesman on the Senate floor. With these assignments, Harmer worked with Governor Reagan on a daily basis for the next four years.

In 1974 Reagan appointed Harmer the Lieutenant Governor of California. The Harmer Family now resides in Bountiful, Utah and John Harmer has his business offices in Salt Lake City.

Printed by
AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

HON. HARRISON SCHMITT, Chairman
HON. CARL CURTIS, Treasurer

An Independent Committee not authorized by any candidate or official campaign committee.

A candid interview with a man who worked closely with Governor Ronald Reagan for eight years.

901488

QUESTION:

After eight years of working with Ronald Reagan, what are your personal impressions about him as a candidate for President?

Harmer:

I believe he has three exceptional qualifications which make him far and away our finest candidate for President. These are his capacity as a *leader*, his *integrity* and his *intellect*.

LEADERSHIP! I have been with him on many occasions when legislators, his own staff, or others would predict disastrous consequences if he stuck with his guns and proceeded with the programs he was advocating.

Consistently, when others were in doubt, the Governor stayed by his position. Every time they sought to dissuade the Governor the prophets of doom were proven to be wrong. In effect, he outnumbered the whole legislature—often going directly to the public when the legislature disagreed with him. He could mobilize a tremendous base of public support for what he wanted.

The legislature usually had no choice but to support him. He was an extremely effective leader—both because he had the strength of his convictions, and the capacity to persuade others to follow him.

INTEGRITY! I have been equally impressed with his absolute honesty. In all the time that I knew him and in all the decisions that I watched him make, I never once saw him tarnish his integrity with compromise.

As chief executive of the state, he made official appointments on the basis of merit only—on the basis of the service the individual could render, and not as a matter of political expedience.

He signed legislation on the basis of its merit, as well. He vetoed bills of my own when I was the Republican Leader of the Senate because he disagreed with them. Though he needed me desperately to work for him in the Senate, he refused to be compromised in his approach to legislation, whether I was its author or anyone else.

INTELLECT! I also found him a man of great intellect. I sat with him many times when he heard ex-

planations of complex issues for the first time. Not only did he grasp them easily, but he was able to effectively communicate to others the information that had been given to him. He could also apply that information to problem situations, quickly and effectively evaluate its impact on the State. He has a very facile mind—an ability to quickly penetrate a problem, grasp it, react to it. That capacity is basic to intelligent, dynamic leadership.

QUESTION:

What would you say were his major accomplishments?

Harmer:

Compare California to New York, and thank Ronald Reagan for the difference. More than anything else, Ronald Reagan stopped the State of California from drifting into the abyss of tragic bankruptcy that engulfed New York. When he came to office, the State was spending a million dollars a day more than it was taking in. It was hiring new employees at the rate of 8,000 people per year.

We had a welfare program that induced would be recipients from all over the country to come to California, and an extremely disproportionate tax structure that was depressing the State's economy.

Under Ronald Reagan, this trend was reversed. Runaway State bureaucracy was curtailed. Our financial house was put in such good order that for the first time in over 30 years California received a triple A bond rating. The Reagan welfare reforms were copied all over the Country, and saved California taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars.

He stopped, then reversed the State's drift toward fiscal chaos, guiding the State's financial condition from a deficit of nearly three quarters of a billion dollars when he took office to a surplus of nearly half a billion when he left—a total shift to solvency of more than a billion and a quarter dollars, in the same years when other states were going bankrupt. He gave California a truly fair and proportionate tax program and left educational and welfare systems that were soundly manageable, yet broadly responsive to the needs of the people.

QUESTION:

What answer do you have to assertions that under Reagan's administration, taxes in the state of California were more than doubled?

Harmer:

Much of that increase was simply a shifting of taxes from one source to another. The effective tax burden on the Californian went up less than it did for any major industrial state in the Country. While it is true that the dollar volume of the State budget more than doubled under Reagan, most of this money was collected to relieve local taxpayers of property and other tax burdens. When Governor Reagan came to office, we had an extremely unfair and inequitable tax structure. The result of tax reforms which he instituted was to reduce the disproportionate tax burden on the property owner, lower the business inventory tax which was stifling our economic growth, and made it possible for local governments to have the resources they needed for healthy, essential growth.

QUESTION:

What do you think of the Governor's proposal to cut income taxes by 30% and the indexing of tax rates? Do you believe that can really be done?

Harmer:

I think you see in that proposal a classic example of the Reagan style of leadership. Let me explain my analysis this way:

I can think of situations in California where Reagan was told by editorial writers, fuzzy-minded liberals, and leaders of the Legislature, that absolute chaos would follow if his reform proposals were enacted. Having raised the issues, however, and forcing debate on them, Reagan also forced solutions to the surface. The solutions weren't always precisely what he had originally proposed, but they were workable solutions, often close to what Reagan wanted. And they had been achieved only because he had taken the first, bold controversial step.

Our number one problem in this country today is big government eating us out of house and home. We have unemployment and inflation because government cannot stop spending. Reagan says he feels this process can be reversed, and he has proved in the past that he can implement such a reform.

For instance, when Reagan came into office, the cost of higher education in California was rising rapidly, and the State was finding it increasingly difficult to support tuition-free universities. Reagan then proposed that there should be a tuition charge for those students that could afford to pay. The reaction of the academic community to this proposal was hysterical: Reagan was going to destroy higher education in California; the University of California would no longer be the number one institution of its kind in the world. But, as the debate went on, it became more and more evident that Reagan was right: tuition-free education in California was subsidizing the rich, not the poor, because it was the rich whose children were going to these institutions.

Much the same thing happened with his proposal on welfare reform. The legislature was adamently opposed to enacting any Reagan proposals. So the Governor took his case to the people, made the point clearly and effectively that welfare in California was a fraud on taxpayers and recipients alike, and that change had to come. When it did—because of Reagan's leadership—it was astounding to see those public officials who had so bitterly opposed the program demanding some of the credit for implementing it.

In the same way, I believe Governor Reagan's statement on the need to cut taxes, reduce federal expenditures, and to index tax rates addresses itself to a critical problem in a way deliberately calculated to stir up the kind of debate in this country that is needed to determine whether his proposed solution is completely feasible. I am sure Reagan doesn't believe that he has the final answer—but he recognizes the scope and urgency of the problem, and he recognizes that someone has got to mobilize the brains and the resources of this country to solve it. In my view, he has only demonstrated, again, that he is indeed an effective leader.

QUESTION:

Briefly, why do you feel so strongly that Ronald Reagan ought to be the President of the United States?

Harmer:

I believe that the California Reagan took over in 1967, was, embryonically, a mirror of the United States in 1980. It was Ronald Reagan and his leadership which turned a dangerous, near tragic situation around, providing solutions in California to many of the crucial problems that face the entire Country today. He demonstrated beyond question that his brand of leadership, intellect, integrity and commitment could solve those problems. What he did for California, he can do for the Nation. When he balanced the State budget, people said it couldn't be done. When he took on an antagonistic Legislature dominated by an opposition party, and had them do his bidding, people had said it couldn't be done. When he took a tax structure that was totally out of kilter, and remodeled it so that it enhanced the economy instead of stifling it, people had said it couldn't be done.

If there is any man prepared by experience—and with a record of achievement—to be President of the United States and deal effectively with our problems that man can only be Ronald Reagan!!!



901482

A copy of our report is filed with the [illegible] State from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

Date 9-2-80

hold

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $ 11,348.92 to Communication Specialists
One Red River, P.O.Box 1529, Austin, TX 78767
for the following purpose:
ReaganGram mailings; Business Reply Envelopes; design button, bumper strips- membership card; & yard signs;

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

Brad O'Leary OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

Carl T. Curtis OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

X If over $500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____
Brad O'Leary

8304042256 2

900865

PAYMENT:
Check # 1201
Date 9-9-80
Amount 10,000.00
KP

1,348.00 still due

Americans for Change

sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

830404225653

October 4, 1980

Communication Specialists
One Red River
Austin, TX 78767

Bookkeeping Dept.,

Enclosed please find dispursement and attached billing in the amount of $1,758.68 for invoice #'s 52748-00 and 52618-00. I have also enclosed invoices as numbered below to account for our September 30th payment of $10,000.00. These invoices total $10,019.12 and the balance owed on these billings ($19.12) will be forwarded shortly.

Invoice #	Amount	Invoice #	Amount
52366-00	423.72	52364-00	384.85
52363-00	385.31	52362-00	384.85
52395-00	383.46	52417-00	1,136.48
52440-00	380.36	52419-00	1,319.94
52454-00	384.53	52420-00	1,739.05
52457-00	384.38	52460-00	385.15
52536-00	384.70	52545-00	384.70
52161-00	264.10	52164-00	196.08
52166-00	287.46	52359-00	426.23
52361-00	383.77		

Total: 10,019.12
Balance due: 19.12

Thank you for your attention to this matter. If you have any questions please feel free to get in touch.

900234

Sincerely,

Kent Rontzer, Assistant Comptroller

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

INVOICE

COMMUNICATION SPECIALISTS, INC.

Communicating through creative ideas, quality printing and professional mailing.

CUSTOMER NO. 036790 DATE 8-29-80 INVOICE NO. 52157-00 YOUR REF.

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 NORTH LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA 22314

PLEASE RETURN DUPLICATE COPY OF INVOICE WITH PAYMENT

8304042256

QUANTITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
000001 DESIGN REAGANGRAM PACKAGE		$593.84
	TAX	29.69
		$623.53

TERMS ▶ PAYMENT IN FULL DUE BY THE 10TH OF THE MONTH FOLLOWING INVOICE DATE. 3/4% PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE ADDED THEREAFTER.

Thank You

900968

INVOICE

COMMUNICATION SPECIALISTS, INC.

Communicating through creative ideas, quality printing and professional mailing.

CUSTOMER NO. 036790 DATE 8-29-80 INVOICE NO. 52163-00 YOUR REF. B O'LEARY

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 NORTH LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA 22314

PLEASE RETURN DUPLICATE COPY OF INVOICE WITH PAYMENT

8304042255

QUANTITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
000001 DESIGN REGULAR PACKAGE		$423.20
	TAX	21.16
		$444.36

TERMS > PAYMENT IN FULL DUE BY THE 10TH OF THE MONTH FOLLOWING INVOICE DATE. 3 4% PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE ADDED THEREAFTER.

Thank You

900967

9-2-80

INVOICE

Sept 30

COMMUNICATION SPECIALISTS, INC.

Communicating through creative ideas, quality printing and professional mailing.

CUSTOMER NO. 036790 DATE 8-29-80 INVOICE NO. 52356-00 YOUR REF.

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 NORTH LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA 22314

PLEASE RETURN DUPLICATE COPY OF INVOICE WITH PAYMENT

8304042256

QUANTITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
002747 MAIL REGULAR PACKAGE TO CODE 108		$161.80
	POST	253.83
	TAX	8.09
		$423.72

TERMS ▶ PAYMENT IN FULL DUE BY THE 10TH OF THE MONTH FOLLOWING INVOICE DATE. 3/4% PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE ADDED THEREAFTER.

Thank You



900235

10

INVOICE

COMMUNICATION SPECIALISTS, INC.

Communicating through creative ideas, quality printing and professional mailing.

CUSTOMER NO. 036790 DATE 8-27-80 INVOICE NO. 52417-00 YOUR REF. B O'LEARY

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
213 NORTH LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA 22314

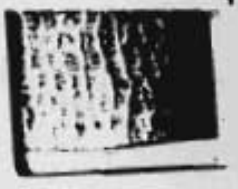
PLEASE RETURN DUPLICATE COPY OF INVOICE WITH PAYMENT

8304042255 7

QUANTITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
049000 ORE FOR REG PACKAGE		$1,082.36
	TAX	54.12
		$1,136.48

TERMS ▶ PAYMENT IN FULL DUE BY THE 10TH OF THE MONTH FOLLOWING INVOICE DATE. 3/4% PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE ADDED THEREAFTER.

Thank You



900237

INVOICE

COMMUNICATION SPECIALISTS, INC.

Communicating through creative ideas, quality printing and professional mailing.

CUSTOMER NO. 036790 DATE 3-29-80 INVOICE NO. 52419-00 YOUR REF. S O'LEARY

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 NORTH LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA 22314

PLEASE RETURN DUPLICATE COPY OF INVOICE WITH PAYMENT

QUANTITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
057500 3RE FOR GRAM PACKAGE		$1,257.09
	TAX	62.85
		$1,319.94

TERMS ▶ PAYMENT IN FULL DUE BY THE 10TH OF THE MONTH FOLLOWING INVOICE DATE. 3/4% PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE ADDED THEREAFTER.

Thank You



900238

8304042253E

[redacted]

INVOICE

COMMUNICATION SPECIALISTS, INC.

Communicating through creative ideas, quality printing and professional mailing.

CUSTOMER NO. 036790 DATE 8-29-80 INVOICE NO. 52420-00 YOUR REF. B O'LEARY

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 NORTH LEE ST SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA 22314

PLEASE RETURN DUPLICATE COPY OF INVOICE WITH PAYMENT

QUANTITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
058500 CARRIER ENV FOR GRAM PACKAGE		$1,656.24
	TAX	82.81
		$1,739.05

TERMS - PAYMENT IN FULL DUE BY THE 10TH OF THE MONTH FOLLOWING INVOICE DATE. 3 1/4% PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE ADDED THEREAFTER.

Thank You

[redacted]

900239

830404225S

DOMESTIC SERVICE

CUT GOVERNMENT WASTE; CONTROL INFLATION; BALANCE BUDGET; CLEAN UP WELFARE PROGRAMS; PROTECT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

REAGANGRAM

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

REAL FOREIGN POLICY LEADERSHIP; STRONG DEFENSE PROGRAM; PEACE THRU STRENGTH; [redacted]

(2-016271E058)PD 02/29/76 1107
1107A EST

To

[redacted]

I HOPE YOU SHARE MY CONCERN IN THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR FOR THE DANGER CONFRONTING YOUR FAMILY AND OUR COUNTRY. I BELIEVE WE MUST FIGHT TO RALLY OUR FELLOW AMERICANS AGAINST JIMMY CARTERS POLICIES THAT ARE DESTROYING AMERICAS ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND MORAL VALUES.

I AM COMMITTED TO THIS FIGHT AND WILL DO EVERYTHING I CAN DO TO ELECT RONALD REAGAN AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. MY SUCCESS AND GOVERNOR REAGANS ELECTION WILL DEPEND GREATLY ON YOUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP. I CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL WITH YOUR UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT.

I NEED YOUR ASSISTANCE IN DISTRIBUTING BROCHURES, BUMPER STRIPS AND BUTTONS TO YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO SERVE AS A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT CHAIRMAN IN _____.

IF YOU AGREE WE WILL SEND YOU A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT KIT BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 15 AND OCTOBER 15. YOUR ONLY RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE TO DISTRIBUTE THIS INFORMATION TO POTENTIAL REAGAN VOTERS.

I KNOW YOU WILL WANT TO HELP ME IN THIS ENDEAVOR BECAUSE YOU WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL PUT AMERICANS BACK TO WORK THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO HAS THE LEADERSHIP ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS IN RESTORING A HEALTHY ECONOMY FOR OUR NATION. RONALD REAGAN CAN DO THIS AS HE ALSO SERVES AS YOUR WATCHDOG AGAINST NONESSENTIAL SPENDING BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION PUNITIVE TO THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A BALANCED BUDGET, FAIR PROFIT FOR FARMERS, A REDUCTION IN FEDERAL INCOME TAXES AND WHO HAS PLEDGED AND SHOWN HIS ABILITY TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT THAT HARASSES AND BURDENS SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND INTERFERES IN OUR DAILY LIVES.

902223

830422578

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE CAPABLE OF DETERRING SOVIET MILITARY AND POLITICAL AGGRESSION.

I BELIEVE THAT WE ALL WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL SHOW STRONG LEADERSHIP, STRENGTH OF CHARACTER AND A MAN THAT WE CAN BE PROUD TO SERVE US AS HE SOLVES THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING AMERICA.

YOU MUST BECOME INVOLVED IF REAGAN IS TO BECOME PRESIDENT DUE TO THE STRONG OPPOSITION OF LIBERAL SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS WORKING FOR JIMMY CARTER.

I HOPE YOU WILL HELP BY SENDING A CONTRIBUTION FOR TV, RADIO, NEWSPAPER ADS AND PRECINCT KITS. WE NEED BOTH YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND YOUR TIME TO SERVE AS AN INDEPENDENT REAGAN PRECINCT CHAIRMAN.

MAY I COUNT ON YOU FOR A COMMITMENT TO GOVERNOR REAGAN AND THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY . . .

HARRISON "JACK" SCHMITT
U.S. SENATOR NEW MEXICO

8304042257 1

902224

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

HON. HARRISON SCHMITT, Chairman
HON. CARL CURTIS, Treasurer

An Independent Committee not
authorized by any candidate
or official campaign committee.

FROM: Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Occupation_____ Company Name_____

☐ Check if self-employed ☐ Check if federal employee

☐ Check if sole proprietorship

Dear Senator Schmitt:

☐ I will agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Precinct Chairman for _____.

☐ I cannot serve but will make a contribution.

Enclosed is: ☐ $25 ☐ $250 ☐ $2,500
☐ $50 ☐ $500 ☐ $5,000
☐ $100 ☐ $1,000 ☐ $_____
(make checks payable to Reagan for President in '80)

Please use my contribution for:

☐ Reagan Independent Precinct Kits. Each kit costs $25 and includes buttons, bumper strips, brochures and yard signs.

☐ Radio spots and newspaper ads in my community on

☐ energy ☐ the economy ☐ defense
☐ inflation ☐ tax deduction ☐ Government waste
☐ Government overregulation of family or community
☐ Government overregulation of business & industry

☐ TV ads of endorsements of Ronald Reagan by prominent Democrats and officials in your community.

I also believe your committee should consider spending funds for

_____

_____

_____.

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

902225

83040422572

★ REAGANGRAM ★

T/T: 7:36 PM EDT 08/25/80 WASH DC OPER: PP 1150069438 EOM

Mr. Roy D. Farringer
Pinecrest Manor
Mt Morris, Illinois 61054

I hope you share my concern in this presidential election year for the danger confronting your family and our country. I believe we must fight to rally our fellow Americans against Jimmy Carter's actions that are destroying America's economic, social, and moral values.

As a United States Senator I am committed to this fight and will do everything I can to elect Ronald Reagan as President of our country. My success and Governor Reagan's election will depend greatly on your willingness to help. I can only be successful with your unqualified support.

I need your assistance in distributing brochures, bumper strips and buttons to your friends and neighbors. I would like you to serve as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman in Mt Morris, Illinois.

The federal law prohibits Ronald Reagan from accepting a contribution from you for the general election. The law also limits the amount of money Reagan can spend on voter educational material for your friends and neighbors. You, however, may make an independent contribution for this material and distribute it on behalf of Governor Reagan. Will you help?

If you agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman, you will receive an election kit with detailed information on how you can help.

Your kit will contain Reagan Buttons, bumper strips and window signs that can also be used as yard signs. You will also receive 10 brochures on the five issues of greatest concern to Americans today.

I will also send you detailed instructions on how to go about recruiting 10 of your friends and neighbors to make a commitment to support Governor Reagan.

8304225 3

90[illegible]57

Paid for by Americans For Change, not authorized by any candidate

I know you will want to help me in this endeavor because you want a President who will beat inflation and who will put Americans back to work through increased productivity by the private sector. Ronald Reagan can accomplish this.

I know you want a President who has the leadership ability to work with the Congress in restoring a healthy economy for our nation. Ronald Reagan can do this and he can also serve as your watchdog against nonessential spending by the Federal Government and legislation against the free enterprise system.

I know you want a President who will continue to fight for a balanced budget, fair profit for farmers, a reduction in federal income taxes and who has pledged and shown his ability to reduce the size of government that harasses and burdens small businessmen and interferes in our daily lives. Reagan can be counted on to do all of these tasks.

I know you want a President who will continue to fight for a strong defense posture capable of deterring Soviet military and political aggression. We know Reagan has the will to accomplish this.

If you agree to help, we will send you a Reagan Independent Precinct Kit between September 1 and October 1. Your only responsibility will be to distributo this information to potential Reagan voters.

Your kit will include membership identification as a Reagan Independent Voter Chairman and 10 Reagan election grams to mail to your friends the Sunday before the election.

You must become involved if Reagan is to become President.

May I count on you for a commitment to Governor Reagan and the future of our Country . . . . .

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator New Mexico

I am almost 92 yrs old and we are living in this nice retirement home. I figure my selling, canvassing soliciting or collecting days are over. I'm glad I did my share of it.
I have always voted strictly Republican and hope to do the same yet.

Roy D. Farringer
Pinecrest Manor
Rt Morris Ill. 61054

900458

3304225

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-8221

committee

(R) Schmitt, Chairman
New Mexico

r, Co-Chairman
rnor, California

ger, Co-Chairman
Minnesota

Treasurer
Nebraska (Ret.)

Vice-Chairman
ager of Reagan for President in '80

Co-Finance Chairman
ps, Inc.

October 23, 1980

ports Analysis Division
deral Election Commission
2 K St., NW
shington, D.C. 20463

ar Sirs.

In compliance with FEC regulations pertaing to independent
penditures aggregating $1,000.00 or more, made within 20 days of the
neral election, reported as required by Schedule E, is a listing of the
llowing expenditures made by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE on October 22, 1980
ich are classified as independent expenditures. ID # C00129221

Goodnight Advertising Group 16475 Dallas Parkway Suite 240 Dallas, TX 75248	Purchase of Media Time	10/22/80	70,000.00	Ronald Reagan President support
Mountain States Direct Mail 10 East South Temple Suite 696 Salt Lake City, UT 84133	Printing & Mailing	10/22/80	25,000.00	Ronald Reagan President support
Communication Specialists One Red River P.O. Box 1529 Austin, TX 78767	Placement of Radio & Newpaper Advertisements	10/22/80	15,000.00	Ronald Reagan President support

In compliance with FEC regulations which require reporting of receipts
hin 20 days of the general election of $1,000.00 or more is the following
t.

Roger B. Stallworth, Jr. 900 Hartford Bldg.	Information Requested	1,000.00	10/23/80

DC

CAMPAIGN MARKETING GROUP, INC. 8-22-80

320 FIRST STREET, SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • (202) 484-8588

Invoice No. 73

Date August 18, 1980

SOLD TO
Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Attn: Sara Ellsworth

SHIPPED TO
N/A

DIVISION PROVIDING SERVICE	UNIT PRICE	SUB-TOTAL	
Telephone Marketing Division			
EXPLANATION: Services performed August 1 through August 15 on behalf of "Americans for Change"			
List Name: Americans for Change Master File			
List Look-Ups 554 packages at:	.15	83	10
Mailing Fee N/A names at:			
Dialing Hours 20.5 at:	22.00	451	00
OTHER:			
		900125	
	TOTAL	534.10	

ADDRESS ALL INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE TO:

Bruce R. McBrearty

Date 8-22-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 534.10 to Campaign Marketing Group, Inc.
320 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

for the following purpose:

554 list look-ups for DC event
20.5 dialing hours

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Carl T. Curtis or

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed

pd ck# 1104
8-27-80.

Americans for Change Comptroller

900124

83040422577

CAMPAIGN MARKETING GROUP, INC.

320 FIRST STREET, SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • (202) 484-8588

August 22, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Sara Ellsworth

FROM: Bruce McBrearty

RE: Results of calls made August 21 1980, on behalf of Indianapolis Program:

	8/21		CUM-TO-DATE	
TOTAL DIALS	285		—	
TOTAL HOURS	8.5		—	
COMPLETED CALLS (26%)	74	(100%)	—	(100%)
YES	6	(8 %)	—	(%)
UNSURE	5	(7 %)	—	(%)
NO THANK YOU	63	(85%)	—	(%)
	1	(1%)	—	(%)
TOTAL DIALS/HOUR	33.53		—	
COMPLETED CALLS/HOUR	8.7		—	
COST	$ 187.00		$ —	
COST/YES	$ 31.16		$ —	
COST/COMPLETED CALL	$ 2.5		$ —	
RECORDS LOOKED UP	313		—	
NUMBERS FOUND	217		—	
NUMBERS NOT FOUND	96		—	
OTHER			—	

8304042257E

902454

8-29-80

CAMPAIGN MARKETING GROUP, INC.

320 FIRST STREET, SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • (202) 434-8588

Invoice No. 77

Date 8/27/80

SOLD TO:
Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

ATT: Sarah Ellsworth

SHIPPED TO: N/A

DIVISION PROVIDING SERVICE	UNIT PRICE	SUB-TOTAL	
EXPLANATION: Services performed August 16 through August 24 on behalf of Americans For Change.			
List Name: Americans For Change Master File			
List Look-Ups 913 packages at:	.15	136	95
Mailing Fee N/A names at:			
3 hrs. (Follow up for 8/18 luncheon)	22.00	66	00
5 hrs. (Indianapolis luncheon)	22.00	187	00
Dialing Hours at:			
16.75 (Cincinnati breakfast)	22.00	368	50
OTHER:			
		900127	
	TOTAL	758	45

ADDRESS ALL INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE TO:

Bruce R. McBrearty

Date 8-29-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$78.45 to Campaign Marketing Group, Inc.

320 First St., SE

Washington, DC 20003

for the following purpose:

Follow up calls for DC luncheon, Indianapolis luncheon and Cincinnati breakfast

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

_____ or Harrison H. Schmitt

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Brad O'Leary

_____

Carol Reed

_____

Americans for Change Comptroller

900122

83040422530

CAMPAIGN MARKETING GROUP, INC.

320 FIRST STREET, SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • (202) 484-0598

MEMORANDUM September 4, 1980

TO: Sarah Ellsworth

FROM: Bruce R. McBreart

SUBJECT: Anticipated income/expenditures of Americans For Change telemarketing project

Sarah, these projections are based on a prospect file size of 8000 names.

Americans For Change Prospect File	8000
Minus: records without phone numbers (30%)	2400
Available records to be called	5600

Of the records with phone numbers, we'll probably be able to get a decision from about 55% (3080) of them. The remaining 45% will be unavailable to us no matter how many times we try to contact them. Based on our results with similar files, I anticipate your results to be as follows:

Completed Calls	3080	100%
Will Pledge	616	20%
Will contribute but not pledge	308	10%
Will consider it (maybe)	308	10%
Will say no	1540	45%
Other	308	10%

With an average contribution of $125, this program would pledge a total of $77000. Of this amount, I'd expect you'll be able to collect about 70% or $53900. The important thing is the collections end is that you get a mailgram or letter into the mail within 24 hours of the phone call.

902832

8304042581

On the expenditures side, you can anticipate the following costs:

Telephone Calls - it will take us about 600 hours to complete this project:	$13,200
Telephone number look-ups	1,200
TOTAL PROJECTED COST	$14,400

The expenditure figures are pretty firm, the income figures could be significantly higher if either the average contribution or percent of pledges increased.

8304042253

lo, may I speak to Mr(s)_____(PAST CONTRIBU
), please?

IF NOT AVAILABLE: When may I call again and speak with Mr(s)_____? (RECORD DATE AND TIME OF SCHEDULED RECALL)

IF ASKS WHO IS CALLING/WHAT IS CALL ABOUT: This is Mr(s)_____(YOUR NAME) and I/m calling at the request of Senator Schmitt. Is Mr(s)_____(PAST CONTRIBUTOR) at home?

RODUCTION TO PERSON ANSWERING PHONE 1

8 3 0 4

CAMPAIGN MARKETING GROUP

902830

Communicator Script

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

September 2, 1980

d (morning/afternoon/evening) Mr(s)_____.
s is (YOUR NAME) and I'm calling on behalf Senator Jack Schmitt. Can you hear me ight? (OR: Did I pronounce your name correct-) PAUSE

ator Schmitt asked me to call you today because s recorded an important message for you. He ks about his plan to help elect Governor Reagan about 2 minutes long. May I play it for you ? I'll be back on the line when it's over.

IF YES: PLAY TAPE -GO TO AFTER TAPE (CARD 5)
IF NO: GO TO HESITANT ABOUT TAPE (CARD 3)

RODUCTION TO PAST CONTRIBUTOR 2

Senator Schmitt prepared this message so he could personally explain his plans for Americans For Change. As I mentioned is a independent committee that was set up to help Governor Reagan's campaign. But, he explains much better than I can.

May I play his message for you?

IF YES: PLAY TAPE -- GO TO AFTER TAPE (CARD 5)
IF NO: GO TO WILL NOT HEAR TAPE (CARD 4)

HESITANT ABOUT TAPE 3

n sorry you won't be hearing Senator Schmitt's ssage. He wanted to explain further what he tlined in his recent letter to you.

have a rare opportunity to help elect Governor agan through a massive nationwide T.V. and dio advertising blitz.

i, we could sure use your help in this effort.

CONTINUE TO: ASK FOR PLEDGE (CARD 6)

LL T HEAR TAPE 4

Thank you for listening to Senator Schmitt's message. Were you able to hear it alright?

As Senator Schmitt explained, we really do need your help Mr(s)_____, in our efforts to elect Governor Reagon.

CONTINUE TO: ASK FOR PLEDGE (CARD 6)

902835

AFTER TAPE 5

y I tell Senator Schmitt that you'll help with contribution of $500 or $1000?

IF YES: GO TO WILL MAKE PLEDGE (CARD 9)
IF HESITANT: GO TO HESITANT ABOUT CONTRIBUTION (CARD 7)
IF NO: GO TO WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE (CARD 11)

K FOR PLEDGE 6

Mr(s)_____, as you can understand it's critical that we help Governor Reagan every way possible. In 1976 organized labor funnelled 11 million dollars to Carter through these independent expenditures. We know they plan to do it again this year. Americans For Change is one way to counter their efforts.

May I tell Senator Schmitt you'll help with a smaller contribution of say $250 or $500?

IF YES: GO TO WILL MAKE PLEDGE (CARD 9)
IF NO: GO TO WILL NOT MAKE PLEDGE (CARD 11)

HESITANT ABOUT CONTRIBUTING 7

at's great Mr(s)_____, we can really use your lp. If I can tell Senator Schmitt about how ch you will be sending, he can start making mmitments to T.V. and radio stations today. n I tell Senator Schmitt he can count on you r a contribution similar to what you last gave at was $_____.

IF YES: GO TO WILL MAKE PLEDGE (CARD 6)

IF HESITANT STILL: GO TO WILL SEND CONTRIBUTION (CARD 8)

ILL CONTRIBUTE BUT HESITANT TO GIVE AMOUNT 8

Thank you very much Mr(s)_____.

I'll let Senator Schmitt know of your $_____.

We will send you acknowledgement of your pledge immediately. Please use the return envelope we'll enclose. It's the best way to be sure that Americans For Change gets your contribution. Let me check your records. Is it still... (READ ADDRESS ON CARD--NOTE ANY CORRECTION)

Have a nice (day/evening) Goodbye

WILL MAKE PLEDGE 9

ank you very much Mr(s)_____. I'll let Senor Schmitt know of your pledge. (MAYBE: I'll t Senator Schmitt know of your support)

'll send you an acknowledgement of our converation right away. Please use the return velope we'll enclose for your contribution. t me check address, is it still (VERIFY DDRESS)?

ank you very much, have a nice day.

LOSE: WILL CONTRIBUTE (NO AMOUNT) OR MAYBE 10

Thank you for talking with me today, Mr(s)___. I hope you will continue to follow the campaign and that we can count on your vote on November 4th. Have a very nice (day/evening). Goodbye.

902836

WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE 11

-(s)_____, Americans For Change is a com-
ittee set up independently of the Reagan
ommittee. One goal is to help elect Governor
eagan, but because of the Federal Election Laws
e must do it independently of his campaign.

our contribution will be used indirectly to
elp fund our T.V. and radio blitz. Can I tell
enator Schmitt you'll help with a contribution
? say $500 or $1000.

IF YES: GO TO WILL MAKE PLEDGE (CARD 9)

IF NO: GO TO WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE (CARD 11)

S THIS THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN? 12

I see Mr(s)_____. Please consider this a thank you call then. We really do appreciate your help.

Thanks for talking to me. Have a nice day/ evening.

HAVE ALREADY CONTRIBUTED 13

hings are really going well. Since the court ecision, we started to implement the T.V. and adio blitz. The question now is just one of aising the money we need to continue.

e really do need your help, can I tell Senator chmitt you'll be sending a contribution of ___ or $_____?

IF YES: GO TO WILL MAKE PLEDGE (CARD 9)

IF NO: GO TO WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE (CARD 11)

OW'S THE CAMPAIGN GOING? 14

Mr(s)_____, contributions will be used to fund our T.V. and radio blitz. In fact, your contribution would be used immediately to buy T.V. and radio time.

We really do need your help; can I tell Senator Schmitt you'll help by making a contribution of $250 or $500?

IF YES: GO TO WILL MAKE PLEDGE (CARD 9)

IF NO: GO TO WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE (CARD 11)

WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO? 15

902837

CAMPAIGN MARKETING GROUP, INC.

320 FIRST STREET, SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • (202) 484-8588

September 22, 1980

Ms. Sarah Ellsworth
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Sarah:

Attached is the final report on the phoning CMG did on behalf of Americans for Change. As we discussed, it was not a successful effort.

Based on my monitoring of calls, I'd say the problems were in two areas:

1) Individuals felt they had financially supported Governor Reagan during the primary, and that was enough.

2) They were nervous about the legality of a contribution to AFC even after we explained the August 28th decision.

These responses puzzle me because I felt that with the tape, we were articulating both the need and legality of the contribution as well as could be done. Perhaps the problem is in the list. I suggest you look closely at your direct mail results and if your mail results are also off, consider strongly that the list may be the problem.

Please give me a call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Bruce R. McBrearty
President

cc; Brad O'Leary

BRM/kvb

8304042587

902838

CAMPAIGN MARKETING GROUP, INC.

320 FIRST STREET, SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • (202) 484-8588

September 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Sarah Ellsworth

FROM: Bruce R. McBrearty

RE: Results of calls made September 16 and 17, 1980, on behalf of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE.

8304042258E

	9/16-17/80	CUM-TO-DATE
DOLLARS PLEDGED	$ 1,415.00	$ 3,465
NUMBER OF PLEDGES	5	15
AVERAGE PLEDGE	$ 283.00	$ 231
TOTAL DIALS	1,211	2,938
TOTAL HOURS	46.5	90.75
COMPLETED CALLS (14%)	152 (100%)	351 (100%)
PLEDGES	5(3%)	15(4%)
WILL CONT./NO AMOUNT	6(4%)	17(5%)
UNSURE	19(13%)	39(11%)
NO THANK YOU	102(67%)	243(69%)
ALREADY SENT/OTHER	20(13%)	37(11%)

TD/HR	26.04	32.37
CC/HR	3.26	3.87
DLRS PL/HR	30.43	38.18
COST	1,023	1,996.5
COST/PL	204.6	133.1
COST/CC	6.73	5.69
RECORDS LOOKED UP	0	973
NUMBERS FOUND	0	645
NUMBERS NOT FOUND	0	328
OTHER	0	0

902839

8304042258 9

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

BALANCE FORWARD 51,794 58

1256 ✓

Oct 9 19 80

TO Debra A. Berry
Branch, Gunter & Sacre
~~90 West Wieuca Rd., NW~~
Atlanta, GA 30342

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

~~Contract Labor:~~
Clerical

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 200 00

BALANCE

1257

October 20 19 80

TO Burrelle's Press
Clipping Service

DEPOSITS 89343 03

Bank statement 10/17-20 { Accts. #178-211, #222-247 } 89343 03

TOTAL

41 Newsclips

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 127 55

BALANCE 12,123 03

1258

October 20 19 80

TO Campaign Marketing Group

DEPOSITS

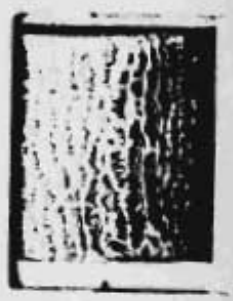
TOTAL

Phone & Mailings

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 1,500 00

BALANCE FORWARD





901848

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

8304042250

BALANCE FORWARD

1307

October 16 19 80

TO Doris D. Baron
8300 Skillman # 107
~~Dallas, TX 75231~~

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

Contract Labor - Media ~~Production~~ Fees

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 1,350 00

BALANCE

1308

October 16 19 80

TO ~~Campaign Marketing Group~~
320 First St., SE
Washington, D.C. 20003

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

Phoning & Mailing

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 216 56

BALANCE

1309

October 16 19 80

TO Capitol Telecommunications
4 Erin Ct.
~~Fredericksburg, VA 22140~~

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

Media Production

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 3,080 00

BALANCE FORWARD





901865

R1-036902-0

MR. RICHARD ROBINSON
JOHN ST.
GREENWICH, CT 06830
203-709-6385

PHONE #: ( ) - HOME
( ) - OFFICE

AMERICANS for CHANGE - Campaign Marketing Group

1) DATE_____ TIME_____ COM_____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

2) DATE_____ TIME_____ COM_____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

3) DATE_____ TIME_____ COM_____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

4) DATE_____ TIME_____ COM_____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

5) DATE_____ TIME_____ COM_____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

6) DATE_____ TIME_____ COM_____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

SPOKE WITH: MR MRS MISS OTHER_____

RESPONSE: $P_____
WC
M
SBM
NO

COMMENTS:

8304042259

AMERICANS for CHANGE

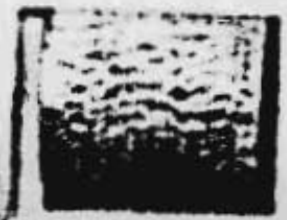
9/5

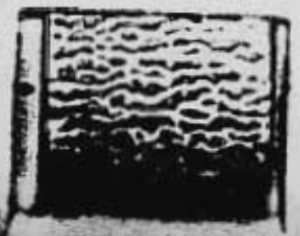
PLEDGES

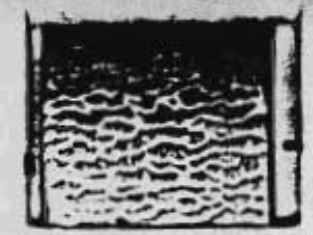
$400.— (2)

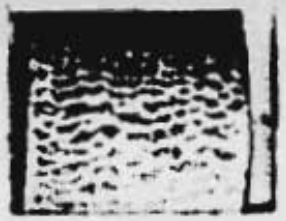
Sent 9/22
mgb

902298









9022699

Mrs. Harold Williams

2954 Chatsworth
San Diego CA
92106 714 223-1173

PHONE #: ( ) - HOME
( ) - OFFICE

AMERICANS for CHANGE - Campaign Marketing Group

1) DATE 9/6 TIME E COM PT DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

2) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

3) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

4) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

5) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

6) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

SPOKE WITH: MR (MRS) MISS OTHER _____

RESPONSE: $P 150
WC
M
SBM
NO

COMMENTS:

8304042592





902804

Mr. Harry Singh
Box 1850

Oceanside CA
92054 714 722-2653

PHONE #: ( ) - HOME
( ) - OFFICE

AMERICANS for CHANGE - Campaign Marketing Group

1) DATE 9/5 TIME pm COM Liz DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

2) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

3) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

4) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

5) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

6) DATE _____ TIME _____ COM _____ DA X BAD# DDD RCB _____

SPOKE WITH: ~~MR~~ MRS MISS OTHER _____

RESPONSE: $P 250 —
WC
M
SBM
NO

COMMENTS: This man has already given $10,000

8304042259

September 22, 1980

Mrs. Harold Williams
2954 Chatsworth
San Diego, California 92106

Dear Mrs. Williams:

I was pleased to know that when my assistant called you the other day you agreed to contribute $150 to my committee.

As we explained, your contribution couldn't come at a better time. In fact, based on your pledge, and those of a few others, I've already started making commitments to T.V. and radio stations throughout the country.

Enclosed is a return envelope for your convenience. I hope, as a personal favor to me, you'll use it today to send in your pledge.

Thank you again for your contribution.

Sincerely,

Jack Schmitt
United States Senate

P.S. Please make your check payable to Americans for Change.

8304042259

902301

September 22, 1980

Mr. Harry Singh
Box 1850
Oceanside, California 92054

Dear Harry:

I was pleased to know that when my assistant called you the other day you agreed to contribute $250 to my committee.

As we explained, your contribution couldn't come at a better time. In fact, based on your pledge, and those of a few others, I've already started making commitments to T.V. and radio stations throughout the country.

Enclosed is a return envelope for your convenience. I hope, as a personal favor to me, you'll use it today to send in your pledge.

Thank you again for your contribution.

Sincerely,

Jack Schmitt
United States Senate

P.S. Please make your check payable to Americans for Change.

8304042596

902302

PURCHASE ORDER

NO. 2061

TO Bishop & Bryant DATE 6/23/1980

ADDRESS 499 S. Capitol St, SW Suite 400

SHIP TO Wash DC 20003

ADDRESS Reimbursement to PM

SHIP VIA	F.O.B.	TERMS	DATE REQUIRED

	QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	STOCK NUMBER/DESCRIPTION	PRICE	PER		
1			Typesetting for Reagan				
2			Buttons & Buttons			21	00
3			"Dr. for Change" Buttons			19	50
4			Delivery Charge to Schmitt			5	65
5			Delivery to Tim Jones			4	65
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11			Total			50	80
12							

IMPORTANT

OUR ORDER NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE.

ADVISE US IF UNABLE TO DELIVER BY DATE REQUIRED.

Clark Reed

Buyer Bradley Geary

DUPLICATE

GRAYLINE FORMS S8258 DUPLICATE — S8356 TRIPLICATE 280 U.S.A.

8304042597

901050

Date July 25, 1980 #_____

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 1,270.33 to Bishop and Bryant,

499 S. Capitol Street, SW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20003

for the following purpose:

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Carl T. Curtis

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

or

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed

Americans for Change Comptroller

pd ck # 1015
7-25-80

900012

83040422596

[illegible]OP and BRYANT INC. /Media and Man[illegible]ement Consultants

[redacted]

STATEMENT

3602

DATE: July 14, 1980

PO #2061
PO #2072

TO: Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 219
Alexandria, VA 22314

Please return the white copy with your payment.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	CHARGES	CREDITS
July 14, 1980	Balance due as per attached sheet:	$1,270.33 (includes other bill)	

8304042599

900013

ORIGINAL

Payment due upon receipt of the bill.

SHEET NO. ACCOUNT Americans for Change - Reagan ACCOUNT NO.

Page No.	DATE 19-80	DESCRIPTION	POSTING REF	DEBITS	CREDITS	BALANCE DEBIT	BALANCE CREDIT
		AMOUNTS BROUGHT FORWARD					
	6/16	Typesetting for Reagan Button		1050			
	6/16	" " " " Brochure		1050			
	6/12	Reagan buttons "Americans for Change"		1950			
	6/19	delivery charges to Sen. Schmitt		565			
	6/16	delivery charges (Jon Baer)		465		5080	

8 3 0 4 0 1 2 2 6 0 C

900014

Bishop/Bryant ACCOUNT Americans for Change - Reagan ACCOUNT NO

Source & Page W 143	DATE 19_82	DESCRIPTION	POSTING REF	DEBITS	✓	CREDITS	✓	BALANCE DEBIT	BALANCE CREDIT
		AMOUNTS BROUGHT FORWARD							
	6/16	Typesetting for Reagan Button		10 50					
	6/16	" " " Brochure		10 50					
	6/12	Reagan buttons "Americans for Change"		19 50					
	6/19	delivery charges to Sen. Schmitt		5 65					
	6/16	delivery charges (Jon Baren)		4 65				50 80	
	6/24	off-set printing for brochure		57 88				108 68	
	6/26	delivery to Jon Baren		4 65				113 33	
	7/8	delivery to Austin by Braniff		42 00				155 33	
	7/3	3 color Repro for Brochure		215 00					
	7/14	2 days Work		900 00				1270 33	

5 1009

5.00 #0989

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 6 3 1

Date 8-21-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 3,130.40/100 to Bishop & Bryant
4919 S. Capital St.
Washington, DC 20003

for the following purpose:

2 Third page advertisements in Cincinnati & Indianapolis papers

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

* _____ or _____

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

_____ Brad O'Leary

_____ Carol Reed

Paid 10-3
8-21-80
MCB

_____ Americans for Change Comptroller

900007

Sen. Curtis approved expense by phone to Carol Reed

83004226022

Date August 25, 1980

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 5,725.60 to Bishop & Bryant, 499 S. Capitol Street, Suite 400, Washington, DC

for the following purpose:

Newspaper ads for events in Atlanta, Nashville, Midland, and Denver - invoice to follow

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Carl T Curtis or _____

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed

pd ck# 1095
8-25-80

Americans for Change Comptroller

900008

8304042260 3

BISHOP and BRYANT INC. / Media and Management Consultants

[redacted]

9-9-80

STATEMENT

BISHOP & BRYANT, INC.
499 S. CAPITOL STREET, S.W., STE. 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

3678

DATE: 9/5/80

TO: Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 219
Alexandria, VA 22314

Please return the white copy with your payment.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	CHARGES	CREDITS
9/5/80	Balance due as per attached sheet	353.64	
			900009

8304042260

TRAFFIC

Payment on receipt of the bill

	AMOUNTS BROUGHT FORWARD					
6/16	Typesetting for Reagan Button		10 50			
6/16	" " " Brochure		10 50			
6/12	Reagan buttons "Americans for Change"		19 50			
6/19	delivery charges to Sen. Schmitt		5 65			
6/16	delivery charges (Jon Baron)		4 65			50 80
6/24	off-set printing for brochure		57 88			108 68
6/26	delivery to Jon Baron		4 65			113 33
7/8	delivery to Austin by Braniff		42 00			155 33
7/3	3 color Preps for Brochure		215 00			
7/14	2 days work	I3602	900 00			1270 33
6/17	Parking - Quality Inn		2 25			
7/18	Capitol Hill Graphics - Brochure		264 00			1536 58
7/8	delivery to Graphics		11 50			1548 08
7/22	Capitol Hill Graphics - Schmitt Letter		35 18			1583 26
8/	Payment received	I3635		1,270 33		312 93
8/20	Payment Received			3,130 40		
8/20	The Indianapolis Star		1,779 20			
8/20	The Cincinnati Enquirer		1,410 50			
8/25	Nashville Tennessean		1,410 50			
8/25	Atlanta Constitution		2,129 40			
8/25	Midland Reporter-Telegram		655 20			
8/25	Rocky Mountain News		1,501 50			
8/25	Postage Chgs. - Xpress Mail		30 00			6,039 53
8/25	Payment Received	I3643		5,725 60		313 93
8/27	Newspaper Printing Charges		92 81			
6/28	Circa-Graphics - Pictures for Ad		39 71			
8/22	Americans For Clancy - Check			1236 10		
8/24	Americans For Change			92 81		
8/29	Thurmond Events	I3660	1236 00			353 64

000170

MADE IN U.S.A.

S30401226O

Date 8-27-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 313.93 to Bishop & Bryant

Suite 402

1745 Jefferson Davis Highway

Arlington, VA 22202

for the following purpose:

Remaining balance due for advertisements placed in newspapers

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Brad O'Leary or [signature]

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed

Americans for Change Comptroller

P.O. Ck # 1134
8-28-80

900016

8304042606

BISHOP and BRYANT INC. /Media and Management Consultants

Suite 402 / 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway
Arlington, Virginia 22202 / (703) 979-6150

STATEMENT

BISHOP & BRYANT, INC.
499 S. CAPITOL STREET, S.W., STE. 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

3643

DATE: 8/22/80

TO: Americans for Change
218 North Lee St.
Suite 219
Alexandria, VA 22314

Please return the white copy with your payment.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	CHARGES	CREDITS
8/22/80	Balance due as per attached sheet:	$313.93	

830404226007

900017

CUSTOMER COPY

Payment due upon receipt of the bill

Boorum & Pease W 133

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 6 0 E

DATE 19 82	DESCRIPTION	POSTING REF	DEBITS	✓	CREDITS	✓	BALANCE DEBIT
	AMOUNTS BROUGHT FORWARD						900.18
6/16	Typesetting for Reagan Bus. Brochure		10.50				
6/16	" " " " "		10.50				
6/12	Reagan bizillions "Americans for Change"		19.50				
6/19	delivery charges to Sen. Schmitt		5.55				
6/16	delivery charges (Jon Baron)		4.55				50.80
6/24	Xerox printing for brochure		57.88				108.68
6/26	delivered to Jon Baron		4.65				113.33
7/8	delivery to Austin by Braniff		42.00				155.33
7/3	3 cold Preps for Brochure		215.00				
7/14	2 days work	I3602	700.00				1270.33
6/17	Parking - Quality Inn		2.25				
7/18	Capitol Hill Supplies		214.00				1536.58
7/8	delivery to Capitol Supplies		11.50				1548.08
7/22	Capitol Hill Supplies		35.18				1583.26
8/	Payment received	I3635			1,270.33		312.93
8/20	Payment Received				3,130.40		
8/20	The Indianapolis Star		1,717.80				
8/20	The Cincinnati Enquirer		1,414.50				
8/25	Nashville Tennessean		1,410.50				
8/25	Atlanta Constitution		2,129.40				
8/25	Midland Reporter-Telegram		655.20				
8/25	Rocky Mountain News		1,501.50				
8/25	Postage Chg. - Xpress Mail		30.00				6,039.53
8/25	Payment Received	I3643			5,725.60		313.93

Martha,
Please reticket below
check w/ Carol rep
time sheets are signed.
DJ

Date August 27, 1980

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 92.81 to Bishop & Bryant, 499 S. Capitol St., Washington, DC

for the following purpose:

Ad in Nashville evening newspaper

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

or

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Carol Read

Americans for Change Comptroller

pd ck# 1097
8-27-80

000005

83040422609

Date August 27, 1980

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 1,236.00 to Bishop and Bryant, 499 S. Capitol St.,

Washington, DC

for the following purpose:

Two ads in Human Events

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Carl T. Curtis — or —

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed

Americans for Change Comptroller

per ck# 1099
8-27-80

900006

83040422610

BISHOP and BRYANT INC. /Media and Management Consultants

[redacted]

STATEMENT

BISHOP & BRYANT, INC.
499 S. CAPITOL STREET, S.W., STE. 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

3732

DATE: September 26, 1988

TO:

Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 219
Alexandria, VA 22314

Please return the white copy with your payment.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	CHARGES	CREDITS
9-26-88	Balance due as per attached sheet	-0-	
	Note: We are awaiting refund from the Atlanta paper. Will forward it to you as soon as we receive.		2228.53

330404226 1

900616

TRAFFIC

Payment due upon receipt of the bill

ACCOUNT NO. 330042261

ACCOUNT Americans For Change - Reagan

SHEET NO #2

DATE	DESCRIPTION	POSTING REF	DEBITS	CREDITS	BALANCE DEBIT	BALANCE CREDIT
	AMOUNTS BROUGHT FORWARD				353 64	
9/10	Americans For Change			313 93	39 71	
9/15	Atlanta Constitution - Refund			2,129 40		
9/15	Rocky Mountain News			207 91		(2,297 60)
9/15	Metro Photo			47 47		
9/15	Kane Delivery Chgs.	I3708		29 60		(2,220 53)
9/18	Nashville Tennessean		38 40			

9006127

BISHOP and BRYANT INC. /Media and Management Consultants

[redacted]

STATEMENT

BISHOP & BRYANT, INC.
499 S. CAPITOL STREET, S.W., STE. 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

3780

DATE: October 14, 1980

TO: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St.
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Please return the white copy with your payment.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	CHARGES	CREDITS
10/14/80	Balance due as per attached sheet	-0-	
	Refund from Atlanta Constitution ad enclosed		2190.13
			900614

8304042261

TRAFFIC

Payment due upon receipt of the bill

ACCOUNT Americans for Change / Reagan

SHEET NO. #2

DATE	DESCRIPTION	POSTING REF	DEBITS	CREDITS	BALANCE DEBIT	BALANCE CREDIT
	AMOUNTS BROUGHT FORWARD				353.64	
9/10	Americans for Change			313.93	39.71	
9/15	Allen & Constitution - Refund			2,129.40		
9/15	Rocky Mountain News			207.91	(2297.60)	
9/15	Metro Photo			47.47		
9/13	Kane Delivery Chgs.	I3708		29.60	(2220.53)	
9/18	Nashville, Tennessee		30.40		(2,190.13)	
9/7	Refund Check to Campaign		2,190.13		— 0	

900615

Kurt,

File this away.

You probably will get
a final bill from them.

33040426

900919

Kurt,

File this away.

You probably will get

a final bill from them.

8304042

900919

Kent,

File this away.

You probably will get

a final bill from them

8304042261 7

8304042261

900919

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

July 24, 1980

TO: Brad O'Leary

FROM: Nancy Turko

RE: List Orders for AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
MAILDATE: 8/18/80

The following lists have been ordered:

LIST	QTY	UNIV	COST/M	SHIP.	TOTAL
Dunn & Bradstreet $5 Million+	7500	80.4M	$450 (min. charge)	$5	$455.00
National Taxpayers Union *	25M	120M	$70	$5	$1,755.00
RAVCO Conservative Donors	5M	550M	$35	$5	$180.00
EPACO Best Conservatives	5M	210M	$50	$5	$255.00
Frank Lewis Grapefruit Hotline	5M	98M	$45	$5	$230.00
ACU Actives	5M	83M	$60	$5	$305.00
Wall St. Journal Hotline	5M	25M	$40	$5	$205.00
Boardroom Reports at Home	5M	64.6M	$55	$5	$280.00
Human Events Prime Select Political Activists	5M	150M	$75	$5	$380.00
Nationwide Active Republican Contributors	5M	375M	$40	$5	$205.00
Superior Multiple Donors	5M	220M	$45	$5	$230.00
Human Events New Choice Select	5M	250M	$50	$5	$255.00
					$4,735.00

TOTAL FOR THIS SEGMENT

901988

* Maildate: 8/25/80

499 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, SOUTHWEST, SUITE 504, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
Telephone (202) 484-1693, 484-1576

8304042618

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

July 24, 1980

TO: Brad O'Leary

FROM: Linda Fisher

RE: Additional lists to be ordered for AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

The following lists will be ordered:

LIST	QUANTITY
Citizens for the Republic (for mailing 9/8/80)	50M
Citizens for the Republic ('75-'76)	5M
Point Blank	5M
ASC Prospects	5M
Bedrock Republicans	5M
Business Week	5M
Conservative Political Activists	5M

8304042261S

901989

499 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, SOUTHWEST, SUITE 504, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
Telephone (202) 484-1693, 484-1576

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

(See Reverse Side for Instructions)

Name of Committee (in Full): AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

I.D. No.: C00129221

Full Name, Mailing Address & ZIP Code of Each Payee	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (Month, day, year)	Amount	Name of Federal Candidate supported or opposed by expenditure & office sought
MediAmerica Mark Center Office Plaza 5 1900 N. Beauregard St. Suite 12 Alexandria, VA 22311	Printing & Mailing	9/8/80 9/19/80	2,112.85 3,621.42	Ronald Reagan X Support ☐ Oppose
Metro Graphics 1211 Connecticut Ave. NW Washington, D.C. 20036	Expenses For Voter Kits	9/12/80	430.98	Ronald Reagan X Support ☐ Oppose
Moore & Moore Lithographers 1840 Fenwick St., NW Washington, D.C. 20002	Printing	8/21/80	209.00	Ronald Reagan X Support ☐ Oppose
Mountain States Direct Mail 10 East South Temple Suite 696 Salt Lake City, UT 84133	Printing & Mailing	8/6/80 9/3/80	5,000.00 4,923.11	Ronald Reagan ☐ Support X Oppose
Preferred Lists, Inc. 1 Direct Marketing Plaza Boston, MA 22713	List Purchase	7/25/80 8/27/80	4,735.00 1,045.00	Ronald Reagan X Support ☐ Oppose
Radar Advertising Services 13773 North Central Expressway Suite 1251 Dallas, TX 75243	Media Production	9/19/80	715.00	Ronald Reagan X Support ☐ Oppose

a. SubTOTAL of Itemized Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ 22,792.36

b. SubTOTAL of Unitemized Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ _____

c. TOTAL Independent Expenditures . . . . . $ _____

I, _____, certify that the independent expenditures reported on this page were made in cooperation, consultation, concert with or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate and that all statements contained herein and on any attachments hereto are true, correct and complete to the best of my knowledge and belief, or where such information was furnished by others, that I have no reason to believe that such statements are not true, correct and complete.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____

My Commission expires

8304226.10

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

July 25, 1980

TO: Brad O'Leary

FROM: Nancy Turko nt

RE: List orders for AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
Segment #2

8304226211

The following lists have been ordered:

LIST	DUE	MAILDATE	QTY	UNIV	COST/M	SHIP.	TOTAL
Business Week Actives at Home Received	8/11	receipt	5M	517M	$49	$25	$270.00
Conservative Political Activists Received	8/11	receipt	5M	150M	$50	$25	$275.00
~~Citizens for the Republic '75-'76~~ not approved	~~8/4~~	~~8/18/80~~	~~5M~~	~~110M~~	~~$50~~	~~$25~~	~~$275.00~~
ASC Prospects # 3205 252.50	8/4	8/11/80	5M	165M	$45	$25	$250.00
Bedrock Republicans # 3197 250.00	8/4	8/11/80	5M	200M	$45	$25	$250.00
				TOTAL FOR SEGMENT 2:			$1,320.00
						LESS	(275.00
							$ 1,045.00

Pending List Owner Approval:

~~Citizens for the Republic Actives~~ not approved	~~8/25~~	~~9/8/80~~	~~50M?~~	~~100M~~	~~$75~~	
Helix M1/M4 still pending	9/2	9/15/80	50M	150M	$50	

900429

499 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, SOUTHWEST, SUITE 504, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
Telephone (202) 484-1693, 484-1576

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

August 4, 1980

TO: Brad O'Leary

FROM: Nancy Turko nt

RE: List orders for AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

Please note that the following order has been cancelled:

LIST	QUANTITY	MAILDATE
Citizens for the Republic '75-'76	5M	8/18/80

8304042266

499 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, SOUTHWEST, SUITE 504, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
Telephone (202) 484-1693, 484-1576

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

ONE DIRECT MARKETING PLAZA, BOSTON, VIRGINIA 22713 (703) 825-5213

CUSTOMER NAME AND ADDRESS
AMERICANS FOR CURE

— INVOICE —

DATE	RENTAL NO.	INVOICE NO.
8-10-90	5669	003286

LIST RENTAL DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION
Conservative Political Activists Mail Date: Upon Receipt	5000	50/m	250.00
Shipping			25.00
CLS 9060			275.00

PAID 10-3-90

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

PLEASE RETURN THIS COPY WITH YOUR REMITTANCE

9009

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

ONE DIRECT MARKETING PLAZA, BOSTON, VIRGINIA 22713 (703) 825-5213

— INVOICE —

CUSTOMER NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE	RENTAL NO.	INVOICE NO.

LIST RENTAL DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

PLEASE RETURN THIS COPY WITH YOUR REMITTANCE

900920

9-26-82

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

ONE DIRECT MARKETING PLAZA, BOSTON, VIRGINIA 22713 (703) 825-5213

CUSTOMER NAME AND ADDRESS
BRAD O'LEARY

— INVOICE —

DATE	RENTAL NO.	INVOICE NO.
9/18/80	5664	005003

LIST RENTAL DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION
D & B $5 Million for Americans for Change Mail Date: Upon Receipt	7,484	$60/M	$450.00
Shipping			17.46
DMS #1052182			
			$467.46

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

900922

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

ONE DIRECT MARKETING PLAZA, BOSTON, VIRGINIA 22713 (703) 825-5213

CUSTOMER NAME AND ADDRESS
2 6 2 6

—INVOICE—

DATE	RENTAL NO.	INVOICE NO.

2	LIST RENTAL DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION
8 3 0 4 0 4				

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

PLEASE RETURN THIS COPY WITH YOUR REMITTANCE

900921

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

ONE DIRECT MARKETING PLAZA, BOSTON, VIRGINIA 22713 (703) 825-5213

CUSTOMER NAME AND ADDRESS
[illegible]

—INVOICE—

DATE	RENTAL NO.	INVOICE NO.
8/28/80	5[illegible]	[illegible]

LIST RENTAL DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION
[illegible] Mail Date: 8/4/80 Sel Code:	5,000	$45[illegible]	$225.[illegible]
[illegible]			25.70
		Paid #1034	
			$250.70

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

PLEASE RETURN THIS COPY WITH YOUR REMITTANCE

900916

Date _____ /_____

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of
$ 777.48 to PREFERRED LISTS
ONE DIRECT MARKETING PLAZA BOSTON, VA 22713
for the following purpose:
COST PURCHASE

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

Brad O'Leary AND
Brad O'Leary OR _____
Carol Reed

X If over $500.00:

Carl T. Curtis _____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

900924

_____
Brad O'Leary

83040422628

Y: NT:
ck # 1397
te Oct 30

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

SEP - 2 1980

August 27, 1980

TO: Bob Morgan

FROM: Nancy Turko NT

RE: CL Invoice #0004PR

I was greatly surprised to receive the above invoice for $100 for cancellation charges for PLI PO #5671 for the CFTR '75-'76 list.

This amount is much higher than the normal rate for running charges. I am sure that there must have been some error in your invoicing department; $20/M just seems too high.

I'd appreciate hearing from you soon, so that this can be cleared up and we can send you our payment.

Thanks.

8304042262

Nancy
may out of pocket costs to pull for CFTR cost between $15 to $25 per name, when you consider the cost of printing 500,000 records & later the cost/hit is low. not high.
If you have any questions, please call.
Bob Morgan

499 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, SOUTHWEST, SUITE 504, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
Telephone (202) 484-1693, 484-1576

900918

9-26-57

PREFERRED LISTS INC.

ONE DIRECT MARKETING PLAZA, BOSTON, VIRGINIA 22713 (703) 825-5213

CUSTOMER NAME AND ADDRESS

BRAD O'LEARY

— INVOICE —

DATE	RENTAL NO.	INVOICE NO.
9/18/80	5671	005001

LIST RENTAL DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION
Citizens for the Republic 75-76 for Americans for Change Mail Date: 8/18/80 Computer Costs Due to Cancellation of Order			$100.00
NOTE: See Attached			
C 0004PR			$100.00

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

900923

8304042631

Media America

902533

MEDIAMERICA

Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703 998-0334

Americans for Change
Brenda Jones
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

July 2, 1980

Dear Brenda:

I appreciate your inquiry concerning our volume typing service, LETTERS UNLIMITED.

Our estimate of .85 per piece on the two page letter we discussed includes typing the carrier envelope, full inside name and address, salutation, date, and closing. All mailing services are also included.

Brenda, please keep in mind that our service does not produce "inkjet" or computer letters. It is the real thing, the highest quality impact typing available in the Eastern region. Our prices however are more reasonable than either computer or inkjet houses.

I have enclosed a brochure for your perusal along with our political services list.

If we can serve your typing needs or provide your organization with other direct mail or fundraising services, please feel free to call me personally.

Sincerely,

D. Richard Geske
President

Enclosures

DRG/meg

902562

8304042263?

SERVICES LIST

DIRECT MAIL FUNDRAISING - ALL SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE;
COPYWRITING, DESIGN, PRODUCTION, AND MAILING

DIRECT MAIL VOTER APPEAL PROGRAMS

LIST MAINTENANCE FOR FUNDRAISING, VOTER APPEALS,
THANK YOU LETTERS, ETC.

COMPLETE TELEVISION AND RADIO COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION

AGENCY SERVICES FOR DUB PRODUCTION, PLACEMENT,
AND DISTRIBUTION

TELEPHONE FUNDRAISING

TELEPHONE "GET-OUT-THE-VOTE" CANVASING

TELEPHONE POLLING

VOLUME TYPING SERVICE

SPECIAL EVENT FUNDRAISING

NEWSPRINT AND MAGAZINE DISPLAY ADS (DESIGN,
PLACEMENT, AND DISTRIBUTIONS)

CAMPAIGN BROCHURES AND BUMPER STICKERS

SPECIALIZED POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SOLICITATION PROGRAM

CAMPAIGN CONSULTING:
TELEPHONE BANKS FOR FUNDRAISING OR VOTER ACTIVITY
DIRECT MAIL
SPECIAL EVENTS

8304042263

902563

PARTIAL ROSTER OF POLITICAL CLIENTS ONLY

AMERICANS AGAINST LIBERAL LEGISLATION
AMERICANS FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY
CONNALLY FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
CRANE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
GOVERNOR EDWARD KING
GOVERNOR ROBERT LIST
HERITAGE FOUNDATION
INSTITUTE OF MONEY AND INFLATION
JENKINS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE
LT. GOVERNOR TERRY BRADSTAD
NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN HELEN OBENSHAIN
NATIONAL COMSERVATIVE FOUNDATION
NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES COMMITTEE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE
PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
REAGAN VICTORY FUND
TARGET '80 COMMITTEES
THE CONGRESSIONAL CLUB
THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS
THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION
UNITED STATES SENATE CANDIDATE JIM BUCKLEY
UNITED STATES SENATOR JESSE HELMS
UNITED STATES SENATOR GORDON HUMPHREY
UNITED STATES SENATOR ROGER JEPSON
UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN WARNER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL ARCHER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN ED BETHUNE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL CLINGER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN DANIEL CRANE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN PHILLIP CRANE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN ROBERT K. DORNAN
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN MICKEY EDWARDS
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN JIM JEFFRIES
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN KEN KRAMER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN DAN MARRIOTT
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN LARRY MCDONALD
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN RON PAUL
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN JOHN ROUSSELOT
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL ROYER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN GERALD B. SOLOMON
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BOB STUMP
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN STEVE D. SYMMS
WASHINGTON LEGAL FOUNDATION

8304042263 4

902564

Letters Unlimited

Volume Typing Service

703 998 0538

Letters Unlimited

Volume Typing Service

0 4 0 4 2 2 2 6 3

Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, Va. 22311

Actual unretouched microphotos of available quality

Letters Unlimited

IBM Inkjet

Computer

902565

Line Printer

Individually Typed Letters

LINE COUNT	PAGE 1	PAGE 2	PAGE 3	PAGE 4
1–10	.29	.20	.15	.10
11–15	.33	.24	.16	.11
16–20	.37	.28	.23	.18
21–25	.41	.32	.27	.22
26–30	.45	.36	.31	.26
31–35	.49	.40	.35	.30
36–40	.53	.44	.39	.34
41–45	.57	.48	.43	.38
46–50	.61	.52	.47	.42

Prices per letter are determined by line count per page.

Additional Charges

Variable in body of letter	.04 PER WORD
Whole line variables	.10 PER LINE
Variables from computer tape	.025 EACH
Underscoring	.002 PER WORD .02 PER LINE
Handwritten ink signatures (Auto pen)	.05 EACH
Freehand signature	.04 EACH
Traceplate signature	.10
Handwritten post script's (Auto pen)	.10-.20 (BASED ON LENGTH)

Individual Addressing

Full inside address and salutation for pre-printed letters	.08 EACH
Envelope or label addressing	.06 EACH
9 x 12 Envelope addressing (3-5 lines)	.10 EACH
Carbon copies	.05 EACH

902566

Above Prices Include

- Inside name, Address, Salutation, Date, and Closing
- Envelope addressed
- Choice of type face
- Proportional spacing
- Ten and twelve pitch elements
- Samples for customer files

Mailing Services

Folding	.01 PER ITEM
Inserting	.01 PER ITEM
Affixing Postage	.01 PER ITEM
Affix labels	.01 PER ITEM
Sealing and mailing	.02 PER ITEM

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 9 2 9

One day turn around available

Highest quality

Rush service available

Free Pick up and delivery service available

Quantity discounts

Contracts for volume work

All postage must be pre-paid

8304042263 7

AMERICA

Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311





Brenda Jones
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

PURCHASE ORDER

NO. 2058.

TO Medi America DATE 2/9/19 80

ADDRESS 1900 Beauregard

SHIP TO Alexandria 22311

ADDRESS Reimbursement to PM

SHIP VIA	F.O.B.	TERMS	DATE REQUIRED

	QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	STOCK NUMBER/DESCRIPTION	PRICE	PER		
1			Postage for Direct			200	00
2			Mail piece #1				
3			(Free Speechfund)				
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11			Total			200	00
12							

IMPORTANT

OUR ORDER NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE.

ADVISE US IF UNABLE TO DELIVER BY DATE REQUIRED.

Carol Reed

Buyer

DUPLICATE

GRAYLINE FORMS 88250 DUPLICATE — 88350 TRIPLICATE 280 U.S.A.

8304042263E

901047

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Seattle

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA. 22314

August 1, 1980

INVOICE #566

For 77 fully typed letters to Seattle list. Including overnight key entry, live ink signature and mailing services.

Typing:	1st pg. 28 lines @ .45/ea.		34.65
	2nd pg. 20 lines @ .37/ea.		28.49
Mailing:	Collate	.01	
	Fold	.02	
	Insert	.04	
	Seal/mail	.02	
	Stamp	.01	
		.10/ea.	7.70
Key Entry immediate turn-a-round @ .15/name			11.55
Set-up			20.00
Postage			11.55
	Total Due		$113.94

** (All invoices are due and payable within twenty days of invoice date. A service charge of 1.5% per month, equal to 18% per year, will be added to past due balances.)

900980

8304042263

August 4, 1980

Memorandum

TO: Brad O'Leary

FROM: Carol Reed

RE.: Contribution Tape

Those people who have contributed to Americans for Change are being put on tape at Media America. The information being keypunched is: Name, address, amount contributed and letter code. The letter code will allow us to know which direct mail piece brought in the contribution. A personalized thankyou letter is sent to each person within 5 days after we receive the contribution.

Contributor codes are as follows to date:

S.E. - Special Event

F.S. - Free Speech Letter

A.C. - Advisory Committee Letter

M - Miscellaneous

901984

3304042264C

Date 8-4-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 113.94 to Media America

1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12

Alexandria, VA 22314

for the following purpose:

77 - 2page letters to Seattle

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

	or	
Sen. Carl T. Curtis Treasurer		Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary — Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed — Carol Reed

Americans for Change Comptroller

900313

8304 042 2641

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA. 22314

August 1, 1980

INVOICE #566

For 77 fully typed letters to Seattle list. Including overnight key entry, live ink signature and mailing services.

Typing:	1st pg. 28 lines @ .45/ea.		34.65
	2nd pg. 20 lines @ .37/ea.		28.49
Mailing:	Collate	.01	
	Fold	.02	
	Insert	.04	
	Seal/mail	.02	
	Stamp	.01	
		.10/ea.	7.70
Key Entry immediate turn-a-round @ .15/name			11.55
Set-up			20.00
Postage			11.55
	Total Due		$113.94

** (All invoices are due and payable within twenty days of invoice date. A service charge of 1.5% per month, equal to 18% per year, will be added to past due balances.)

900314

8304042264

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

August 11, 1980

Invoice # 570

POSTAGE IN ACCOUNT FOR USE OF DIRECT MAIL PIECES.	$2,500.00

Paid 8/6/80
Check #1054
Amount $2500.00

8304042264 5

Date Aug. 6, 1980

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 2500.00 to Media America, 1900 N. Beauregard St., Suite 12, Alexandria, VA 22311

for the following purpose:

Advance payment for postage for fundraising

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

or

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed

Americans for Change Comptroller

pd ck # 1654
8-6-80

900312

83040422614

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

August 12, 1980

Invoice # 594

Urgent-Grams re: Additional invitees to Washington, D. C., Luncheon, August 18, 1980.

265 Urgent-Grams @ .46/Unit	$56.074
Postage	39.75
Total due	$95.85

Net due in 20 days. 1.5% interest charged on outstanding balance. Equivalent to 18% annually.

900320

8304042645

COPY APPROVAL

NAME: Brenda Jones

DATE: 7-7-80

COMPANY/ORGANIZATION: Americans for Change

A.) IF COPY CHANGES ARE REQUIRED PLEASE INDICATE THEM ON THE ATTACHED SAMPLE AND RETURN TO MEDIAMERICA, OR CALL JOHN ROMANIN AT 998-0334.

COMMENTS: none

B.) THE ATTACHED COPY MEETS WITH MY SPECIFICATIONS AND IS READY FOR PRODUCTION.

Brenda K Jones
(SIGNATURE)

**PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM.

902230

8304042266416

Free Speech Letter
Direct Piece #1

July 7, 1980

Mr. Robert Allen
Gulf Resources and Chemical Corp.
47th Flr.,100 Milam Bldg.
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Mr. Allen:

My efforts and those of Americans for Change on behalf of Governor Ronald Reagan have been attacked by Common Cause.

On July 1 they filed a lawsuit designed to harass and obstruct the efforts of Americans for Change in our attempt to express our constitutional rights of Freedom of Speech.

This lawsuit is being financed almost entirely from supporters of Carter, Kennedy and Anderson by their contributions to Common Cause.

I hope you care enough about free speech and free association in America to assist in our fight against these attempts to halt our activities on behalf of Ronald Reagan and the 1980 elections.

There is no question that the Supreme Court in Buckley v. Valeo ruled that neither the FEC nor Congress could limit the amount of money that individuals and groups may spend on behalf of, but independent from, any candidate.

The principle was upheld again by the Courts this year in a recent case involving the FEC. The Common Cause lawsuit is an attempt to force us to waste time and money and to harass our organizational activities. They evidently hope to have a chilling effect on our fundraising ability.

902231

30422617

Common Cause says they are not a political organization and so they refuse to make their contributors list public or comply with regulations on political activity by the FEC.

Yet the two goals of Common Cause for 1980 are clearly political, first, to cripple your First Amendment rights which currently allows you and me to publicly advocate as individuals or part of a group our support of candidates and issues of our choice.

The second goal is to seek passage of the Obey-Railsback Bill which is designed to reduce free speech and political activity in which groups of Americans can engage.

With goals like these I wonder just how political Common Cause can become. Obviously the accomplishments of such goals would benefit certain liberal incumbent officeholders more than moderate and conservative challengers.

If we were able to see their secret list of contributors I am sure it would contain the names of prominent supporters of big government and foes of the free enterprise system.

I hope you don't share the political philosophies of these supporters of Common Cause. I hope you agree with my beliefs and the Supreme Courts that you and I have a constitutional right to free speech and that groups and associations should be able to participate in the election process by any legal and constitutional means.

Not only do I intend to fight and win in the courts but I intend to consider raising legal funds for discovery to see if any officer or staff member of Common Cause has discussed filing the lawsuit with the Carter campaign and is acting on their request or with the assistance of Carter campaign officials or senior members of the White House staff.

I cannot carry the financial burden of fighting this lawsuit alone. I must ask you to raise or contribute $1,000 by July 24th to a special Free Speech Fund.

I hope you will respond immediately. This lawsuit will have tremendous impact on the financing of elections in America and your ability to participate on behalf of the candidate of your choice.

Sincerely,

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator

902232

C30404226 18

AMERICA

Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703 998-0334

Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
Attn: Brenda Jones

July 8, 1980

Invoice #516

For 513 Urgent-Grams to Dallas contributor list.

Production .37/ea.		$189.81
Mailing Folding		
Inserting		
Stamping		
Seal/Mail		20.52
Postage @ .15/ea.		76.95
Paper staoc @ .05/ea		25.65
	Total	$312.93

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042649

900311

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

July 15, 1980

Invoice #528

For 1881 Urgent-Grams including overnight key entry and mailing service.

Typing/Production

1881 @ .42/ea.		$ 790.02
Mailing @ .02/ea.		37.62
Key entry @ .14/ea.		263.34
		$1,090.98
Postage		282.15
	Total Due	$1,373.13

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042263O

900310

Date July 25, 1980

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 1686.06 to Media America,

Mark Center Office Plaza 5, 1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12,

Alexandria, VA 22311

for the following purpose:

Two invoices - $312.93 and $1,373.13 - for Urgent-Grams to contributors

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Carl Curtis or _____

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

_____ _____

Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

pd ck #1028
7-25-80

_____
Americans for Change Comptroller

900309

8304042265I

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 6 5 5

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

July 25, 1980

For label print-out of Dallas contributor list.

Set-up	$ 25.00
Processing Fee	10.00
Rush turn-a-round	25.00
Total Due	$ 60.00

Invoice #547

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice.
A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900298

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza II
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

July 25, 1980

Invoice #548

For 40 Urgent Grams regarding Ana Antonio meeting.

.42/unit
.15/postage .57/each

Total Due $22.80

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice.
A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900975

8304042263

SAN ANTONIO URGENT GRAM

July 9, 1980

I would like to have lunch with you on Saturday, July 19 at the Argyle in San Antonio at 12:00 noon.

I will fly to San Antonio that morning from the Republican National Convention in Detroit.

I would like to visit with you not in my role as a U.S. Senator, but as Chairman of Americans for Change, a national independent committee whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

I would like to discuss your serving on the Texas Advisory Committee of "Reagan for President in 80". You would be joining Libba Barnes, Frates Seeligson, B.K. Johnson, H.B. Zachry, Sr., all of whom have indicated their willingness to serve.

This luncheon will allow me to update you on the Common Cause/ John White activity against Reagan and outline our plans for Texas and what you can do if you agree to serve.

Please RSVP to Sandy Hornberger at 828-7984.

I look forward to seeing you on the 19th.

Sincerely,

Jack Schmitt
U.S. Senator

33042265

902233

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

July 25, 1980

Invoice #549

For certified mailing tests to house files.

Costs: Postage-Certified 1.53/ea. (C Codes)
Postage .15/ea.
Handeling .12/ea. (Codes)

Prices include postage, typing and mailing.

Steering Committee	
69 (Codes ACSC) @ 2.50/ea.	$ 172.50
69 (Code ACS) @ 1.10	75.90
Senatorial Trust	
78 Code (STC) @ 2.50	195.00
78 Code (ST) @ 1.10	85.80
Connally	
87 Code (CF) @ 1.10	95.70
Set-up	35.00
Signature	15.24
Clerical/Handeling	50.00
Total	$ 725.14
Less: Postage Credit	200.00
Total Amount Due	$ 525.14

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice.
A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900974

8304042635

Date _____

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$1,005.23 to Media America

1000 N Beauregard Suite 12

Alexandria, VA 22311

for the following purpose:

#148.58 - 209 Urgent Grams to Houston

#856.64 - 1,198 Urgent Grams to DC luncheon

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

_____ or _____

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary _____

Brad O'Leary

_____

Carol Reed

_____

Americans for Change Comptroller

900315

8304042636

8-15-80
DC

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

August 11, 1980

Invoice #590

For 1198 Urgent Gram re: Washington D. C. Meeting Overnight by entry (extra).

Production @.42/unit	$503.16
Key Entry @.09/name	107.82
Verification	23.96
Set-up	10.00
Postage	179.70
1 Run Xerox	32.00
Total	$856.64

8304042637

900981

Houston

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

August 11, 1980

Invoice #592

For 209 Urgent Grams to Houston list. Signator Jack Schmitt/Mosbacker

Production:	Urgent Gram @.42/ea	$87.98
	Duplication Elimination 50/names-addresses @18.5¢/ea	9.25
	Postage	31.35
	Mail Express to Mosbacker	20.00
		$148.58

830404226 3 8

900976

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 2 6 3

Date Aug.1 , 1980

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 607.94 to MediaAmerica, 1900 N. Beauregard St., Suite 12, Alexandria, VA 22311

for the following purpose:

Printout of contributor list, Urgent Grams for San Antonio event, Postage, typing and mailing of fundraising letters

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

Carl T. Curtis or _____

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary

Carol Read

Americans for Change Comptroller

ck # 1046
8-1-80

900297

August 4, 1980

Memorandum

TO: Brad O'Leary

FROM: Carol Reed

RE.: Contribution Tape

Those people who have contributed to Americans for Change are being put on tape at Media America. The information being keypunched is: Name, address, amount contributed and letter code. The letter code will allow us to know which direct mail piece brought in the contribution. A personalized thankyou letter is sent to each person within 5 days after we receive the contribution.

Contributor codes are as follows to date:

S.E. - Special Event

F.S. - Free Speech Letter

A.C. - Advisory Committee Letter

M - Miscellaneous

901984

8304226S0

JOB DESCRIPTION

___ KEY ENTRY ONLY

DATE: 8/14/90

X ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

___ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: Fri. Aug. 15

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: Nashville
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: Additional Nashville Usextown Times

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 26

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

X URGENT GRAM ___ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? ___

X FINAL COPY ATTACHED ___ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. ___
2. ___
3. ___
4. ___
5. ___

JOB NUMBER

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902543

8304042265 1

JOB DESCRIPTION

___ KEY ENTRY ONLY

DATE: 8/14/80

X ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

___ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: 8/15/80

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: Cincinnatti Additional
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: Additional Cincinnatti list

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 33

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

X URGENT GRAM ___ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? ___

X FINAL COPY ATTACHED ___ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. ___
2. ___
3. ___
4. ___
5. ___

JOB NUMBER

[ ]

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902544

330404226

JOB DESCRIPTION

___ KEY ENTRY ONLY

DATE: 8/15/80

✓ ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

___ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: 8-18-80

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH:
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA) _____

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: American for Change Contributor Tape

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 20

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

___ URGENT GRAM

X LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? 1 A.F.C. Stationary

X FINAL COPY ATTACHED

___ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. B.R.E.
2. Response Card
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

930404226633

JOB NUMBER

Carol Reed

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902548

JOB DESCRIPTION

___ KEY ENTRY ONLY

DATE: 8/15/80

_X_ ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

___ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: 8/16 or 8/17 for sure!

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: Atlanta
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: Atlanta urgentgram invite

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 861

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

_X_ URGENT GRAM ___ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? ___

_X_ FINAL COPY ATTACHED ___ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSTRUCTIONS:

1. ___

2. ___

3. ___

4. ___

5. ___

JOB NUMBER

Carol Reed

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
133 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0804

902534

8304042266

URGENTGRAM ATLANTA

You are invited to breakfast, 8:30, Thursday, August 28 at the Century Center Hotel in Atlanta.

Our featured guests will be the Honorable Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, U.S. Senator from New Mexico and former lunar astronaut, the Honorable John Harmer, former California Lt. Governor under Ronald Reagan, and Howard Ruff, noted investment consultant and author.

They will discuss with us the role Americans for Change, an independent political committee, is planning to insure a change in the Presidency this November.

We are proud to be supporting this organization and believe you will be in sympathy with its goals. Every sign indicates that the race will be hard fought and any victory a narrow one.

Please take the time to attend this breakfast for a first hand report on how we can combine our efforts to insure a Reagan victory. RSVP to Sarah Carpenter (404)894-7802.

Sincerely,

Honorable Ben Blackburn

William Flowers

Charles West

8304042665

902535

Coral

Foreign files

JOB DESCRIPTION

DATE: 8/15/80

___ KEY ENTRY ONLY

X ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

___ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: 8/15/80

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: Denver (additional names)
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: Denver (urgent gram)

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 41

8304.0422666

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

X URGENT GRAM ___ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? ___

X FINAL COPY ATTACHED ___ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. ___
2. ___
3. ___
4. ___
5. ___

JOB NUMBER

Carol Reed-

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902545

COPY FOR DENVER, COLORADO INVITATION

We cordially invite you to be our guest for lunch on Friday, August 29th at the Denver Athletic Club, 1325 Glenarm Place, ~~at 11:45 a.m.~~ We'll open the cash bar from 11:45 a.m. until 12:15 p.m. in Denver Suites #3, #4 and #5, luncheon being served promptly at 12:15 p.m.

United States Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt of New Mexico, John Harmer, former Lt. Governor of California under Ronald Reagan and Howard Ruff, Investment Consultant and author will be flying in from Washington on Friday morning especially for this luncheon.

The purpose of their visit is to acquaint you with the upcoming Presidential campaign and to discuss Governor Reagan. The Presidential race is crucial to all of us and we very much hope that you will find the time to come to this luncheon.

Sincerely,

Senator Gordon Allott

Senator Peter H. Dominick

R.S.V.P. Fred Steffens
861 - 7157
(Denver)

8304042266 57

902546

(0)466
5430 —

1810 Calvert St. #4

18th / Calvert / Columb..

up Ct. — turn right
2 blocks down

8304042268

902547

JOB DESCRIPTION

____ KEY ENTRY ONLY

DATE: 8/15/80

____ ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

✓ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE) + 5 ADDITIONAL NAMES ENCLOSED.

DROP DATE: 8-16-80

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: Indianapolis List
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: _____

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 5

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

X URGENT GRAM ____ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? ____

X FINAL COPY ATTACHED ____ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

8304042265

JOB NUMBER

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902540

URGENT GRAM INDIANAPOLIS _ - CORRECTION

Due to a computer error in our main terminal in Washington, D.C. your invitation to attend a luncheon with U.S. Senator Harrison Schmitt and John Harmer, former Lt. Governor under Ronald Reagan, incorrectly identified two of the luncheon sponsors who are:

Mayor William Hudnut III
Dr. Beurt SerVaas

The luncheon is at the Murat Shrine Club at 12:00 noon on Monday, August 25th.

Please RSVP to Sherry at 637-9606

The other hosts for the luncheon are:

Attorney General Theodore Sendak
Governor Edgar Whitcomb
Congressman Richard Roudebush

Thank you.

John Romanin
Director East Coast Operations
Urgentgram Mail Service

8304042670

902541

John:

Please add the following names to the Indianapolis mailing list and be certain they receive this mailgram correcting the errors.

Thank you - and I am sorry for the inconvenience. Sarah

Attorney General Theodore Sendak
219 State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Richard L. Roudebush
Administrator Veterans Affairs
R.R. 3 Box 23A
Noblesville, Indiana 46060

Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb
636 N. Poplar
Seymour, Indiana 47274

Dr. Beurt SerVaas
1100 Waterway Blvd.
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202

Mayor William H. Hudnut III
2501 City County Bldg.
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

8304042267 1

902542

30404226772

Date 8-27-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 2,112.85 to MediAmerica

1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12

Alexandria, VA 22314

for the following purpose:

447 Houston UrgentGrams; 644 Key-Entry for Detroit; 3,700 Key-Entry for Texas; 293 Indianapolis UrgentGrams; 293 Follow-up Indianapolis UrgentGrams; 250 fully typed 2-page letters; 43 UrgentGrams

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

_____ or Harrison H. Schmitt

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary
Brad O'Leary

_____
Carol Reed

_____
Americans for Change Comptroller

post ck # 1142
9-3-80
MSB

900301

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 219
Alexandria, Va. 22314

August 19, 1980

Invoice # 596A

For 447 Urgent Grams to Houston select re:
Senator John Tower--Senate Economic & Defense PAC

Production 447 @.46/unit	$	205.62
Postage Credit		
Set Up		10.00
Total Due	$	215.62

Postage Credit $67.05

83040422673

900302

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

August 19, 1980

Invoice #597

Original key-entry fo Detroit names & addresses (3 lines) total count 644.

Key Entry:		
644 @.09/each	$	57.96
Total Due	$	57.96

8304042267 4

Date 8-18-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 95.85/100 to Media America
1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311

for the following purpose:

265 Urgent Mgrams - additional remote DC event

Reviewed and approved,

If over $100.00:

_____ or _____

Sen. Carl T. Curtis
Treasurer

Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman

If $100.00 or less: (2 of 3)

Brad O'Leary
Brad O'Leary

Carol Reed
Carol Reed

_____
Americans for Change Comptroller

ck# 1122
8-27-80

900319

8304042267 5

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80 PROJECT
218 N. LEE STREET
SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

mr UrgentGram

1-09834750987345AFCAFC2 8/7/80 ACF MAUG
01-ALEXANDRIA

Mr. Ralph Lazarus
Chairman, Fed. Dept. Stores, Inc.
222 W. 7th Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Mr. Lazarus:

On June 5th of this year I joined with 200 prominant American civic, business, and political figures to form a national, independent bi-partisan committee whose main purpose is to raise and spend funds in the general election in support of Governor Ronald Reagan.

We have commissioned a national poll which will go into the field on Thursday, August 14 with the first results available for analysis on August 18.

I hope you can join us for lunch that day at the University Club at 12 noon to hear the poll results.

We would also like to discuss the possibility of your becoming actively involved with our committee.

You would be joining with myself, U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger, Minnesota, Carl Curtis, former Senator from Nebraska, John Harmer, former Lt. Governor of California under Reagan, George Romney, former Gov. of Michigan, Jimmie Edwards, former Governor of South Carolina, William Miller, Former 1964 Republican Vice Presidential Candidate, and a number of other prominent Americans.

In the last twenty-two days we have received cash commitments and pledges of almost 3 million dollars so we are well on our way to our goal of 20 million. During lunch we will also discuss some of our plans for the fall.

Because of space limitations this invitation is not transferable and we will be unable to accommodate guests.

Lunch will begin promptly at 12 with an open bar from 11:30 to 12:00. I hope you can join us.

Sincerely,

Harrison(Jack)Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

Please R.S.V.P. to Senator Jack Scmitt at 683-5258, Joseph Walker, Jr. 471-4045, Dr. John Proctor 893-1360, Senator Carl T. Curtis 683-5259, Cong. Burt L. Talcott 833-3018, or Charles Chamberlain 783-9500.

902237

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

URGENT GRAM FOR AUGUST 18 D.C. EVENT

On June 5th of this year I joined with 200 prominant American civic, Business, and political figures to form a national, independent bi-partisan committee whose main purpose is to raise and spend funds in the general election in support of Governor Ronald Reagan.

We have commissioned a national poll which will go into the field on Thursday, August 14 with the first results available for analysis on August 18.

I hope you can join us for lunch that day at the University Club in Wash. D.C. at 12 noon to hear the poll results.

We would also like to discuss the possibility of your becoming actively involved with our committee.

You would be joining with myself, U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger, Minnesota, Carl Curtis, former Senator from Nebraska, John Harmer, former Lt. Governor of California under Reagan, George Romney, former Governor of Michigan, Jimmie Edwards, former Governor of South Carolina, William Miller, former 1964 Republican Vice Presidential candidate, and a number of other prominent Americans.

In the last twenty-two days we have received cash commitments and pledges of almost 3 million dollars so we are well on our way to our goal of 20 million. During lunch we will also discuss some of our plans for the fall.

Please RSVP to one of the following people.

902228

3040422677

Because of space linitations this invitation is not transferable and we will be unable to acccmmodate guests.

Lunch will begin promptly at 12 with an open bar from 11;30 to 12;00. I hope you can join us.

Sincerely,

Harrison(Jack)Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

8304042267E

902228

JOB DESCRIPTION

Carol - K&L has xerox of list — Hunter

DATE: 8/18/80

____ KEY ENTRY ONLY

____ ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

____ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: ASAP or 8/20/80

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: _____
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: Denver INVITATION LIST

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: _____

8304042267C

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

__X__ URGENT GRAM _____ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? _____

____ FINAL COPY ATTACHED _____ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

APPROX. 123 additional names for Denver Event Invitation

JOB NUMBER

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902538

COPY FOR DENVER, COLORADO INVITATION

We cordially invite you to be our guest for lunch on Friday, August 29th at the Denver Athletic Club, 1325 Glenarm Place. ~~at 11:45 a.m.~~ We'll open the cash bar from 11:45 a.m. until 12:15 p.m. in Denver Suites #3, #4 and #5, luncheon being served promptly at 12:15 p.m.

United States Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt of New Mexico, John Harmer, former Lt. Governor of California under Ronald Reagan and Howard Ruff, Investment Consultant and author will be flying in from Washington on Friday morning especially for this luncheon.

The purpose of their visit is to acquaint you with the upcoming Presidential campaign and to discuss Governor Reagan. The Presidential race is crucial to all of us and we very much hope that you will find the time to come to this luncheon.

Sincerely,

Senator Gordon Allott

Senator Peter H. Dominick

R.S.V.P. Fred Steffens
861 - 7157
(Denver)

8304042268C

902539

Carol's

JOB DESCRIPTION

* COPY ATTACHED

____ KEY ENTRY ONLY

____ ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

____ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DATE: 8/21/80

PRIORITY

DROP DATE: ASAP -

NAME OF HOUSE ~~LIST TO~~ PUBLISH:
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED:

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 40 NAMES

* SUPPLEMENT TO DENVER INVITATION LIST —

40 NAMES

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

__X__ URGENT GRAM _____ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? _____

____ FINAL COPY ATTACHED _____ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

K.H. has xerox of list -

* sent by courier - 11:20 AM 8/21

JOB NUMBER

8304042263 1

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902536

COPY FOR DENVER, COLORADO INVITATION

We cordially invite you to be our guest for lunch on Friday, August 29th at the Denver Athletic Club, 1325 Glenarm Place, ~~at 11:45 a.m.~~ We'll open the cash bar from 11:45 a.m. until 12:15 p.m. in Denver Suites #3, #4 and #5, luncheon being served promptly at 12:15 p.m.

United States Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt of New Mexico, John Harmer, former Lt. Governor of California under Ronald Reagan and Howard Ruff, Investment Consultant and author will be flying in from Washington on Friday morning especially for this luncheon.

The purpose of their visit is to acquaint you with the upcoming Presidential campaign and to discuss Governor Reagan. The Presidential race is crucial to all of us and we very much hope that you will find the time to come to this luncheon.

Sincerely,

Senator Gordon Allott

Senator Peter H. Dominick

R.S.V.P. Fred Steffens
861 - 7157
(Denver)

8304042268 2

902537

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

AFC
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA. 22314

August 19, 1980

INVOICE #598

Original key entry of Texas Contributor list (3 line addresses). Total count = 3,700 names/addresses.

Key Entry:

3,700 @ .09/each	$331.00
File create $15.00/M	52.00
Visual dup. elemination @ 6.00/hr.	18.00
Total Due	$401.00

8304042683

900977

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Sreet
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

August 19, 1980

Invoice #599

For 293 Urgent Grams Re:

Indianapolis Meeting

Production @ .46/unit	$134.78
Postage	43.95
Set-Up	15.00
	$193.73
Postage pre-paid (credit)	- 43.95
Total Due	$149.78

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042268

900336

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

August 20, 1980

Invoice #601

For 250 fully typed 2 page letters to Conservative Contributors List.

Typing:		
	1st page 20 lines @ .37/ea.	$ 92.50
	2nd page 40 lines @ .44/ea.	110.00
Mailing:		
Collate	.02	
Fold	.02	
Insert	.04	
Seal/Mail	.02	
Stamp	.01	
Certify	.03	
	14/unit	35.00
Postage		37.50
Set-Up		15.00
		$290.00
Postage pre-paid (credit)		- 37.50
	Total Due	$252.50

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900334

8304042268 5

9-2-80

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA. 22314

August 20, 1980

INVOICE #602

8304042686

Urgent Grams:

Indianapolis:	293	@ .46/Unit	follow-up	$ 134.78
Atlanta:	861	@ .46/Unit		396.06
Nashville:	200	@ .46/Unit		92.00
Cincinnati:	353	@ .46/Unit		162.38
Denver:	472	@ .46/Unit		217.12
			Postage	~~N/C~~ 326.85
			Total Due	$1002.34

2|79

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per o th (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

$ 326.85

900335

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

August 22, 1980

Invoice #611

43 Urgent Grams @ .46/unit		$19.78
Key entry @ .09/ea		3.87
Set-up		10.00
Postage		6.45
	Total	$40.10
Postage pre-paid (credit)		$ -6.45
	Total Due	$33.65

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900333

8304042268 7

$5,000 postage to

Mid American - check #1129

Sept 2

0000324

Hold for Mail

Date 9-4-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 3,621.42 to MediAmerica, 19000 Bucaneguard Suite 12, Alexandria, VA 22311

for the following purpose:

2,17 7 UrgentGrams to Chicago and UrgentGrams to 14 states (4,900) to serve on state steer committee.

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

Brad O'Leary OR _____

Brad O'Leary **Carol Reed**

If $200.01 - 500.00:

Carl T. Curtis OR _____

Senator Carl T. Curtis **Senator Harrison H. Schmitt**

AND

_____ OR _____

Brad O'Leary **Carol Reed**

If over $500.00:

_____ OR _____

Senator Carl T. Curtis **Senator Harrison H. Schmitt**

AND

_____

Brad O'Leary

PAYMENT:

Check # 1177
Date 9/19/80
Amount 3,621.42

LP

900321

8304042269 9

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans Foe Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexnadria, VA 22314

September 2, 1980

Invoice #631

Urgent Grams:

@ .46 unit plus .04/unit two inserts State Steering Committee Mailing. Drop date 9/2/80.

New York	1899 @ .50		$949.50
Ohio	737 @ .50		363.50
New Jersey	399 @ .50		199.50
Minnesota	302 "		151.00
Conneticut	363 "		181.50
Oklahoma	254 "		127.00
N. Carolina	189 "		94.50
Idaho	42 "		21.00
Georgia	304 "		152.00
Nebraska	119 "		59.50
S. Carolina	79 "		39.50
New Mexico	97 "		48.50
Hawaii	64 "		32.00
Montana	21 "		10.50
Wyoming	41 "		20.50
Total	4900 (.50)	Total	$2450.00
		Postage	735.00
Set-up			160.00
		Total	$3345.00
Postage Credit			735.00 (4900)*
		Total Due	$2610.00

*Postage Balance 8/28/80 = 8,697.00

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900322

8304042690

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Park 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 2,1980

Invoice #630

Urgent Grams for Chicago Fundraiser

2177 @ .46/unit	$1001,42
Set-up	10.00
Postage (.15 x 2177)	326.55
Total	$1337,97
Postage Credit (pre-paid)	326.55
Total Due	$1011.42

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042269 1

900323

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80-PROJECT
218 N. LEE STREET
SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

Urgent Gram

1-757454984587006 9/4/80 TWXCD WASJA
09 ALEX VA

mr. Brad O'Leary
Americans For Change
218 N. Lee St., #319
Alexandria, VA 22314

We cordially invite you to be our guest for cocktails on Sunday evening, September 21 from 6 p.m. until 8 p.m. in Saloon E at the Stamford Marriott Hotel.

The purpose of this intimate gathering is to brief you on the Reagan/Bush Campaign, and discuss how at this critical point in the presidential campaign, our efforts can be most productive for Governor Reagan and George Bush.

Please join us, our hosts Harold Goering, Harold House and John Harmer (former Lt. Governor of California under Ronald Reagan) for cocktails and a current update on the presidential campaign.

Sincerely,
U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt (New Mexico)
U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger (Minnesota)

Please reply to: Ms. Heidi Gaede in Greenwich (661-6889)

Paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, Chairman, U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, New Mexico; Treasurer, U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis (Ret.) Nebraska. Not authorized by any candidate.

902217

8040422692

9-15-80

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 9, 1980

Job #0010 Invoice #638

Urgent-Grams: Connecticut

318 @ .46/unit	$146.28
Postage	47.70
Set-up	10.00
	203.98
Postage Credit	- 47.70
Total Due	$156.28

Postage Balance 9/9/80 = (-) 8367

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042269 3

900330

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 9, 1980

Job #0012 Invoice # 639

Connecticut Urgent-Grams 281 @ .46/unit. Drop date 9/5/80.

Urgent-Grams 281 @ .46/unit		$129.26
Set-up		10.00
Postage (281 x .15)		42.00
	Total	$181.41
Postage Credit		42.15
	Total Due	$139.26

Postage Balance 9/5/80 = (-) 309

*All invoices are due and payable upon receipt. All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042269

900804

Carol/file

JOB DESCRIPTION

DATE: 9/9/82

___ KEY ENTRY ONLY

___ ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

___ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: 9/16/82

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: New York City Names / Key Advertising
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA) ENVELOPE ATTACHED OF New York NAMES

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: New York City Names

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: (1,500 APPROX)

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS:

__X__ URGENT GRAM ___ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? ___

___ FINAL COPY ATTACHED ___ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. ___
2. ___
3. ___
4. ___
5. ___

JOB NUMBER

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902607

8304042695

URGENTGRAM COPY New York City Invitation*

BE OUR GUEST

We cordially invite you to ~~join us~~ for breakfast on Thursday, September 25th

at the Regency Hotel, Park Avenue at 61st Street.

We are hosting this 8:15 a.m. breakfast to present an update on the Reagan/ Bush campaign, and to brief you on how your efforts at this critical time can be most effective ~~xxx~~ for Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

Our October media plan ~~xxxx

9-15-80

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 9, 1980

Job #0006 Invoice #637

8526 2 page legal letters sent to AFC priority files.
Final drop 9/3/80.

Typing:	Pg 1. 34 lines @ .49/unit		
	1 insert	.04/unit	
		.53	$4518.78
	Pg 2. 43 lines @ .48/unit		4092.48
Mailing:	Collate	.02	
	Fold	.02	
	Insert	.03	
	Stamp	.01	
	Seal/Mail	.02	
		.10/unit	852.60
Signature:	.05/unit		426.30
Set-up			10.00
			9900.16
Postage 8526 @ .15			1278.90
		Total	11,179.06
Prepayment $5,000.00 credit			-5,000.00
Postage credit (per-paid)			-1,278.90
		Total Due	$4,900.16

*Postage balance 9/2/80 = 171 (stamps)

*All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900329

8304042697

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 9, 1980

Job #0004 Invoice #636

Senate Trust list mailing. Urgent-Grams for Washington breakfast schedule 9/17/80. Drop date 9/2/80.

199 Urgent-Grams @ .50/ea.	$99.50
Set-up	10.00
	$109.50
Postage	29.85
	139.35
Postage Credit	29.85
Total Due	$109.50

Postage Balance 9/2/80 = (-) 28

*All invoices are due and payable upon receipt. All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042269E

900332

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 22, 1980

Job #0028 Invoice #658

Mailing service for press release. Drop date 9/18/80.
Total drop 3153.

Mailing	Seal/Mail	.03	
	Stamp	.02	
		.05/unit	$157.65
Postage:	3153 @ .15		472.95
Courier			21.40
		Total	652.00
Postage Credit (pre-paid)			- 472.95
		Total Due	$179.05

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042269 S

900805

Date 9-30-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 405.04 to MediAMerica, ~~1900 N. Beauregard Suite~~ 12
Alexandria, VA 22314

for the following purpose:
See Attachments

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

156.28
109.50
139.26
179.05

✓ If $200.01 - 500.00:

Carl T. Curtis OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____
Brad O'Leary

8304042700

AYMENT:

900800

heck # 1274 1278
ate Oct 9 Oct 9
mount 405.04 1,209.94
KD KD

8304042701

1274

October 4 19 80

TO MediAmerica
1900 N. Beauregard , Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22314

Printing & Mailing

BALANCE FORWARD 769 64
DEPOSITS
TOTAL
AMOUNT THIS CHECK 405 04
BALANCE

1275

October 9 19 80

TO MediAmerica

Printing & Mailing

DEPOSITS
TOTAL
AMOUNT THIS CHECK 1,217 94
BALANCE

1276

October 8 19 80

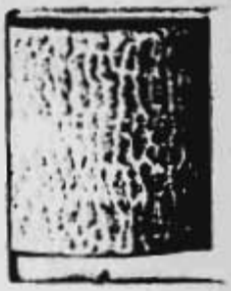
TO MediAmerica

Printing & Mailing

DEPOSITS
TOTAL
AMOUNT THIS CHECK 2,020 84
BALANCE FORWARD

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS





901854

Date 9-30-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $ 1,217.94 to MediAmerica, 1900 N. Beauregard, Suite 12 Alexandria, VA 22314

for the following purpose:
See attachments

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

62.80
146.54
406.06
153.98
269.51

Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

Brad O'Leary AND
Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary

900801

830404227022

AYMENT:
heck #
ate
mount

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 16, 1980

Job #0020 Invoice #648

Locate 500 phone numbers from computer list.
Only found 314. 9/12/80 - 9/15/80.

314 numbers located @ .20/ea.	$62.80
Total Due	$62.80

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042703

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Expenditure
Letter

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite #319
Alexandria VA 22314

September 15, 1980

Job #0011 Invoice #644

64 fully typed 3 page press release. Page 3 re-run (50).

Typing production:

Pg 1 - 18 lines @ .37/unit	$23.68
Pg 2 - 29 lines @ .45/unit	28.80
Pg 3 - 8 lines @ .29/unit	18.56
Pg 3 - re-run (50)	14.50
Pg 3 - Edit	10.00
Postage	N/A
Set-up	10.00
Courier	16.00
Immediate-turn around 50	25.00
Total Due	$146.54

*All invoices are due and payable upon receipt. All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (ewuivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042270

900807

9-17-80

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street Suite 319
Alexandria, Va 22314

September 15. 1980

Job #0013 Invoice #645

Production cost for 861 Urgent-Grams to Atlanta house file.
Drop date 9/8/80.

Urgent-Grams @ .46/unit		$396.06
Set-up		10.00
Postage		129.15
	Total	535.21
Postage credit		-129.15
	Total Due	$406.06

Postage Balance Invoice
#635 9/9/80 (-) 8049.

Current Postage Balance
(-) 8907 9/12/80

*All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042705

900327

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

9-17-80

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 15, 1980

Job #0014 Invoice #646

Production 313 Urgent-Grams to Tennessee house file.
Drop date 9/8/80.

Urgent-Gram @ .46/unit		$143.98
Set-up		10.00
Postage		46.95
	Total	$200.93
Postage credit (pre-paid)		- 46.95
	Total Due	$153.98

Postage Balance Invoice
9/12/80 (-) 8907

Current Postage balance (-) 9220 9/12/80.

*All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are due 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042706

900328

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 16, 1980

Job #0024 Invoice #649

General services work completed including labels, list print-outs, and Thank-you correspondence.

Labels: 2228 pressure sensitive labels (Connally KH list) requested by Sarah Ellsworth	$22.50
Set-up	12.50
Labels: 1782 - pressure sensitive labels (for original phone follow-up to legal letter mailing) requested by Sarah Ellsworth	18.00
Set-up	12.50
3 X 5 cards: Senatorial Trust Members	10.00
Deletion/Addition: Original New York list 85 deletions @ 18.5/name	15.73
Print out: Contributor file	15.00
Contributor thank-you correspondence Set-up	30.00
Production/Mailing	80.55
Postage @ .15/ea.	26.85
Courier service 285 mls. @ 18.5/ml.	52.73
Total	$296.36
Postage credit	-26.85
Total Due	$269.51

8304042707

900326

Date 9-30-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of

$ 2,020.84 to ~~MediAmerica, 1900 N. Beauregard, Suite~~ 12
Alexandria, VA 22311

for the following purpose:
4,279 UrgentGrams to New York lists

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

X If over $500.00:

Carl T. Curtis OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____
Brad O'Leary

900798

8304042270E

AYMENT:
heck # 1276
ate October 8
mount 2,020.84
CM

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

9-18-8

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

September 16, 1980

Job #0019 Invoice #650

Production for 4279 Urgent-Grams to New York lists.
Drop dates 9/11/80, 9/12/80 - 9/15/80.

Urgent-Gram @ .46/unit	$1968.34
Set-up	30.00
Postage	641.85
Dup Elimination 4.50/hr. X 5 hrs.	22.50
Total	$2662.69
Postage credit (pre-paid)	641.85
Total Due	$2020.84

Current Postage Balance (-)15.997

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are due 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042270 9

900799

Carol

____ KEY ENTRY ONLY

DATE: 9/10/80

____ ORIGINAL KEY ENTRY AND PUBLISH

____ PUBLISH HOUSE LIST (ON-LINE)

DROP DATE: ASAP - 9/10 or 9/11

NAME OF HOUSE LIST TO PUBLISH: New York City names for NY Invitation
(LIST ON-LINE @ MEDIAMERICA)

DESCRIBE LIST TO BE KEYED: _____

SIZE OF NEW LIST TO KEY: 40 names

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS: URGENT

X URGENT GRAM _____ LETTER -- HOW MANY PAGES? _____

X FINAL COPY ATTACHED _____ FINAL COPY TO FOLLOW

PACKAGE INSERTS:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

JOB NUMBER

[ ]

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
683-0304

902603

330404227IC

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

8304042711

In haste, without correction tape -

Wednesday, 10th

MEMORANDUM

TO;; John R.

FROM: Kristin

Please have the COURRIER do the following:

1.) Return to me iddediately the yellow sheets with additional Connecticut names

2.) Return to me the xerox copy of the final copy for the New York invitation - I can review the xerox and call you with an approval immediately.

John -

Enclosed are 40 additional names for the New York Invitation. They should go ASAP, along with all the others..... Thanks very much.

902604

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Brad O'Leary/Carol Reed

From: John Romanin

Date: September 15, 1980

RE: AFC house files currently maintained by MediAmerica.

FILE NAME	COUNT
Dallas Major Contributors	480
California Major Contributors	999
Nixon Contributors	195
Senatorial Trust Members	230
Connally Finance Committee	87
AFC Steering Committee (Does not include recent add/del)	73
Tower Finance Committee members	396
Houston contributors (Peirson Group)	2335
Washington D.C.	1463
Indianapolis	293
Detroit	681
Atlanta	861
Denver	472
Connally (KH list)	2228
New York (Not including recent adds)	1899
Ohio	737

8304042712

902444

September 15, 1980
Americans for Change

FILE NAME	COUNT
New Jersey	399
Minnesota	302
Connecticut	363
Oklahoma	254
N. Carolina	189
Idaho	42
Georgia	304
Nebraska	119
S. Carolina	79
N. Mexico	97
Hawaii	64
Montana	21
Wyoming	41
Chicago	2177
Nashville	200
Cincinnati	353
Total	18,433
Conservative Contributors	250
	18,683

8304042713

902445

Franklin Towne Realty, Inc.
7800 Perry Highway
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15237
Telephone 364-4411

September 22, 1980

Carol Reed
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Attention: Brenda Jones

Dear Carol:

Enclosed is a proposed letter of solicitation to National Directors and Alternates of the National Association of Home Builders. Photo copies of this mailing list are enclosed.

Please have the appropriate letter prepared and mailed immediately.

Very truly yours,

W. C. Smith

cc: Jack Schmitt
Dave Durenberger

8304042271 4

901133

Dear Fellow Homebuilder:

The Carter Administration has devestated the homebuilding industry by intentionally attacking homebuilding to create a recession. The only solution for Builders is a change of Administration.

You can strike back by exercising your right to free speech and calling for a change. Two hard hitting radio ads have been prepared for broadcast throughout the country. Their theme is first, unemployment in housing and related industries, and secondly high interest mortgage rates, and housing affordability.

Your contribution to "Americans for a Change" will be directed to the broadcast of these ads. As an individual you can contribute up to $5,000 . No corporate contributions are legal. Whatever you and your friends, employees, and business associates can send will help.

These messages will be heard loud and clear by both voters and politicians.

We have been deeply hurt and it's time we reciprocate. There is no other legal way to contribute to the election or defeat of a Presidential candidate than by a contribution to an "independent expenditure" "free speech" committee.

Your message will be heard. Lets fight back. Send your check and the enclosed card immediately.

Yours in the best interest of Homebuilders,

W. C. Smith

901134

8304042715

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80 PROJECT
218 N. LEE STREET
SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314

Urgent Gram

1-417555922243UGCOA 09/25/80 AFC TWXDC
01-ALEXANDRIA VA

Mrs. Spencer M. Henn
152 S. Brooksvale Rd.
Cheshire, Connecticut 06410

Dear Fellow Homebuilder:

The Carter Administration has devastated the homebuilding industry by intentionally attacking homebuilding to create a recession. The only solution for builders is a change of Administration.

You can strike back by exercising your right to free speech and calling for a change. Two hard hitting radio ads have been prepared for broadcast throughout the country. Their theme is first, unemployment in housing and related industries, and secondly high interest mortgage rates and housing affordability.

Your contribution to "Americans For Change" will be directed to the broadcast of these ads. As an individual you can contribute up to $5,000. No corporate contributions are legal. Whatever you and your friends, employees and business associates can send will help.

These messages will be heard loud and clear by both voters and politicians.

We have been deeply hurt and it's time we reciprocate. There is no other legal way to contribute to the election or defeat of a Presidential candidate, than by a contribution to an "independent expenditure" "free speech" committee.

Your message will be heard. Lets fight back. Send your check and the enclosed card immediately.

Yours in the best interest of Homebuilders,

W. C. (Bill) Smith Pittsburg Penn.
Jack Kenney Las Vegas Nevada

Paid for by Americans for Change, Chairman, U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, New Mexico; U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis (Ret.) Nebraska. Not Authorized by any candiate.

901132

8304042716

Date 10-15-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $ 404.11 to Mod. America, 1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12, Alexandria, VA 22311 for the following purpose:

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary

900890

PAYMENT:

Check # _____
Date _____
Amount _____

8304042717

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Ste. 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

October 7, 1980

Job #0038 Invoice #704

Urgent Grams to Sun Valley file.

Production @ .46/unit		
Run #1 89		$ 40.94
Set-up		20.00
Postage		13.35
Run #2 14		6.44
Set-up		20.00
Postage		2.10
	Total	$ 102.83
Postage Credit		22.20
	Total Due	$ 80.63

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900891

8304042271 8

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Ste 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

October 8, 1980

Job #0048 Invoice #707

Thank you letters for New York breakfast, contributors/non-contributors.
Total count 36. Drop date 10/2/80.

Production		
36 @ .33/ea.		$ 11.88
Mailing:		
@ .05		1.80
Signature		
@ .05		1.80
Set-up		30.00
Postage		
@ .I5 (per-paid)		5.40
	Total	50.88
Postage Credit		5.40
	Total Due	$ 45.48

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A sevice charge of 1.5% per month (equivaletn to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900892

8304042719

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Ste. 319
Alexandria, Va 22314

October 8, 1980

Job #0041 Invoice #709

Key entry of Crawford names. Total count 2,200		
2200 @ .09/ea.	$	198.00
File create $15.00		30.00
Total Due	$	228.00

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042270

900893

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Amerians For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Ste. 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

October 8, 1980

Job #0042 Invoice #710

Computer print out.

New York print-out. $10.00/M		40.00
Set-up		10.00
	Total Due	$ 50.00

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

8304042721

900894

Date 10-23-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $3,316.13 to MediAmerica 1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12 Alexandria VA 22314 for the following purpose: 4,777 ~~tape~~ cassette letters

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____
Brad O'Leary

PAYMENT:
Check # _____
Date _____
Amount _____

900897

8304042227222

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans for Change
216 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22311

October 13, 1980

Job #0050 Invoice #720

Tape letter to Crawford, PAC, Eagles, Trust, and contributors lists. Total count 4,777. Drop-date 10/9--10/10.

Typing 4777 @.45/ea		$	2,149.65
Mailing: Live signature @.05/ea			238.85
Insert	.04/unit		
Tape	.04/unit		
Fold	.01		
Tape env.	.04		
Seal/mail	.02		
Stamp	.04		
	.19		907.63
Set-up			20.00
Postage			1,433.10
Total		$	4,749.23
Postage Credit			1,433.10
Total Amount Due		$	3,316.13

8304042272 3

900898

Date _____

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of
$ 2,348.86 to MEDIAMERICA
1900 N. BEAUREGARD
for the following purpose:
SEE ATTACHED NOTICE

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

Bradley O'Leary AND
Brad O'Leary OR _____
Carol Reed

If over $500.00:
Carl T Curtis
_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

900878

_____
Brad O'Leary

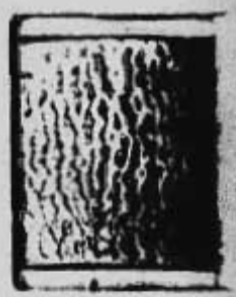
MENT:
eck # 1574
te October 28, 1980
ount 2,348.66
KP

83040422724

△ LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

1373	BALANCE FORWARD		
October 28, 1980 19			
TO Carte Blanche			
~~3460 Wilshire Blvd.~~	DEPOSITS		
Los Angeles, CA 90010			
	TOTAL		
Reimbursement	AMOUNT THIS CHECK	7,585	31
Misc Expenses	BALANCE		
1374			
October 28, 1980 19			
TO MediAmerica			
~~1900 N. Beauregard~~	DEPOSITS		
Suite 12			
Alexandria, VA	TOTAL		
22312	AMOUNT THIS CHECK	2,348	86
Printing &	BALANCE		
Mailint			
1375			
October 28 19 80			
TO Shafer & Feld, Inc			
2933 N. 2nd St.			
~~Minneapolis, MN 55411~~	DEPOSITS		
Printing			
	TOTAL		
△	AMOUNT THIS CHECK	600	37
	BALANCE FORWARD		

8304042275





901887

8304042276

1325

October 16 19 80

TO Elaine Elder
3551 Green Acres
Dallas, TX 75234

Contract Labor
Phoning

BALANCE FORWARD

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 49 00

BALANCE

1326

10/15/80

19

TO MediAmerica

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 2,000 00

BALANCE

1327

10/10/80

19

TO MediAmerica

DEPOSITS

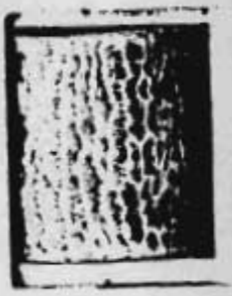
TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 2,000 00

BALANCE FORWARD

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS





901871

8304042727

1328

10/10/80 19

TO MediAmerica

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 2,000 00

BALANCE

BALANCE FORWARD

1329

October 10 1980

TO Malcolm MacDougall

VOID

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 2,500 00

BALANCE

1330

October 10 1980

TO ~~Malcolm MacDougall~~
1 Dag Hammarskjold Plaza
New York, NY 10017

VOID

DEPOSITS

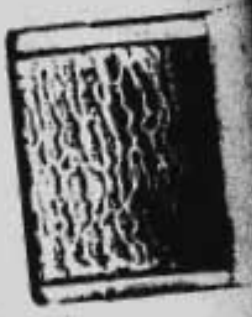
TOTAL

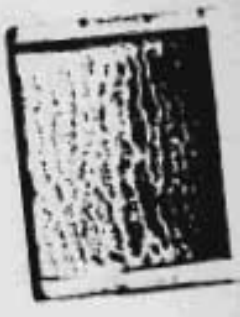
AMOUNT THIS CHECK 2,500 00

Media Production

BALANCE FORWARD

△ LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS





901872

systems 80

4733 BETHESDA AVENUE, SUITE 450, BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20014 • (301) 654-5377

September 5, 1980

Ms. Carol Read
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Carol:

Thank for taking a few minutes to speak with me last week. I hope Systems 80 will be able to be of assistance in the near future.

Please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey A. Finkle
Account Executive

JAF:blk

8304042270

902595

Date 10-23-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $ 2,726.90 to Systems 80
4733 Bethesda Ave Suite 450
for the following purpose: Bethesda, MD 20014

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

X If over $500.00:

Carl T. Curtis OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____
Brad O'Leary

900811

8304042279

PAYMENT:
Check # 1343
Date 10-29-80
Amount 2,726.90
KP

SYSTEMS 80

4733 BETHESDA AVENUE, SUITE 450, BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20014 • (301) 654-5377

October 15, 1980

Invoice #80-83

Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

8304042730

October 7th Thank You's

Postage: First class rate of $.15 per piece on 348 letters	52.20
Keypunching of names, production of 348 letters and envelopes and mailing services	246.10
Subtotal	$298.30

October 14th Thank You's

Postage: First class rate of $.15 per piece on 256 letters	38.40
Keypunching of names, production of 256 letters and envelopes and mailing services	176.64
Subtotal	$215.04

Schmidt-New Mexico mailing

Postage: First class rate of $.15 per piece on 1167 letters	175.05
Keypunching of names, production of two page letter and envelopes, mailing services and local deliveries	1200.82
Subtotal	$1375.87

Columbus-Cincinnati Invitations

Postage: First class rate of $.15 per piece on 575 letters	86.25
Keypunching of 722 names, editing, production of 575 letters and envelopes and mailing services	411.03
Subtotal	$497.28

Cassette Mailing

Postage: First class 3 oz rate of $.41 per piece on 227 letters	93.07
Keypunching of names, production of personalized letter and envelopes and mailing services	160.70
Subtotal	$253.77

INVOICE TOTAL	$2640.26
VA SALES TAX	86.64
TOTAL DUE	$2726.90

900812

systems 80

4733 BETHESDA AVENUE, SUITE 450, BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20014 • (301) 654-5377

September 23, 1980

Ms. Carol Read
218 North Lee Street
Suite 317
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Carol:

Enclosed is a galley of the first two sets of thank-you letters.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey A. Finkle
Account Executive

JAF:blk

Enclosures

8304042731

901276

systems 80

4733 BETHESDA AVENUE, SUITE 450, BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20014 • (301) 654-5377

October 31, 1980

Invoice #80-91

Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Thank You's

Postage: First class rate of $.15 per piece on 3540 letters	531.00
Production of personalized letters and envelopes	1770.00
Mailing services	224.00
Local deliveries	22.90
Total	$2547.90
VA Sales Tax	80.68
TOTAL	$2628.58
Advance payment	(600.00)
TOTAL DUE	$2028.58

8304042273 2

901959

8304042733

BALANCE FORWARD

1313

October 16 19 80

TO Systems 80

Postage $600.00
718.37 #80-74

Processing & Mailing

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 1,318 37

BALANCE

1314

October 16 19 80

TO U.S. Postmaster

Postage

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 5,000 00

BALANCE

1315

October 16 19 80

TO Beth Lichte
809 Green St
Alexandria, VA 22314

Contract Labor
Clerical Services

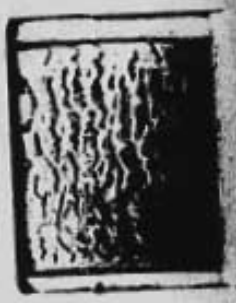
DEPOSITS

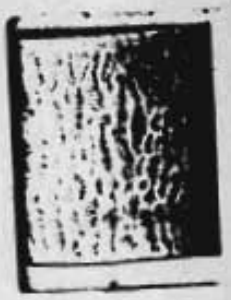
TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 85 00

BALANCE FORWARD

△ LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS





901867

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

8304042273 4

1343

October 24 19 80

TO Systems '80
4733 Bethesda Ave.
Suite 450
Bethesda, MD 20014

Printing & Mailing

		BALANCE FORWARD	
DEPOSITS			
TOTAL			
AMOUNT THIS CHECK		2,726	90
BALANCE			

1344

October 24 19 80

TO Carol Reed

Reimbursement
T & S

DEPOSITS			
~~10/11/80 10/13/80 10/16/80~~ TOTAL			
AMOUNT THIS CHECK		423	90
BALANCE			

1345

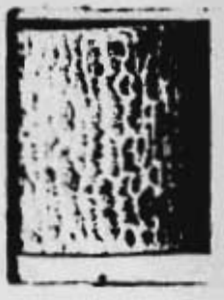
October 24 19 80

TO Frank Pulli
116 S. Pitt
~~Alexandria, VA~~

~~Residential~~ Rental
Furniture
6 months

DEPOSITS			
TOTAL			
AMOUNT THIS CHECK		1,200	00
BALANCE FORWARD			





901877

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

BALANCE FORWARD

1454

November 14 19 80

TO Target, Inc.
P.O. Box 2000
San Ramon, CA 94583

DEPOSITS

Printing & Mailing — TOTAL

List Purchase — AMOUNT THIS CHECK 1,500 00

BALANCE

1455

November 14 19 80

TO Goodnight Consulting Group
16475 Dallas Parkway
Suite 240
Dallas, TX 75248

DEPOSITS

Production of Radio & Newspaper Advertising — TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 1,500 00

BALANCE

1456

November 14, 19 80

TO Systems 80
4733 Bethesda Ave.
Suite 510
Bethedda, MD 20014

DEPOSITS

Printing — TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 3,000 00

BALANCE FORWARD





8304042735

901914

CURRENT UNPAID BILLS

Date	Vendor and Purpose	Amount
9-9-80	U.S. Postmaster (Postage at MediaAmerica)	3,000.00
9-9-80	Auto Clerk Services (Follow-up, LA event)	369.97
9-4-80	Media America (Urgent Grams)	3,621.42
9-2-80	Communication Specialists (Fundraising and printing)	11,348.92
		18,340.31

8304042273 6

Reagan Gram - Sept. 10

Code		# Total
119	—	19.80
113	—	$1
116	—	79.40
115	—	20
122	—	19.80
no code	—	39.60

8304042737

Precinct Kit - Sept 10 - those w/out more
(Reagan Gram)

Code	# received
115	1
105	3
103	1
113	2
106	1
121	2
122	2
114	2
101	1
116	1
no code	1

Schmitt Kit

115	1

901231

8304042273E

8304042739

1229✓

October 1 19 80

TO Brenda Jones

Petty Cash -

B. Jones

BALANCE FORWARD 26,439 28

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 97 50

BALANCE

1230✓

October 1 19 80

TO MediAmerica
1900 N. Beauregard, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

Telegrams - Printing and Mailing

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 1,119 61

BALANCE

1231✓

October 1 19 80

TO Larry Novak
c/o Magnesium Casting
98 Business St.
Hyde Park, MA 02136

DEPOSITS

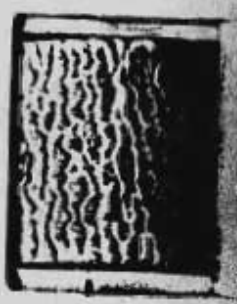
TOTAL

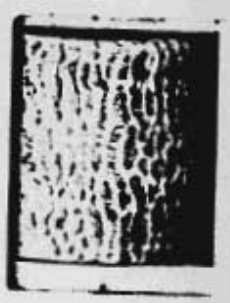
Postage - Printing & Telephone Charges

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 245 00

BALANCE FORWARD

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS





901839

BALANCE FORWARD 41,324 42

1235 ✓

October 3 19 80

TO Human Events
422 First St., SE
Wahington, D.C. 20003

DEPOSITS

6 Month Subscription — TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 13 00

BALANCE

1236 ✓

October 3 19 80

TO Senator Harrison Schmitt

DEPOSITS

Travel Expenses & ~~Office Telephone~~ Charges — TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 544 62

BALANCE

1237 ✓

October 3 19 80

TO MediAmerica
1900 N. Beauregard, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22314

DEPOSITS

Printing & Mailing — TOTAL

AMOUNT THIS CHECK 4,900 16

BALANCE FORWARD

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

8304042274 1

901841

Date 9-30-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $ 4,900.16 to MediAmerica, 1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12 Alexandria, VA 22314

for the following purpose:
8,526 two-page victory letters

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

Brad O'Leary AND
Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

X If over $500.00:
Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

900875

Brad O'Leary

MENT:
1237
900116
KP

83040422742

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street #319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

October 13, 1980

Job #0043 Invoice #718

Urgent Grams to Pierson Group Names. Delete females.
Drop Date 10/3/80 Total Count 2286.

Production 2286 @.50/ea	$ 1143.00
Delections 18.5/names .49	9.06
Set-up	10.00
Postage	342.90
Total	1504.96
Postage credit (pre-paid)	342.90
Total Due	$ 1162.06

8304042274 3

900882

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street #319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

October 13, 1980

Job #0043 Invoice 719

Urgent Grams to Dallas--house file --total count 481.
Drop date 10/5/80

Production 481 @.46/ea		$ 221.26
Set-up		10.00
Postage		72.15
	Total	303.41
	Postage Credit	-72.15
	Total Due	$ 231.00

8304042274

900883

8304042227455

Brenda

John. R. will not
envoice us for
$1800.
There is no charge
for the Dallas or
Houston Urgentgrams.

175

900884

Date 10-15-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $1,355.14 to MediAmerica, 1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12, Alexandria, VA 22312 for the following purpose:

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____
Brad O'Leary

PAYMENT:
Check # _____
Date _____
Amount _____

900895

83040422746

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For CHnage
218 N. Lee Street, Ste. 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

October 8, 1980

Job #0036 Invoice #705

Urgent Grams to Homebuilders file. Total count 2,538. Drop date 9/25/80.
Mailing service

2,538 Urgent Grams @ .50/ea.		$ 1,269.00
Set-up		10.00
Mailing: 3 inserts @ .03/ea.		76.14
Postage pre-paid		380.76
	Total	1,735.84
Postage Credit		380.76
	Total Due	$ 1,355.14

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are apayble 20 dyas from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to ±8% per year) will be added to apst due items.

8304042747

900896

Date 10-15-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $16,772.74 to Medi America, 1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12, Alexandria, VA 22311 for the following purpose:

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

12-0
1327 1328

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR Harrison H. Schmitt
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

Brad O'Leary AND
Brad O'Leary OR _____
Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

PAYMENT:

Check # 1326 1327 1328
Date 10-24-80 10-24-80 10-24-80
Amount 6,000.00 4,000.00 6,000.00

_____
Brad O'Leary

900876

KC KC KC

830404227 4E

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Ste. 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

October 8, 1980

Job #0015 Invoice #708

Legal letter mailing. 9,000 typed 1st page, 2nd page offset with live signature and mailing services.

Typing page #1 9,000 @ .49/ea.			4,410.00
1 insert @ .04/ea.			360.00
Offset page #2			393.40
10% handling fee			39.34
Mailing:	Collate/Fold	.02/ea.	
	Inserts	.04/ea.	
	Code	.01/ea.	
	Seal/Stamp	.03/ea.	
	Mail	.02/ea.	
		.12/ea.	1,080.00
Courier			30.00
Signature .05/ea.			450.00
Set-up			10.00
Postage			2,700.00
		Total	9,472.74
Postage Credit (pre-paid)			- 2,700.00
		Total Due	6,772.74

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A sevice charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

Paid CK # 1327 10/24/80 2000 -
1326 10/24/80 2000 -
1328 10/24/80 2000 -

Balance Due $772.74

900881

8304042719

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703|998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Ste. 309
Alexandria, VA 22209

October 24, 1980

Job #0063 Invoice #751

Urgent-Grams to Pierson Group list. Drop date 10/24/80.

Production: 2335 @ .50/unit	$ 1,167.50
Set-up	10.00
Postage	350.25
Total Due	$ 1,527.25

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt. All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

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900874

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans For Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22311

October 3, 1980

Job #0047 Invoice #696

Follow-up mailing to New York breakfast. Total drop 37.
Date 10/3/80.

Typing:	.41/ea.		$ 15.17
Set-up:	Overnight service		30.00
Postage:			5.55
Mailing Service	.05/ea.		1.85
Signature	.05/ea.		1.85
		Total	54.42
Postage Credit			- 5.55
		Total Due	$ 48.87

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

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900880

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS & OTHER COMPUTATIONS ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

8304042273 2

1367

October 24 19 80

TO Marcy Toscher
3618 S. First Rd.
Arlington, VA 22204

Contract Labor - Clerical

BALANCE FORWARD		
DEPOSITS		
TOTAL		
AMOUNT THIS CHECK	15	00
BALANCE		

1368

October 24 19 80

TO The Chicago Club
P.O. Box 92737
Chicago, IL 60675

Expenses - Events - Fundraising Breakfast

DEPOSITS		
TOTAL		
AMOUNT THIS CHECK	907	04
BALANCE		

1369

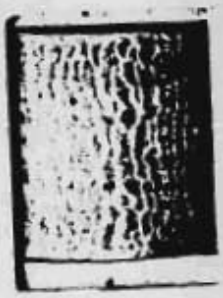
October 24 19 80

TO MediAmerica
1900 N. Beauregard
Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22314

Printing & Mailing

DEPOSITS		
TOTAL		
AMOUNT THIS CHECK	10,809	06
BALANCE FORWARD		





901885

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O. C

3316.13 +
1092.08 +
4641.60 +
404.11 +
1355.14 +
10809.06 T

900885

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703 998 0334

AFC
218 N. Lee Street
Alexandria, VA 22311

October 16, 1980

Job #0050 Invoice #738

Printing of Wall Street Journal display ad for Cassette Tape Mailing.

Total printing and folding charge	$	992.80
MediAmerica handling fee 10%		99.28
Total Due	$	1,092.08

All invoices are due and payable upon receipt.
All charges are payable 20 days from date of invoice. A service charge of 1.5% per month (equivalent to 18% per year) will be added to past due items.

900886

Date 10-23-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $ 1,092.08 to MediAmerica
1900 n. Beauregard Suite 12
for the following purpose: Alexandria, VA 22314
Wall Street Journal Ad printed & folded

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

_____ OR _____
Brad O'Leary Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

_____ OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

Brad O'Leary AND
Brad O'Leary OR _____
Carol Reed

X If over $500.00:

Carl T. Curtis OR _____
Senator Carl T. Curtis Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

_____
Brad O'Leary

900887

PAYMENT:
Check # 1369
Date 10-24-80
Amount 10,809.06
KD

83040422733

MEDIAMERICA
Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703| 998|0334

Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street #319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

October 13, 1980

Invoice #717

Poatage Accounting:

Amount	Job Description	Invoice #
447	Houston Select	596
2179	Indianapolis, Atlanta, Nashville, Connecticut, Denver	602
3153	Urgent Grams	658
8526	Legal Letters	637
4279	New York-Urgent Grams	650
313	Tennessee Urgent Grams	646
861	Atlanta Urgent Grams	645
281	Connecticut Urgent Grams	639 ?
318	Connecticut Urgent Grams	638
199	Senate Trust D.C. Breakfast	636
7740	Tower PAC	635
4900	Urgent Grams-State Steering	631
2177	Chicago fundraiser	630
43	Urgent Gram	611
250	Conservative Contributors List	601
293	Indianapolis	599
18,000	Legal Letters	708
36	New York-breakfast-Thank You	707 — ?
2538	Homebuilders	705
89	Sun Valley Names	704
2286	Pierson Group Event	
481	Dallas file event	
9554	Tape Letters	

Total postage used	68,943
Total postage on account	37,999
Total stamps from MEDIAMERICA Account	30,944

30,944 Stamps X .15 $ 4,641.60

900888

8304042756

Date 10-23-80

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
DISBURSEMENT AUTHORIZATION

This will authorize an expenditure of funds in the amount of $ 4,641.60 to Medi America 1900 N. Beauregard Suite 12 Alexandria VA 22312 for the following purpose: Payment for 30,944 stamps - This replaces the check written to US Postmaster for #5,000 - Check # 1314

Reviewed and approved,

If under $200.00:

Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

If $200.01 - 500.00:

Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary OR Carol Reed

If over $500.00:

Senator Carl T. Curtis OR Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

AND

Brad O'Leary

PAYMENT:
Check #
Date
Amount

900889

8304042737

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 31, 1983

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Counsel, Americans for Change
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Baran:

On May 24, 1983, the Commission determined that it will take no further action with regard to the violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a by the Americans for Change ("AFC"). The Commission has also determined that there is no probable cause to believe that your client violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

Accordingly, the file in this matter has been closed and will become part of the public record within thirty days. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days.

If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

8304042738

Docket

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 29, 1983

SENSITIVE

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Counsel, Americans for Change
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Baran:

Based on a complaint filed with the Commission on July 2, 1980, the Commission determined on September 3, 1980, that there was reason to believe that your client, Americans for Change, had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a), 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). On September 26, 1980, a second complaint was filed also alleging violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f). An investigation of this matter ensued.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that a violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) occurred, but that no further action be taken; that no further action be taken with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a); and that no probable cause to believe be found with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendations.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the positions of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within fifteen days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (10 copies if possible) stating your positions on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, again if

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possible. The General Counsel's brief and any brief you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote.

Should you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
) MUR 1252/1299
Americans for Change)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF

I. Statement of the Case

The issues involved in this matter were brought to the attention of the Commission as the result of complaints filed on July 2, 1980, and on September 26, 1980, by the Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee and the Democratic National Committee, and by Common Cause alleging violations of provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by Americans for Change ("AFC"). 1/ On September 3, 1980, the Commission found reason to believe that AFC had or was about to violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) by using the name "Reagan" in the name of its self-designated "project", "Reagan for President in '80". Notification of the Commission determinations was sent to AFC on September 25, 1980, followed, on October 1, 1980, by a subpoena for production of documents and an order for answers to written questions. (Attached as Exhibit 1).

1/ On October 15, 1980, the two complaints were merged to form MUR 1252/1299.

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On October 14, 1980, the Commission received a motion to quash the Commission's subpoena, to rescind its findings of reason to believe based on information contained in affidavits submitted by Senator Harrison Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis, Jan W. Baran, and J. Stanley Huckaby, and to dismiss AFC as a respondent. On December 2, 1980, the Commission voted to deny AFC's motions and to redirect the committee to appear in compliance with the subpoena. Document production began on January 5, 1981. The investigation conducted by this Office has also included the taking of the depositions of the executive vice chairman of AFC, of the former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee and the Reagan/Bush Committee, and of the former deputy director for communications of the Reagan/Bush Committee.

A. Alleged Violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f)

In 1971, Congress established a system for the public financing of presidential elections. Enacted as the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act, Pub. L. No. 92-178, 85 Stat. 573 (1971) ("the Fund Act"), this system permits individual taxpayers to participate voluntarily in the funding of presidential election campaigns by means of a $1.00 tax return check-off. Major party candidates who satisfy the eligibility requirements of 26 U.S.C. § 9003 are entitled to equal payments from the fund to defray qualified campaign expenses. Once such a candidate has chosen to accept public funds, he or she may accept private contributions only if they are necessary to make up a deficiency

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in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. 26 U.S.C. §§ 9003(b)(2), 9012(b). Such candidates must also pledge not to make qualified campaign expenditures in excess of his or her allotment pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9004. 26 U.S.C. § 9001(b)(1). In 1980, this allotment totaled $29.4 million per major party candidate.

Congress was also concerned that the stated legislative purposes of the public financing of presidential campaigns could be undermined by the infusion of private funds into the political process in the form of independent expenditures by unauthorized committees on behalf of the presidential candidates receiving public funds. 2/ Congress recognized the potential danger to its goals of controlling the amounts spent in presidential elections and of limiting the influence of private monies in these elections if political committee leaders could raise large numbers of contributions and use this aggregated wealth to defray expenses which would otherwise be qualified campaign expenses subject to the candidate's statutory expenditure limitation.

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2/ The stated purposes of public financing were to free the candidates from the rigors of fundraising; promote public discussion of issues; restore public confidence in government; "make a major change that would be a tremendous improvement toward lifting the office of the Presidency above the power of private money to control it," 117 Cong. Rec. 41,947 (1970) (remarks by Senator Long); "take the whole presidential electoral process out of the arena of big astronomical money," 117 Cong. Rec. 42,377 (1971) (remarks of Senator Pastore); and thus "end the most flagrent single abuse of our democracy, the unconscionable power of money." 117 Cong. Rec. 41,778 (1971) (remarks of Senator Kennedy).

In order to prevent the undermining of the candidate's expenditure limitation and to assure that the receipt of public funds would be a substitute for private funds, not just a supplement to those funds, Congress also included in the Fund Act a limitation of $1,000 on the amount of independent expenditures an unauthorized political committee may incur to further the election of a candidate for the office of President who is eligible to receive public funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9003. The addition of what is now Section 9012(f) was designed "to prevent any political committees from being formed as a subterfuge so that they can go beyond the authorization of the committees and make expenditures that were not within the limitations of the expenditures which are in the bill." 117 Cong. Rec. 42,397 (1971) (remarks of Senator Taft).

Any knowing and willful expenditures totaling in excess of $1,000 by unauthorized political committees for goods or services which would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by the committee of the candidate being supported are in violation of Section 9012(f). 26 U.S.C. § 9002(1) defines "qualified campaign expense" as (A) an expense incurred by a candidate of a political party for the office of President or Vice President or by an authorized committee of such candidates "to further" their election to such offices; (B) an expense incurred within the expenditure report period of such candidates (i.e., in the present instance between the date of nomination and thirty days

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after the presidential election; and (C) an expense the incurring of which is not in violation of law.

On July 24, 1980, the Commission determined that Ronald Reagan, the nominee of the Republican Party for the office of President, was eligible to receive public funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9003 and certified payment to him of $29.4 million.

In May, 1980, AFC was established as a multicandidate political committee not authorized by Ronald Reagan to make expenditures on behalf of his candidacy.

During 1980, AFC reported making $711,856 in independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan's general election campaign for the office of President. All but $1,500 of this amount was expended during Ronald Reagan's general election expenditure report period; i.e., between July 16, 1980 and December 4, 1980. These expenditures purchased services from direct mail firms such as MediAmerica, Inc., Mountain States Direct Mail, Joyce Valdez and Associates and Communications Specialists which paid for phone banks, brochures, buttons, bumper stickers and buttons, and purchased at least $42,000 in newspaper and radio advertisement production and placement services through the firms of Radar Advertising, Goodnight Advertising Group, Bishop and Bryant and Communication Specialists. These expenditures, which were carried out as part of AFC's "Reagan for President in '80" project, indicate that AFC's 1980 activities in support of the Reagan candidacy covered

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the full range of campaign activities which any presidential candidate's committee would undertake if not bound by the prohibition against receipt of private contributions and the limitation on expenditures imposed upon recipients of funds from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. AFC solicited contributions on a nation-wide basis and used monies received to make expenditures for media advertising and other means of promoting the candidacy of Ronald Reagan. These expenditures in effect permitted the Reagan campaign to benefit from private contributions which it could not itself receive; they also added $711,856 to the $29.4 million expenditure limitation of the Reagan candidacy itself. 3/

Such receipt of private contributions and supplementation of the candidate's expenditure limitation were exactly what AFC intended to achieve by its expenditures. For example, in an AFC "Mailgram" dated June 5, 1980, it was stated that "On Thursday, June 5th, a press conference will be held to announce the formation of a national political committee to raise and spend funds in the general election on behalf of Governor Ronald Reagan." (Attached as Exhibit 2).

In its direct mail solicitation letters, AFC explained the general election expenditure limitation upon the candidates of

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3/ Although a considerable portion of this amount represented direct mail solicitation expenses, it should be noted that the direct mail pieces served as means for expressing political views in support of Ronald Reagan as well as for requesting contributions. (See Exhibit 31 for example).

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the major parties and the inability of Ronald Reagan to accept private contributions. This information was used to underline the fact that AFC saw itself as being under no expenditure limitation, to stress the importance of AFC's planned expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan, and to urge those being solicited to contribute to AFC as a means of contributing to the Reagan campaign effort. For example, an AFC brochure, "Federal Law Prohibits Ronald Reagan From taking your personal Contribution But...", contained the following statements:

> We are an independent political committee designed to increase citizen participation and awareness in the 1980 elections....
>
> "Reagan for President in '80" is being sponsored by Americans for Change, because federal campaign financing laws prohibit national candidates from accepting personal contributions since they receive federal funds.
>
> . . .
>
> Because of the new federal laws, there are only a limited number of ways you can participate in the Presidential Election this year. If you wish to participate more fully in this election one legal and effective way is through an independent project, such as "Reagan for President in '80", one of several projects planned by Americans for Change.
>
> . . .
>
> As you probably know, the chief financer of Presidential general elections is the federal government, through use of your tax dollars. But, for those who like to participate in our electoral system with financial support, the prohibition on direct contributions to Presidential candidates can be frustrating.

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after the presidential election; and (C) an expense the incurring of which is not in violation of law.

On July 24, 1980, the Commission determined that Ronald Reagan, the nominee of the Republican Party for the office of President, was eligible to receive public funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9003 and certified payment to him of $29.4 million.

In May, 1980, AFC was established as a multicandidate political committee not authorized by Ronald Reagan to make expenditures on behalf of his candidacy.

During 1980, AFC reported making $711,856 in independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan's general election campaign for the office of President. All but $1,500 of this amount was expended during Ronald Reagan's general election expenditure report period; i.e., between July 16, 1980 and December 4, 1980. These expenditures purchased services from direct mail firms such as MediAmerica, Inc., Mountain States Direct Mail, Joyce Valdez and Associates and Communications Specialists which paid for phone banks, brochures, buttons, bumper stickers and buttons, and purchased at least $42,000 in newspaper and radio advertisement production and placement services through the firms of Radar Advertising, Goodnight Advertising Group, Bishop and Bryant and Communication Specialists. These expenditures, which were carried out as part of AFC's "Reagan for President in '80" project, indicate that AFC's 1980 activities in support of the Reagan candidacy covered

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> The Federal law clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as ours can spend funds for TV, radio, newspaper or other voter communications and education devices on behalf of Governor Reagan. 5/ (Attached as Exhibit 4).

Such solicitation of contributions and making of expenditures by an unauthorized political committee in support of a presidential candidate receiving public funds was exactly what Congress intended to limit by the promulgation of Section 9012(f). In addition, because at least $710,000 of AFC's expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan were made within Ronald Reagan's general election report period and would have constituted qualified campaign expenses if incurred by his authorized committees, the AFC expenditures come squarely within the language as well as the intent of Section 9012(f), and consequently within the limitations imposed thereby.

On July 15, 1980, the Commission filed a complaint in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia pursuant to 26 U.S.C. §§ 9010(c) and 9011(b) seeking to implement and construe 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) as applicable to three political committees, including AFC. On September 30, 1980, the three-judge court rendered its judgment and opinion, finding that "(t)he plain language of section 9012(f) proscribes categorically the defendants' planned expenditures," but also declaring 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) to be unconstitutional. FEC v. Americans for Change, 512 F. Supp. 489, 492, 500-501 (D.D.C. 1980).

5/ See footnote 4.

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On January 19, 1982, the Supreme Court affirmed by an equally divided Court the finding by a three-judge District Court in the District of Columbia that 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) is unconstitutional. Common Cause, et al. v. Harrison Schmitt, et al., No. 80-846, United States Supreme Court, consolidated with Federal Election Commission v. Americans for Change, et al., No. 80-1067, United States Supreme Court. While the Court's decision effectively closes the civil litigation in FEC v. AFC, the equally divided nature of the Court's opinion leaves the issue of the constitutionality of Section 9012(f) still unresolved and thus open. A judgment entered by an equally divided Court is not "entitled to precedential weight". Trans World Airways v. Hardison, 432 U.S. 63, 73 n.8 (1977). See also, Neil v. Biggers, 409 U.S. 188 (1972); Inman v. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co., 361 U.S. 138 (1959); and Ohio ex rel Eaton v. Price, 364 U.S. 263 (1960).

Given the law regarding the non-precedential nature of equally divided Supreme Court opinions, the Commission would not be barred from relitigating the issue of the enforceability of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f). The remaining question is therefore whether or not to pursue enforcement against AFC for its clear violation of this provision.

As regards this particular committee, the prospect of eventual litigation arising out of a 1980-related enforcement action by the Commission necessitates consideration of the

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potential effects of res judicata and collateral estoppel. Although judicial interpretation of these doctrines is not settled, there appears to be general agreement that parties to a particular suit are barred from re-litigating in a second action the same issues of fact involving the same parties which have been before a court in an earlier action, either again before the same court in which the initial suit was brought or before other courts of like or lesser jurisdiction. American Medical International, Inc. v. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, No. 79-1460 (D.C. Cir., Aug. 14, 1981); Walsh v. International Longshoreman's Association, AFL-CIO, 630 F.2d 864 (1st Cir. 1980); U.S. v. Anaconda Co., 445 F. Supp. 486 (D.C.D.C. 1977). Therefore, it is likely that, because AFC was a party in FEC v. Americans for Change, supra, the Commission would be deemed estopped from attempting again to enforce Section 9012(f) as regards the 1980 campaign activities of this committee.

Beyond the question of whether the Commission would succeed in any further enforcement effort, it is the General Counsel's view that the Commission should consider that it made a strong attempt to enforce the provisions of the statute in the 1980 election. Further attempts could be made by pursuing this and other cases. In the unique circumstances, however, of a deadlocked Supreme Court on the issues as raised in the 1980 election, avoidance of further litigation over the same issue with regard to the election past seems to the General Counsel to

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be a valid exercise of the Commission's judgment in pursuing cases.

It must be emphasized, however, that future expenditures by AFC in furtherance of the election of a publicly financed presidential candidate would create a new factual situation to which considerations of estoppel and prior Commission efforts need not apply. Section 9012(f) has not been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. AFC is thus on notice that any project or program involving more than $1,000 in expenditures on behalf of a presidential candidate receiving funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9001, et seq., in 1984 or beyond, would be undertaken in the knowledge that 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) as enacted by Congress remains in effect.

This Office recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that AFC violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) in 1980 but take no further action with regard to this particular violation.

B. Alleged Violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A)

2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) limits to $5,000 the amount of contributions which a multicandidate political committee can make to any candidate and his authorized committees with respect to any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i) and 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1) define "contribution" as including "anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office." 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1)(iii)(A) states that "anything of value" includes

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all in-kind contributions, which are in turn defined as the provision of goods and services without charge or at less than the normal and usual charge. Expenditures made by a political committee which "expressly advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, but which are not made with the cooperation, or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate" are deemed independent expenditures and not in-kind contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17) and 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a). Therefore, in the present instance, a finding of probable cause to believe that AFC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) would require evidence of cooperation or consultation by AFC representatives with an authorized Reagan committee related to the making of AFC's expenditures in support of the Reagan candidacy.

1) Organization and Expenditure Authorizations

During 1980, AFC was governed by an Executive Committee composed of Senator Harrison H. Schmitt, Senator David Durenberger, John Harmer, Senator Carl T. Curtis, Bradley O'Leary, and Howard Ruff. The Executive Committee formulated policy, and approved all expenditure budget items. (Deposition of Bradley Sean O'Leary, Executive Vice-Chairman, pages 15-19, 24, and Exhibit B; chart attached hereto as Exhibit 5). The Executive Committee also approved the selection of vendors and consultants, the content of all communications, including

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newspaper advertisements and brochures, and the placement of advertising. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 20-22).

In response to the Commission's interrogatories and subpoena for documents, AFC provided listings of employees and staff members, Steering Committee members, consultants, and field persons. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibits C, F, and G; attached hereto as Exhibits 6, 7 and 8). According to the Committee's response to the Commission's interrogatories, "(o)nly members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding expenditures by AFC in support of candidates." (Exhibit 6, page 14). During his deposition, Mr. O'Leary explained that "(t)he Executive Committee would vote on any expenditures that the Committee would make and two or three officers would be assigned on each individual expenditure and two or three officers had to sign on all checks that were issued." No individual member of the Committee could authorize expenditures separately from the Committee as a whole. (O'Leary Deposition, page 18). Pursuant to a memorandum issued on June 11, 1980, all communications on behalf of Americans for Change had to be reviewed by counsel and authorized by Senator Schmitt, who presented them to the Executive Committee for approval. (Exhibit 9).

According to Mr. O'Leary, the Steering Committee was composed of "prominent people interested in the presidential

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election" who were invited to serve in this capacity. (O'Leary Deposition, page 32). The Steering Committee was originally intended to be "an advisory group to help with fundraising", but "because of the lawsuit (filed against AFC by Common Cause), the Steering Committee never functioned." (O'Leary Deposition, page 37). Although certain individuals cited as members of the Committee were contacted for assistance in paying legal fees and for fundraising or the organization of meetings designed to inform people about the nature of an independent committee, none were involved in media advertising. (O'Leary Deposition, page 38).

In its responses to the Commission's subpoena for documents and order for written answers to questions, the Committee provided two different lists of consultants. All of the consultants listed in the Committee's response to the interrogatories were vendors which provided media production or media placement services. (Exhibit 6, page 14). Those cited in a document produced in response to the Commission's subpoena were individuals apparently involved more directly with the Committee itself, including several who were included by virtue of their employment by members of the Executive Committee, Stanley Huckaby who served as assistant treasurer in charge of filing reports with the Commission, and Jan Baran who served as counsel.

The field persons listed in documentation supplied by the Committee (Exhibit 8) were initially selected for potential

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involvement in operations in particular states; however, such statewide operations were not established. Three of the individuals listed, Joyce Valdez, Lonny Adams, and Fred Steffers did assist with specific fundraising events in California, Washington and Colorado, respectively. All three were employed as vendors of services, not as staff persons. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 27-30).

2) Committee Policy Regarding Independent Expenditures

The Office of General Counsel has attempted to ascertain the knowledge available to AFC personnel as to statutory and regulatory requirements pertaining to the making of independent expenditures on behalf of a candidate, any policy formulated to meet these requirements, and the steps taken to disseminate this information and to enforce the maintenance of independence.

Documents supplied in response to the Commission's subpoena include a "Summary of Pertinent Statutes and Regulations", dated April 21, 1980, and a letter from counsel to the Honorable Harrison H. Schmitt, dated June 24, 1980, which responded to apparent inquiries as to whether AFC could make independent expenditures in support of Governor Reagan and how much an individual could contribute to the Committee. (Exhibits 10 and 11). The first of these documents contains a section on steps to be taken to insure the maintenance of AFC's independence from the Reagan campaign, including the issuance of a questionnaire to each person expressing an interest in "the citizens group". It

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also stresses the importance of avoiding or documenting any contacts with the candidate or his key campaign advisors. (Exhibit 10, pages 2-7).

According to Mr. O'Leary's testimony, a questionnaire was in fact submitted to all staff members and prospective members of the Steering Committee concerning any prior involvement of each person with the 1980 presidential campaign of Ronald Reagan. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 32-35 and Exhibit H; questionnaire attached hereto as Exhibit 12). On the basis of responses received, certain persons were advised not to serve on the Steering Committee. (O'Leary Deposition, page 33 and Exhibit I; list attached hereto as Exhibit 13).

The investigation conducted by this Office also revealed certain additional instances of efforts by AFC to avoid either the reality or the appearance of contacts or coordination with the Reagan campaign. One such instance involved the decision by AFC personnel to cancel an order for the leasing of the Citizens for the Republic 1975-1976 mailing lists from Preferred Lists, Inc. (see below). Mr. O'Leary testified that AFC was advised by counsel "that they were available to the public and, even though they were not associated with the 1980 campaign, that it probably would be best not to lease anything from an organization that had been a principal organization of Ronald Reagan in (the) 1976 campaign." (O'Leary Deposition, page 88).

In another instance, Mr. Michael Halbouty, who had been involved in the Reagan primary campaign, was informed that he

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could not raise money for AFC or give a contribution himself. ". . . (A)lthough legally we probably could have accepted his campaign contribution, we felt it better not to." (O'Leary Deposition, page 95). And regarding yet another instance, Mr. O'Leary testified that he had struck the name of Senator Bill Saltonstall from a list of persons to be telephoned by Senator Durenberger of AFC regarding a contribution solicitation because "he had been identified with the Reagan Committee and I did determine to strike him off, and not to go to the expense of finding out what his involvement was and whether or not it would be kosher." (O'Leary Deposition, page 97).

3. Application of 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B); Non-Presumptive Evidence of Contacts

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B), expenditures are to be presumed to have been made by "arrangement, coordination or direction" of a candidate or the candidate's agent or authorized committee if they are

> Made by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to issue or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent ....

Based on this regulation, evidence that personnel of any unauthorized committee, authorized to raise monies or make expenditures on its own behalf, had once been officers of, or compensated or reimbursed by, an authorized committee of the candidate being supported, or that an unauthorized committee had

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employed the same vendors or consultants as those employed by an authorized committee, would give rise to the presumption that the unauthorized committee had consulted with, or coordinated its activities with, the candidate or his/her authorized committee. Once a presumption is raised, it then becomes necessary to examine the facts surrounding an individual or a vendor's relationship to the activities of the respective committees involved in order to determine whether or not the alleged independence of the unauthorized committee's expenditures has apparently been compromised.

In situations where a presumption of coordination would not arise pursuant to Section 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B), evidence should still be sought of contacts through the individual or vendor involved which could point to actual or possible coordination of activities.

a. Involvement of Individuals

The primary basis for the Commission's finding of reason to believe that AFC had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) was the asserted involvement of three specific individuals with both AFC and an authorized committee of Ronald Reagan. These three invididuals were Senator Harrison H. Schmitt, Chairman of AFC; Stanley Huckaby, Assistant Treasurer of AFC; and Mrs. Anna Chennault.

(i) Senator Harrison Schmitt

In its complaint, the Carter/Mondale Re-election Committee alleged that Senator Schmitt was a member of the Republican

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National Committee Advisory Council and therefore was associated with a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan. In an affidavit submitted to the Commission on October 17, 1980 (attached hereto as Exhibit 14), Senator Schmitt confirmed that in 1978 he had agreed to become a member of this advisory council and that he attended one meeting that year. However, he also asserted that he was not and never had been an officer of the advisory council, that he had never received compensation from the council, that he had never received any information from the counsel "regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs", and that to his knowledge, the group "never advised Mr. Reagan, his committees or agents". Mr. Schmitt also asserted that he was not and never had been a Republican National Committeeman. (Exhibit 14, page 4). No expenditures to Senator Schmitt by an authorized Reagan committee have been found in reports submitted to the Commission. Nor is there evidence that he was ever an officer of such a committee.

On the basis of this information, it appears that no presumption of coordination would arise out of Senator Schmitt's relationships with AFC and an authorized Reagan committee in that he was neither an officer of, nor received any compensation from such a Reagan committee. There does exist, however, evidence that Senator Schmitt was in contact with the Reagan campaign prior to the formation of AFC.

Documentation supplied by AFC indicates that the meetings at which the details of that committee's organization were worked

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out took place on and about May 15, 1980. According to telephone records supplied by Senator Schmitt, by May 22, 1980, discussions were underway with prospective members of the AFC Steering Committee. Earlier, in April, 1980, Senator Schmitt had apparently been in communication with Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman of the Reagan for President Committee, in particular about arrangements for a "series of Congressional interaction sessions" with Mr. Reagan. (Exhibit 15). It appears discussions about such meetings continued at least into early May; however, on May 30, 1980, Senator Schmitt, in a memo to the record, stated that he had "called Laxalt to indicate I could not be part of a campaign issue group. Said I'm going to raise a lot of money but I can't talk about it. He said 'he understands'". (Exhibit 16). On May 21, 1980, Senator Schmitt also noted for the record that he had met with Richard Whalen of the Reagan campaign, about "Congressional relations during a Reagan Presidency", but that "(n)o campaign related items were discussed." (Exhibit 17). On September 19, 1980, Senator Schmitt wrote to Senator John Heinz stating

> As has been obvious since May, it has been necessary for me as a member of the National Republican Senatorial Committee to curtail my participation in the Committee's strategy sessions. It is the desire of all who serve on the executive committee of Americans for Change to avoid any possible perception of collusion on our part with any committee, organization or person formally connected with the Reagan for President principal campaign committee or with any committee, organization or person who may have inside knowledge as to the plans of the Reagan for President Committee. (Exhibit 18).

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In his affidavit, Senator Schmitt also asserted that neither he nor AFC's Executive Committee had "received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs". Nor had the Executive Committee received "a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding AFC expenditures." He stated that AFC had had "no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents or his authorized campaign committees, including their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers." (Exhibit 14, pages 5-6).

Documents and other materials produced by AFC included copies of speeches prepared by the Reagan/Bush Committee plus a "Dear Colleague" letter from Paul Laxalt on Reagan for President letterhead recruiting field staff personnel, and two fundraising letters paid for by the Republican National Committee for the RNC's Presidential Fund for a Republican Victory in '80, one addressed to Senator Schmitt and one to an individual in Texas. The latter bore the signature of Ronald Reagan. All of these letters appear to have been part of direct mail efforts or other general solicitation efforts rather than personal letters between Reagan committee and AFC personnel. When asked how AFC had come into possession of the Reagan speeches, Mr. O'Leary testified that the Commission's subpoena asked for all personal documents in Senator Schmitt's office related to the Reagan/Bush campaign. He stated,

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> (I)f you are aware, the Reagan/Bush campaign issued two or three documents a day to all members of Congress.... I think you would have found them in Democrats' offices as well as Republicans' offices. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 99-100).

(ii) J. Stanley Huckaby

J. Stanley Huckaby, the assistant treasurer of AFC, had earlier served as treasurer of the Baker for President Committee. He also served as treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee ("Unity Committee"), which was authorized by Ronald Reagan pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(1). In an affidavit submitted to the Commission on October 17, 1980 (attached hereto as Exhibit 19), Mr. Huckaby stated that the "sole purpose" of the Unity Committee was to raise funds "to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign." Mr. Huckaby asserted that his involvement with the Unity Committee "was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursement from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees." (Exhibit 19, page 2). He also asserted that apart from his duties as the Unity Committee treasurer, he had no authority from the Reagan campaign to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan. (Exhibit 19, page 3).

In their affidavits, both Senator Schmitt and Mr. Huckaby state that the latter's role with AFC consisted only of maintaining the books and financial records of the committee and

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assisting in the preparation of reports to the Commission. He was not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC, never attended or participated in meetings of these groups, and did not have the power to authorize independent expenditures by AFC. Nor could he sign checks with regard to such expenditures. (Exhibit 14, page 4, and Exhibit 19, page 1).

Given Mr. Huckaby's lack of authorization to make expenditures on behalf of AFC, his dual relationships with that committee and with the Unity Committee would not bring him within the presumptions of Section 109.1. Regarding more direct evidence of contacts, Mr. Huckaby has asserted that his only contacts with the Reagan campaign were two meetings with Ms. Angela M. (Bay) Buchanan, treasurer of the Reagan committee, to discuss the Unity Committee's dinner. "At these meetings, I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign." According to Mr. Huckaby, his meetings with Ms. Buchanan took place before the Republican National Convention; he assertedly had no contact with the Reagan campaign after these meetings. (Exhibit 19, page 2). "I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs." (Exhibit 19, page 3).

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(iii) Ms. Anna Chennault

Anna Chennault served as Chairwoman for Nationalities for Reagan in 1980. According to information furnished by AFC and the Reagan for President Committee, it appears that Ms. Chennault was approached by AFC in May or June, 1980, about the possibility of serving on the AFC Steering Committee. However, according to the affidavit submitted by Senator Schmitt, she never submitted written verification of her independence from the Reagan presidential election campaign and thus could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committees. (Exhibit 14, page 3). On July 22, 1980, apparently at the urging of officials of the Reagan committee, she wrote a formal letter of resignation to Senator Schmitt as Chairman of AFC (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-2; attached hereto as Exhibit 20). Senator Schmitt has asserted that she was never authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC and that she did not participate in the founding of the committee. (Exhibit 14, page 3).

Given Ms. Chennault's lack of expenditure making authority with AFC, it appears again that no presumption of coordination would arise. Mr. O'Leary, during his deposition, asserted that she was not involved in the founding of AFC, never attended strategy meetings, or otherwise participated in AFC prior to July 22, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 40-41). No evidence of a coordinating role has otherwise been found.

In addition to the alleged involvements of Senator Schmitt, Mr. Huckaby and Ms. Chennault with both the Reagan campaign and

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AFC, a number of additional possible instances of dual involvement were addressed in the complaints or came to the fore during the investigation and have been pursued. Specifically, it was noted that several individuals whose names appeared on lists of Steering Committee members later withdrew their names from consideration or resigned from that group, some in order to become active in the Reagan campaign itself or because they were already active. These individuals were Marlow W. Cook, Senator Hiram Fong, Robert P. Griffin, Lawrence J. Hogan, Guilford Dudley, Jr., Wendell Wyatt, Theodore L. Sendak, and James B. Edwards. John Harmer and George Murphy were cited in the complaints as possible agents of cooperation.

(iv) Marlow W. Cook

In a letter dated July 7, 1980, Marlow W. Cook stated that prior to answering the questionnaire submitted to him by AFC, he had received a telegram from Mr. Reagan asking that he "serve in an advisory capacity for his election campaign" in Kentucky. Mr. Cook stated that he had "opted to work directly for the election of Governor Reagan" and therefore, "having performed no services or duties for 'Americans for Change'", he requested that his name be removed "from whatever capacity your organization had determined I might fill." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-3; attached hereto as Exhibit 21). No evidence has been found that Mr. Cook could at any point have authorized expenditures on behalf of AFC. Nor have any expenditures to him been found in

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reports submitted by an authorized Reagan committee. He did not serve as an officer of such a Reagan committee. Therefore, no presumption of coordination would arise.

More generally, Mr. O'Leary has testified that Mr. Cook had no involvement with AFC prior to July 7, that he attended no strategy meetings, and that he, Mr. O'Leary, had no conversations with Mr. Cook after July 7 and through December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 41-42).

(v) Senator Hiram Fong

In a handwritten notation on an AFC letterhead which was apparently received by AFC on July 14, 1980, Senator Fong stated that he would be unable to serve on the Steering Committee. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-5; attached hereto as Exhibit 22). No evidence has been found that Senator Fong could authorize expenditures for AFC or that he ever served as an officer of, or received compensation from, an authorized Reagan committee. Mr. O'Leary has testified that Senator Fong had no role in AFC prior to July 14, 1980, and that he could recall no conversations with Senator Fong either before July 14 or between that date and December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 42-43).

(vi) Robert P. Griffin

Mr. Griffin's letter of June 19, 1980, to Senator Schmitt stated that he was "reluctant to associate with the 'Americans for Change' because . . . it would preclude (him) from playing any role whatever in the general campaign that might involve contact with the candidate or his campaign organization."

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Stating that he could not say that he had had no contact with the Reagan campaign, Mr. Griffin asked to have his name removed from the committee. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-6; attached hereto as Exhibit 23). Again, it appears that Mr. Griffin never had the authority to make expenditures for AFC, and that he was never an officer of a Reagan committee or received payments therefrom. Mr. O'Leary again testified that Mr. Griffin had had no role in AFC prior to June 19, 1980, and that he could recall no conversations with him either before that date or between June 19 and December, 1980.

(vii) Lawrence J. Hogan

On July 25, 1980, Lawrence J. Hogan wrote to Senator Schmitt stating his intention "to play an active role" in the Reagan campaign and his inability, therefore, "to serve on Americans for Change." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-7; attached hereto as Exhibit 24). Mr. Hogan was apparently never authorized by AFC to make expenditures. He did not serve as an officer of a Reagan committee, and no payments to him from such a committee have been identified. Mr. O'Leary testified that to the best of his knowledge Mr. Hogan was not involved with AFC prior to July 25, 1980 and that he could recall no conversations with him before that date and through December, 1980.

(viii) Guilford Dudley, Jr.

Guilford Dudley, Jr., in a letter to Senator Schmitt dated September 29, 1980, wrote that he had given a luncheon with Mr. Ted Lazenky for AFC, but that because he had been designated

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Vice-Chairman of the Prelude to Victory Dinner being given in Nashville, Tennessee by the RNC and the Tennessee State Republican Committee, he would have to "abandon any work for any PAC...." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-8; attached hereto as Exhibit 25). Mr. O'Leary testified that, to his knowledge, Mr. Dudley had not invited anyone to the luncheon cited and had not attended it himself.

The degree of Guilford Dudley, Jr.'s involvement in a luncheon for AFC is apparently a matter of dispute; however, his role as vice chairman of the dinner cited above does not appear to be the equivalent of being "an officer" of an authorized Reagan committee. Reports submitted by the Reagan committees do not show that he received any compensation or reimbursements. Thus, whether or not he could be deemed to have authorized AFC expenditures, no presumption of coordination would arise pursuant to Section 109.1.

Regarding any direct evidence of contacts, Mr. O'Leary testified that Mr. Dudley had attended no strategy sessions or meetings of AFC. He recalled no conversations with Mr. Dudley from September 29 through December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 44-45).

(ix) Wendell Wyatt

In a letter addressed to the Honorable John Harmer dated August 18, 1980, Mr. Wendell Wyatt of Portland, Oregon, stated that he had been requested to serve on the Oregon Steering

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Committee for Governor Reagan and that he felt he would do more in that capacity. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-9; attached hereto as Exhibit 26). Mr. O'Leary testified that he could not recall the nature of Mr. Wyatt's relationship, if any, with AFC prior to August 18, 1980, and that he did not recall any conversations with him during 1980.

Although Wendell Wyatt apparently served on a Reagan/Bush committee state steering committee, he was not an officer of an authorized Reagan committee and did not receive any reported compensation or reimbursements therefrom; he apparently was also not authorized by AFC to make expenditures. Therefore, as with the other individuals discussed thus far, no presumption of coordination would arise. No more direct evidence of a coordinating role has been found.

(x) Theodore L. Sendak

Theodore L. Sendak, attorney general of Indiana, originally volunteered to be AFC's state chairman in Indiana; however, according to Mr. O'Leary's testimony, no committee was ever put together there and so this position for Mr. Sendak never materialized. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 47-49). A fundraising letter did apparently go out on September 22, 1980, over the signatures of Mr. Sendak, John K. Snyder, and Senator William Ezra Jenner (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-13; attached hereto as Exhibit 27-b); however, Mr. O'Leary has testified that the language of the letter was not approved by the Executive

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Committee of AFC. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 101-103). On October 9, 1980, Mr. Sendak wrote to Senator Schmitt stating that he had agreed to accept an appointment to the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee of the Reagan campaign effective after the date of the letter and thus was resigning "as Co-Chairman for Indiana of the Americans for Change organization." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-10; attached as Exhibit 27-c). Mr. O'Leary could recall no later conversations with Mr. Sendak through December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, page 51).

Theodore Sendak's relationship to AFC and to the Reagan campaign does pose some questions. From the information included in Exhibit 27-a and 27-b, it appears that AFC in effect authorized Mr. Sendak to undertake a fundraising mailing in Indiana and supplied envelopes, inserts and copies of AFC stationery which could be reprinted. AFC reports do not, however, show payments for the printing and postage costs associated with this mailing. Also, as noted above, Mr. O'Leary testified that the text of the letter was not approved by AFC officers. Therefore, it is not clear whether or not Mr. Sendak was authorized to incur expenditures on behalf of AFC with regard to this letter.

Even if he had been so authorized, Mr. Sendak's appointment to the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee of the Reagan campaign was not the equivalent of holding office with the Reagan/Bush Committee, and no expenditures to him by an authorized Reagan committee have been found. Therefore, in the final analysis, it

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appears that Mr. Sendak's relationships to AFC and Reagan/Bush would not give rise to a presumption of coordination. No direct evidence of coordination through him has been found.

(xi) James B. Edwards

James B. Edwards, former governor of South Carolina, was asked to participate in AFC by organizing a committee, but, according to Mr. O'Leary, he never performed any particular function for AFC. On September 8, 1980, he wrote to Senator Schmitt stating that he felt he could "best serve our cause working here in South Carolina with Senator Thurmond, Carroll Campbell, Bryan Patrick, Harry Dent and others to carry our state for our team." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-14; attached hereto as Exhibit 28-a). According to this letter and to a contemporaneous telephone card supplied to the Commission by Senator Schmitt, Mr. Edwards had been asked to be co-chairperson of an undertaking in South Carolina. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-15; telephone card attached hereto as Exhibit 28-b). No evidence has been found that Mr. Edwards could at any point authorize expenditures for AFC, and therefore no presumption of coordination would arise. Mr. O'Leary testified that he had no contacts with Mr. Edwards after the latter resigned from AFC, and that, to his knowledge, no one else at AFC would have had contacts with him. (O'Leary Deposition, page 53).

In summary, a review of persons associated in varying degrees with AFC in 1980 has revealed a number who either had had

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contacts with the Reagan campaign prior to the formation of AFC, or who subsequently declined an invitation to join, or left, AFC in order to be free to join the presidential campaign itself. Only one of these individuals, J. Stanley Huckaby, had served as an officer of an authorized Reagan committee prior to becoming involved with AFC, and he was not authorized to make expenditures on behalf of AFC. Although he had not been an officer, Senator Schmitt had been in contact with the Reagan campaign prior to the founding of AFC, but apparently studiously avoided any later contact. Those who left AFC to join the Reagan campaign either had not been in expenditure authorizing positions within AFC, or never served as officers of the Reagan campaign or received compensation therefrom either before or after their AFC involvement; they also apparently cut all ties with AFC after their departures. No contradictory, direct evidence has come to light of knowledge gained by these individuals from one committee which was then used to influence the decisions of the other.

(xii) George Murphy

George Murphy was identified by both complainants as a member of the AFC Steering Committee and, as of July, 1979, as a member of the Policy Board of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council on National Security and International Affairs. Mr. Murphy was apparently not an officer of the latter policy board and no indication has been found in the reports of the Reagan for President Committee or the RNC that he received

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compensation or reimbursements from either. As a member of the AFC Steering Committee, he did not have the authority to make expenditures. No evidence has been found of actual coordination through his auspices.

(xiii) John Harmer

John Harmer served as co-chairman of AFC and thus was involved in the authorization of expenditures. Both complainants noted his position as lieutenant governor of California at the same time that Ronald Reagan served as governor.

The Commission has determined that associations prior to candidacy are not presumptive of cooperation or coordination. See AO 1979-80, at 5. No direct evidence has been found of any association with the Reagan campaign in 1979-80.

b) Use of Common Vendors

In a supplement to its complaint, Common Cause cited MediAmerica, Envelopes Unlimited, Preferred Lists, Bishop, Bryant and Associates, Campaign Marketing Group and Systems '80 as vendors used by both AFC and authorized Reagan committees. During the course of its investigation, the Office of General Counsel found that Communications Specialists of Austin, Texas, had also received compensation from both AFC and the Reagan/Bush Committee. This Office questioned both Reagan campaign and AFC representatives about the nature and content of the services performed by common vendors.

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(i) MediAmerica

MediAmerica, Inc., is a media production and advertising firm located in Alexandria, Virginia. Reports filed by the Reagan for President Committee show expenditures to MediAmerica of $10,000 on January 2, 1980, $8,589.33 on February 21, 1980, $3,000 on May 2, 1980, and $4,000 on October 29, 1980, for telephone banks, and $8,000 on February 8, 1980 for promotional materials. 6/ The former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee testified that Roger Stone would have been responsible for hiring this firm to do telephone fundraising. (Deposition of Angela M. Buchanan, page 66). To the best of her knowledge, MediAmerica did not place media advertisements for the Reagan committee. It did provide the questions used during the telephone polling undertaken. Reports filed by the Reagan/Bush Committee do not show expenditures to MediAmerica.

Reports filed by AFC show the following payments in 1980 to MediAmerica for "printing and mailing" or for "printing and mailing of Reagan support letters": $1,686.06 on July 25; $607.94 on August 1; $2,500 on August 5; $95.85 on August 27; $5,000 on September 2; $2,112.85 on September 8; $3,621.43 on September 19; $1,119.61 on October 1; $4,900.16 on October 3; $405.04 and $1,217.94 on October 9; $2,020.84 on October 8; $6,000 on October 16; $10,809.06 on October 24; and $2,348.86 on

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6/ The Committee's former treasurer testified that "promotional materials" should read "telephone fundraising." (Buchanan Deposition, page 67).

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October 28. All of these payments were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan.

Mr. O'Leary has testified that MediAmerica is a "mail house" to which AFC supplied copy and mailing lists. (O'Leary Deposition, page 62). According to Mr. O'Leary, a stock format of MediAmerica is an "Urgent Gram", and this format was one of the reasons that AFC selected this vendor. Mr. O'Leary stated that he wrote the copy contained in the Urgent Grams entered as exhibits during his deposition (attached hereto as Exhibit 29), and that this copy would have been approved by the AFC Executive Committee. He stated that to his knowledge MediAmerica did not have the capacity to have any input into such copy. AFC, through Mr. O'Leary, also supplied the mailing lists. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 63, 65-66).

Mr. O'Leary was asked if he could identify a letter dated July 2, 1980, from D. Richard Geske to Brenda Jones of AFC, which apparently had as an attachment a "Partial Roster of Political Clients Only" on which was included the Reagan for President Committee. (Attached hereto as Exhibit 30). Also attached to this letter was a "Services List" which cited "copywriting" as a direct mail fundraising service available. Mr. O'Leary testified that he had never seen the letter before. (O'Leary Deposition, page 68).

Mr. O'Leary also testified that at the time AFC decided to engage MediAmerica he was not aware that the Reagan for President

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Committee had employed this same firm during the primary campaign. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 68-69). In addition, he answered in the negative when asked if anyone at MediAmerica had discussed their work for the Reagan committee with him and whether, to his knowledge, anyone at MediAmerica had shown copies of AFC solicitation letters to the Reagan committees. (O'Leary Deposition, page 69). The former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee and Reagan/Bush Committee testified that she was not aware that AFC was employing MediAmerica. (Buchanan Deposition, page 68).

The facts involved in the employment of MediAmerica by both the Reagan for President Committee and AFC appear to present the type of opportunity for coordination envisioned by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B). MediAmerica did, apparently, take an active role in telephone fundraising for the Reagan committee. In addition, its own business solicitation materials indicate further capacities for creative input such as copywriting.

On the other hand, Mr. O'Leary asserted that MediAmerica had no creative input with regard to the content of the material printed for AFC, and that it did not take the initiative with regard to the selection of mailing lists used.

(ii) Communication Specialists, Inc.

Communication Specialists, Inc., is a printing and mailing company located in Austin, Texas. According to a report filed by the Reagan/Bush Committee, that committee made an expenditure of

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$5,098.95 to Communication Specialists, Inc. on October 24, 1980, for "printing" services. According to the report, this expenditure was made by or for the Reagan/Bush Committee, Texas. Communication Specialists was also employed by the Republican National Committee. The RNC expenditure of $8,242.50 on October 24, 1980, was reported as a coordinated expense on behalf of the Wright for Congress Committee.

AFC's expenditures to Communication Specialists in 1980 were as follows: $1,000 on August 1; $2,079.62 on August 6; $10,000 on September 30; $1,758.68 on October 3; $2,500 on October 9; $5,000 on October 10; $2,500 on October 20; $15,000 on October 22; $20,000 on October 28; $10,000 on November 7; and $3,000 on November 14. All of these expenditures were reported as being for "printing and mailing" and "printing of brochures, bumper strips, yard signs, buttons and precinct material." 7/

According to Mr. O'Leary's testimony, Communication Specialists performed a variety of services for AFC, including "printing, production, mailing services, folding, stuffing and computerization of . . . letters off a computer list." (O'Leary Deposition, page 71). As regards solicitation packages, this company designed, printed and mailed two basic forms termed respectively "Reagan Gram" packages and "regular" packages, each

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7/ The October 22 expenditure was initially reported as being for "placement of radio and newspaper advertisements." In the Committee's next report, this was changed to read as stated above.

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of which consisted of a carrier envelope, a letter, a business reply envelope, and an inner response document. The "regular" package was a letter signed by Harrison Schmitt or was printed on Harrison Schmitt stationery. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 72-73; examples of solicitation letters attached as Exhibits 4 and 31). Mr. O'Leary testified that he and Mr. Schmitt composed the copy for the letters. Communication Specialists had no input into the copy. He also stated that the mailing lists were leased off the open market, and that Communication Specialists had no part in their selection. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 71 and 75). The vendor's role in designing the solicitation packages involved the designing and probably the typesetting of the letterhead used. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 72-73).

Mr. O'Leary testified that he was not aware in 1980 that Communication Specialists had been hired by the Reagan/Bush Committee in Texas. He stated that he did not see copies of materials produced by this vendor for the Reagan/Bush Committee nor, to his knowledge, did anyone else at AFC. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 75-76).

In light of the nature of the services performed for AFC by Communication Specialists, services which involved apparently no creative input beyond the design of the letterhead used, and in light of Mr. O'Leary's denial that AFC representatives were aware that the Reagan/Bush Committee had used this same vendor, it appears that the evidence in hand could not sustain a finding of coordination between the two committees through this vendor.

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(iii) Bishop and Bryant

The Republican National Committee was an authorized committee of Ronald Reagan in 1980 during the general election campaign. Bishop and Bryant, Inc. is a political consulting and advertising company located in Washington, D.C. In its complaint, Common Cause cited employment by both the RNC and AFC of Bishop and Bryant, Inc. as evidence of coordinated activity.

During the 1980 general election campaign period the RNC did make the following expenditures to Bishop and Bryant: $11,200 on September 2; $3,000 on October 6; and $10,980 on October 22. AFC also made expenditures in 1980 to Bishop and Bryant as follows: $1,270.33 on July 25; $3,130.40 on August 21; $5,725.60 on August 25; $92.81 and $1,236 on August 27; and $313.93 on September 8.

The AFC expenditures were reported as being for "consultant fees -- media production". The RNC payments were reported as being coordinated expenditures for media buys and production fees made on behalf of the Hultman for Congress Committee (Iowa), the Atkins for Congress Committee (Ohio) and the Bill Herndon for Congress Committee (North Carolina), respectively. The RNC did not report coordinated expenditures to this vendor in support of the Reagan campaign.

Given the reported use of Bishop and Bryant by the RNC only with regard to its support of certain Congressional campaigns, the possibility of this firm's having served as a coordinating

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link between the Reagan campaign and AFC is apparently remote. No evidence indicating such a role has been found.

(iv) Campaign Marketing Group

Campaign Marketing Group is a telephone solicitation company located in Washington, D.C. In its complaint, Common Cause cited expenditures to this firm by RNC and AFC as additional evidence of cooperation. The 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee also employed this company.

On December 3, 1980, the RNC made a payment of $68,018.50 for "tele svs" to this firm which was reported as an operating expenditure, not as a coordinated expenditure on behalf of the Reagan/Bush Committee. The Unity Committee's expenditures in 1980 to Campaign Marketing were as follows: $24,991.24 on July 10, $25,249.55 on July 29, 1980, and $23,333.80 on August 20, $4,539.25 for phone banks and $4,539.25 on September 9, for a mailing. AFC's 1980 expenditures to Campaign Marketing included: $534.10 on August 27; $758.45 on September 8; $1,500 on October 1; $216.56 on October 16; and $1,500 on October 20. All of these AFC expenditures were reported as being for "phone and mailing."

Whether or not the RNC utilized the services of Campaign Marketing for activities in support of the Reagan candidacy, as did the Unity Committee in fact, it appears that the passive nature of the services performed by Campaign Marketing Group for AFC would not support a finding of cooperation based upon the

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employment of this vendor by RNC, the Unity Committee and AFC. Mr. O'Leary testified that Campaign Marketing undertook telephone follow-ups of Urgent Grams which involved urging people to attend luncheons or other events. AFC supplied the names of persons to be called and the copy for the message to be relayed by the caller. Mr. O'Leary testified that Campaign Marketing would not have had any input into what was said. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 81-82).

Mr. O'Leary also testified that he was aware, through his membership in the American Association of Political Consultants, that this firm was also being employed by the RNC. He stated, "there are only four or five common telephone services in Washington and they are used by all campaigns." (O'Leary Deposition, page 82). His responses were negative when asked whether, to his knowledge, anyone at the RNC ever saw a copy of materials used by Campaign Marketing for AFC or vice versa.

(v) Envelopes Unlimited

In the supplement to its complaint, Common Cause also cited Envelopes Unlimited of Rockville, Maryland, as a vendor common to the Reagan/Bush Committee, the RNC, the Unity Committee, and AFC.

According to its reports, the Reagan/Bush Committee made expenditures to Envelopes Unlimited on August 22, 1980 ($772), August 29, 1980 ($1,073.69), September 26, 1980 ($193.33), October 3, 1980 ($1,366.82), October 23, 1980 ($2,551.63), October 28, 1980 ($1,778.16), and November 14, 1980 ($706.99) for printing, office supplies and stationery. During the general

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election campaign period, the RNC also made a long series of expenditures to Envelopes Unlimited for postage, mail services and envelopes; all of these payments were reported as operating expenditures, not as expenditures on behalf of the Reagan/Bush Committee. 8/ The Unity Committee's expenditure on July 8, 1980, was in the amount of $840 for "supplies-envelopes".

On July 25, 1980, AFC made an expenditure to this same company in the amount of $249.06 for printing. According to Mr. O'Leary, this expenditure was for the printing of envelopes. (O'Leary Deposition, page 77).

Given the nature of the service performed by Envelopes Unlimited for AFC, a service which apparently involved no particular creativity or political strategy, it appears unlikely that coordination of political activity could have resulted from the employment of this vendor by the committees cited above.

(vi) Preferred Lists, Inc.

Preferred Lists, Inc., of Washington, D.C., is in the business of leasing mailing lists. During the 1980 general election campaign period, the RNC made the following payments to this vendor for list rentals: $10,623.98 on October 2; $90,222.36 on October 13; $3,921 on October 14; $16,949.61 on October 21; $3,652.74 on October 23; $96,388.24 on October 24; $10,556.97 on October 27; $41.34 on October 29; $357.50 on

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8/ Expenditures for direct mail services made by RNC on behalf of the Reagan campaign were reported as made to other specific direct mail firms and as in-house RNC services.

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October 31; $66.70 on November 4; $8,960.70 on November 19; $33,316.33 on December 4; and $50,943.47 on December 10. All of these expenditures were reported as operating costs, not as expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

As noted by Common Cause in the supplement to its complaint, AFC also obtained mailing lists from Preferred Lists in 1980; these AFC expenditures included ones for $4,735 on July 25; $1,045 on August 27; and $797.48 on October 30. During his deposition, Mr. O'Leary stated that he was the person who decided which lists were going to be leased, if available. (O'Leary Deposition, page 87). He also acknowledged being aware that the Republican National Committee had used this same vendor in 1980, stating that "(t)here aren't that many political list brokers in the city. To my knowledge, there were only four of them, and everyone in politics used all of them." (O'Leary Deposition, page 88). He testified that to his knowledge the RNC did not have knowledge of the lists purchased by AFC, and he denied knowing what lists RNC used. (O'Leary Deposition, page 89).

Given Mr. O'Leary's testimony that he decided upon the criteria to be used in selecting the lists leased from Preferred Lists and that he was not aware of which ones the RNC was also leasing, the common employment of this vendor would apparently not provide a sustainable basis for a finding of cooperation or coordination between the RNC and AFC.

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(viii) Systems '80

In the supplement to its complaint, Common Cause cited Systems '80 of Bethesda, Maryland as an additional vendor common to the RNC and AFC. This Office has not found evidence of expenditures made to this vendor by the RNC in the reports submitted by that committee.

4) Conscious Parallelism and Indirect Communication

In its complaint, Common Cause cited as evidence of coordination the respondents' "plans to complement and supplement each other's activities. . . . Each Respondent is consciously attempting to conduct a parallel shadow campaign." This accusation of conscious parallelism was apparently directed toward the selection of geographic areas of concentration by the respondents with regard to media advertising, provision of volunteers, etc. Such selection was deemed by the complainant to be sufficient to show actual agreement between the Reagan committees and the unauthorized committees, including AFC.

Common Cause and the Carter/Mondale Committee also argued that the respondents, including AFC, were indirectly communicating with each other through the press, with coordination the result. In the latter regard, Common Cause cited the language of 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A) as restated in AO 1979-80. According to this provision of the Commission's regulations, expenditures will be presumed not to be independent if they are

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> Based on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward having an expenditure made.

The concept of conscious parallelism is derived primarily from anti-trust law. The principal cases on this subject are Theatre Enterprises v. Paramount Film Distributing, 346 U.S. 537 (1954); and Delaware Valley Marine Supply v. American Tobacco, 297 F.2d 199 (3d Cir. 1961), cert. denied, 369 U.S. 839 (1962). In Theatre Enterprises, the Supreme Court determined that a finding that competitors consciously acted in a parallel fashion does not in itself establish a conspiracy for purposes of the Sherman Act. According to the court in Delaware Valley, conscious parallelism "is circumstantial evidence, the probative value of which necessarily varies with the kind of parallelism and the factual setting where it is found." at 203.

Delaware Valley cites several factors which, together with conscious parallelism, can lead logically to an inference of conspiracy, namely

1) the unlikelihood of numerous parties reaching one of several possible conclusions; and,

2) action in apparent contradiction of a party's self-interest. (at 205-206)

Other such factors which have been present in cases in which conspiracy has been found are:

1) a radical departure from past practices (See e.g., Interstate Circuit, Inc. v. U.S., 306 U.S. 208 (1939);

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2) express or implied request for agreements (Interstate Circuit, supra);

3) opportunity to agree;

4) earlier finding of conspiracy (Theatre Enterprises, supra).

Generally, two or more of these so-called "plus factors" have been present in cases where a conspiracy has been found. (James R. McCall, Sum and Substance of Antitrust, Center for Creative Educational Services, pp. 134-136).

Not all of these anti-trust-related plus factors would be applicable in the context of election campaigns. The unlikelihood of two committees making the same decision as to the substance of solicitations, the targeting of media campaigns, etc., would appear to be a relevant factor, as would express or implied requests for agreements, opportunities to agree and earlier findings of cooperation or consultation between two committees. Contradictions of self-interest do not appear relevant, nor do radical departures from past practice in light of the shifting natures of campaign issues and of the responses of political committees thereto.

An application of plus factors to AFC's activities does not provide support for a finding of cooperation or consultation. No evidence has been found that this committee ever received an express or implied request from the Reagan committees for a division or sharing of geographical responsibility or of other campaign responsibilities, ever selected targets unusually

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similar to those of the Reagan campaign in a situation where many targets were possible, was represented at a meeting where an opportunity to agree was present, or has previously been found to have cooperated in a way similar to the activity here alleged.

Common Cause in its complaint interpreted Section 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A) as including within the definition of "information . . . provided to the expending person . . . with a view toward having an expenditure made", information which is supplied by one committee to the press, published, and then used as a basis for action by another committee. In the view of the complainant, the Reagan committee released such information "with a view toward having expenditures made by Respondents", a "mutual understanding exist[ed] to that effect", and "Respondents have acted on the basis of that understanding." Common Cause complaint, pp. 16-17.

Absent a showing of an actual agreement to use the media for purposes of coordinating activity, it would be very difficult to sustain a finding of cooperation and coordination based upon press releases and subsequent use of the information contained therein. The statutory definition of "independent expenditure" cites possible relationships ranging from "in cooperation with" to "at the suggestion of" with the latter seeming to be the weakest link deemed sufficient to undermine the independence of an expenditure. The Report of the Committee on House Administration which accompanied the 1976 House bill amending the

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Federal Election Campaign Act contained the following explanation for this phase:

> In the definition of "independent expenditures", the phrase "at the . . . suggestion of . . ." is intended to include direct suggestions made by a candidate or his agent . . . . or any other person responsible for reporting contributions and expenditures . . . . It is not the Committee's intent to hold a candidate responsible for suggestions by persons over whom he does not exercise control. Further, for example, if a candidate or some other person suggests in a speech to a group of persons that everything possible should be done to defeat the opponent of the candidate, it is not the intent of the Committee that such a reference in a speech be viewed as a "suggestion" for purposes of the definition. H. Rep. No. 917, 94th Cong., 2d Sess., 5 (1976). (Emphasis added.)

The Conference Report which accompanied S. 3065, the bill containing the amendments finally approved, contained the statement "that advocacy of the election or defeat of a candidate or a general request for assistance in a speech to a group of persons by itself should not be considered a 'suggestion' that such persons make an expenditure to further such election or defeat." The Report also stated that it was the Conference Committee's intent to define "independent expenditures" in a manner consistent with the discussion of such expenditures contained in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976). H. Conf. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong., 2d Sess., 38 (1976). The Court in Buckley emphasized the absence of "prearrangement" and "coordination" in distinguishing between independent expenditures and contributions. Buckley, 424 U.S. at 47.

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It appears that Congress intended to require direct communications between a candidate and his or her authorized committee or agent on the one hand and an unauthorized committee on the other before the independence of the latter's expenditures in support of the candidate could be jeopardized. Indirect and uncoordinated communications through the press would not come within the definition of even "suggestion", let alone "in concert with" or "at the request of", etc. Therefore, even if AFC utilized information derived from the media in planning its own strategy, this Office has found no evidence of an agreement between the Reagan campaign and AFC to use the media as a means of coordinating their activities.

5. Summary and Conclusion

To summarize, this Office's investigation of a possible violation by AFC of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) has sought evidence of cooperation or coordination with authorized Reagan committees by examining AFC's internal organization and policy with regard to maintenance of independence from the Reagan campaign; any involvement of AFC personnel, or agents other than vendors, with an authorized Reagan committee prior to, or subsequent to, their involvement with AFC; the use of common vendors; any actual contacts between persons associated with AFC and Mr. Reagan or his authorized committees; conscious parallelism as to campaign activities; and indirect communication through the press.

There was movement into AFC of persons previously involved either in advising the Reagan campaign on strategy (i.e., Senator

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Harrison Schmitt) or directly with a particular authorized Reagan committee (i.e., Stanley Huckaby). Evidence has been provided, however, indicating that once AFC was formed, Senator Schmitt avoided further contacts with the Reagan campaign. In the case of Mr. Huckaby, it appears that his responsibilities were consciously circumscribed to prevent his involvement in the authorization of AFC expenditures or in the planning of AFC strategy.

Evidence supplied by AFC has been to the effect that the persons who left AFC to join the Reagan campaign either were never officially a part of the AFC organization or, although officially on board, never took part in the formation of AFC campaign strategy or played other significant roles, especially in the authorization of expenditures. There has been no direct evidence found of an actual sharing of information via these individuals, and the facts surrounding their involvements with AFC and the Reagan campaign do not give rise to a presumption of cooperation pursuant to the Commission's regulations. Nor have any election-related "plus factors" been found to support a finding of conscious parallelism in campaign targets and techniques. AFC's use of information derived through the media would not in itself constitute coordination.

With one exception, presumptive findings of cooperation resulting from the use of common vendors do not appear sustainable given the nature and contents of the products

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obtained from those vendors, and the lack of evidence to refute denials of knowledge on the part of AFC of the actual work done by such vendors for the Reagan campaign. In one case, however, that of MediAmerica, the situation is different. MediAmerica was apparently actively involved in telephone solicitations for the Reagan for President Committee. Its later work for AFC involved that committee's support of the Reagan campaign, and the business solicitation material sent to AFC explicitly listed the Reagan for President Committee as a client and copywriting as one of numerous services available. On the other hand, Bradley S. O'Leary has asserted that MediAmerica did not play a creative role in AFC's activities, including copywriting, and that he did not know of this firm's work for the Reagan campaign.

All told, one issue, the role of MediAmerica, is still open as a result of this Office's extensive investigation of the relationship between AFC and the authorized Reagan committees during the 1980 primary and general election campaigns. It is doubtful that further investigation would be fruitful in this regard. Representatives of AFC and of the Reagan campaign have consistently and flatly denied that any coordination took place. On the other hand, information supplied to the committee by this vendor shows that the opportunity for coordination existed. This Office does not believe that the denials by committee representatives completely counter this evidence of opportunity. Whether or not such coordination actually took place remains in doubt.

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Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission take no further action with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by Americans for Change.

C. Alleged Violation of 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4)

2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) states in part, "In the case of any political committee which is not an authorized committee, such political committee shall not include the name of any candidate in its name." The complainants in this matter alleged that AFC had violated Section 432(e)(4) in that its "project", "Reagan for President in '80" is a "discrete, unauthorized political committee which (has) included the name Reagan in (its) name."

This Office has determined that because the language of both 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) and the Commission's implementing regulation, 11 C.F.R. § 102.14(a), refers only to the names of political committees, it would be difficult to sustain the inference that it also applies to the use by such committees of a candidate's name in other contexts. Therefore, in order to find that 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) was violated, it would be necessary to determine that "Reagan for President in '80" met the definition of a "political committee" at the time this name was used.

In his affidavit submitted in connection with this matter, Senator Schmitt stated that "Reagan for President in '80" was "a fundraising project of AFC. . . . It is not a separate organization or committee or held out to be such in any AFC communication. 'Reagan for President in '80' has no checking or other account. All checks received by AFC, including those made

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payable to 'Reagan for President in '80' are deposited in AFC's only checking account. All AFC expenditures are made from this same account." (Exhibit 14, page 5). Mr. Schmitt's assertions were confirmed by Mr. O'Leary during his deposition. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 54-55). Mr. O'Leary also asserted that everyone at AFC worked on this project and that there was no separate bookkeeping system employed. (O'Leary Deposition, page 55).

2 U.S.C. § 431(4) defines "political committee" as "any committee, club, association, or other group of persons which receives contributions. . . or makes expenditures" of a given magnitude. It appears as regards "Reagan for President in '80" that there existed no group by this name. Only AFC staff, bank accounts and other records were allegedly involved in the receipt and expenditure of funds undertaken in this name. Contributions to the project were reported as receipts by AFC. Given these facts, "Reagan for President in '80" does not meet the definition of "political committee" set forth at 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A), and thus the provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) are not applicable. This Office recommends that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

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III. GENERAL COUNSEL'S RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find probable cause to believe and take no further action with regard to the violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by Americans for Change.

2. Take no further action with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by Americans for Change.

3. Find no probable cause to believe that Americans for Change violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

15 Nov. 1983
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachments - 31

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Exhibit 1

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS
AND ORDER TO ANSWER WRITTEN QUESTIONS

TO:

Americans for Change
1225 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 1252

At the instance of the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 437d(a)(1) and (3), the Americans for Change is hereby ordered to produce for inspection and copying all documents and materials listed below that are in the possession or control of Americans for Change or of its officers, agents, staff members, volunteers or employees. Production is to be made at the Office of General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission at 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on October 24, 1980, at 10:00 a.m. In addition, Americans for Change is hereby ordered to submit responses in writing and under oath to the interrogatories propounded herein, to the Federal Election Commission within ten (10) days of its receipt of this order.

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As used in this subpoena, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

1. The term "documents and materials" shall mean the original, all copies, and drafts of writings of any kind, printed, audio, visual, or electronic materials including but not limited to correspondence, memoranda, reports, transcripts, minutes, pamphlets, leaflets, notes, letters, lists, telexes, telegrams, messages (including reports, notes memoranda and any other documentation of telephone conversations and conferences), calendar and diary entries, contracts, data, agendas, articles, visual aides, computer print-outs, account statements, billing forms, receipts, checks and other negotiable paper, solicitation materials, records and compilations in the possession, custody or control of the Americans for Change. Designated "documents and materials" are to be taken as including all attachments, enclosures and other documents that are attached to, relate to, or refer to such designated "documents and materials."

2. "Identify" with respect to individuals shall mean to give the full name, last known residence address of such individual, the last known place of business where such individual is or was employed, the title of the job or position held with the entity in question, and the dates of such service.

3. "Americans for Change" or "AFC" shall mean its predecessors, affiliates, committees, subcommittees; divisions, branches, projects, as well as any other bodies which conduct business on behalf of AFC, and its officers, agents, employees, staff, and volunteers.

4. Reagan General Election Committee shall mean the principal campaign committee (see 2 U.S.C. § 431(5)) of Ronald Reagan, the 1980 Republican nominee for the office of President, the committee's predecessors (including, but not limited to the Reagan for President Committee), affiliates, committees, subcommittees, divisions, branches, projects, as well as any other bodies which conduct business on its behalf, and its officers, agents, employees, staff and volunteers.

5. All references to the "FEC" shall mean the Federal Election Commission, its auditors, attorneys, and other employees.

6. "FEC Disclosure Reports" shall mean any reports filed by FCM with the FEC pursuant to the requirements of 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455.

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7. "Agent" shall mean any person who has actual, oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of a candidate; or any person who has been placed in a position within the campaign organization where it could reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(5).

8. "Organizer" with reference to a project or group, shall mean any person who has directly or indirectly participated in the formation, planning, structure or organizational of the project or group in question including, but not limited to, attendance or participation in any meetings, discussions or communications concerning the project or group from the period from January 1979 to the group or project's inception.

9. The term "concerning" with reference to a subject or object shall mean mentioning, discussing, or directly or indirectly regarding, referring, or relative in any way to that subject or object.

If any document called for herein is withheld under a claim of privilege or objection, please furnish a list identifying each such document for which the privilege or objection is claimed, together with the following information:

(a) a description of the subject matter;
(b) the date of the document;
(c) the name and title of the author;
(d) the name and title of the person to whom the document was addressed;
(e) the name and title of the person to whom the document was actually sent;
(f) the identity of any other person who read all or part of the document;
(g) the number of pages;
(h) the paragraph of this subpoena to which the document is otherwise responsive, and
(i) the nature of the claimed privilege or objection.

Please produce in their entirety the following:

1. All documents and materials concerning meetings, discussions, correspondence, or other communications between AFC and any of the of the following persons or organizations or their officials, employees,

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staff members, volunteers, organizers, or agents which relate in any way to the efforts of either AFC or the below listed organizations or individuals with respect to Ronald Reagan's nomination as the Republican candidate for President or Ronald Reagan's general election for President in 1980.

Republican National Committee
Reagan for President Committee
Reagan General Election Committee
Reagan-Bush Committee
Reagan for President Compliance Fund
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Anna Chennault
Stuart Spencer
Senator Jesse Helms
James Lake
Stan Huckaby

2. All documents and materials concerning the formation, organization, planning, or undertaking of AFC.

3. All articles of incorporation, by-laws, rules, regulations procedural manuals, policy statements, governing instruments, or other documentaion of policies or procedures of AFC.

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4. All documents and materials concerning or reflecting any AFC decisions to expend funds which would in any way further the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

5. A copy of any survey results, poll, or memoranda or report containing polling or survey information obtained by or on behalf of AFC concerning the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party or his general election for President in 1980. As to each survey, poll, memoranda or report, please note the source of, or the vendor responsible for, the survey, poll, memoranda or report and the date on which the survey, poll, memoranda or report was secured by AFC.

6. All documents and materials relating to any AFC expenditure of funds for the financing of the dissemination, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part, of any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of campaign materials prepared for Ronald Reagan, the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan General Election Committee, or the Reagan Bush-Committee, the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee, the Reagan for President Compliance Fund, or the Republican National Committee.

7. All documents and materials disseminated, or republished by AFC which contain, in whole or in part, any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of campaign materials prepared or

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used by Ronald Reagan, the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan General Election Committee, the Reagan-Bush Committee, the Reagan for President Compliance Fund, or the Republican National Committee.

8. All documents and materials concerning any solicitation or request for funds for AFC which relate in any way to the furtherande of the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or the general election of Ronald Reagan for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

9. All telephone bills and/or other records of telephone calls made or received by AFC from January, 1980 to the present.

Please answer the following interrogatories:

A. Please identify all officers, directors, employees, staff members, media time buyers, volunteers, consultants or other agents of AFC. With respect to each individual identified, please identify that person's supervisor.[1/]

(1) Please identify which of of the above individuals and any other individuals who, have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the oral or written authorization (express or implied) of any expenditures which relate in any way to the furtherance of the

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1/ In lieu of identifying the supervisor of each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, AFC may provide the Commission with a copy of its organizational chart.

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election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

(2) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the production, conception, drafting, writing, editing, approval, review, presentation, printing, publication, distribution or dissemination of documents and materials produced by AFC which relate in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other Presidential candidate in 1980.

B. Please provide all date(s) of any meetings, discussions, or other communications concerning the planning, organization, formation, structure, or activities of AFC prior to May 23, 1980.

(1) Identify all of the participants in and all of those in attendance at each of the above meetings, discussions or other communications.

C. Please supply a list of the addresses of each office used by AFC, and the dates of such use from the time of its organization to the present.

D. List the phone numbers and extensions used by AFC since January, 1980 to the present, noting the extensions assigned to or used by each person identified in response to interrogatory A.

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E. List by date and location all fundraisers held by AFC since January, 1980 which related in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, his general election for President in 1980 or which related in any way to the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

F. With respect to each individual identified in response to interogatory A, please note whether that individual has had any past, or has any present association, either by way of employment, position, or membership with any of the below listed organizations, projects, or companies. With respect to each such association, note the dates during which each such person was so associated with the particular organization, group, project or company and the position(s) held with each.

Americans for Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
The Republican Party
The Reagan for President Committee
Group '80
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Citizens for the Republic
Richard A. Viguerie Co., Inc.
Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bruce Eberle Associates, Inc.
Decision Making Information, Inc.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Citizens for the Republic
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Committee for Independent Expenditures for Republicans
Target 80
The Conservative Coalition
The Conservative Caucus
Reagan 80
1980 United Republican Committee
Committment 80

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WHEREFORE, the Vice Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at the office of the Commission at 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., this 29th day of September, 1980.

John W. McCarry
Vice Chairman

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

Mailgram

1-208001U155015 06/03/80 ICS WA23466 BALA
00021 MLTN VA 06/03/80

Exhibit 2

BUSINESS REPLY

J GLENN BEALL
BEALL'S LANE
FROSTBURG MD 21532

ON THURSDAY, JUNE 5TH, A PRESS CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD TO ANNOUNCE THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO RAISE AND SPEND FUNDS IN THE GENERAL ELECTION ON BEHALF OF GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN.

WE HOPE TO ANNOUNCE A STEERING COMMITTEE OF 100 MADE UP OF POLITICAL, CIVIC AND BUSINESS LEADERS. IT IS MY HOPE THAT YOU WILL AGREE TO SERVE AS A MEMBER OF THIS STEERING COMMITTEE JOINING WITH OTHER REAGAN SUPPORTERS THAT INCLUDE; MYSELF; SENATOR HENRY BELLMON, OKLAHOMA; CARL CURTIS, FORMER SENATOR FROM NEBRASKA; JOHN HARMER, FORMER LT. GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA UNDER RONALD REAGAN; JIMMIE EDWARDS, FORMER GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA; AND TOM CURTIS, FORMER CONGRESSMAN AND CHAIRMAN OF FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION. PLEASE RESPOND BY PHONE PRIOR TO 10:00 P.M. WEDNESDAY EVENING TO:

JOHN HARMER, (202) 862-1600

SENATOR JACK SCHMITT (202) 466-7809 OR (AFTER 3:30 P.M.), (703) 370-6676, (703) 370-5525

OR RESPOND AFTER THAT DATE OR TODAY BY MAIL USING THE ENCLOSED FORM.

HARRISON SCHMITT
U.S. SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

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Dear Friend,

I want to personally invite you to help elect Ronald Reagan the next President of the United States.

By joining with thousands of your interested and concerned citizens you can participate in the newly founded "Reagan for President in '80," project, established to raise over $20 million on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

The funds collected from those who share Ronald Reagan's dream for a better and more prosperous America will be used for a media drive to inform the voters of the choice they have this year—in this critical Presidential election.

Much of what we raise will be spent for independent expenditures in accordance with federal election laws.

Without your help and commitment we will be unable to achieve our goal of informing the public about Ronald Reagan. The need is great and is immediate.

Please join us. Become another American who will stand up and be counted for the change we all know is possible under responsible leadership, such as Ronald Reagan will provide.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt (R.-N.M.)
Chairman

Federal Law

Prohibits

Ronald Reagan

From taking

your

personal contribution

But. . .

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THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION GUARANTEES YOUR RIGHT TO JOIN WITH OTHER AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

We are an independent political committee designed to increase citizen participation and awareness in the 1980 elections. One hundred people on June 5, 1980, formed AMERICANS FOR CHANGE to provide an avenue of expression for concerned citizens. This committee will enable them to participate more fully in the '80 elections, with special emphasis on the Presidential election.

"Reagan for President in '80" is being sponsored by Americans For Change, because federal campaign financing laws prohibit national candidates from accepting personal contributions since they receive federal funds.

We are looking for others who share our interests and feelings and who would like to participate in an organization which will help elect a man to the Presidency who can make the necessary changes—Ronald Reagan.

RONALD REAGAN WILL RECEIVE ONLY $29 MILLION FROM THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION.

Because of the new federal laws, there are only a limited number of ways you can participate in the Presidential Election this year. If you wish to participate more fully in this election one legal and effective way is through an independent project, such as "Reagan for President in '80," one of several projects planned by Americans for Change.

If you want to see a change in this nation in 1980 it's going to take much more than the $29 million that the federal government is allowing Ronald Reagan. By comparison, in 1972 George McGovern spent $43 million on his Presidential bid. With inflation and the reduced value of the dollar, in 1980 dollars this would mean McGovern spent nearly $80 million compared to the $29 million Reagan will be allowed to spend.

Considering that Americans spend more than $575 million, or $2.67 for every man, woman, and child in the country on shampoo, $29 million isn't much to elect a man who will be leading this nation for the next four years.





1. *Presidential Nominee* **Ronald Reagan.**

2. **Governor Reagan** *with his wife* **Nancy** *and* **John Harmer** *vice chairman of Americans for Change*

3. **Sen. Jack Schmitt**, *Chairman Americans For Change*

4. **Jack Schmitt** *placing flag on the moon*

If you are saying, "Well that's for a whole year and the actual election is only one day," look at this. Americans sparkled, sizzled, flared and boomed with $240 million in fireworks this year, virtually all of it on or about July 4, 1980.

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"THE COURT HELD THAT TRULY INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES NOT COORDINATED WITH OFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD NOT BE FORBIDDEN...."
—*The New York Times*
Sunday, June 15, 1980

"What they are planning are called 'independent expenditures,' and they're perfectly legal. The law says a presidential candidate who accepts federal funds for his campaign can't accept or spend any other money. But the Supreme Court ruled in 1976 that individuals or committees can't be restrained from spending money independently—and independence is the key to it—to support or oppose any candidate for the presidency, the Senate or the House.

"Democrats fume that the pro-Reagan groups are using a loophole in the law to get around the spending limit on a federally financed presidential campaign. 'They're asking for a lot of trouble,' says John White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee."
—*The Wall Street Journal*
Thurs. June 19, 1980

* * *

"One of the most ambitious groups is the newly formed 'Americans for Change.' They have filed as a multi-candidate political action committee, but primarily they will be concentrating on Reagan's election.... They have a wide spectrum of Republicans on their advisory board, but all of them have scrupulously avoided ties to the Reagan campaign.

"The group is welcoming contributions up to $5,000, no matter what an individual has already contributed to candidates, within the yearly $25,000 limit on political contributions.

"Because of this independent political activity has been on behalf of Reagan and not on behalf of Carter, many liberals are suggesting that the Reagan camp is deviously exploiting some 'loophole' in the federal election law.

"Yet these kinds of efforts do not spring from some legal flaw in the campaign financing act, but from the Supreme Court's *Buckley* v. *Valeo* decision which held that such independent campaigns were a guaranteed, constitutional right grounded in the 1st Amendment.

"There is also the hint from the media that Reagan, as a result of the independent operations, could end up with twice as much money as President Carter, thus putting him at a clear disadvantage. But this line of argument obviously overlooks the fact that the President, with almost unlimited access to the media, many billions of federal dollars he can ladle out to potential voters and an army of federal workers at his command, will have the greater advantage by far.

"And with the big labor unions also working their independent efforts on behalf of the President, the Carter camp will still be playing Goliath to the Reagan camp's David."
—*Human Events*
June 21, 1980

"The legal limits don't apply to committees that have no direct contact with the campaign organization, but spend on behalf of the candidate. Thus, several committees intend to avoid the spending ceiling on Reagan's behalf.

"Under the current federal election law, the Republican and Democratic nominees each get $29.4 million for the general election campaign, and they are barred from raising or spending any other funds."
—*The Christian Science Monitor*
Monday, June 9, 1980

* * *

"A group of prominent Republicans yesterday said they will take advantage of a provision of the law and pump $20 million to $30 million into efforts to elect Ronald Reagan president.

They may do so under the provision allowing committees unlimited spending on behalf of a candidate as long as the committees have no direct contact with his campaign."
—*San Francisco Examiner*
Friday, June 6, 1980

* * *

"Under the election law, the major party presidential candidates each get $29.4 million in federal funds to finance their general election campaign, and are limited to spending no more than that amount. But as long as a person or group acts independently of a candidate, he or it can spend as much as desired to promote a candidacy. The Supreme Court in 1976 ruled unconstitutional a provision in the law that would have limited independent contributions.

Fred Eiland, a spokesman for the Federal Election Commission, which oversees federal campaigns, confirmed that the law would not require the members of the group refrain from social contacts with Reagan or his aides."
—*The Minneapolis Tribune*
Friday, June 6, 1980

* * *

"A group of influential Republicans yesterday launched a drive to raise from $20 million to $30 million to promote Ronald Reagan's presidential candidacy by taking advantage of a loophole in federal election law.

"If successful, the group, headed by Sen. Harrison Schmitt (R-N.M.), would be in position to make 'independent expenditures' almost equal to the $29.4 million in federal campaign funds major party nominees receive and are limited to spending under law.

"The group, called Americans for Change, could do so by exploiting a provision in federal election law allowing unlimited spending by committees as long as they have no contact with the campaign."
—*The Washington Post*
June 6, 1980

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HOW CAN I PARTICIPATE IN THE COMMITTEE?

As you probably know, the chief financer of Presidential general elections is the federal government, through the use of your tax dollars. But, for those who like to participate in our electoral system with financial support, the prohibition on direct contributions to Presidential candidates can be frustrating.

By joining with us you can contribute up to $5,000 as an individual and up to $5,000 as a Political Action Committee. This amount is over and above any contributions which you may have already given as long as you do not exceed the $25,000 limit on total contributions to all federal candidates and political committees that support them in a calendar year.

HOW WILL I KNOW HOW MY MONEY IS USED?

Your thoughts and suggestions are actively sought and needed. The decisions on expenditures must be controlled by the Committee. But, you will be kept completely up to date on the activities and expenditures of Americans For Change and "Reagan for President in '80" project through regular written communications.

We need to make a change in Washington in 1980—and that change is embodied in one man, Ronald Reagan. Not only will we have a change in the Presidency, but there will be a new cabinet with competency that can be respected.

BUT UNDER WHAT AUTHORITY CAN I PARTICIPATE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL GENERAL ELECTION?

"The term 'independent expenditure' means an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion, of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate."

—Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as amended.

PLEASE JOIN US TO MAKE A CHANGE FOR A BETTER AMERICA

Paid for by Americans For Change, not authorized by any candidate.

218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

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Exhibit 4

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

SEP 8 2 38 PM '80

September 1, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell SOB
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I hope you read in your local newspaper Friday of the great victory won in the federal courts on behalf of Ronald Reagan. The victory clears all legal obstacles to the active involvement of civic leaders such as yourself in our Reagan campaign effort. If you and I can move now in the wake of the court's ruling, our effort could win the election for Reagan.

I know our efforts can equalize the financial advantage that Carter now enjoys. We can offset the millions that will be spent for him by organized labor. We can compensate for the millions he can spend on federal projects as the incumbent. We can balance free media he can get as president.

If you missed the story in your paper or on national news, the federal court struck down an attempt by a coalition led by Common Cause, the Carter/Mondale Campaign and the Federal Election Commission to stop our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I think you know why our committee was originally singled out by Common Cause for this lawsuit. At the time of our filing all other independent committees raising funds were organizations already in existence with a common and limited ideological base. Those committees did not have as their primary concern the election of Reagan, indeed most of their budget was for overhead, fund raising and Congressional and Senate races.

We were the first committee to file whose primary concern was the election of Governor Reagan. I think you have also seen that our National Steering Committee includes prominent Democrats, Republicans and Independents from all political spectrums not bound by narrow ideology. The list includes Governors, Senators, Congressmen and Business leaders from every state in our country.

I think you understand how dangerous this has made us to the Carter/Mondale and Common Cause political conspiracy. They determined that we had to be destroyed. I can't tell you how delighted I am that the court struck a blow for freedom by affirming our constitutional right to accept and spend contributions for T.V., newspaper and radio ads on behalf of Ronald Reagan. In view of the recent polls showing a close election this decision could not have come at a more opportune time.

Senator Schmitt I'm writing you this letter not only to bring you up to date but to ask for your help.

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NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

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A great deal of confusion exists on how best to help elect Governor Reagan. He has personally sent letters asking for your help in electing Republican Senate and Congressional candidates. These are the only appeals the Federal law allows him to make because of public financing of Presidential elections.

I know you have also been asked for contributions to the Republican Party to help Reagan and all other Republican candidates by registering and turning out voters. But the federal law limits how the party can use this money. They can not buy T.V., radio, newspaper or even spend money to communicate through the mails on behalf of Reagan. In addition, because the funds raised will help all Republicans running, it can not serve as an outlet for participation by Democrats and Independents.

I want you to know that we think there are many positive ways you may be able to contribute to help elect Reagan. But a contribution to our committee would be the most effective way to communicate Reagans views to the American voter, and it may be the only way Democrats and Independents will be able to financially help Governor Reagan.

The federal law clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as ours can spend funds for T.V., radio, newspaper or other voter communications and education devices on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I am going to ask you for a contribution to this effort and I will make you a special pledge. I will guarantee that 100% of any contribution that you make with this appeal will be spent for media within 72 hours of our receiving your check. You may rightfully ask how I can make such a commitment.

I can make that pledge because our legal fees and operation costs have been paid for through the contributions and efforts of a number of your friends including former Governor George Romney of Michigan, former Governor Jimmie Edwards of South Carolina, Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado and Senator George Murphy of California.

We need help because time is running out and there is no question that Common Cause and the Carter/Mondale committee were successful in putting a chilling effect on our early fundraising efforts. But their effort was not as successful as they had hoped. A number of Americans stepped forward and made an early contribution which has already allowed us to begin a media campaign. You may have seen our ads in major dailies and The Wall Street Journal.

We need your commitment to buy radio, T.V. time and newspaper space. I hope you care enough about the outcome of this election and the future of our country to help.

Can I count on you and your spouse for a contribution of $2,000, $1,000, $500 or $250 made out to "REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80"? We will begin to buy additional time and space seven days from today. Governor Reagan and America need your help. Please respond.

Sincerely,

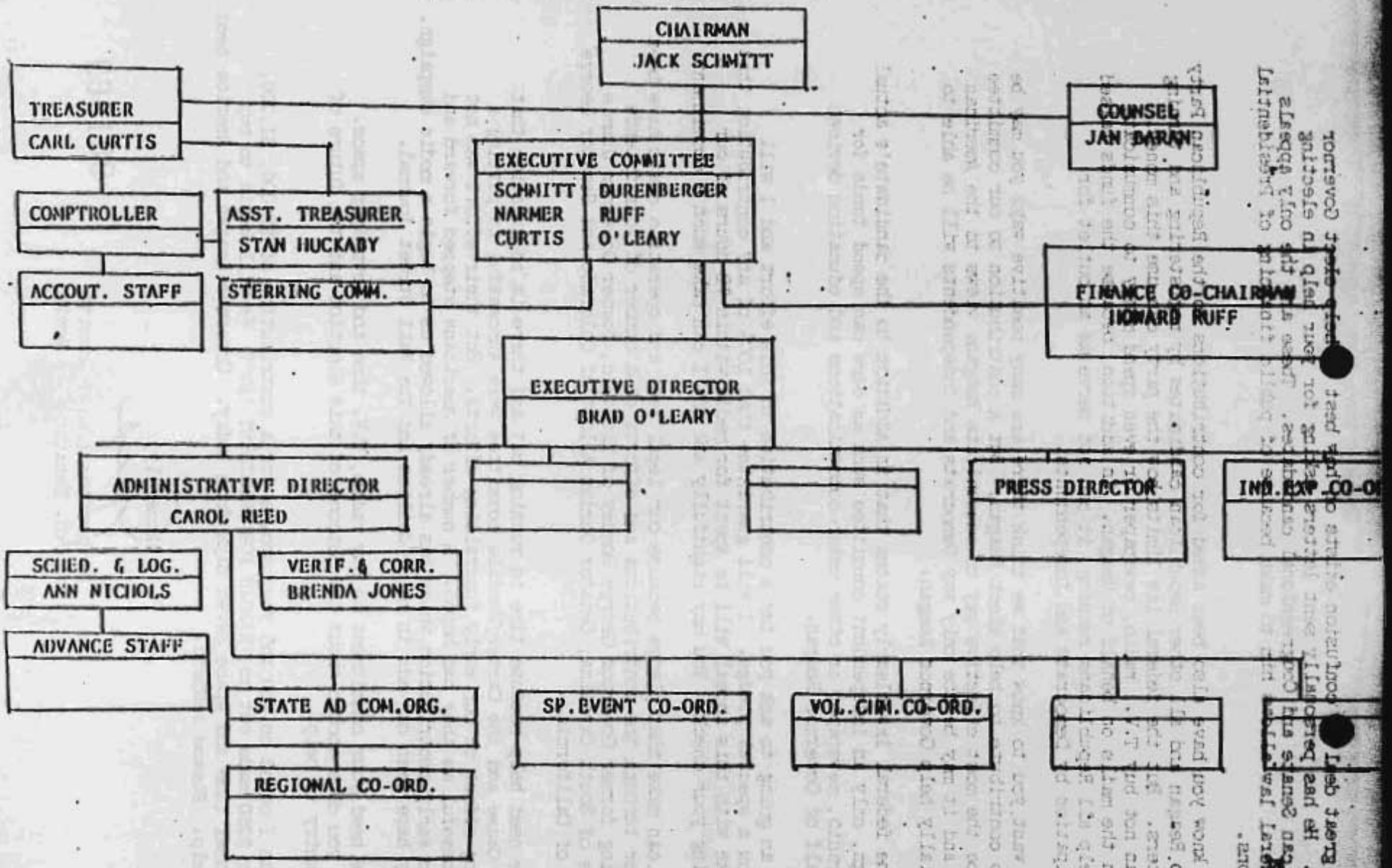
Jack

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

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Exhibit 6

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

RESPONSE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE TO INTERROGATORIES OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Comes now Americans For Change ("AFC") and responds to the interrogatories of the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"), as follows:

Objections of AFC to the Definition of Terms by FEC in Interrogatories to AFC.

1. AFC objects to the definition of "Identify" on the ground that it is overly broad and not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence.

2. AFC objects to the definition of the term "Concerning" as overly broad and not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence.

Notwithstanding the above objections and not waiving such objections, AFC responds to the interrogatories of the FEC as follows:

INTERROGATORY A:

A. Please identify all officers, directors, employees, staff members, media time buyers, volunteers, consultants or

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other agents of AFC. With respect to each individual identified, please identify that person's supervisor.[1/]

(1) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who, have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the oral or written authorization (express or implied) of any expenditures which relate in any way to the furtherance of the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

(2) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the production, conception, drafting, writing, editing, approval, review, presentation, printing, publication, distribution or dissemination of

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1/ In lieu of identifying the supervisor of each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, AFC may provide the Commission with a copy of its organizational chart.

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documents and materials produced by APC which relate in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other Presidential candidate in 1980.

ANSWER:

A. (1) Executive Committee members:

(a) Harrison H. Schmitt

(b) David Durenberger

(c) John Harmer

(d) Carl T. Curtis

(e) Brad O'Leary

(f) Howard Ruff

(2) Officers:

(a) Harrison H. Schmitt, President

(b) David Durenberger, Secretary

(c) Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer

(3) Directors:

(a) Harrison H. Schmitt

(b) Carl T. Curtis

(c) John Harmer

(d) David Durenberger

(4) Employees and staff members:

(a) Brad O'Leary (unpaid)

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(b) Carol Reed

(c) Brenda Jones

(d) Sarah Ellsworth

(e) Anne Nicolls

(f) Kurt Pantzer

(g) Kristin Hueter

(h) Tracy Howard

(i) Diana Welch (unpaid)

(5) Media time buyers:

(a) Goodnight Associates

(6) Volunteers:

AFC permits only persons approved for membership on the Steering Committee to serve as volunteers for AFC. Steering Committee members are:

Honorable E. Ross Adair
2200 Ft. Wayne National Bank Building
Ft. Wayne, Indiana 46802

Mr. Harold M. Agnew
322 Punta Baja
Solana Beach, California 92075

Mr. H. Alexander Aguiar
2549 Payne
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Mr. T. M. Alexander, Sr.
Alexander Company
3020 Brandywine Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

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Mr. Jack Allen
Alpare Research, Inc.
P. O. Box 1046
Perryton, Texas 79070

Mr. B. B. Andersen
B. B. Andersen Construction Company
P. O. Box 1692
Topeka, Kansas 66601

Ms. Betty Andujar
2951 Benbrook Boulevard
Fort Worth, Texas 76109

Dr. Edward R. Annis
9999 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Suite 303
Miami Shores, Florida 33138

Mr. James W. Baker
Route 5 duPont Road
Morris, Illinois

Mr. Fred H. Bame
2500 Delaware Street, S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Mr. Herbert Barness
The Barness Organization
1352 Easton Road
Warrington, Pennsylvania

Honorable R. Bendetsen
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Washington, D.C. 20006

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Atlanta, Georgia 30345

8304042837

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McLean, Virginia 22102

Mr. Norman Brinker
Steak & Ale Restaurants of America, Inc.
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Dallas, Texas 75222

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New York, New York 10017

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Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Mr. Garry E. Carruthers

Mr. Charles E. Chamberlain
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Mr. George N. Craig

8304042838

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Lawrence, Massachusetts 01843

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Life Casualty Tower
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Nashville, Tennessee 37219

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Washington, D.C. 20510

Honorable James Edwards (resigned)
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Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina 29464

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Albuquerque, New Mexico 87123

Mr. John H. Ewing
Abercombe & Fitch
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Bernardsville, New Jersey 07924

Mr. Larry Fleming
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Voice of America
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Honorable Horace A. Hildreth
Cumberland Foreside
Portland, Maine 04110

Honorable Jeffrey Hillelson
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Shawnee Mission, Kansas 66208

Honorable Leo A. Hoegh
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Chipita Park, Colorado 80811

Honorable Roman L. Hruska
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8304042840

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Topeka, Kansas 66601

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Huish Distributing Company
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Salt Lake City, Utah 84125

Mr. William E. Jenner

Mr. B. K. Johnson
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San Antonio, Texas 78205

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Kaiser-Francis Oil Company
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Tulsa, OK 74135

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Kenney Homes
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Las Vega, Nevada 89122

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Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Julian LeGraw
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Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Mr. John Leibold
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Ms. Clare Boothe Luce
4559 Kahala Avenue
Honolulu, Hawaii 96816

Honorable William S. Mailliard
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Mr. Walter L. McVey, Jr.
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Honorable George Meader
Rockland, MI 49960

Honorable William Miller
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Buffalo, NY 14202

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Tallasi Management Corporation
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New York, NY 10004

Mr. George Murphy
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Washington, D.C. 20006

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P/M Creative Productions
Austin, Texas

Mr. George K. Patterson

Honorable Walter Cl. Ploeser
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St. Louis, Missouri 63108

Honorable John C. Pritzlaff
Rock Mountain Management Corporation
Rm. 110 Senate Wing
Capital Building
Phoenix Arizona 85007

Dr. John H. Proctor
Data Solutions
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Vienna, Virginia

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Casper, Wyoming 82602

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Kodas, Reed, Gingrich & McFadden
2010 Traders National Bank Building
Kansas City, MO 64106

Honorable George Romney
1830 E. Valley Road
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

Honorable Richard L. Roudebush
Veterans Affairs
R.R. 3, Box 23A
Noblesville, Indiana 46060

Mr. Rosse Rowland, Jr.
Floor Broker Association
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St. 1204
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Target, Inc.
Box 2000
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Mr. Theodore L. Sandak
Attorney General
State of Indiana
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Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

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Wertheim & Company
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Alhambra, California 91802

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Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15237

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Boise, Idaho 83702

Mr. John Snyder

Honorable Burt L. Talcott
Louis C. Kramp Assoc.
4952 Sentnel Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20016

Mrs. Franz G. Talley
Talco Engineering
5800 North Yucca Road
Scottsdale, Arizona 85253

Mr. Paul N. Temple
Energy Capitol Company
270 Calvert Street, N.W., Apt. 516
Washington, D.C. 20008

Mr. Richard N. Thompson
968 NBC Center
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508

Mr. John D. Vanderhoof

Honorable Victor V. Veysey
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Pasadena, CA 91106

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Chantilly Development Corporation
P. O. Box 17067, Dulles Airport
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Enid, OK 73701

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Mr. Winston O. Weaver
Rockingham Construction Company
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Harrisonburg, Virginia 22801

Honorable Edgar D. Whitcomb
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Seymour, Indiana 47274

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Tollokas Plantation
Pavo, Georgia 31778

Mrs. Thomas Williams, II
P. O. Box 378
Thomasville, Georgia 31792

Honorable John S. Wold
Mineral Resource Center
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Casper, Wyoming 82601

Mr. Oscar Wyatt
1260 River Oaks Blvd.
Houston, Texas 77109

Mrs. Oscar Wyatt
1260 River Oaks Blvd.
Houston, Texas 77109

Honorable Wendell Wyatt
1200 Standard Plaza, 12th Floor
Portland, Oregon 97204

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Honorable Roger E. Zion
Resources Development Corporation
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Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20006

(7) Consultants:

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Austin, Texas 78701

Bishop & Bryant
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Washington, D.C. 20003

Malcolm MacDougall
SSC&B
1 Dag Hammarskjold Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Communication Specialists
One Red River
P.O. Box 1529
Austin, Texas 78767

(8) Other agents:

Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding expenditures by AFC in support of candidates. AFC has no other agents.

AFC has provided the FEC with a copy of its organizational chart.

The addresses of all persons identified herein are provided in AFC Reports filed with the FEC and in the answer to Interrogatory A., part (5).

A.(1) Harrison H. Schmitt

David Durenburger

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Carl T. Curtis
John Harmer
Howard J. Ruff
Brad O'Leary

A.(2) Harrison H. Schmitt, Brad O'Leary, Carl T.Curtis, Howard J. Ruff, John Harmer and David Durenberger participated in the approval of documents and materials produced by AFC relating to the candidacy of Ronald Reagan for President of the United States. Legal counsel reviewed materials. Staff members and some consultants, as identified in AFC's Reports of Receipts and Disbursements filed with the FEC, participated in the production, drafting, writing, editing, presentation, printing, publication, distribution and dissemination of such materials and documents.

INTERROGATORY B:

B. Please provide all date(s) of any meetings, discussion, or other communications concerning the planning, organization, formation, structure, or activities of AFC prior to May 23, 1980.

(1) Identify all of the participants in and all of those in attendance at each of the above meetings, discussions or other communications.

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ANSWER:

B.(1) AFC objects to the scope of Interrogatory B.(1) as overly broad and not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence. Notwithstanding said objection and not waiving such objection, AFC responds that the following meetings and discussions concerning the planning, organization, formation and structure of AFC occurred before May 23, 1980:

(a) May 14, 1980 - meeting between John Harmer and Harrison H. Schmitt, telephone conversation and meeting between Jan W. Baran, attorney, and Harrison H. Schmitt.

(b) May 15, 1980 - meeting between Jan W. Baran, attorney, Brad O'Leary, John Harmer and Diana Welch.

(c) May 21, 1980 meeting between Stan Huckaby, certified public accountant, and Diana Welch.

There were meetings and discussions between Brad O'Leary and Harrison H. Schmitt and between Carl T. Curtis and Harrison H. Schmitt during May, 1980.

INTERROGATORY C:

C. Please supply a list of the addresses of each office used by AFC, and the dates of such use from the time of its organization to the present.

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ANSWER:

C. The only office address used by AFC from its organization to present is 218 N. Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314.

INTERROGATORY D:

D. List the phone numbers and extensions used by AFC since January, 1980 to the present, noting the extensions assigned to or used by each person identified in response to interrogatory A.

ANSWER:

D. Phone numbers used by AFC are (703) 683-0304, (703) 683-5221 and (703) 836-7239. AFC did not assign extensions to any person.

INTERROGATORY E:

E. List by date and location all fundraisers held by AFC since January, 1980 which related in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, his general election for President in 1980 or which related in any way to the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

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ANSWER:

June 13, 1980	Los Angeles, California
June 14, 1980	Los Angeles, California
July 2, 1980	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
July 10, 1980	Albuquerque, New Mexico
July 13-17, 1980	Detroit, Michigan
July 18, 1980	Dallas, Texas
	Houston, Texas
July 19, 1980	Houston, Texas
	San Antonio, Texas
August 3, 1980	St. Louis, Missouri
August 7, 1980	Seattle, Washington
August 8, 1980	Los Angeles, California
August 18, 1980	Washington, D.C.
August 24, 1980	Cincinnati, Ohio
August 25, 1980	Indianapolis, Indiana
August 28, 1980	Nashville, Tennessee
August 28, 1980	Midland, Texas
August 29, 1980	Midland, Texas
August 29, 1980	Denver, Colorado
September 15, 1980	Chicago, Illinois
September 15, 1980	Boston, Massachusetts
September 16, 1980	Chicago, Illinois
September 17, 1980	Washington, D.C.
September 21, 1980	Stamford, Connecticut
September 22, 1980	Atlanta, Georgia
September 23, 1980	Colorado Springs, Colorado

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September 24, 1980	Denver, Colorado
September 25, 1980	New York, New York
October 4, 1980	Ft. Worth, Texas
October 6, 1980	Gallup, New Mexico
October 8, 1980	Sun Valley, Idaho
October 9, 1980	Salt Lake City, Utah
October 11, 1980	Albuquerque, New Mexico
October 15, 1980	Houston, Texas
October 16, 1980	Washington, D.C.
October 17, 1980	Columbus, Ohio
October 20, 1980	Las Cruces, New Mexico
October 23, 1980	Witchita, Kansas
October 27, 1980	Roswell, New Mexico
October 29, 1980	Farmington, New Mexico

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INTERROGATORY F:

With respect to each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, please note whether that individual has had any past, or has any present association, either by way of employment, position, or membership with any of the below listed organizations, projects, or companies. With respect to each such association, note the dates during which each such person was so associated with the particular organization, group, project or company and the position(s) held with each.

Americans For Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
The Republican Party
The Reagan for President Committee
Group '80
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Citizens for the Republic
Richard A. Viguerie Co., Inc.
Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bruce Eberle Associates, Inc.
Decision Making Information, Inc.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Citizens for the Republic
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Committee for Independent Expenditures for Republicans
Target 80
The Conservative Coalition
The Conservative Caucus
Reagan 80
1980 United Republican Committee
Commitment 80

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ANSWER:

F. AFC objects to Interrogatory F on the ground that it is overly broad, not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence and violates the guarantees of the First Amendment. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 14-15 (1976). Notwithstanding such objection and not waiving such objection, AFC responds that officers, directors, staff, employees, media time buyers, volunteers and consultants were screened by AFC to insure that none were associated with President Ronald Reagan or his authorized

campaign committees or agents as listed in Interrogatory F or otherwise. AFC is aware that Stan Huckaby, consultant, was Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee. Mr. Huckaby was not permitted to and did not participate in any decisions or the implementation of any expenditures by AFC. AFC lacks any other knowledge of the past or present affiliations or associations of the persons identified in the answer to Interrogatory A.

Brad O'Leary
Executive Director

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26th day of February, 1981, by Brad O'Leary.

Rose M. Dennis
Notary Public, District of Columbia

My Commission Expires:

May 14 1985

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Exhibit 7

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE STAFF & CONSULTANTS

Brad O'Leary
Executive Director
703/370-6676

Carol Reed
Assistant Executive Director
703/836-7339

Brenda Jones
Verification & Correspondence
703/642-5168

Sarah Ellsworth
Special Events Coordinator
301/652-2312

Kristin Hueter
Special Events Coordinator
202/333-1592

Anne Nicolls
Schedule & Logistics
703/751-6435

John Riley
Administrative Assistant to
Sen, Durenberger
h) 703/893-0618
o) 202/224-3244

Stan Huckaby
President, Political Financial
Services
h) 703/765-3447
o) 202/484-7900
(Martha Broadfoot)

Neal Blair
Director, Howard Ruff PA
h) 703/860-8858
o) 415/837-5796

Jan Baran
Esquire, Baker & Hostetler
h) 703/549-6982
o) 202/861-1572

CONSULTANTS

Diana Welsch
Administrative Assistant to
Sen. Schmitt
h) 301/292-5827
o) 202/224-5521

Peg Walker
Administrative Secretary
to Sen. Schmitt
h) 703/920-5362

Charlene Chavez
Personal Secretary to
Sen. Schmitt
h) 202/544-5070

Julian Barber
Press Secretary to
Sen. Schmitt
h) 703/765-9043

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Exhibit 8

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE FIELDPERSONS

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Los Angeles, VA 90017
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Lonny Adams
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Saltlake City, UT 84111

Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Wyoming
Mac ~~Baddock~~ Haddow
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Salt Lake City, UT
801/364-1676

New Mexico
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505/883-8900

Colorado
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Denver, CO 80218
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Southern California
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Los Angeles, VA 90014
714/545-7175
213/688-6081

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Exhibit 9

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Steering Committee & Executive Committee Members, Americans for Change

FROM: Senator Harrison Schmitt

DATE: June 11, 1980

RE: Communications on Behalf of Americans for Change

I know that all of us who are participating in the efforts of Americans for Change to make independent expenditures in support of Governor Reagan are sensitive to the legal requirements which govern our activities. Although we are exercising our very fundamental right to express our political views, federal election laws impose certain technical and reporting rules which apply to many of the type of communications that this committee will probably undertake.

Because of these legal considerations, all communications by members of Americans for Change on behalf of Americans for Change must be reviewed by counsel in advance, and specifically authorized by me. "Communications" are any written or printed matter, and includes, but is not limited to --

1. Letters
2. Brochures
3. Posters

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4. Handbills, flyers or leaflets

5. Bumper stickers

6. Radio or televison ads

7. Newspaper or magazine ads

Any communication, including the above items, which are paid by Americans for Change, or for which you expect reimbursement from Americans for Change, must be authorized beforehand. In order to maintain control over this type of activity and to avoid possible inadvertent technical and reporting violations of the laws, Americans for Change may have to repudiate any unauthorized communications.

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Exhibit 10

ATTACHMENT A

SUMMARY OF PERTINENT STATUTES AND REGULATIONS

April 21, 1980

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This memorandum summarizes some of the more important provisions of federal election campaign financing law of concern to a citizens group which desires to receive contributions and make expenditures in support of the Republican nominee for President.

Introduction

The Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA"), enacted in 1971, imposes limitations on contributions to candidates for federal office and sets forth registration and reporting requirements for political committees. The contribution limitations are $1,000 per candidate per election for most individuals or groups. The Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act, also enacted in 1971, provides public funds to candidates in the general election for President on the condition that they accept no private contributions for that election, and FECA further imposes expenditure limitations on such Presidential candidates in an amount equal to the amount of public funds. Both statutes are administered primarily by the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"). This year, each Presidential candidate accepting public funds will be provided with approximately $29 million for the general election and the Republican and Democratic parties will each be permitted to spend an additional 2 cents per

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member of the voting age population on behalf of its Presidential candidate. In 1976, this amount equaled approximately $3.2 million for each party.

Following the United States Supreme Court decision in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976), FECA was amended to remove any limitations on the direct expenditures (as opposed to contributions) by individuals or groups intended to influence an election, so long as those expenditures are "independent expenditures" within the meaning of FECA. Since the Republican candidate for President will almost definitely accept public funds (thus barring any contributions to him and limiting expenditures by him), any privately funded activities attempting to influence his election must meet the criteria for independent expenditures. If they do not, they will be deemed "contributions" to the candidate and will offset, dollar for dollar, the public funds available to him for his campaign. In addition, such "contributions", since they would exceed the contribution limitations of FECA, would subject the "contributor" to the possibility of civil (injunctions and/or civil fines) or criminal (fines and/or imprisonment) sanctions.

Any citizens group intending to solicit private contributions and make private expenditures in order to influence a Presidential election must therefore be extremely careful to follow the guidelines for independent expenditures

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set forth in FECA and the regulations thereunder. The need for this care is heightened by the fact that any such effort is likely to draw political opposition sufficient to provoke a legal challenge.

Since the law is fairly new and undeveloped, a number of questions will arise which cannot be fully answered from the statute, the regulations, or the presently available judicial or administrative decisions. Accordingly, it may at times be advisable for the citizens group to request an advisory opinion from the FEC, which, if favorable, will insulate the group from liability if the opinion is followed in good faith. The advisory opinion process does have the disadvantages of delay (the FEC can take up to 60 days to respond) and publicity (each request is available for public comment). However, the uncertainty of the law, the inherent controversiality of any political group, and the strong interest of the group's members in being above any possible legal reproach may well combine to recommend the procurement of advisory opinions under many circumstances.

The following discussion is organized around three major questions: (1) What must a citizens group do to insure that its expenditures are "independent"? (2) What other provisions of the law affect the activities of a citizens group? (3) What must a citizens group do to organize itself?

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1. What Must A Citizens Group Do To Insure That Its Expenditures Are "Independent"?

The statutory definition of an "independent expenditure" is as follows:

> The term "independent expenditure" means an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17).

The regulations define "independent expenditure" in a substantially similar manner:

> "Independent expenditure" means an expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a).

For reasons described below, most of the important questions for a citizens group arise in connection with the part of the definition in the regulations which begins with the words "made with the cooperation. . ." The regulations define conduct which is "made with the cooperation. . ." to include:

> Any arrangement, coordination, or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display, or broadcast of the communication. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4).

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The meaning of the terms "arrangement, coordination, or direction" is not further explained by the statute or regulations. The regulations do, however, set forth two sets of circumstances under which expenditures will be presumed not to be independent. Such a presumption will arise, first, if an expenditure is

> [b]ased on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or the candidate's agents, with the view toward having an expenditure made,

or second, if the expenditure is

> [m]ade by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been, receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate's committee or agent. 11 C.F.R. 109.1(b)(4)(i).

For purposes of convenience, the first of these presumptions will be referred to as the "information presumption" and the second as the "personnel presumption." Since these are only presumptions, they can be rebutted by evidence which shows that the expenditures were in fact independent within the meaning of the statute. However, because these provisions are only presumptions, they also do not purport to cover the entire range of conduct which will offend the statute. Other conduct still can give rise to liability if the FEC or a court is satisfied that the independent expenditure provisions

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are violated. Notwithstanding these caveats, the information and personnel presumptions are the most definite statements now available on the requisites for an independent expenditure. From them a number of questions arise, many of which cannot be answered with certainty at this time.

In order to afford a better evaluation of these issues, each person who has expressed an interest in the citizens group is being asked to fill out the questionnaire attached as Appendix 2 to this memorandum and return it to counsel as soon as possible. From the answers, it will be determined whether an individual's activities: (1) involve by their very nature a sufficient likelihood of problems that participation in the citizens group would be inadvisable; (2) do not involve any problems likely to hinder participation; or (3) pose questions which should be answered by an advisory opinion from the FEC. Regardless of the particular questionnaire responses, advisory opinions may nonetheless be requested on a number of questions which involve future activities of the citizens group members.

In the meantime, there are several guidelines which should be followed by potential members of the citizens group. To begin with, they should assiduously avoid discussing any aspect of general election campaign strategy with any active candidate for President or his present or former advisors or staff. Insofar as possible, contact should be avoided

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altogether with a candidate himself or with his key campaign advisors. If this is not feasible (e.g., when contact is initiated by the candidate), conversation should be strictly limited to topics other than anything remotely involving campaign strategy. In addition, each such conversation should be documented by careful and complete notes forwarded immediately to counsel.

The same limitations apply to contacts with current members or staff of the Republican National Committee ("RNC") who are involved in the Presidential and Vice Presidential campaigns. No discussions of general election campaign strategy should be entered into with these persons. While it may ultimately be determined that conversations with persons who have recently terminated their involvement with the RNC can be engaged in without limitation, for now these conversations should likewise be limited and documented by careful and complete notes forwarded immediately to counsel.

Discussions with any other persons regarding campaign strategy or this group's plans should always be undertaken with great care and should be recorded with detailed notes. Questions concerning possible problematic contact should be openly conveyed to counsel as soon as they arise, even if they relate only to anticipated or hypothetical situations.

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2. What Other Provisions Of The Law Affect The Activities Of A Citizens Group?

Assuming that all of the expenditures made by the citizens group are independent, the group will still operate under several constraints imposed by FECA. The group cannot include the name of any candidate in its name. This rule was added to FECA as part of the 1979 amendments, and is contained in 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). In addition, a communication financed by an independent expenditure must "clearly state the name of the person who paid for the communication and state that the communication is not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee." 2 U.S.C. 441d(a)(3).

The group can accept contributions totaling no more than $5,000 from any "person." For purposes of the contribution limitations, the statute defines "person" to include: "an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, labor organization, or any other organization or group of persons." 2 U.S.C. § 431(11). Contributions to the primary campaign of the Republican nominee would probably not be offset against this $5,000 amount; i.e., a person could contribute $5,000 to the group even if he had contributed $1,000 to the primary campaign of the nominee.

At the same time, the statute entirely prohibits contributions from certain entities which fall within the

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definition of "person," including corporations and labor unions. Corporations and labor unions can nonetheless establish separately segregated funds (commonly referred to as "political action committees" or "PACs") which can make contributions to candidates, political parties, or citizens groups. Each PAC is treated as a "person" and is therefore limited to $5,000 in its total contributions to a citizens group.

The citizens group will also be subject to the provisions which strictly govern both the treatment of funds and the group's recordkeeping and accounting practices. 2 U.S.C. § 432; 11 C.F.R. §§ 102.8-102.11. The treasurer of the group will be responsible for carrying out most of these provisions. For example, all contributions, along with the names and addresses of contributors, must be forwarded to the treasurer, who must then deposit the funds in special accounts in a designated bank or banks, and all disbursements must be made from these accounts. The treasurer must also keep records of the amount and source of each contribution and the amount and payee of each disbursement.

The citizens group will also be subject to the reporting requirements of FECA. 2 U.S.C. § 434. Generally speaking, the group must file quarterly or monthly reports, at its option, but in any event must file both a pre-election

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report and a post-election report. These reports must present detailed information on the operations of the group during the reporting period, including, for example: amount of cash on hand at the beginning of the period; receipts broken down by amount, type, and identity of source; and disbursements broken down by amount, type, and identity of payee.

3. What Must A Citizens Group Do To Organize Itself?

In the terms of the statute, the citizens group will be a "political committee." 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A). Because it will have no relationship with any candidate, it will be deemed an "unauthorized committee."

The first official step the group must take is the filing of a "statement of organization" with the FEC. 2 U.S.C. § 433. This filing need not be made until 10 days after the receipt or expenditure by the group of amounts aggregating more than $1,000. The statement of organization must include the name and address of the group, the fact that it is "unauthorized," and the names of its treasurer, the custodian of its books and accounts, and its banks; the names of the other officers need not appear. Any changes in the information provided must be subsequently filed with the FEC.

Affiliated groups at the regional, state or local levels can be formed for the purposes of raising and expending

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funds in conjunction with the national group. However, each of these groups must follow the independent expenditure provisions, and this may require a high degree of monitoring by the national group. Contributions to these affiliated groups will be aggregated with each other and with contributions to the national group for purposes of the $5,000 contribution limitation.

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LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
SUITE 800
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 659-6600

CABLE ADDRESS LATHWAT
TWX 810 371-3733
TELECOPIER (202) 296-6918

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
555 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071
TELEPHONE (213) 485-1234

ORANGE COUNTY OFFICE
650 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660
TELEPHONE (714) 752-8100

May 15, 1980

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: Advisory Opinion Request Concerning An Independent Expenditures Committee in Connection with the 1980 Presidential General Election

Gentlemen:

We are counsel to several individuals who are in the process of forming a political committee (the "Committee") for the purpose of soliciting contributions from the public and making expenditures in the general election in support solely of the nominees for President and Vice President of one of the major political parties. Pursuant to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), our clients intend that the Committee's activities will be undertaken completely independently of the activities of the candidates which it will be supporting, as well as the campaign committees and agents of such candidates, and that the expenditures of the Committee will be "independent expenditures" within the meaning of the Act and regulations. Our clients intend that the expenditures of the Committee will be made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and will not be made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate.

We are writing on behalf of our clients for the purpose of requesting an advisory opinion in answer to the following questions:

1. Assuming that the Committee's expenditures are in fact independent expenditures as defined in the Act, does 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act prohibit or restrict the independent expenditures activities of the Committee?

2. Assuming that the Committee's expenditures are in fact independent expenditures as defined in the Act, may the Committee receive contributions of up to $5,000 from each contributor, assuming that the contributor is not prohibited from making contributions under the Act, and subject to the $25,000 aggregate contribution limitation with respect to individuals contained in 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(3)?

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Regarding the first question, we believe that pursuant to Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976), 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) is invalid under the United States Constitution. At the very least, under Buckley and the independent expenditures scheme of the Act, see especially 2 U.S.C. §431(17) and 11 C.F.R. Part 109, 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) can and should be read to be inapplicable to independent expenditures activities undertaken by political committees in accordance with the Act.

Regarding the second question, we believe that it is clear that the Committee is neither an authorized political committee nor a political committee established and maintained by a national political party, and that it is therefore "any other political committee" within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(1)(C). Pursuant thereto, we believe that the Committee should be able to receive contributions of up to $5,000 from each contributor, assuming that the contributor is not prohibited from making contributions under the Act, and subject to the $25,000 aggregate contribution limitation with respect to individuals contained in 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(3).

We look forward to your responses to these questions. Thank you for your consideration.

Very truly yours,

LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

Roderick M. Hills

Roderick M. Hills

BY MESSENGER

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Exhibit II

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELEX: 197640 BAKEOST
TELECOPIER: (202) 857-0010

In Cleveland, Ohio
3200 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8375

In Columbus, Ohio
100 East Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 228-1541

In Orlando, Florida
250 CNA Tower
Orlando, Florida 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.
(202) 861-

June 24, 1980

Honorable Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Senator Schmitt:

You have requested this letter as Chairman and on behalf of Americans for Change.

I. FACTS

Americans for Change ("Committee") is a political committee 1/ registered with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"). 2/ The Committee's Statement of Organization 3/ on public file with the FEC declares in pertinent part that Americans for Change "supports . . . more than one Federal candidate and is not a separate segregated fund nor a party committee." 4/ The Committee is not affiliated with any other committee, 5/ nor is it authorized by any candidate.

One of the candidates that the Committee intends to support is Ronald Reagan, provided that he becomes a nominee for President of the United States with respect to the 1980 general election. The Committee intends to support Governor Reagan by financing assorted communications that

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1/ 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A) (Supp. III 1979).

2/ Id. § 433.

3/ FEC Form 1, filed June 3, 1980.

4/ Id. line 5.

5/ Id. line 6.

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advocate his election. These communications will be made to the general public and will be effected without consultation, coordination or prearrangement with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his staff or agents. The general funds of the Committee will be used to finance the communications.

Under these circumstances you have asked whether the Committee may spend its funds for independent communications in support of Governor Reagan. Furthermore, you wish to know how much an individual may contribute to the Committee under the Act.

II. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

The Act regulates the manner in which campaigns for federal office 6/ may be financed. In general, amounts donated to a candidate for federal office are subject to contribution limits. 7/ However, certain political activities by individuals or committees on behalf of a specified candidate are not contributions subject to limitation. Among the exempt activities are independent expenditures. An "independent expenditure" is

> . . . an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate. 8/

6/ "Federal office" includes the offices of President, Vice-President, Senator and Representative. 2 U.S.C. § 431(3) (Supp. III 1979).

7/ See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A) and (2)(A) (1976).

8/ Id. § 431(17) (Supp. III 1979) (emphasis added). Although not subject to limits, independent expenditures may be subject to disclosure provisions of the Act. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(5)(B)(iii) and (c) (Supp. III 1979).

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The Act further defines "person" to include "an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, labor organization or group of persons." 9/ Under the definitions contained in the Act, either an individual or a committee, such as Americans for Change, may make independent expenditures.

The right of individuals and groups to make unlimited independent expenditures is a constitutional right, as well as a statutory right. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that a dollar limitation on the amount that a person may spend to advocate expressly the election of a clearly identified candidate without prearrangement or coordination with that candidate "is unconstitutional under the First Amendment." 10/ The Court emphasized that "[a]dvocacy of the election or defeat of candidates for federal office is no less entitled to protection under the First Amendment than the discussion of political policy generally or advocacy of the passage or defeat of legislation." 11/ Furthermore, the Court concluded that a limit on independent expenditures was not justified by any substantial government interest to safeguard the electoral process, because truly independent political expression does not "pose dangers of real or apparent corruption." 12/ Independent political expression is a constitutional right of American citizens, specifically recognized by the Supreme Court.

For the above statutory and constitutional reasons, Americans for Change may make independent expenditures not subject to limitation on behalf of Governor Reagan.

III. LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions 13/ to a political committee are subject to limitations under the Act. Any person may contribute

---

9/ 2 U.S.C. § 431(11) (Supp. III 1979) (emphasis added). In addition to the word "person" virtually every word or term contained in the definition of "independent expenditure" is a term of art. Id. § 431(2), (9) and (18); 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(1)-(3) (1980).

10/ Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 51 (1976).

11/ Id. at 48.

12/ Id. at 46.

13/ Generally, a "contribution" is "any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal [illegible] (Supp. III 1979).

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up to $5,000 in any calendar year to a political committee, other than a committee established and maintained by a political party, or an authorized committee of a candidate. 14/ Americans for Change, as an unauthorized unaffiliated political committee that supports more than one candidate, may accept contributions up to $5,000 per calendar year from any person, including an individual. All individual contributions are further subject to an overall limit of $25,000 in aggregate contributions by the individual per calendar year. 15/

Contributions should be unrestricted and undesignated by the contributor who may not retain any control over his contribution once it is made to the Committee. All contributions should be placed in the general fund that is used to finance all activities conducted by Americans for Change, including any independent expenditures on behalf of Governor Reagan. 16/

IV. CONCLUSIONS

For the above stated reasons, and under the above stated conditions, Americans for Change may communicate with the general public on behalf of Governor Reagan by means of independent expenditures as defined by the Act. Furthermore, any person may contribute up to $5,000 per year to the Committee provided that the contributor does not restrict the purposes for which the Committee may use his or her donation and provided further that the contributor does not retain control over his or her contribution.

Very truly yours,

Jan W. Baran

14/ Id. § 441a(a)(1)(C) and (a)(2)(C) (1976).

15/ Id. § 441a(a)(3).

16/ Contributions should be unrestricted and undesignated in order to help ensure that donations to Americans for Change are not "earmarked" for any specific Committee project. See 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h) (1980).

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Exhibit 12

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steering Committee members

FROM: Sen. Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, Chairman

I appreciate your commitment to assist in our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

Under separate cover, I am sending to you a list of over 100 individuals such as yourself who have expressed to me their interest in serving on the Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Our major project this fall will be to inform American voters about Governor Reagan and why he should be our next President. Any individual may contribute up to $5,000 to Americans for Change to help us get the message out. This includes individuals who may have contributed or worked for Governor Reagan in the primary. But as a Steering Committee member, I must ask you to fill out a questionnaire prepared by our counsel. The purpose of the questionnaire is to ascertain the nature of your previous activity on behalf of Governor Reagan, if any. Your affirmative response to one of these questions does not necessarily preclude your serving.

Our counsel, Jan Baran, of the firm of Baker & Hostetler and former Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission, will review your completed questionnaire. Please include your telephone number so that Mr. Baran may reach you if necessary to discuss any of your responses.

Only those who have submitted completed questionnaires, received and approved by counsel, will be permitted to serve on the Steering Committee. So please return your questionnaire as quickly as possible to Americans for Change, 218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, VA 22314 (703) 683-0304.

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

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INSTRUCTIONS

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE is a political committee not authorized by any candidate which will be making independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan for the 1980 presidential general election. The Federal Election Campaign Act and Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations require that these type of expenditures be made without cooperation or consultation with, and not in concert or at the request or suggestion of Governor Reagan, his authorized committee or his agents. In order to ensure that expenditures are made independent of Governor Reagan or his authorized campaign, all officers and personnel of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE are requested to fill out this questionnaire prior to their involvement in making such expenditures. This document will be reviewed by the committee's counsel and retained with the committee's records.

The term "agent" as used in this questionnaire means any person who has actual oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of Governor Reagan, or means any person who has been placed in a position within the Reagan campaign where it would reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures.

Also included with these papers is a list of your fellow board members, their addresses and phone numbers.

Temporary offices have been set up at:

218 N. Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-683-0304

For more information, contact Brenda Jones at the above phone number.

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QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completi[illegible]

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, _____, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

902070

Date Signature

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AFC STEERING COMMITTEE AS OF
JULY 21, 1980

Exhibit 13

WILLIAM E. CASSILLMAN, II

THOMAS B. CURTIS

DEAN DAVIS

LANE DWINELL

MRS. ELLEN ST. JOHN GARWOOD

MILLS E. GODWIN, JR.

MELVIN LAIRD

JOHN LODGE

WALES H. MADDEN, JR.

G. N. PARROTT

MAXWELL RABB

R. L. RICKENBAUGH

W. F. ROCKWELL, JR.

JOHN W. ROLLINS

DON W. SAMUELSON

ARTHUR SPITZER

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EXHIBIT I
SV 4-6-82

Exhibit 14

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

State of New Mexico) ss:

Harrison H. Schmitt for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Chairman and one of the organizers of Americans For Change ("AFC"), a political committee registered in that name with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. The only offices of AFC are located at 218 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. AFC's telephone number is (703) 683-0304.

3. AFC has made and intends to make independent expenditures in support of the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and intends to make contributions to other candidates for federal office. AFC is duly incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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4. Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis and Brad O'Leary are the founders of AFC.

5. Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Members of the Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. As Chairman of AFC, I have attended all meetings of the Executive Committee and no persons other than the members listed above made decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC.

6. AFC has a Steering Committee which consists of 108 members nationwide who assist in fundraising for AFC.

7. Prior to becoming a member of the Executive or Steering Committee, each person must verify in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify that he or she: (1) is not and never has been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving or never has received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his agents or committees; (4) does not and has never held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan,

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his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view toward having an expenditure made.

8. All members of the Executive Committee and Steering Committees have provided such verification, which AFC's counsel has reviewed.

9. AFC has only one bank account. All checks issued by AFC are drawn from this account and must be signed by me or AFC Treasurer Carl T. Curtis. All independent expenditures made by AFC are made by check.

10. Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Steering Committee or Executive Committee. She refused to submit written verification as described in paragraph 7 and, therefore, could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. Ms. Chennault is not and never has been authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC. Ms. Chennault has never attended any meetings or participated in any activities of AFC, including the making of independent expenditures. Ms. Chennault did not participate in founding AFC.

11. Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC and custodian of its records. His sole activity in relation to AFC is and has been to prepare the financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Mr. Huckaby is not a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. He does not and has not attended meetings of either group. Mr. Huckaby is neither permitted to make decisions

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or participate in discussions regarding independent expenditures or to sign checks for such expenditures. Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make expenditures on behalf of AFC.

12. In 1978 I agreed to become a member of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council ("RNC Advisory Council"). I attended one meeting of the RNC Advisory Council in 1978. I am not and never have been an officer of the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received any information from this group regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. To my knowledge, this group has never advised Reagan, his committees or agents. I am not and never have been an RNC Committeeman.

13. AFC's Executive Committee has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls regarding the 1980 presidential election, apart from results published in newspapers or periodicals. AFC's Executive Committee has not obtained such information from Reagan, his committees or agents.

14. AFC has not expended any funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC.

15. AFC does not use and has never used the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate in its name. All materials used for the solicitation of funds for AFC contain

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the notice: "Paid for by Americans For Change, Not Authorized by Any Candidate." "Reagan for President in '80" is a fund-raising project of AFC. It is not part of AFC's name. It is not a separate organization or committee or held out to be such in any AFC communication. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account. All checks received by AFC, including those made payable to "Reagan for President in '80" are deposited in AFC's only checking account. All AFC expenditures are made from this same account.

16. AFC has held fundraisers. In each instance AFC has made it clear that the fundraiser was sponsored by AFC. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees.

17. The Executive Committee makes all decisions regarding expenditures for communications in support of Ronald Reagan. The Executive Committee then selects a media or print professional to prepare the communication. Prior to selecting such a professional, the Executive Committee requires him or her to verify in writing that he or she complies with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditure as described in paragraph 7. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

18. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his authorized campaign committees including

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their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers.

19. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

20. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

21. AFC's Executive Committee has never received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs from Reagan or his agents or campaign committees. AFC's Executive Committee has never received a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding any AFC expenditures.

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Harrison H. Schmitt

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15 day of October, 1980.

Notary Public

My commission expires:

Dec. 5 1981

SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Exhibit 15

April 25, 1980

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Honorable Paul Laxalt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Paul:

Attached is another look at policy categories which might be the basis of a series of Congressional interaction sessions with the Governor. The five basic categories are obviously interrelated but could serve to channel discussions along useful lines.

On a separate copy of the list I have indicated those Senators who might be asked to head up each session. As I indicated to you earlier, the Governor should probably be well briefed by his people beforehand, and the Senators should have worked out their basic recommendations in advance of each session. In this way, the Governor would have his own framework in which to assimilate the input we felt it was important to make.

One note of caution: If the Senators in each group are not willing to discipline their comments, then each session should be held with only the leader, you and one or two others present. In such a case, each leader would be responsible for gathering and filtering input from others.

Please call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

HS/smg

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Economic – DANFORTH

Fiscal
Tax
Regulation
Labor
Management

Defense – WALLOP

Strategic
Tactical
Civil
Trade

Foreign – LUGAR

Free World
3rd World
Soviet Sphere
China Sphere
Western Hemisphere

Society – SCHWEIKER

Urban
Rural
Welfare
Health
Education
Law Enforcement

Development – SCHMITT

Science
Innovation
Energy and Minerals
Renewable Resources
Environment
Agriculture

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Exhibit 16

MEMO TO RECORD May 30, 1980

FROM: HHS

SUBJ: Reagan Independent Committee

Called Laxalt to indicate I could not be part of campaign issues group. Said "I'm going to raise a lot of money but I can't talk about it".

He said "he understands".

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MEMO FOR THE RECORD May 21, 1980 Exhibit 17

Subject: Visit of Richard Whalen, Reagan Campaign, on May 21, 1980

Mr. Whalen, Doug McCullough, and I discussed matters related to Congressional relations during a Reagan Presidency. My general suggestion was to try to do a few things very well during the first six months and not get tripped into trying all things for all people during that time.

I also suggested continuous contact with Members of Congress supportive of the Administration's efforts. I further suggested that new legislative initiatives were not critical in the first year because the authorization and appropriation bills provided a vehicle which well planned efforts could use to influence almost all aspects of public policy.

No campaign related items were discussed.

Harrison Schmitt/mg

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Exhibit 18

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 19, 1980

Dear John:

I know you are aware that I serve as Chairman of Americans for Change, an independent expenditure committee formed in behalf of Ronald Reagan for President.

As has been obvious since May, it has been necessary for me as a member of the National Republican Senatorial Committee to curtail my participation in the committee's strategy sessions. It is the desire of all who serve on the executive committee of Americans for Change to avoid any possible perception of collusion on our part with any committee, organization or person formally connected with the Reagan for President principal campaign committee or with any committee, organization or person who may have inside knowledge as to the plans of the Reagan for President committee.

I look forward to resuming a more active role in the Senatorial Committee program in 1981.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John Heinz
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change) MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia) ss:

Stan Huckaby for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Assistant Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC"). My only services and activities in relation to AFC are to maintain the books and financial records of AFC and to assist in preparation of reports to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC and have never attended or participated in any meetings of either group.

4. I do not authorize or have the power, express or implied, to authorize expenditures of AFC.

5. I served as Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee for the sole purpose of raising

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funds to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign. I was the treasurer of the Howard Baker campaign, which had one of the largest primary campaign debts to be liquidated. My agreement to serve as the Unity Committee Treasurer was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursements from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees.

6. My only contacts with Ronald Reagan, his agents or campaign committees were two meetings with Ms. Bay Buchanan, the Treasurer of the Reagan campaign to discuss the Unity dinner and accounting. I had previously been introduced to Ms. Buchanan at a seminar sponsored by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants in early 1980. At these meetings I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign. These meetings occurred before the Republican National Convention and the nomination of Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate for president. Since the meetings described herein, I have had no contact whatsoever with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his campaign committees.

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7. Apart from my duties as the Unity Committee Treasurer, I have no authority, express or implied, from Ronald Reagan, his agents or authorized political committees to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, nor have I ever held myself out or have I ever been held out by Ronald Reagan or his agents as having such authority. As described in paragraphs 5 and 6 herein, my position with the Unity Committee is not a position with the Reagan campaign organization which creates the appearance that I have authority to make expenditures on behalf of Reagan.

8. I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs.

Stan Huckaby

Subscribed and sworn before me this 14th day of October, 1980.

Notary Public

My comission expires:

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Exhibit 20

July 22, 1980

The Honorable
Harrison Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

At the Republican convention in Detroit, Chairman Bill Brock and legal advisor of Reagan Committee again urged me to resign from your committee. Our responsibility is to win the election for Reagan and Bush. Since I am officially serving as Chairwoman for Nationalities for Reagan, I have to resign from your organization.

I do hope you understand. However, I continue to serve and make contributions and raise money not only for the Eagles, but also for the Senatorial Trust, as well as the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Good luck to all your good work.

Warmest regards,

Anna Chennault

8304042289

Exhibit 21

COOK, PURCELL, HANSEN & HENDERSON
CHARTERED
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1015 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

(202) 659-1050
CABLE:CHLAW
TELEX:440608
TELECOPIER:
(202) 659-1877

HARLOW W. COOK
GRAHAM PURCELL
ORVAL HANSEN
DAVID H. HENDERSON
JOHN L. ZOPACK
MICHAEL P. ANDREWS
JOHN C. KIRTLAND
F. EUGENE WIRTHMAN
JAMES CAMPBELL
LAWRENCE A. WEISS

WILLIAM J. HULL
OF COUNSEL

KANSAS CITY OFFICE
SHOOK, HARDY & BACON
20TH FLOOR MERCANTILE BANK TOWER
1101 WALNUT
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64106
(816) 474-6550

BOSTON OFFICE
RAMSEY, SERRINO & MURRAY
ONE WASHINGTON MALL
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02108
(617) 723-6100

July 7, 1980

Mr. John Harmer
Americans For Reagan
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Mr. Harmer:

On June 3, 1980, I received a mailgram from you requesting assistance in joining your group "Americans For Change." My secretary, by telephone on June 4, notified either your office or Senator Schmitt's office that I would be pleased to join. A few days thereafter, I received a set of instructions to answer eight specific questions so that the organization would have no point of conflict with any individual who would also work directly for the candidacy of Governor Reagan for the presidency.

Prior to answering the questions, I received a telegram from Governor Reagan asking me to serve in an advisory capacity for his election campaign in my home commonwealth of Kentucky. Inasmuch as I feel I could be of more help in the state I had previously represented in the Senate, I have opted to work directly for the election of Governor Reagan to the presidency. Therefore, having performed no services or duties for "Americans For Change", I would request that you remove my name from whatever capacity your organization had determined I might fill. I might further suggest to counteract Archie Cox's ridiculous remarks that you make public my inability to work for your organization because of my direct involvement in the

Miller case
Marlow Cook is
Ltr. steering
committee

902006

8304042875

Reagan campaign.

Sincerely yours,

Marlow W. Cook

MWC:pc

cc: The Honorable Jack Schmitt

8304042289 6

902007

Hiriam Fong

Exhibit 22

Americans for Change

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319 Alexandria, Virginia 22314

JUL 1 1 1980

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, Co-Chairman
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer
(U.S. Senator Nebraska(Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, Vice Chairman
Executive Director
Reagan for President in '80

Senator Fong -
Counsel must clear all steering committee Members. Please fill out and send us as soon as possible

Reagan Bush Committee

Exhibit 23

ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

616 946 7000

10850 Traverse Hwy.
Traverse City, MI 49684

June 19, 1980

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Jack:

As you may know, I responded affirmatively to a June 3 telegram sent in your name requesting me to join a national political committee supporting the candidacy of Governor Ronald Reagan for President.

Not until later, when I received the questionnaire, did I realize that this group is being organized as an "independent" fund-raising committee.

I have no objection whatever to independent groups raising and spending money to support Governor Reagan. In fact, I am pleased to see such activity and I support the idea.

However, in my own case, I am reluctant to associate with the "Americans for Change" because, as I understand the law, it would preclude me from playing any role whatever in the general campaign that might involve contact with the candidate or his campaign organization.

Unfortunately, for your purposes perhaps, I am not in a position now to say that I've had no contact with the candidate's organization. Furthermore, I believe I can -- and I expect to -- play a more useful role in the campaign ahead (at least in Michigan) than merely to have my name appear on the letterhead of an "independent" fund-raising committee.

Frankly, it seems to me that the "Americans for Change" committee could operate effectively with a smaller number of names, and that the committee should be limited to people who, for one reason or another, can play no other role in the effort to elect Ronald Reagan as President.

If you agree with my reaction and analysis, please consider this as a request to remove my name. If you believe I am mistaken, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Griffin

RPG/mcf

902009

8304225

Exhibit 24



OFFICE OF COUNTY EXECUTIVE

LAWRENCE J. HOGAN
COUNTY EXECUTIVE

July 25, 1980

Dear Jack:

As I mentioned to you in Detroit, because I am on the National Committee and intend to play an active role in the Reagan campaign, I will be unable to serve on Americans for Change. I believe both positions are incompatible and may present legal difficulties for your group. The Democrats are looking for any excuse to call it an extension of the campaign and disallow its fund raising activities.

I wish your organization success. If I can every be of assistance to you in another regard, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Larry

Lawrence J. Hogan

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

8304042289

902013

Exhibit 25

INGRAM CORPORATION
LIFE AND CASUALTY TOWER · NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219
TELEPHONE 615 244-9300

GUILFORD DUDLEY, JR.
VICE CHAIRMAN

September 29, 1980

Senator Harrison Schmitt
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

Although I did give the luncheon with Ted Lazenby for your PAC Americans for Change, sponsors of Reagan for President in '80, I have been advised by our attorneys that I will have to abandon any work for any PAC since I was designated Vice Chairman of the Prelude to Victory Dinner campaign put on by the RNC here and the State Republican Committee.

Actually my wife is Chairman of this dinner, and, therefore, I had very little choice but to work for it as Vice Chairman. This does, apparently, eliminate my being able to work for PACs in the future although at the time I did agree to do it, I had no such affiliation.

I wish you luck in your enterprise which is an excellent one, and I wish I could continue to work on it with you.

Sincerely,

Guilford Dudley, Jr.

GD/ls

P. S. I might mention that I am an Eagle and a member of Jack Heinz's Inner Circle and have contributed the limit for myself and my family to the Reagan campaign.

8304042930

902017

SCHWABE, WILLIAMSON, WYATT, MOORE & ROBERTS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1000 STANDARD PLAZA
1100 S. W. 6TH AVENUE
PORTLAND, OREGON 97204
TELEPHONE (503) 222-9981
CABLE ADDRESS "ROSCAL"
TELEX-151563
TELECOPIER-235
CALVIN N. SOUTHER
1906-1979

BRUCE SPAULDING
WILLIAM M. SINSET
WAYNE A. WILLIAMSON
OHN L. SCHWABE
ENDELL WYATT
ORDON MOORE
ENNETH E. ROBERTS
AMES B. O'HANLON
DOUGLAS H. THOMPSON
AMES R. MOORE
ALLAN FRANZKE
OLAND F. BANKS, JR.
ING G. PIERETTI, JR.
OUGLAS J. WHITE, JR.
OCRNE GILL
OHN R. FAUST, JR.

JAMES A. LARPENTEUR, JR.
JAMES F. SPEISER MAN
ROBERT G. SIMPSON
RIDGWAY K. FOLEY, JR.
THOMAS M. TRIPLETT
ROBERT E. JOSEPH, JR.
PAUL N. DAIGLE
KENNETH G. RENNER
KENNETH E. ROBERTS, JR.
DONALD JOE WILLIS
J. LAURENCE CABLE
MICHAEL D. HOFFMAN
JAMES D. HUEGLI
HENRY C. WILLENER
TERRY C. MAUCK

MARK H. WAGNER
JOHN G. CRAWFORD, JR.
NEVA T. CAMPBELL
JOHN E. HART
ROGER A. BUSHNE
ROY D. LAMBERT
R. A. JERRY NORTH
JAMES T. WALDRON
ROBERT G. DAYTON
DAVID W. ADELROD
ANCER L. HASSEMER
DELBERT J. BRENNEMAN
ROBERT W. HUNT
JAMES E. BENEDICT
WILLIAM H. REPLOGLE
LAWRANCE L. MAULSON
STEVEN H. PRATT

RONALD A. HANSEN
RUTH HERMAN HEDGES
RALPH V. D. BARENSEN
ELIZABETH R. REEVE
CHARLES R. MARSLEY
ROBERT A. SPOUT
DANIEL P. ENOS
JAN E. RITCHEL
PAUL R. ROSSI
GUY C. STEPHENSON
MARK A. [illegible]BERGEN
PAUL D. DEWEY
JAMES H. FINN
DENNIS E. REESE
BRODIE L. WRIGHT
KATHERINE H. O'NEIL

FORREST M. BENNETT
OF COUNSEL

August 18, 1980

The Hon. John Harmer
Americans for Change
214 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Governor Harmer:

As I have advised you by telephone, I have been requested to serve on the Oregon Steering Committee for Governor Reagan and I believe that I can do more for the Governor on his behalf in that capacity than serving on the Committee of Americans for Change. I am looking at it strictly as a local Oregon matter and I am sure that you will agree that each of us should do the thing that we feel will be the most effective for Governor Reagan.

It was nice talking to you. I hope to see you one of these days soon.

Sincerely yours,

Wendell Wyatt

WW:ih

8304042901

902005

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Exhibit 27-a

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 4, 1980

Attorney General Theodore Sendak
219 State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Dear Ted:

Enclosed please find a fundraising letter for your use in Indiana.

Senator Schmitt asked me convey to you his thanks for your efforts in this area. Further, your work and time were a great help in making the luncheon meeting a success.

I have sent by UPS 1000 - #10 envelopes, 1000 Business reply envelopes, and 1000 pledge cards. I have also enclosed a few sheets of stationary to enable you to have it reprinted.

Please let me know if you have any questions or need further assistance.

Sincerely,

Sarah Ellsworth
SE/gdl

J-12

902449

Americans for Change
sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

Exhibit 27-b

September 22, 1980

Dear Republican Friend:

We are well aware that this is the time of year that we receive daily, letters asking for contributions for political candidates for National, State and local offices.

All of these campaigns have merit, and deserve your support.

Frankly, we are very concerned about the future of this country and realize that Carter has the position of the Presidency to promote free publicity of "manana" programs to cover up his record of highest unemployment, highest inflation, highest taxes, highest immorality among White House aides and courtesans.

To help Reagan and a cooperative Congress revitalize the American spirit, American defense, American freedoms, American jobs in the private sector, we have to help get Reagan elected.

The federal law today clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as we are supporting---AMERICANS FOR CHANGE--- can raise and spend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan. Contributions to AMERICANS FOR CHANGE will provide bumper stickers, television time, radio and newspaper ads for the Reagan candidacy.

Please read the enclosures and join us in supporting AMERICANS FOR CHANGE in supplying access for Ronald Reagan in his media efforts to tell his side before the election. Many thanks.

Cordially yours,

John K. Snyder
Co-Chairman for Indiana

Theodore L. Sendak
Co-Chairman for Indiana

Senator William Ezra Jenner
Honorary Chairman for Indiana

J-13

902250

Authorized and paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate.

Exhibit 27

STATE OF INDIANA
ATTORNEY GENERAL
INDIANAPOLIS
46204

THEODORE L. SENDAK
ATTORNEY GENERAL

October 9, 1980

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
Chairman
AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

Because I have agreed to accept an appointment as a member of a Criminal Justice Advisory Committee for the Reagan campaign effective after this letter's date, I am formally writing you this letter tendering my resignation as Co-Chairman for Indiana of the AMERICANS FOR CHANGE organization. This will keep either group from having any legal entanglements on my account.

John Snyder will continue to do a great job for you and AMERICANS FOR CHANGE. I am glad I was able to be of some help, too.

Because of my years of work as Attorney General here and as an officer of the National Association of Attorneys General, perhaps I can be of some positive help on the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee.

I have enjoyed working with you and your people. Hope we get to visit more often after November 4.

Best personal wishes for continuing success.

Yours truly,

Ted Sendak

TLS/s

Theodore L. Sendak

8304042290

901650

JAMES B. EDWARDS, D.M.D.
ORAL & MAXILLOFACIAL SURGERY
61 GADSDEN STREET
CHARLESTON, S.C. 29401
803 723-1304

Exhibit 28-a

September 8, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
Russell Senate Office Building
Room 248
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I appreciate your call on the third, and have discussed my situation with several people around the state. After giving it much consideration, I feel that I can best serve our cause working here in South Carolina with Senator Thurmond, Carroll Campbell, Bryan Patrick, Harry Dent and others to carry our state for our team.

I will try to locate somebody of statue to help you in your fund raising efforts here in the state, and will be back in touch with you.

Thank you for your consideration, and I hope you can understand my predicament. Thank you, too, for what you are doing in behalf of this worthy cause.

With warmest regards,

James B. Edwards

JBE/bw

8304042905

902016

Exhibit 28-b

DATE 9/24/80 DEADLINE ASAP

NAME Gov. Jimmy Edwards

TELEPHONE 803/ 782-5204 SUBJECT AFC

POINTS TO COVER Gov. Edwards called - requested to be co-chair with Trumbo on Campaign '80 (Jerry & Tommy Hearn) AFC Prod asked to call Gov. Edwards (Local) re: Tampa

STAFF INITIALS Brad H's INITIALS/DATE 9/24

8304042290 6

901462





3. fundraising
media
surrogate to Reagan

need Sen Edwards to be most effective



83040422907

218 N. LEE STREET
SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

Western Union Telegram

1-205948584729O2JAFC3 7/8/80 ACF DLA . Exhibit 29-a
01-ALEXANDRIA

DALLAS

Mr. Brad O'Leary
Americans For Change
218 North Lee St., #218
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

~~Dear Mr. O'Leary~~:

I would like to have lunch with you on Friday, July 18, at the City Club in Dallas. We will meet in the Hill Room at 12:00 noon.

I will fly to Dallas that morning directly from the Republican National Convention in Detroit.

I would like to visit with you not in my role as a U.S. Senator, but as Chairman of Americans for Change, a national independent committee whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

I would like to discuss your serving on the Texas Advisory Committee of "Reagan for President in 80". You would be joining Norman Brinker, Betty Andujar, Gordon Galt, Bill Conner, Al Fay, Wales Madden, G.N. Parrott, all of whom have indicated their willingness to serve.

This luncheon will allow me to update you on the Common Cause/John White activity against Reagan and outline our plans for Texas and what you can do if you agree to serve.

Please RSVP to Norman Brinker's office, 214-387-5152.

I look forward to seeing you on the 18th.

Jack Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

900523
N-4

Paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, Not authorized by any candidate.

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80-PROJECT
218 N. LEE STREET
SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

Urgent Gram

Exhibit 29-b

1-417555922243UGCOA 8/27/80 AFC TWXDC
01-ALEXANDRIA VA

Mr. Larry Williams
520 6th Ave. E
Kalispell, MT 59901

On June 5th of this year I joined with 200 prominent American civic, business and political figures to form a national, independent bipartisan committee whose main purpose is to raise and spend funds in the general election in support of Governor Ronald Reagan.

I would like to extend to you an invitation to become a member of the Montana Steering Committee of "RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80."

You would be joining me, U.S. Senator Jack Schmitt (New Mexico), U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger (Minnesota), U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis (Nebraska), John Harmer, former Lt. Governor of California under Governor Reagan, Governor Jimmie Edwards (South Carolina), William E. Miller, former 1964 Republican Vice Presidential candidate, and many other prominent Americans involved in this effort.

I hope you will agree to join us by serving as a member of the "RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80" Steering Committee. Please respond by mailing the enclosed card as soon as possible.

Sincerely,
Richard G. Shoup

Paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, Chairman, U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, New Mexico; Treasurer, U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis (Ret.) Nebraska. Not authorized by any candidate.

N-17

902212

Exhibit 30

Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703 998-0334

Americans for Change
Brenda Jones
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

July 2, 1980

Dear Brenda:

I appreciate your inquiry concerning our volume typing service, LETTERS UNLIMITED.

Our estimate of .85 per piece on the two page letter we discussed includes typing the carrier envelope, full inside name and address, salutation, date, and closing. All mailing services are also included.

Brenda, please keep in mind that our service does not produce "inkjet" or computer letters. It is the real thing, the highest quality impact typing available in the Eastern region. Our prices however are more reasonable than either computer or inkjet houses.

I have enclosed a brochure for your perusal along with our political services list.

If we can serve your typing needs or provide your organization with other direct mail or fundraising services, please feel free to call me personally.

Sincerely,

D. Richard Geske
President

Enclosures

DRG/meg

902562

8304042291C

SERVICES LIST

DIRECT MAIL FUNDRAISING - ALL SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE;
COPYWRITING, DESIGN, PRODUCTION, AND MAILING

DIRECT MAIL VOTER APPEAL PROGRAMS

LIST MAINTENANCE FOR FUNDRAISING, VOTER APPEALS,
THANK YOU LETTERS, ETC.

COMPLETE TELEVISION AND RADIO COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION

AGENCY SERVICES FOR DUB PRODUCTION, PLACEMENT,
AND DISTRIBUTION

TELEPHONE FUNDRAISING

TELEPHONE "GET-OUT-THE-VOTE" CANVASING

TELEPHONE POLLING

VOLUME TYPING SERVICE

SPECIAL EVENT FUNDRAISING

NEWSPRINT AND MAGAZINE DISPLAY ADS (DESIGN,
PLACEMENT, AND DISTRIBUTIONS)

CAMPAIGN BROCHURES AND BUMPER STICKERS

SPECIALIZED POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SOLICITATION PROGRAM

CAMPAIGN CONSULTING:
TELEPHONE BANKS FOR FUNDRAISING OR VOTER ACTIVITY
DIRECT MAIL
SPECIAL EVENTS

8304042911

902563

PARTIAL ROSTER OF POLITICAL CLIENTS ONLY

AMERICANS AGAINST LIBERAL LEGISLATION
AMERICANS FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY
CONNALLY FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
CRANE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
GOVERNOR EDWARD KING
GOVERNOR ROBERT LIST
HERITAGE FOUNDATION
INSTITUTE OF MONEY AND INFLATION
JENKINS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE
LT. GOVERNOR TERRY BRADSTAD
NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN HELEN OBENSHAIN
NATIONAL COMSERVATIVE FOUNDATION
NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES COMMITTEE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE
PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
REAGAN VICTORY FUND
TARGET '80 COMMITTEES
THE CONGRESSIONAL CLUB
THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS
THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION
UNITED STATES SENATE CANDIDATE JIM BUCKLEY
UNITED STATES SENATOR JESSE HELMS
UNITED STATES SENATOR GORDON HUMPHREY
UNITED STATES SENATOR ROGER JEPSON
UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN WARNER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL ARCHER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN ED BETHUNE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL CLINGER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN DANIEL CRANE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN PHILLIP CRANE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN ROBERT K. DORNAN
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN MICKEY EDWARDS
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN JIM JEFFRIES
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN KEN KRAMER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN DAN MARRIOTT
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN LARRY MCDONALD
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN RON PAUL
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN JOHN ROUSSELOT
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL ROYER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN GERALD B. SOLOMON
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BOB STUMP
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN STEVE D. SYMMS
WASHINGTON LEGAL FOUNDATION

902564

8304042912

BALANCE BUDGET; CLEAN UP WELFARE PROGRAMS; PROTECT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

REAGAN/BUSH

LEADERSHIP; STRONG DEFENSE; PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH; [redacted]

(2-01627E058)PD 02/29/76 1107

To

1107A EST

Exhibit 31

I HOPE YOU SHARE MY CONCERN IN THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR FOR THE DANGER CONFRONTING YOUR FAMILY AND OUR COUNTRY. I BELIEVE WE MUST FIGHT TO RALLY OUR FELLOW AMERICANS AGAINST JIMMY CARTERS POLICIES THAT ARE DESTROYING AMERICAS ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND MORAL VALUES.

I AM COMMITTED TO THIS FIGHT AND WILL DO EVERYTHING I CAN DO TO ELECT RONALD REAGAN AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. MY SUCCESS AND GOVERNOR REAGANS ELECTION WILL DEPEND GREATLY ON YOUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP. I CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL WITH YOUR UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT.

I NEED YOUR ASSISTANCE IN DISTRIBUTING BROCHURES, BUMPER STRIPS AND BUTTONS TO YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO SERVE AS A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT CHAIRMAN IN _____.

IF YOU AGREE WE WILL SEND YOU A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT KIT BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 15 AND OCTOBER 15. YOUR ONLY RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE TO DISTRIBUTE THIS INFORMATION TO POTENTIAL REAGAN VOTERS.

I KNOW YOU WILL WANT TO HELP ME IN THIS ENDEAVOR BECAUSE YOU WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL PUT AMERICANS BACK TO WORK THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO HAS THE LEADERSHIP ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS IN RESTORING A HEALTHY ECONOMY FOR OUR NATION. RONALD REAGAN CAN DO THIS AS HE ALSO SERVES AS YOUR WATCHDOG AGAINST NONESSENTIAL SPENDING BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION PUNITIVE TO THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A BALANCED BUDGET, FAIR PROFIT FOR FARMERS, A REDUCTION IN FEDERAL INCOME TAXES AND WHO HAS PLEDGED AND SHOWN HIS ABILITY TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT THAT HARASSES AND BURDENS SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND INTERFERES IN OUR DAILY LIVES.

902223

8304042913

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE CAPABLE OF DETERRING SOVIET MILITARY AND POLITICAL AGGRESSION.

I BELIEVE THAT WE ALL WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL SHOW STRONG LEADERSHIP, STRENGTH OF CHARACTER AND A MAN THAT WE CAN BE PROUD TO SERVE US AS HE SOLVES THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING AMERICA.

YOU MUST BECOME INVOLVED IF REAGAN IS TO BECOME PRESIDENT DUE TO THE STRONG OPPOSITION OF LIBERAL SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS WORKING FOR JIMMY CARTER.

I HOPE YOU WILL HELP BY SENDING A CONTRIBUTION FOR TV, RADIO, NEWSPAPER ADS AND PRECINCT KITS. WE NEED BOTH YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND YOUR TIME TO SERVE AS AN INDEPENDENT REAGAN PRECINCT CHAIRMAN.

MAY I COUNT ON YOU FOR A COMMITMENT TO GOVERNOR REAGAN AND THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY . . .

HARRISON "JACK" SCHMITT
U.S. SENATOR NEW MEXICO

8304042291 4

902224

218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

HON. HARRISON SCHMITT, Chairman
HON. CARL CURTIS, Treasurer

An Independent Committee not
authorized by any candidate
or official campaign committee.

FROM: Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Occupation_____ Company Name_____

☐ Check if self-employed ☐ Check if federal employee

☐ Check if sole proprietorship

Dear Senator Schmitt:

☐ I will agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Precinct Chairman for _____.

☐ I cannot serve but will make a contribution.

Enclosed is: ☐ $25 ☐ $250 ☐ $2,500

☐ $50 ☐ $500 ☐ $5,000

☐ $100 ☐ $1,000 ☐ $_____

(make checks payable to Reagan for President in '80)

Please use my contribution for:

☐ Reagan Independent Precinct Kits. Each kit costs $25 and includes buttons, bumper strips, brochures and yard signs.

☐ Radio spots and newspaper ads in my community on

☐ energy ☐ the economy ☐ defense
☐ inflation ☐ tax deduction ☐ Government waste
☐ Government overregulation of family or community
☐ Government overregulation of business & industry

☐ TV ads of endorsements of Ronald Reagan by prominent Democrats and officials in your community.

I also believe your committee should consider spending funds for

_____

_____

_____.

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

902225

83040422915

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 23, 1982

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Baran:

This is to confirm the understanding reached between yourself and Anne Weissenborn of this Office concerning the willingness of Bradley Sean O'Leary to appear for oral deposition with regard to the Commission's investigation of issues involved in MUR 1252/1299. It is agreed that the deposition will take place at 2:00 p.m., on Tuesday, April 6, 1982, at the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The questions to be posed during the deposition will generally cover the structure of Americans for Change; the allocation of authority within the Committee, particularly as regards the planning and execution of strategy and the authorization of expenditures; and the relationships between the Committee and the authorized committees of Ronald Reagan, including, but not limited to, the employment of common vendors.

Mr. O'Leary's willingness to appear for deposition absent the issuance of a formal subpoena is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

8304042916

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BAKER & HOSTETLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 861-1500

TELECOPIER (202) 857-0050

IN CLEVELAND, OHIO
3200 NATIONAL CITY CENTER
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8375

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
600 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-1572

March 3, 1981

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

MAR 3 2:54
RECEIVED
GENERAL COUNSEL

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

By cover of this letter I hereby submit to you the following materials in connection with Matter Under Review ("MUR") 1252:

1. Copies of documents requested by your staff pursuant to document production conducted by this office on behalf of Americans For Change ("AFC") pursuant to a Federal Election Commission ("FEC") subpoena of October 1, 1980, and order of December 4, 1980. Document production occurred on various dates in December 1980 and January 1981. In accordance with an agreement with your staff the documents are numbered serially.

2. A bill from Baker & Hostetler to the FEC for $462.75 for photocopying 3,085 pages of documents. The FEC agreed to reimburse this office for such expenses as noted in my letter of December 22, 1980 to Lawrence Noble, Esquire, of your staff.

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3. Sworn responses by Brad O'Leary, Executive Director of AFC, to the written questions contained in the above-mentioned subpoena.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB:gh
Encls.

8304042916

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
618 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20006

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

13739-80-1

For expenses relating to photocopying one copy of 3,085 pages of documents of Americans For Change....	$ 462.75

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

RESPONSE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE TO INTERROGATORIES OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Comes now Americans For Change ("AFC") and responds to the interrogatories of the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"), as follows:

Objections of AFC to the Definition of Terms by FEC in Interrogatories to AFC.

1. AFC objects to the definition of "Identify" on the ground that it is overly broad and not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence.

2. AFC objects to the definition of the term "Concerning" as overly broad and not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence.

Notwithstanding the above objections and not waiving such objections, AFC responds to the interrogatories of the FEC as follows:

INTERROGATORY A:

A. Please identify all officers, directors, employees, staff members, media time buyers, volunteers, consultants or

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other agents of AFC. With respect to each individual identified, please identify that person's supervisor.[1/]

(1) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who, have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the oral or written authorization (express or implied) of any expenditures which relate in any way to the furtherance of the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

(2) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the production, conception, drafting, writing, editing, approval, review, presentation, printing, publication, distribution or dissemination of

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1/ In lieu of identifying the supervisor of each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, AFC may provide the Commission with a copy of its organizational chart.

documents and materials produced by AFC which relate in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other Presidential candidate in 1980.

ANSWER:

A. (1) Executive Committee members:

(a) Harrison H. Schmitt

(b) David Durenberger

(c) John Harmer

(d) Carl T. Curtis

(e) Brad O'Leary

(f) Howard Ruff

(2) Officers:

(a) Harrison H. Schmitt, President

(b) David Durenberger, Secretary

(c) Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer

(3) Directors:

(a) Harrison H. Schmitt

(b) Carl T. Curtis

(c) John Harmer

(d) David Durenberger

(4) Employees and staff members:

(a) Brad O'Leary (unpaid)

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(b) Carol Reed

(c) Brenda Jones

(d) Sarah Ellsworth

(e) Anne Nicolls

(f) Kurt Pantzer

(g) Kristin Hueter

(h) Tracy Howard

(i) Diana Welch (unpaid)

(5) Media time buyers:

(a) Goodnight Associates

(6) Volunteers:

AFC permits only persons approved for membership on the Steering Committee to serve as volunteers for AFC. Steering Committee members are:

Honorable E. Ross Adair
2200 Ft. Wayne National Bank Building
Ft. Wayne, Indiana 46802

Mr. Harold M. Agnew
322 Punta Baja
Solana Beach, California 92075

Mr. H. Alexander Aguiar
2549 Payne
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Mr. T. M. Alexander, Sr.
Alexander Company
3020 Brandywine Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

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Mr. Jack Allen
Alpare Research, Inc.
P. O. Box 1046
Perryton, Texas 79070

Mr. B. B. Andersen
B. B. Andersen Construction Company
P. O. Box 1692
Topeka, Kansas 66601

Ms. Betty Andujar
2951 Benbrook Boulevard
Fort Worth, Texas 76109

Dr. Edward R. Annis
9999 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Suite 303
Miami Shores, Florida 33138

Mr. James W. Baker
Route 5 duPont Road
Morris, Illinois

Mr. Fred H. Bame
2500 Delaware Street, S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Mr. Herbert Barness
The Barness Organization
1352 Easton Road
Warrington, Pennsylvania

Honorable R. Bendetsen
1875 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. Jack E. Black
American Exchange Bank & Trust
2438 Smoking Oak
Norman, OK 73070

Mr. Ben B. Blackburn
Chairman of the Board - Heritage Foundation
1800 Century Blvd., N.E., Suite 950
Atlanta, Georgia 30345

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Mr. Neil Blair
7927 Jones Branch Drive
McLean, Virginia 22102

Mr. Norman Brinker
Steak & Ale Restaurants of America, Inc.
P. O. Box 222102
Dallas, Texas 75222

Mr. Clifford V. Brokas, III
777 3rd Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Honorable John Brown
Lake Lanes Administrator
41 S. High, Suite 0-67
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Mr. William Cafritz
William Cafritz Development Co.
5334 Goldsboro Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Mr. Garry E. Carruthers

Mr. Charles E. Chamberlain
6206 Long Meadow Road
McLean, Virginia 22101

Mr. Jeffrey Davis Chorney
Chorney Oil Company
401 Lincoln Tower Building
1816 Lincoln Street
Denver, Colorado 80205

Mr. William C. Conner
Emeritus of Alcon Laboratories, Inc.
2918 West Sixth Street
Forth Worth, Texas 76107

Mr. Thomas H. Corson
Box 504
Middlebury, Indiana 46540

Mr. George N. Craig

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Honorable Paul W. Cronin
Sun Solar Energy Company
640 South Union Street
Lawrence, Massachusetts 01843

Mr. Robert B. Crosby
Crosby, Guenvel, Davis, Kessner & Kuester
3720 S. 40th
Lincoln, Nebraska 68506

Honorable Carl T. Curtis
6613 31st Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015

Mr. William K. Davis
1400 Bristol North 245
Newport, California

Mr. M. William Deitch
Deitch Enterprises, Inc.
P. O. Box 2298
Elkhart, Indiana 46515

Ambassador Guilford Dudley (resigned)
Life Casualty Tower
27th Floor - 4th and Church
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Honorable Dave Durenburger
353 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Honorable James Edwards (resigned)
101 Venning Street
Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina 29464

Mr. Harris Ellsworth
1429 Wagontrain Drive, S.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87123

Mr. John H. Ewing
Abercombe & Fitch
115 Morristown Road
Bernardsville, New Jersey 07924

Mr. Larry Fleming
Wendys of Witchita
250 North Rock Road
#256
Witchita, Kansas 67206

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Mr. A. G. Galt
Pan American Engineering Co.
P. O. Box 1709
Dallas, Texas 75221

Mr. Kenneth R. Giddens
Voice of America
162 St. Louis Street
Mobile, Alabama 36601

Mr. C. McLain Haddow
350 South 400 East, Suite G-4
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

Honorable Robert P. Hanrahan
Robert P. Hanrahan Associates
1101 Valley Road
Lake Forest, Illinois 60045

Mr. John Harmer
10 E. S. Temple
St. 696
Salt Lake City, Utah 84133

Mr. Richard J. Heckmann
Box 5
Sun Valley, Idaho 83353

Honorable Horace A. Hildreth
Cumberland Foreside
Portland Maine 04110

Honorable Jeffrey Hillelson
6711 Rainbow
Shawnee Mission, Kansas 66208

Honorable Leo A. Hoegh
5620 Timpa Road
Chipita Park, Colorado 80811

Honorable Roman L. Hruska
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Omaha, Nebraska 68105

Mr. William H. Hudnut, III
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Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

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Mr. Oliver H. Hughes
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Topeka, Kansas 66601

Mr. Alan E. Huish
Huish Distributing Company
P. O. Box 25057
Salt Lake City, Utah 84125

Mr. William E. Jenner

Mr. B. K. Johnson
300 Main Plaza Building
San Antonio, Texas 78205

Mr. Herman G. Kaiser, Sr.
Kaiser-Francis Oil Company
P. O. Box 35528
Tulsa, OK 74135

Mr. John E. (Jack) Kenney, Jr.
Kenney Homes
2330 Abarth Street
Las Vega, Nevada 89122

Honorable Thomas S. Kleppe
7100 Darby Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Mr. Addison Lanier
2582 Grandin
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Julian LeGraw
111 Peachtree Park Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Mr. John Leibold
3006 N. High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43202

Ms. Clare Boothe Luce
4559 Kahala Avenue
Honolulu, Hawaii 96816

Honorable William S. Mailliard
2101 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

8304042292E

Mr. Bob Mathias
3355 Clukheights Drive
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Mr. Walter L. McVey, Jr.
Box 18505
Atlanta, Georgia 30326

Honorable George Meader
Rockland, MI 49960

Honorable William Miller
1601 Liberty Bank Building
422 Main Street
Buffalo, NY 14202

Mr. Rodney Mitchell
Tallasi Management Corporation
One Battery Park Plaza
New York, NY 10004

Mr. George Murphy
905 16th Street, N.W. Suite 304
Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. Brad O'Leary
P/M Creative Productions
Austin, Texas

Mr. George K. Patterson

Honorable Walter Cl. Ploeser
3633 Lindell Blvd.
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

Honorable John C. Pritzlaff
Rock Mountain Management Corporation
Rm. 110 Senate Wing
Capital Building
Phoenix Arizona 85007

Dr. John H. Proctor
Data Solutions
2095 Chambers Road
Vienna, Virginia

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Mr. Harry Ptasynski
P.O. Box 43
Casper, Wyoming 82602

Honorable David Q. Reed
Kodas, Reed, Gingrich & McFadden
2010 Traders National Bank Building
Kansas City, MO 64106

Honorable George Romney
1830 E. Valley Road
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

Honorable Richard L. Roudebush
Veterans Affairs
R.R. 3, Box 23A
Noblesville, Indiana 46060

Mr. Rosse Rowland, Jr.
Floor Broker Association
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St. 1204
New York, New York 10038

Mr. Howard J. Ruff
Target, Inc.
Box 2000
San Ramon, California 94583

Mr. Theodore L. Sandak
Attorney General
State of Indiana
219 State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Honorable Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Ms. Ramona Seeligson
Wertheim & Company
200 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Mr. E. L. Shannon, Jr.
P.O. Box 4000
Alhambra, California 91802

Honorable Richard G. Shoup
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8304042936

Mr. W. C. Smith
Franklin Towne Realty, Inc.
7800 Perry Highway
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15237

Honorable Robert E. Smylie
117 Locust Street
Boise, Idaho 83702

Mr. John Snyder

Honorable Burt L. Talcott
Louis C. Kramp Assoc.
4952 Sentnel Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20016

Mrs. Franz G. Talley
Talco Engineering
5800 North Yucca Road
Scottsdale, Arizona 85253

Mr. Paul N. Temple
Energy Capitol Company
270 Calvert Street, N.W., Apt. 516
Washington, D.C. 20008

Mr. Richard N. Thompson
968 NBC Center
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508

Mr. John D. Vanderhoof

Honorable Victor V. Veysey
960 San Pasqual #303
Pasadena, CA 91106

Mr. G. L. (Jerry) Vinson
P. O. Box SPC
Wichita Falls, Texas 76307

Mr. Joseph Walker, Jr.
Chantilly Development Corporation
P. O. Box 17067, Dulles Airport
Washington, D.C. 20041

8304220931

Honorable George M. Wallhauser
972 Broad Street
Newark, New Jersey 07102

Mr. Lew Ward
Ward Oil Company
P. O. Box 1187
Enid, OK 73701

Honorable John F. Warren
900 Congress Avenue
St. D
Austin, TX 78701

Mr. Winston O. Weaver
Rockingham Construction Company
P. O. Box 808
Harrisonburg, Virginia 22801

Honorable Edgar D. Whitcomb
636 N. Poplar
Seymour, Indiana 47274

Mr. Thomas Williams, III
Tollokas Plantation
Pavo, Georgia 31778

Mrs. Thomas Williams, II
P. O. Box 378
Thomasville, Georgia 31792

Honorable John S. Wold
Mineral Resource Center
139 W. 2nd Street
Casper, Wyoming 82601

Mr. Oscar Wyatt
1260 River Oaks Blvd.
Houston, Texas 77109

Mrs. Oscar Wyatt
1260 River Oaks Blvd.
Houston, Texas 77109

Honorable Wendell Wyatt
1200 Standard Plaza, 12th Floor
Portland, Oregon 97204

8304042293

Honorable Roger H. Zion
Resources Development Corporation
900 17th Street, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20006

(7) Consultants:

P/M Creative Productions
333 Perry Brooks Bldg.
Austin, Texas 78701

Bishop & Bryant
499 S. Capital St., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Malcolm MacDougall
SSC&B
1 Dag Hammarskjold Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Communication Specialists
One Red River
P.O. Box 1529
Austin, Texas 78767

(8) Other agents:

Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding expenditures by AFC in support of candidates. AFC has no other agents.

AFC has provided the FEC with a copy of its organizational chart.

The addresses of all persons identified herein are provided in AFC Reports filed with the FEC and in the answer to Interrogatory A., part (5).

A.(1) Harrison H. Schmitt

David Durenburger

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Carl T. Curtis

John Harmer

Howard J. Ruff

Brad O'Leary

A.(2) Harrison H. Schmitt, Brad O'Leary, Carl T.Curtis, Howard J. Ruff, John Harmer and David Durenberger participated in the approval of documents and materials produced by AFC relating to the candidacy of Ronald Reagan for President of the United States. Legal counsel reviewed materials. Staff members and some consultants, as identified in AFC's Reports of Receipts and Disbursements filed with the FEC, participated in the production, drafting, writing, editing, presentation, printing, publication, distribution and dissemination of such materials and documents.

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INTERROGATORY B:

B. Please provide all date(s) of any meetings, discussion, or other communications concerning the planning, organization, formation, structure, or activities of AFC prior to May 23, 1980.

(1) Identify all of the participants in and all of those in attendance at each of the above meetings, discussions or other communications.

ANSWER:

B.(1) AFC objects to the scope of Interrogatory B.(1) as overly broad and not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence. Notwithstanding said objection and not waiving such objection, AFC responds that the following meetings and discussions concerning the planning, organization, formation and structure of AFC occurred before May 23, 1980:

(a) May 14, 1980 - meeting between John Harmer and Harrison H. Schmitt, telephone conversation and meeting between Jan W. Baran, attorney, and Harrison H. Schmitt.

(b) May 15, 1980 - meeting between Jan W. Baran, attorney, Brad O'Leary, John Harmer and Diana Welch.

(c) May 21, 1980 meeting between Stan Huckaby, certified public accountant, and Diana Welch.

There were meetings and discussions between Brad O'Leary and Harrison H. Schmitt and between Carl T. Curtis and Harrison H. Schmitt during May, 1980.

INTERROGATORY C:

C. Please supply a list of the addresses of each office used by AFC, and the dates of such use from the time of its organization to the present.

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ANSWER:

C. The only office address used by AFC from its organization to present is 218 N. Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314.

INTERROGATORY D:

D. List the phone numbers and extensions used by AFC since January, 1980 to the present, noting the extensions assigned to or used by each person identified in response to interrogatory A.

ANSWER:

D. Phone numbers used by AFC are (703) 683-0304, (703) 683-5221 and (703) 836-7239. AFC did not assign extensions to any person.

INTERROGATORY E:

E. List by date and location all fundraisers held by AFC since January, 1980 which related in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, his general election for President in 1980 or which related in any way to the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

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ANSWER:

June 13, 1980	Los Angeles, California
June 14, 1980	Los Angeles, California
July 2, 1980	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
July 10, 1980	Albuquerque, New Mexico
July 13-17, 1980	Detroit, Michigan
July 18, 1980	Dallas, Texas
	Houston, Texas
July 19, 1980	Houston, Texas
	San Antonio, Texas
August 3, 1980	St. Louis, Missouri
August 7, 1980	Seattle, Washington
August 8, 1980	Los Angeles, California
August 18, 1980	Washington, D.C.
August 24, 1980	Cincinnati, Ohio
August 25, 1980	Indianapolis, Indiana
August 28, 1980	Nashville, Tennessee
August 28, 1980	Midland, Texas
August 29, 1980	Midland, Texas
August 29, 1980	Denver, Colorado
September 15, 1980	Chicago, Illinois
September 15, 1980	Boston, Massachusetts
September 16, 1980	Chicago, Illinois
September 17, 1980	Washington, D.C.
September 21, 1980	Stamford, Connecticut
September 22, 1980	Atlanta, Georgia
September 23, 1980	Colorado Springs, Colorado

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September 24, 1980	Denver, Colorado
September 25, 1980	New York, New York
October 4, 1980	Ft. Worth, Texas
October 6, 1980	Gallup, New Mexico
October 8, 1980	Sun Valley, Idaho
October 9, 1980	Salt Lake City, Utah
October 11, 1980	Albuquerque, New Mexico
October 15, 1980	Houston, Texas
October 16, 1980	Washington, D.C.
October 17, 1980	Columbus, Ohio
October 20, 1980	Las Cruces, New Mexico
October 23, 1980	Witchita, Kansas
October 27, 1980	Roswell, New Mexico
October 29, 1980	Farmington, New Mexico

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INTERROGATORY F:

With respect to each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, please note whether that individual has had any past, or has any present association, either by way of employment, position, or membership with any of the below listed organizations, projects, or companies. With respect to each such association, note the dates during which each such person was so associated with the particular organization, group, project or company and the position(s) held with each.

Americans For Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
The Republican Party
The Reagan for President Committee
Group '80
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Citizens for the Republic
Richard A. Viguerie Co., Inc.
Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bruce Eberle Associates, Inc.
Decision Making Information, Inc.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Citizens for the Republic
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Committee for Independent Expenditures for Republicans
Target 80
The Conservative Coalition
The Conservative Caucus
Reagan 80
1980 United Republican Committee
Commitment 80

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ANSWER:

F. AFC objects to Interrogatory F on the ground that it is overly broad, not reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence and violates the guarantees of the First Amendment. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 14-15 (1976). Notwithstanding such objection and not waiving such objection, AFC responds that officers, directors, staff, employees, media time buyers, volunteers and consultants were screened by AFC to insure that none were associated with President Ronald Reagan or his authorized

campaign committees or agents as listed in Interrogatory F or otherwise. AFC is aware that Stan Huckaby, consultant, was Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee. Mr. Huckaby was not permitted to and did not participate in any decisions or the implementation of any expenditures by AFC. AFC lacks any other knowledge of the past or present affiliations or associations of the persons identified in the answer to Interrogatory A.

Brad O'Leary
Executive Director

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26th day of February, 1981, by Brad O'Leary.

Rose M. Dennis
Notary Public, District of Columbia

My Commission Expires:

May 14, 1985.

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BAKER & HOSTETLER
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

GCC#3720

WILMER & PICKERING
1666 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

CABLE ADDRESS: WICRING WASH., D. C.
INTERNATIONAL TELEX: 440-239
TELEX: 89-2402
TELEPHONE 202 872-6000

EUROPEAN OFFICE
1 COLLEGE HILL
LONDON, EC4R 2RA, ENGLAND
TELEPHONE 01-238-2401
TELEX: 851 883242
CABLE ADDRESS: WICRING LONDON

JOHN H. PICKERING
HUGH B. H. SMITH
J. ROGER WOLLENBERG
CHARLES C. GLOVER, III
MARSHALL HORNBLOWER
HENRY T. RATHBUN
REUBEN CLARK
SAMUEL J. LANAHAN
WILLIAM R. PERLIS
SAMUEL A. STERN
ARNOLD H. LERMAN
ROBERT F. STRANAHAN, JR.
MAX O. TRUITT, JR.
JOEL ROSENBLOOM
HOWARD P. WILLENS
ANDREW T. A. MACDONALD
ROBERT A. HAMMOND, III
ARTHUR J. GARDINER, JR.
DANIEL K. HAYERS
TIMOTHY B. DYK
DAVID R. ANDERSON
J. RODERICK HELLER, III
ARTHUR F. MATHEWS
JAMES S. CAMPBELL
DENNIS M. FLANNERY
JAMES ROBERTSON

RAYMOND C. CLEVENGER, III
LOUIS R. COHEN
MICHAEL R. KLEIN
STEPHEN A. WEISWASSER
TIMOTHY N. BLACK
F. DAVID LAKE, JR.
PAUL J. HOOE, JR.
WILLIAM C. GIFFORD
STEPHEN F. BLACK
C. BOYDEN GRAY
RONALD J. GREENE
JAY F. LAPIN
GARY D. WILSON
C. LORING JETTON, JR.
MICHAEL L. SORACK
MICHAEL S. HELFER
NEIL J. KING
ROBERT S. McCAW
A. DOUGLAS MELAMED
RICHARD W. CASS
WILLIAM J. KOLASKY, JR.
A. STEPHEN HUT, JR.
DAVID S. JOHNSON
JOHN ROUNSAVILLE, JR.
ROGER M. WITTEN

EZEKIEL G. STOUGHTON
DONALD F. TURNER
COUNSEL

JUDITH BAILEY
DAVID M. BECKER
JONATHAN BECKER
SHEILA BINARY
SUSAN LOW BLOCH
ALAN N. BRAVERMAN
LYNN BREGMAN
WILLIAM D. BRIGHTON
BRUCE E. COOLIDGE
JOHN F. COONEY
MARY CAROLYN COX
JUANITA A. CROWLEY
JANE TUCKER DANA
SETH A. DAVIDSON
MARIE H. DOLAND
PATRICIA G. DOUGLASS
STEPHEN R. DOYLE
DANIEL H. DRORY
CAROL H. FISHMAN
MARK L. GERCHICK
RICHARD F. GOODSTEIN
JOSEPH A. GRUNGFEST
EDWARD T. HAND
ALLEN H. HARRISON, JR.
JOHN W. HARWOOD II
BARRY M. HELLER
CLIFFORD M. HENDLER
LAUREN B. HOMER
FERN B. KAPLAN
SHERYL L. KATZ
CAMERON F. KERRY
STEPHEN M. KIDDER
JAMES T. KILBRETH III
JOSEPH E. KILLORY, JR.

WAYNE A. KOONCE
GERALD J. LAPORTE
HENRY S. LEVINE
CHRISTOPHER R. LIPSETT
ROBERT A. MAJOR, JR.
BRUCE MAXINOV
JOHN B. McKEEGE III
MAURY J. MECHANICK
LOWELL B. MILLER
PHOEBE HADDON NORTHCROSS
JOHN PATTON
WILLIAM J. PERLSTEIN
JOAN S. POWERS
CLAUDIA RIDET
WILLIAM R. RICHARDSON, JR.
KATHLEEN H. RUSSO
ANDREA TINKO SALLET
MICHAEL S. SCHOOLER
KAREN ROBER SCHWARTZ
LESLIE C. SEEHAN
LYMAN F. SPITZER
ALAN B. STERNSTEIN
THOMAS J. SUGRUE
STUART S. TAYLOR, JR.
HELEN TORELLI
ANDREW K. VOLLMER
KATHY S. WEINMAN
ARTHUR H. WEISBURD
ANDREW S. WEISSMAN
BARBARA S. WELLBERY
DAVID WESTIN
THOMAS M. WHITE
JUDITH BARRY WISH
GEORGE S. WOLFE

January 13, 1981

BY HAND

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
7th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20463

21 JAN 13 P5:35

Re: Complaint of Common Cause re
"Independent Expenditure" Committees

Dear Mr. Steele:

Americans For Change ("AFC"), one of the respondents named in Common Cause's September 26, 1980 complaint, has recently sent to persons on its mailing list a letter (a copy of which is enclosed herewith) that discusses AFC's part in the Reagan inauguration festivities and AFC's plans to support other party-endorsed candidates for Federal office. I am calling the AFC letter to your attention because it provides yet additional evidence of AFC's coordination with the Reagan campaign and other official Republican Party campaign efforts.

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As we have previously pointed out, AFC has since its inception been closely linked, through its organizers and officers, to the Republican Party, the Republican National Committee, and the Reagan campaign organization. (Complaint ¶ 22.) AFC has held press conferences and fund-raisers in conjunction with the Republican National Convention. (Id. ¶ 23.) AFC operated under the name "Reagan For President in '80" (id. ¶ 18g), and AFC clearly indicated that its objective in connection with the 1980 Presidential election was to provide a way of evading the contribution and expenditure limits to which the Reagan campaign was subject (id. ¶ 21). These facts compel the conclusion that AFC is, in actuality, not independent of that campaign. (See id. ¶¶ 17-19.) AFC's recent letter, dealing with AFC's post-election activities, confirms this conclusion.

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In its letter, AFC invited the addressees and their families to attend various events to be held by AFC in conjunction with the Inauguration of President-Elect Reagan. According to the letter, Republican Senators and "members of the Reagan Cabinet" will attend these events as "guests" of AFC. One such event will be a reception at the home of Senator Warner "in honor of the new Republican members of the Senate and members of the Reagan Cabinet." Another such event will be a luncheon honoring "President-Elect Reagan's Campaign

Chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt." The stated purpose of these events is to allow AFC's contributors "an opportunity to meet the Republican men and women who will play an important part in shaping the destiny of our country." In plain terms, AFC is affording its contributors access to Government officials in exchange for contributions.

In addition to discussing the events that AFC is coordinating with the Inauguration, the AFC letter describes AFC's political activities during the 1980 general election, as well as the activities it plans for the future:

> "In 1980, our committee raised and spent over one million dollars primarily in independent media expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan. We were also able to make major contributions to the campaign efforts of fourteen of the new Republican Senators. We will use the proceeds from our events for ongoing activities including helping the newly elected Republican Senators retire their campaign obligations. We also intend to make major contributions to each Republican Senator running for re-election in 1982. . . ."

The letter thus confirms that AFC's purported "independence" is no more than a transparent subterfuge. AFC is, de facto, a fund-raising arm of a national political party. AFC's officials are high-ranking Republican Party officials and officeholders. AFC's activities -- press conferences, fund-raisers, galas -- have been coordinated hand-in-glove with

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official party and campaign functions. AFC's most recent activities are being overtly and directly assisted by the Chairman of the official Reagan Campaign, the Reagan Cabinet, and Republican members of the Senate. AFC has helped finance the 1980 campaigns of many of the party's candidates, and will help them pay their post-election debts. And AFC has declared its intention to help fund the party's candidates for Federal office in 1982, including all Republican Senators seeking re-election. In light of these facts, it is clear that, by any reasonable standard, AFC is not an "independent" entity.

AFC's actions represent a deliberate attack on the integrity of the election laws and on the efficacy of the enforcement scheme administered by the Commission. Because Commission enforcement proceedings are closed to the public, the Commission necessarily bears a heightened responsibility for the effective prosecution of violations. It is therefore critically important that the Commission determine that, for the reasons set forth in our complaint, AFC has violated the

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prohibitions against coordinated expenditures on behalf of publicly-funded major-party Presidential candidates.

Very truly yours,

Michael L Burack

Michael L. Burack
Counsel for Common Cause

Enclosure

cc: Counsel for respondents

33040422946

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

December 24 1980

Stephen P. Doyle
1666 K Street N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Friend:

I would like to extend an invitation to you and your family to attend events being planned by Americans for Change to take place duing the Inauguration of Ronald Reagan as the 40th President of the United States.

We will hold six events in Washington, D.C., beginning January 17, 1981 and ending with the Inauguration of President Reagan on January 20, 1981.

I have invited my Republican colleagues in the Senate and members of the Reagan Cabinet to attend these events as our guests. Attendance at our events will be limited to allow everyone an opportunity to meet the Republican men and women who will play an important part in shaping the destiny of our country.

Our first event is a Theater Party at the Kennedy Center, Saturday, January 17. You will have a choice of tickets to one of the pre-Broadway plays opening in Washington. You may see either a musical of the life of Duke Ellington, "Sophisticated Lady", or a romantic comedy with James Mason, "Partridge in a Pear Tree".

After the performance, the principle cast of both shows will be invited to join our guests for a small cocktail party. (Attendance limited to 200 couples).

On Sunday, January 18, we will have a reception from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. at the Georgetown home of John and Elizabeth Warner. The reception will be in honor of the new Republican members of the Senate and members of the Reagan Cabinet.

On Monday, January 19, you will have an opportunity to pay tribute to President-Elect Reagan's Campaign Chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt. We will hold a luncheon in his honor at the Mayflower Hotel.

Our special guest at lunch will be Mark Russell, America's leading political humorist. This may be your only chance to hear Mark perform during the Inauguration.

On Monday evening, the Inaugural Committee will hold a gala at the Capitol Center with 18,000 people expected to attend a nationally televised show, featuring such stars as Frank Sinatra and Johnny Carson.

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE.
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE.

That same evening, we will hold a black-tie reception at the private club, Desiree, in the Four Seasons Hotel. Our guests will be able to watch the gala on a large TV screen and later in the evening dance to Disco and Sinatra sounds in Washington's leading cosmopolitan private club (attendance limited to 100 couples).

On January 20, 1981, Ronald Reagan will be inaugurated from the steps of the Capitol. Later that day there will be a one hour parade.

Our guests will be able to watch these events on four large TV screens set up in the Presidential Ballroom of the Capitol Hilton. A live Dixieland band will play for your entertainment from 12:30 until 3:30 p.m.

That evening, starting at 9 p.m., President Reagan's Inauguration Committee will hold 7 to 9 balls with an expected attendance of almost 40,000.

Later that evening, beginning at 11:30 p.m., we will hold a breakfast at a private club in downtown Washington. From 11:30 p.m. until 3:00 a.m., our guests will enjoy mood music for dancing along with live entertainment in a "Hooray for Hollywood" salute. Breakfast will be served from 12:30 a.m. to 2:30 a.m. with our guests seated in the main dining room. (Attendance will be limited to 350 couples).

In 1980, our committee raised and spent over one million dollars primarily in independent media expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan. We were also able to make major contributions to the campaign efforts of fourteen of the new Republican Senators. We will use the proceeds from our events for ongoing activities including helping the newly elected Republican Senators retire their campaign obligations. We also intend to make major contributions to each Republican Senator running for re-election in 1982. You may secure individual tickets for these events or buy the complete package of six events at a reduced price.

One again, I must caution you that over 50,000 people are expected to come to Washington to participate in the regular Inaugural Committee events. We intend to hold attendance at each of our functions to a limited number of guests to allow everyone ample opportunity to visit with Senators or Cabinet officials who may be in attendance.

I hope you will plan on joining us as we celebrate the Inauguration of our new President.

Sincerely yours,

Harrison Schmitt

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt

P.S. Although our events will be limited to our guests there will be national press in attendance. We have already agreed to requests from Good Morning America, Parade Magazine and Womens Wear Daily.

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AFC INAUGURATION EVENTS

Dear Jack,

I wish to purchase tickets for the following Americans for Change activities. I understand I can buy each set of tickets separately or as a group.

☐ **Theater Party at the Kennedy Center**, Saturday, January 17, 1981.

Reserve_____tickets for "Sophisticated Lady", $250.00 a person.
_____tickets for "Partridge in a Pear Tree", $150.00 a person.

☐ **Reception for New Senators and Cabinet Officials**, Sunday, January 18, 1981, at the home of Senator John and Elizabeth Warner.

Reserve_____tickets at $500.00 a person.

☐ **Luncheon Honoring Senator Paul Laxalt**, Monday, January 19, 1981, with a performance by Mark Russell.

Reserve_____tickets at $250.00 a person.

☐ **Reception at Desiree**, Monday, January 19, 1981.

Reserve_____tickets at $100.00 a person.

☐ **Inauguration and Parade Watch**, Tuesday, January 20, 1981.

Reserve_____tickets at $100.00 a person.

☐ **Breakfast and Hooray for Hollywood Party**, Tuesday, January 20, 1981.

Reserve_____tickets at $150.00 a person.

☐ Two tickets for each of these six events for $2,000.00. Enclosed is my check for $_____.

Signed: _____

P.S. I understand that my tickets will be delivered to my hotel or held for me at the door. I will be staying at _____.

NOT PRINTED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE
PAID FOR BY AMERICANS FOR CHANGE. NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE

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From: MLBurack
WILMER & PICKERING
1666 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

BY HAND

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
7th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20463

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FEC
3649
80 DEC29 P1:11

BAKER & HOSTETLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 861-1500
TELECOPIER (202) 857-0060

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3200 NATIONAL CITY CENTER
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8378

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
500 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32802
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-1572

December 23, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is to confirm that document production commenced December 22, 1980, pursuant to the Federal Election Commission Order of December 4, 1980, and subpoena of October 1, 1980, to our client, Americans for Change, has been postponed until January 5, 1981, at the request of Lawrence Noble of your staff.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB/gm

cc: Mr. Lawrence Noble

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80 DEC 29 P3:20

BAKER & HOSTETLER
1050 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

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1980

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

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ATTORNEYS AT LAW

815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 861-1500

TELECOPIER (202) 857-0010

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(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
880 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-1572

December 23, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is to confirm that document production commenced December 22, 1980, pursuant to the Federal Election Commission Order of December 4, 1980, and subpoena of October 1, 1980, to our client, Americans for Change, has been postponed until January 5, 1981, at the request of Lawrence Noble of your staff.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB/gm

cc: Mr. Lawrence Noble

80 DEC29 P3:20

W. H. Schweitzer, Esq.
BAKER & HOSTETLER
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

WASHINGTON, D.C.
PM
24 DEC
1980

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Mr. Lawrence Noble
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

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3654

BAKER & HOSTETLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

818 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 861-1500

TELECOPIER (202) 887-0060

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TWX 810 421 8378

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COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

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DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0800

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861- 1572

December 22, 1980

Lawrence Noble, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Noble:

In response to the letter from Charles N. Steele of December 8, 1980, and an attached order from the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") dated December 4, 1980, I hereby confirm that our client, Americans For Change ("AFC"), is prepared to comply with the FEC subpoena of October 1, 1980, in light of the FEC decision to deny AFC's Motion to Quash Subpoena and to Reconsider Finding of Reason to Believe. Pursuant to our discussion and agreement at the meeting of December 12, 1980, the requested documents and materials will be produced by Mr. Kurt Pantzer, AFC Comptroller, for your inspection at our offices, 818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., commencing at nine o'clock a.m. on Monday, December 22, 1980.

As agreed upon, any documents or materials that you wish to take with you will be photocopied at our office at the expense of the FEC, and such photocopies shall be given to you. A statement will be sent to you with respect to reimbursement for photocopying expenses.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB:gh

2 30 40 12 29 53

80 DEC 30 P2:58

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

December 8, 1980

Mr. Jan Baran, Esquire
Baker & Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Baran:

The Commission has received the Motion to Rescind the Commission's findings of reason to believe and to quash its subpoena to produce documents and materials and its order to answer written questions, filed by you on behalf of Americans for Change ("AFC"). The Commission reviewed and considered the motions and affidavits submitted in support thereof and on December 2, 1980, voted to deny AFC's motions and to decline to accept the affidavits submitted as a substitute for a full compliance with the Commission subpoena and order. 1/ A copy of the Commission's denial order is enclosed.

Accordingly, AFC is requested to produce for inspection and copying the documents previously described in the Commission's October 1, 1980 subpoena, at Room 706, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on December 22, 1980, and all subsequent business days thereafter required to complete inspection. Answers to the written questions propounded by the Commission subpoena must be submitted to the above address within ten (10) days of your receipt of this letter.

1/ In this regard, however, it should be noted that AFC's response that it commissioned no polls will suffice as a response to theCommission document request #5.

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With respect to compliance with the Commission's previously issued subpoena and order, we direct your attention to the specific directions for proper compliance set out in the paragraph preceeding the document requests on page three of the subpoena sent to Americans for Change.

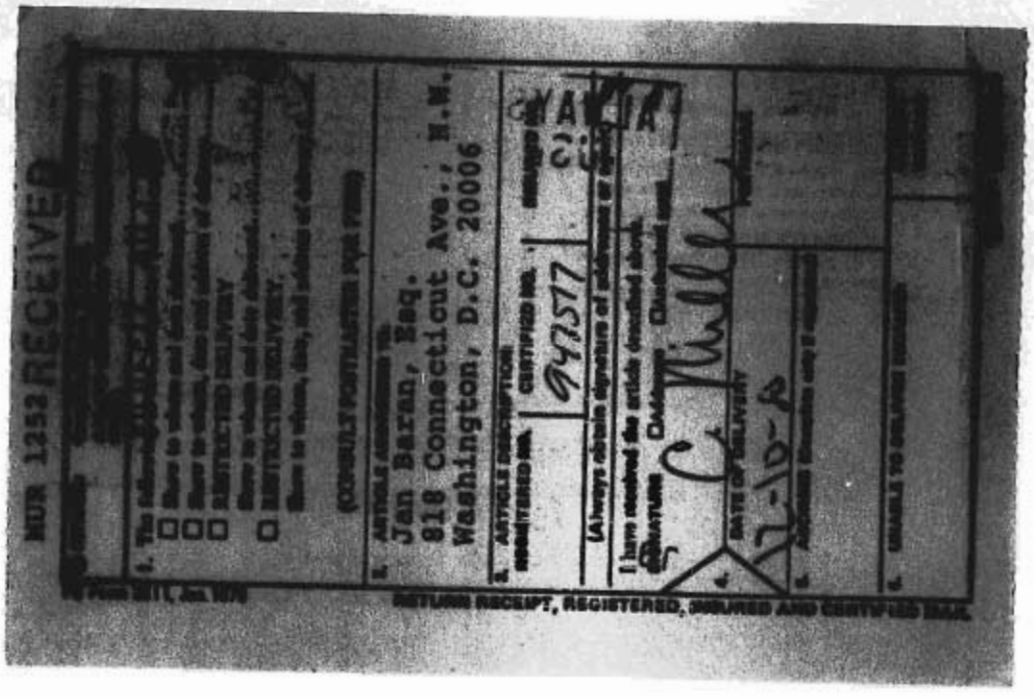
If you have any questions or problems, please contact Ms. Patricia F. Bak, the staff attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 523-4060.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Commission Order

8304042295 7



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

December

Mr. Jan Baran, Esquire
Baker & Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Baran:

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1/ In this regard, however, it should be noted that AFC's response that it commissioned no polls will suffice as a response to theCommission document request #5.

RJB 12/5/80

8304042936

With respect to compliance with the Commission's previously issued subpoena and order, we direct your attention to the specific directions for proper compliance set out in the paragraph preceeding the document requests on page three of the subpoena sent to Americans for Change.

If you have any questions or problems, please contact Ms. Patricia F. Bak, the staff attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 523-4060.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Commission Order

8304042959

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
Americans for Change, et al.)

MUR 1252

COMMISSION ORDER

The motion of the Americans for Change to rescind the Commission's findings of reason to believe and to quash the Commission order to produce documents and materials and answer questions is denied. The staff of the Office of General Counsel is directed to take all necessary and proper steps to insure compliance with the requests contained in the Order.

December 4, 1980
Date

John Warren McGarry
JOHN WARREN McGARRY
Vice Chairman
Federal Election Commission

Attest:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8304042960

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
Americans for Change,) MUR 1252
et al.)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission's Executive Session on December 2, 1980, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 4-2 to take the following actions in the above-captioned matter:

1. Deny in all respects the Americans for Change' Motion to Rescind the Commission's findings of reason to believe and Motion to Quash the Commission's order to produce documents and materials and answer questions.

2. Advise the movant of the above decision and redirect it to appear in compliance with the subpoena.

3. Authorize the Office of General Counsel to institute a civil action, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437d(b) should movant fail to comply with the subpoena.

Commissioners Harris, McGarry, Reiche, and Tiernan voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioners Aikens and Friedersdorf dissented.

Attest:

12/3/80
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

8304042961

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY mc
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY TO THE COMMISSION

DATE: NOVEMBER 25, 1980

SUBJECT: ADDITIONAL OBJECTION ON MUR 1252 - General Counsel's Report dated 11-20-80; Received in OCS 11-21-80, 10:41

You were notified previously of an objection by Friedersdorf to the above-named document.

Commissioner Aikens submitted here objection at 1:51, November 25, 1980.

This matter will be discussed in executive session on Tuesday, December 2, 1980.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY

DATE: NOVEMBER 24, 1980

SUBJECT: MUR 1252 - General Counsel's Report dated 11-20-80; Received in OCS 11-21-80, 10:41

The above-named document was circulated on a 48 hour vote basis at 2:00, November 21, 1980.

Commissioner Friedersdorf submitted an objection at 4:24, November 21, 1980.

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session Agenda for Tuesday, December 2, 1980.

8304042295

November 21, 1980

MEMORANDUM To: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Jana Colgrove

SUBJECT: MUR 1252

Please have the attached General Counsel's Report on MUR 1252 distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis.

Thank you.

8304042296

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
COMMISSION SECRETARY

In the Matter of)
) MUR 1252
Americans for Change,)
et al.)

80 NOV 21 A10: 41

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT IN OPPOSITION TO MOTION OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE TO QUASH THE COMMISSION'S SUBPOENA AND RESCIND ITS FINDINGS OF REASON TO BELIEVE

I. Summary of Proceedings

On September 3, 1980, the Commission found reason to believe that Americans for Change ("AFC") has or will violate 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a), 432(e)(4) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f). As part of its investigation of these alleged violations, on October 1, 1980, the Commission mailed to respondent AFC an order to produce documents and materials and to answer written questions. On October 14, 1980, the Commission received a motion from respondent to quash the Commission's subpoena and to reconsider its findings of reason to believe based on information contained in affidavits submitted by Senator Harrison Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis, Jan W. Baran, and J. Stan Huckaby.

Movant's motion to quash is not directed to specific document requests or requested answers to written questions but rather is general in nature and rests upon their contention that the submitted affidavits conclusively demonstrate no violations in fact have occurred or are about to occur and that the Commission's investigation is, therefore, unwarranted. Movant's motion to reconsider the Commission's findings of reason to believe is based upon this same legal position. In addition, respondent AFC has specifically asserted that the Commission must rescind its finding of reason to believe and quash its subpoena as it relates to the alleged violation

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of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) as Common Cause v. Schmitt, et al., Nos. 80-1609 and 80-1754 (D.D.C., decided August 28, 1980)(three-judge district court)(notice of appeal filed Oct. 8, 1980) (hereinafter "Common Cause v. Schmitt, et al.) in holding 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) facially unconstitutional, rendered that section of the Act void ab initio.

II. Analysis

It should be noted as an initial matter that respondent AFC has produced none of the documents requested in the subpoena sent by the Commission. Moreover, respondent, AFC, has failed to respond in accord with the paragraph preceeding the Commission's document requests which requires the respondent to provide the Commission with a statement of the specific objections or claims of privilege with regard to each individual document withheld. Respondent's lack of adherence to the Commission's instructions in document production has placed the Commission in the position of not knowing whether in those instances where respondent's affidavits are not found to be fully responsive, documents do in fact exist which may be helpful to the Commission in determining whether such violations have, in fact, occurred. In this regard, the Office of General Counsel suggests that in those areas where the Commission decides to pursue further inquiry, respondent be informed again of the proper method of response. This will necessarily clarify the parties' position and eliminate duplicative efforts should the Commission ultimately seek enforcement of its subpoena in court.

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A. Evidence

As mentioned above, respondent AFC has, in response to the Commission's request for production of documents and answers to interrogatories, supplied the Commission with affidavits from numerous AFC officers and affiliates. The specific motion they have presented is one to have the Commission's findings of reason to believe rescinded. There is, however, no provision in the Act or the regulations for the Commission to consider such a motion. Of course, the Commission generally has considered whatever demonstration a respondent may wish to make to show that no further action should be taken by the Commission as to that respondent. Such arguments are normally considered by the Commission, with all other factual and legal issues, after the investigatory or "reason to believe" stage has ended, and before the Commission takes further action in the form of a "probable cause to believe" finding. Therefore, the proper question raised in consideration of this motion is whether the respondent has adequately responded to the Commission's inquiry so as to obviate the need for further investigation.

In this regard, the Office of General Counsel believes that the Commission should first take cognizance of the inherent danger in granting respondent's motion upon their own version of the facts which are within their exclusive control as set out only in ex parte affidavits. As a general matter, it would not be prudent to conclude an investigation complete on the basis of such affidavits taken on their face where, as here, there has been no opportunity for cross examination or even examination of the primary documentary evidence which may exist but remains yet undiscovered.

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This position is stated herein without any implication that these particular affiants have purposefully misstated any facts as put forth in their submitted affidavits. What it does go to, however, is the role of the Commission as an investigatory body responsible for amassing whatever relevant, probative evidence exists with respect to the particular alleged violation, whether it ultimately be impeaching or corraborative in nature. However, even quite apart from this, a quick review of some of the assertions made by respondent AFC, as well as documents and information submitted by other respondents about AFC and its activities, indicates that the factual record, at least at this point, is not totally clear and uncontradicted.

First, AFC asserts that no expenditures have been made by AFC which can be construed or presumed to be contributions within the statutory and regulatory definitions. In support of this, AFC notes that decisions to make expenditures are made solely by AFC Executive Committee members, with its Steering Committee assisting only in fundraising. Respondent further asserts that all members of the Executive and Steering Committees are screened by AFC's counsel to verify their independence from the Reagan campaign. In this regard, AFC submits an attachment which consists of a questionnaire used to determine "independence" from the Reagan campaign. However, also attached is a "memorandum" addressed to "Steering Committee Members" from AFC's Chairman, Senator Harrison Schmitt, which indicates that an affirmative response to one of the questions does not necessarily preclude one from serving on the Steering Committee. The questions unanswered by AFC, of course, relate to, not only the actual criteria and considerations involved in AFC's

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determination of Steering Committee membership, but also who in fact are members of the Steering Committee and what are these individuals' affiliation, if any, to the Reagan campaign or its authorized committees. Also, what are the criteria for establishing membership on the Executive Committee and joining the AFC staff, and how does this differ, if at all, to the criteria applied to determine Steering Committee membership, and what in fact are the members of the Executive Committee's affiliations, if any, to the Reagan campaign or its authorized committees?

AFC asserts that all members of the Executive Committee and Steering Committee have verified through their responses to questionnaires upon the determination of their eligibility for membership that they have never received information either directly or indirectly from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees with a view towards having an expenditure made. This, however, does not answer the question raised by the Commission's request for production of documents #1 and interrogatory F--namely what, if any, communications may have taken place between AFC members and the Reagan campaign or its authorized committees or other "independent expenditure committees" subsequent to their grant of membership to AFC. A further question is; what communications, if any, have taken place between staff persons hired by AFC or other AFC members not serving on the committee's Executive or Steering committees and the Reagan campaign or other "independent expenditure committees" who may themselves have had more direct contact with the Reagan campaign?

Beyond this however, it appears that respondent has too narrowly interpreted the language of the Commission's regulation

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at 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A). As set forth in Advisory Opinion 1979-80, in the course of determining the "independence" of the activities of independent expenditure committees from those of the authorized committees of the candidate, the Commission will scrutinize all relationships and contacts between the two groups. In connection with political committees of this type where the raison d'etre of the group is to make expenditures advocating the election or defeat of a particular candidate, all contacts and communications between the candidate, his authorized committees and agents and allegedly independent committee and its officers, employees, volunteers, and agents may be considered relevant and within the scope of an investigation of the committee's independent status.

AFC also asserts that no campaign materials have ever been made or disseminated which contain any materials prepared or used by Ronald Reagan or any of his authorized committees. However, as a result of AFC's having failed to comply with the Commission's document request #8, the Commission is unable to compare solicitation materials and requests for funds of AFC with those of other "independent expenditure groups" who may, in fact, have secured materials from the Reagan campaign or to compare solicitation materials of the "independent" committee with those of the authorized campaign committees to determine if the solicitation materials used by one were suggested or based upon those of the other.[1/] Moreover, not having received any response

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1/ It is because AFC may have had discussions or meetings or might have otherwise exchanged information with other "independent expenditure groups" who did in fact have direct contact with the Reagan campaign that the Commission sought materials in AFC's possession regarding these groups (see Request for Production Documents #1 and Interrogatories E & F), and it is for this same reason that AFC's assertion that such requests are not relevant to this investigation should be dismissed as being without merit. (See AFC's Memorandum of Points and Authorities, #1 at page 11, hereinafter "AFC's P's & A's at").

to the Commission's interrogatory A(2) which requires AFC to identify those individuals who participated with production and publication of documents and materials which related in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan or would have aided in the defeat of any other candidate and, not having received any other information regarding possible instruction given to such staff or vendors regarding the sources of their materials, we must question the hearsay nature of AFC's assertions as to the actual source of its solicitation materials.

However, the importance of securing AFC's solicitation materials also comes into play in connection with the Commission's finding with respect to 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). The intent of Congress was that authorized committees be required to use the name of the candidate in their committee name and that non-authorized committees be prohibited from doing the same. That AFC and others have termed their use of the candidate's name as a "project" does not address the question of whether the law has been violated. Only review of the group's solicitation materials will allow the Commission to fairly judge whether a violation of § 432(e)(4) has taken place and the extent to which the Act has been violated. Thus, this claimed violation should not be dismissed without further consideration solely on the basis of clever semantics.[2/]

The Office of General Counsel believes that respondent AFC's assertion that it has neither commissioned polls or surveys, nor received such information from Mr. Reagan, his committees, or agents

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2/ It is interesting to note and clearly worth further inquiry that each of the respondent "independent expenditure groups" have identically deemed their use of the Reagan name as "projects" of their particular committees. The term "project" is not an entity legally defined anywhere in the Act, and yet is one curiously utilized by each of the respondent "independent" groups.

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and relies solely upon polling results as published in the news media satisfies the Commission's inquiries as set out in Document Request #5. However, AFC's assertion that prior to hiring their services, the Executive Committee requires all media and print professionals to verify in writing that they are independent of Ronald Reagan and his campaign begs the question as to whether these vendors are in fact independent from the Reagan campaign. To request vendors to verify their "independence" is to ask vendors to make a legal conclusion as to what constitutes independence from the Reagan campaign and its authorized committees. Moreover, AFC does not indicate in their submissions how vendors are required to do this task (i.e. answer questionnaires, sign a statement of legal conclusion, submit records of their other political vendees, etc.), if Mr. Reagan's authorized campaign committee employees, volunteers, and agents are identified for vendors, and upon what standards or criteria, if any, AFC reviews these vendors' verifications.

As a general matter, it should be noted that much of what AFC submits as evidence is hearsay in nature. AFC contends that Mrs. Anna Chennault, for example, is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Executive or Steering Committees; she never attended any meetings of either group; she is not and never has been authorized to make expenditures on behalf of AFC; she did not participate in any way in the organization of AFC, and AFC's Executive Committee has had no communications with her regarding Reagan's projects, plans, or needs. A submission by Loren Smith, Chief Counsel to the Reagan-Bush Committee in connection with this investigation stipulates that the Reagan-Bush Committee has had and continues to have extensive meetings, discussions, and consultation with, among others, Anna

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Chennault. Mr. Smith further indicates that Mrs. Chennault was asked by Senator Laxalt in late spring to serve as the Reagan-Bush Campaign Chairman for Nationalities, to which she agreed. Shortly thereafter during her absence abroad, Mrs. Chennault's office received a request that she serve on a committee of AFC. According to Mr. Smith, her secretary assumed it was the same group and allowed inclusion of Mrs. Chennault's name. Upon her return, Mrs. Chennault apparently advised AFC by phone that she would be unable to serve on the AFC committee. Later, and at both Mr. Smith's request as counsel to the Reagan-Bush Committee and RNC Chairman, William Brock's request, Mrs. Chennault formalized her resignation from AFC by letter dated July 22, 1980. (See Attachment B).

Had AFC complied with the Commission's document request #1, verification of these communications would be in hand.[3/] Beyond this, however, it should be noted that AFC's counsel in responding to the Commission's requests for production of documents and answers by motion and affidavit obviously read the Commission's request for production #1 very narrowly, while counsel Smith felt Mrs. Chennault's "membership" with AFC merited a formal communication of resignation. The Office of General Counsel points to this difference in interpretation of the Commission's requests and the requirements of the law regarding what in fact constitutes independence

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3/ Based on the documentation supplied by the Reagan-Bush Committee, namely a copy of the letter of resignation sent by Mrs. Chennault to Harrison Schmitt, we must question the accuracy of AFC's assertions (AFC's P's & A's at p. 11) 1) that AFC has had no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings, or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents or his authorized campaign committees, including their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers, or organizers and 2)(AFC's assertion #9 (AFC's P's & A's at p. 12) that AFC has not communicated by telephone or otherwise with Reagan, his committees, or agents.

only to demonstrate (1) the inherent danger in relying upon hearsay evidence and affidavits containing conclusory statements whose probative value has not been tested by cross examination and (2) the necessity for further inquiry on this point both by requesting respondent to answer in full the document requests and questions put to it and deposing the particular actors involved.

Mr. Huckaby's affidavit does not eliminate all questions regarding AFC's possible connection with the authorized committees of the Reagan campaign, most specifically of course in regard to his connection as consultant to the RNC, an authorized Reagan campaign committee. Mr. Huckaby, of course, is AFC's Assistant Treasurer. However, Mr. Huckaby, as reported by the Reagan-Bush Committee, is also a tennant of the RNC for whom he also works on a per job consultant basis. At this point the Commission does not know what sort of work he does for the RNC and the degree to which he may be privy to information regarding the Reagan campaign through the authorized RNC. Mr. Huckaby is also by his own admission Treasurer of the Unity Committee, an authorized committee of the Reagan-Bush campaign.

Insofar as he holds the statutorially recognized position of Assistant Treasurer of AFC, Mr. Huckaby is recognized, pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 102.7, to be one "who shall assume the duties and responsibilities of the treasurer in the event of a temporary or permanent vancancy in the office or in the event the treasurer is unavailable." AFC admits that Mr. Huckaby fulfills all record-keeping duties as set forth in the Act. Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 102.9, the treasurer of a political committee or an agent "authorized by the treasurer to receive contributions and make expenditures shall fulfill all record-keeping duties as set forth at 11 C.F.R. § 102.9(a) through (e)."

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In fact, AFC, pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 102.7(b), cannot accept, except through Mr. Huckaby, any contributions or make expenditures where there is a vacancy in the Office of Treasurer. However, beyond this statutory grant of authority to act on the treasurer's behalf, it would appear that Mr. Huckaby would be responsible, as would the treasurer, pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 109.2(a)(1), to certify that expenditures are not made in cooperation, consultation or concert with or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent thereof.

In view of all this, it is the Office of General Counsel's belief that, not withstanding the statements contained in his affidavit, expenditures of AFC could have been "made through" Mr. Huckaby. Moreover, the Office of General Counsel believes that these facts alone could raise the presumption of the Commission's regulations which would preclude AFC from making independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan and further, that Mr. Huckaby's affidavit and the dearth of information supplied by AFC, the Reagan-Bush Committee, and the RNC do not sufficiently rebut this presumption. (See Advisory Opinions 1979-80 and 1980-116). We, therefore, recommend that AFC again be required to submit complete answers to the Commission's already posed requests for documents and interrogatories to facilitate completion of the Commission's investigation of this very important point.

Each of the aforementioned specific examples of discrepancies in information or lack of complete information, the Office of General Counsel believes, support the position that AFC's affidavits and other assertions are insufficient to dispose of the Commission's investigation of the violations with which it has been charged.

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The Commission is, as the Court recognized in the case of FCC v. Cohen, 154 F. Supp. 899, 912 (S.D.N.Y. 1957) "entitled to see the original factual material and itself evaluate it. It need not be compelled to rely on respondent's summaries or other versions of what the basic data shows".[4/] It is for this reason the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission reject respondent's motion to rescind its findings of reason to believe and quash its subpoena and order and proceed with its investigation of the alleged charges.

Respondent separately claims that the three-judge court decision in Common Cause v. Schmitt, et al. in holding 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) facially unconstitutional renders that provision of the Act void ab initio and so unenforceable by the Commission. The Office of General Counsel believes those cases cited by respondent in support of their position to be inapposite.[5/] Moreover, the Commission has filed its notice of appeal with the Supreme Court pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9011(b) which provides for direct appeal of the three-judge court's decision to the Supreme Court for final determination. It should also be noted, however, that respondents did not, in connection with the litigation before the three-judge court, nor have they in connection with the now pending appeal, requested an injunction prohibiting the Commission from enforcing the provision in question. The three-judge court

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4/ This case involved an action by the FCC to enforce a subpoena issued in connection with an investigation.

5/ The case of Norton v. Shelby County, 118 U.S. 425 (1886) cited by respondent, for example, concerns the status of a federal court must give a state statute where the Supreme Court of that state has declared the statute unconstitutional and its decision does not conflict with or impair the efficacy of some principle of the federal Constitution, a federal statute or a rule of general law.

found the Commission to be correct in its assessment that as a matter of statutory construction, "Section 9012(f) proscribes categorically the defendants' [respondent's] planned expenditures". This being the case, the Commission was bound to make its initial finding of reason to believe the statute was violated.[6/] However, the Office of General Counsel recommends that while the Commission should reject respondent's motion to rescind its finding of reason to believe a violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) has occurred, it should forego making any further finding with respect to that charge pending the decision of the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of that provision.

Recommendation

Both the Motion to Rescind the Commission's findings of reason to believe and Motion to Quash the Commission's order to produce documents and materials and answer questions made by the respondent, Americans for Change, should, in all respects, be denied. Staff would so advise movant and redirect it to appear in compliance with the subpoena.

Should movant fail to comply with the subpoena, we recommend authorization to institute a civil action, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(b).

20 October 1980
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

6/ At the time the Commission found reason to believe respondent AFC violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f), the three-judge court had not yet rendered its opinion.

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Attachments

A. AFC's motions, memorandum of points and authorities and affidavits in support thereof

B. Reagan-Bush Committee October 12, 1980, response to notification of reason to believe finding

I. Commission Order

II. Denial of Motions to Rescind and Quash

III. Draft letter to AFC counsel, Jan Baran

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910-20 Attachment A GCC 2952

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October 10, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Steele:

Enclosed is a Motion to Quash the Subpoena served on Americans For Change ("AFC") by the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") on October 3, 1980 and a Motion For Reconsideration of the FEC's finding of reason to believe that AFC has violated certain provisions of the federal election laws. Also, AFC proffers certain information to the FEC concerning its finding of reason to believe and its subpoena. Attached to the above-mentioned motion are the affidavits of Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis, Jan W. Baran and J. Stan Huckaby. The affidavits of Messrs. Schmitt, Huckaby and Curtis are unsigned. They have been read to and approved by the above-mentioned individuals but because of travel commitments they are not executed. Signed affidavits will be filed with the FEC early next week.

Very truly yours,

William H. Schweitzer

William H. Schweitzer

WHS:gh
Encls.

cc: Hon. Robert O. Tiernan
Hon. Frank P. Reiche
Hon. Thomas E. Harris
Hon. Joan D. Aikens
Hon. John W. McGarry
Hon. Max L. Friedersdorf

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

MOTION TO QUASH SUBPOENA AND TO RECONSIDER FINDING OF REASON TO BELIEVE

Comes now Americans For Change ("AFC") by its counsel Baker & Hostetler and pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.15(a) moves the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") to quash the subpoena served on AFC's counsel on October 3, 1980. AFC also moves the FEC to reconsider its finding of reason to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) and 432(e)(4) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) on the basis of the affidavits and proffer of evidence submitted herein. As grounds for these motions AFC refers the FEC to the Memorandum of Points and Authorities and accompanying affidavits attached hereto and incorporated herein.

WHEREFORE, AFC prays that the FEC quash the subpoena issued herein, rescind its finding of reason to believe

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that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) and 432(e)(4) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and dismiss AFC as a respondent in Matter Under Review 1252 (80).

BAKER & HOSTETLER

By: _____
William H. Schweitzer
Jan W. Baran
Rebecca L. Jackson
818 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Counsel for Americans For Change

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

I.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

On September 29, 1980 the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") notified Americans For Change ("AFC") of its determination that there is reason to believe that AFC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). By letter dated October 1, 1980, AFC responded to the FEC's notice by denying that AFC violated the above-designated provisions and offering to submit additional factual and legal material demonstrating the FEC's error in finding "reason to believe" that violations occurred.

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On Friday, October 3, 1980, AFC received a subpoena from the FEC directing it to produce specified documents and answer written questions. The FEC seeks production of materials concerning communications between AFC and various organizations and individuals; the organizational and governing instruments of AFC; decisions of AFC to expend funds in support of Ronald Reagan; surveys or polls concerning the election of Ronald Reagan; AFC campaign materials prepared for Ronald Reagan or specified Reagan committees and the Republican National Committee ("RNC"); AFC materials containing materials prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC; solicitation of funds for AFC relating to the 1980 presidential campaign; and telephone calls to or from AFC. The FEC also seeks answers to interrogatories regarding individuals participating in the authorization of expenditures or the dissemination of materials in relation to the 1980 presidential campaign and their affiliations with other organizations; meetings of AFC prior to May 23, 1980; addresses and phone numbers used by AFC; fundraisers held by AFC in relation to the 1980 presidential election; and affiliations of AFC members and participants.

On the basis of legal and factual material submitted herewith, AFC submits that the subpoena is unnecessary, that the FEC should rescind its finding of "reason to believe"

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that AFC violated the federal election laws and that the FEC should dismiss respondent AFC from the Matter Under Review ("MUR") 1252 (80).

II.

ARGUMENT

A. The FEC Cannot Find Reason To Believe That AFC Has Violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) Since That Provision Has Been Adjudged Unconstitutional.

As the FEC is aware, a three-judge district court in an opinion by Circuit Judge Malcolm Richard Wilkey ruled that 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) is facially unconstitutional. Common Cause v. Schmitt, et al., Nos. 80-1609 and 80-1754, (D.D.C., decided, August 28, 1980) (three judge district court).[1/]

The Court held:

> Given our holdings that section 9012(f) is an expenditure restriction, and is, therefore, a powerful inhibition on political speech, we must strike down that section as it fails to survive the strict scrutiny required by the First Amendment. The compelling governmental interest to fight electoral corruption is insufficient, here as in Buckley, to justify what amounts to a direct limitation on political speech. Whereas a presidential candidate by accepting public funds may choose for him or herself to do without unlimited contributions and expenditures, the candidate's public supporters have a separate, protected right to express themselves, individually or jointly. This preserves free access and full participation in the public debate.

Id. slip op. at 22.

1/ The opinion was issued in these cases on September 30, 1980.

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Section 9012(f) is null and void. See, Norton v. Shelby County, 118 U.S. 425 (1886) recently cited in Gentry v. United States, 546 F.2d 343 (Ct. Cl. 1976) (unconstitutional statute void ab initio). The FEC cannot find reason to believe that AFC has violated Section 9012(f) by making excessive expenditures, whether they are "in-kind" or "independent." Nor can the FEC investigate alleged violations of the voided section. It should reconsider and rescind this determination and quash the subpoena as it relates to alleged violations of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f).

B. There Is No Reason To Believe That AFC Has Violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

Section 441a(a) of Title 2 United States Code prohibits contributions in excess of $1,000 to any candidate or his authorized political committees. Contributions for purposes of Section 441a(a) include "expenditures made by any person in cooperation, consultation or concert with, or at the request of a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents." 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i). However, contributions do not include independent expenditures. "Independent expenditure" is defined as "an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate,

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or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate." 2 U.S.C. 431(17). Section 109.1(a)(4) of the FEC's regulations state that:

> '[m]ade with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with or at the request or suggestion of a candidate or any agent or authorized committee or candidate' means - [a]ny arrangement, coordination or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display or broadcast of the communication.

11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i).

A presumption of such coordination may be raised when the expenditure is "[b]ased on information about the candidates' plans, projects or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward obtaining an expenditure made." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(A). A presumption also may exist if the expenditure is "[m]ade by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee or who is, or has been receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(B). An agent is defined as any person who has authority, express or implied, to make or authorize expenditures on behalf of a candidate or who holds a position in the candidate's campaign organization where it would reasonably appear that he has such authority. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(5).

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No expenditures have been made by AFC which can be construed or presumed to be contributions within the statutory or regulatory definitions. As the attached affidavits demonstrate, decisions to make expenditures are made only by members of AFC's Executive Committee. Affidavit of Harrison H. Schmitt ("Schmitt Affidavit") ¶ 5. The members of AFC's Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 5. AFC also has a Steering Committee which assists in fundraising for AFC.

All members of the Executive and Steering Committees are independent of the Reagan campaign. They have been carefully screened by AFC's counsel and such individuals have verified that they are not a past or present officer of an authorized committee, a person authorized, past or present, to raise funds or make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan or a person who has received any form of compensation from Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 7-8; Affidavit of Jan W. Baran ("Baran Affidavit") ¶¶ 4-5; Affidavit of Carl T. Curtis ("Curtis Affidavit) ¶ 7. All members of the Executive Committee and the Steering Committee have verified that they have never received information either directly or indirectly from Ronald Reagan, his agents or committees with a view toward having an expenditure made. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 7-8; Curtis Affidavit ¶ 8; Affidavit of Baran ¶¶4-5.

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No campaign materials have ever been made or disseminated which contain any materials prepared or used by Ronald Reagan or any of his committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 14. Prior to hiring their services, the Executive Committee requires all media and print professionals to verify in writing that they are independent of Ronald Reagan. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 17. AFC has commissioned no polls or surveys nor has it received such information from Reagan, his committees or agents. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 13. In short, no AFC expenditures have ever been made at the request or suggestion of Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents or as a result of or with the use of information or materials from Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 5-8; 13-18; 21.

The grounds that the FEC advances in support of its determination of AFC's non-independence are factually inaccurate and legally insufficient. First, Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Executive or Steering Committee; she never attended any meetings of either group; she is not and never has been authorized to make expenditures on behalf of AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 10. She did not participate in any way in the organization of AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 10. The Executive Committee has had no communications with Ms. Chennault regarding Ronald Reagan's projects, plans or needs. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 10.

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Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC. His sole activity in relation to AFC is to prepare the books and financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 11; Affidavit of Stan Huckaby ("Huckaby Affidavit") ¶ 2. He is not a member of either the Executive Committee or Steering Committee and has never attended meetings of these groups or made decisions or participated in discussions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 11; Huckaby Affidavit ¶ 3. He has no authority to authorize or make AFC expenditures. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 11; Huckaby Affidavit ¶ 4. Under the FEC's regulations a presumption of coordination does not arise since Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make AFC expenditures and, thus, no AFC expenditures are ever "made by or through him." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(A); Huckaby Affidavit ¶ 4. He has had no contact with Reagan or his agents since Reagan's nomination and has not received from Reagan or his agents any information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs. Huckaby Affidavit ¶¶ 6-8.

Senator Harrison H. Schmitt is a member of the RNC National Advisory Council, but does not and has never held office with or received compensation or reimbursement from this organization. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12. He has not attended any meetings of this group since 1978. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12. He has received no information from this

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group regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12. As far as he knows, this group has never advised Reagan, his agents or committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12.

There is no factual or legal basis for finding reason to believe that AFC is making expenditures in cooperation, consultation or concert with or at the request of Reagan, his committees or agents. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a). AFC has no arrangement or coordination with and receives no direction from Reagan, his agents or committees. 11 C.F.R. 109.1(a)(4). No presumption of coordination is raised with respect to AFC expenditures. The affidavits clearly establish that no AFC expenditures are based on information about Reagan's plans, projects or needs. 11 C.F.R § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(4). No AFC expenditures are or ever have been made by or through any person who: (1) is an agent of Reagan; (2) has been compensated or received reimbursement from Reagan, his commitees or agents; or (3) has authority to raise funds or make expenditures on behalf of Reagan, his agents or committees. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(B). No expenditures are made by or through Ms. Chennault or Mr. Huckaby. Senator Schmitt and all other members of the Executive Committee are independent of the Reagan campaign. There is no factual or legal basis for finding reason to believe that AFC has violated Section 441a(a).

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C. AFC Has Not Violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

Section 432(e)(4) of Title 2 United States Code prohibits the use of the name of any candidate in the name of an unauthorized political committee. As the FEC well knows, AFC's name, as registered with the FEC, does not include the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate. AFC does not and has never used "Reagan" or any other candidate's name, as part of its own in any of its communications with the public or otherwise. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. "Reagan for President in '80" is not part of the name of AFC, nor is it the name of any sub-organization of AFC or held out to be as such in any AFC communications or materials. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. It is the title of a fundraising project undertaken by AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account and all checks made payable to this project are deposited in AFC's account. Curtis Affidavit ¶ 5; Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. All communications regarding this project include the notice required by § 441d. Such a notice is included in the Schmitt letter referred to by the FEC and states that AFC and not any candidate is paying for the solicitation. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. There is no basis for a finding of a reason to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

D. The Subpoena Is Unnecessary and Should be Quashed.

The FEC should quash the subpoena served on AFC on October 3, 1980. The legal and factual materials submitted

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herein establish that there is no foundation for a finding that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) or 432(e)(4). The FEC cannot proceed on claims arising under 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) since that statute is void as facially unconstitutional.

The affidavits conclusively establish the independence of AFC expenditures in support of Reagan. As further support of this independence, AFC makes the following proffer in response to the subpoena:

1. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents or his authorized campaign committees, including their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 18. Materials regarding organizations and entities which are not agents or authorized committees of Ronald Reagan are not relevant to the alleged violations of Sections 441a(a) or 432(e)(4). 2 U.S.C. § 431(17).

2-3. AFC has provided information regarding its organization, policies and procedures in the affidavits submitted herewith.

4. The manner in which AFC makes decisions to expend funds is documented in the affidavits submitted herewith.

5. AFC has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls concerning the 1980 presidential election apart

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from results published in newspapers and weekly periodicals. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 13.

6-7. AFC has not expended funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan or his committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 14.

8. In soliciting funds AFC has at all times used its registered committee name as the entity paying for the solicitation. It has not used Ronald Reagan's name as part of its own. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. It places all contributions in one account in the name of AFC from which all expenditures are made. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15; Curtis Affidavit ¶¶ 4-5.

9. AFC has not communicated by telephone or otherwise with Reagan, his committees or agents regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 7-8; 18.

With respect to the interrogatories AFC makes the following proffer:

A. AFC has identified all persons who participate in decisions to expend funds. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 5. In preparing materials relating to the 1980 presidential campaign AFC uses professional print and media persons who must verify to AFC that they are independent of Ronald Reagan, his agents or committees prior to use of their services. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 17; Baran Affidavit ¶ 6.

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B-D. Names of persons who participated in AFC organizational discussions and the address and telephone number of AFC are provided in the affidavits submitted herewith. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 4-5.

E. AFC has provided information regarding AFC's fundraisers. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 16. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 16.

F. The affidavits provided herewith establish that all members of AFC's Executive Committee and the professionals who assist in material preparation are independent of Reagan, his committees or agents. Other affiliations of these individuals are not relevant to the issue of coordination under section 441a(a) and disclosure of this information substantially infringes on the First Amendment freedoms of these members. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 14-15 (1976).

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III.

CONCLUSION

The legal and factual materials submitted herewith establish that AFC is not violating 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) or 432(e)(4). The FEC cannot proceed on complaints of violations of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) since that statute is void as unconstitutional. The FEC should rescind its finding of

reason to believe that AFC is in violation of the federal election laws, quash its subpoena as unnecessary and dismiss respondent AFC from MUR 1252 (80).

Respectfully submitted,

BAKER & HOSTETLER

By: _____

William H. Schweitzer
Jan W. Baran
Rebecca L. Jackson
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Counsel for Americans For Change

8304042995

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)
	)	

AFFIDAVIT

State of New Mexico) ss:

Harrison H. Schmitt for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Chairman and one of the organizers of Americans For Change ("AFC"), a political committee registered in that name with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. The only offices of AFC are located at 218 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. AFC's telephone number is (703) 683-0304.

3. AFC has made and intends to make independent expenditures in support of the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and intends to make contributions to other candidates for federal office. AFC is duly incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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4. Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis and Brad O'Leary are the founders of AFC.

5. Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Members of the Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. As Chairman of AFC, I have attended all meetings of the Executive Committee and no persons other than the members listed above made decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC.

6. AFC has a Steering Committee which consists of 108 members nationwide who assist in fundraising for AFC.

7. Prior to becoming a member of the Executive or Steering Committee, each person must verify in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify that he or she: (1) is not and never has been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving or never has received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his agents or committees; (4) does not and has never held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan,

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his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view toward having an expenditure made.

8. All members of the Executive Committee and Steering Committees have provided such verification, which AFC's counsel has reviewed.

9. AFC has only one bank account. All checks issued by AFC are drawn from this account and must be signed by me or AFC Treasurer Carl T. Curtis. All independent expenditures made by AFC are made by check.

10. Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Steering Committee or Executive Committee. She refused to submit written verification as described in paragraph 7 and, therefore, could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. Ms. Chennault is not and never has been authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC. Ms. Chennault has never attended any meetings or participated in any activities of AFC, including the making of independent expenditures. Ms. Chennault did not participate in founding AFC.

11. Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC and custodian of its records. His sole activity in relation to AFC is and has been to prepare the financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Mr. Huckaby is not a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. He does not and has not attended meetings of either group. Mr. Huckaby is neither permitted to make decisions

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or participate in discussions regarding independent expenditures or to sign checks for such expenditures. Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make expenditures on behalf of AFC.

12. In 1978 I agreed to become a member of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council ("RNC Advisory Council"). I attended one meeting of the RNC Advisory Council in 1978. I am not and never have been an officer of the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received any information from this group regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. To my knowledge, this group has never advised Reagan, his committees or agents. I am not and never have been an RNC Committeeman.

13. AFC's Executive Committee has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls regarding the 1980 presidential election, apart from results published in newspapers or periodicals. AFC's Executive Committee has not obtained such information from Reagan, his committees or agents.

14. AFC has not expended any funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC.

15. AFC does not use and has never used the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate in its name. All materials used for the solicitation of funds for AFC, contain

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the notice: "Paid for by Americans For Change, Not Authorized by Any Candidate." "Reagan for President in '80" is a fund-raising project of AFC. It is not part of AFC's name. It is not a separate organization or committee or held out to be such in any AFC communication. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account. All checks received by AFC, including those made payable to "Reagan for President in '80" are deposited in AFC's only checking account. All AFC expenditures are made from this same account.

16. AFC has held fundraisers. In each instance AFC has made it clear that the fundraiser was sponsored by AFC. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees.

17. The Executive Committee makes all decisions regarding expenditures for communications in support of Ronald Reagan. The Executive Committee then selects a media or print professional to prepare the communication. Prior to selecting such a professional, the Executive Committee requires him or her to verify in writing that he or she complies with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditure as described in paragraph 7. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

18. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his authorized campaign committees including

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their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers.

19. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

20. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

21. AFC's Executive Committee has never received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs from Reagan or his agents or campaign committees. AFC's Executive Committee has never received a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding any AFC expenditures.

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_____
Harrison H. Schmitt

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ____ day of October, 1980.

_____
Notary Public

My commission expires:

_____

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)
	)	

AFFIDAVIT

)
) ss:
)

Carl T. Curtis for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC") and have served in this capacity since its organization.

3. As Treasurer I am responsible for the books, records and accounts of AFC. I have knowledge of all funds received, expenditures made and accounts maintained by AFC.

4. AFC has only one checking account into which all receipts are placed and from which all expenditures are made.

5. Any checks that are made out to "Reagan for President in '80" are endorsed by AFC and deposited in AFC's checking account. There is no separate checking account in the name of "Reagan for President in '80."

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6. Harrison H. Schmitt or I must sign any check drawn on AFC's checking account.

7. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

8. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

_____
Carl T. Curtis

Subscribed and sworn before me this _____ day of October, 1980.

_____
Notary Public

My Commission expires:

_____

83040423003

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia) ss:

Jan W. Baran for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am a member of the District of Columbia Bar and the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. I was formerly executive assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am legal counsel for Americans For Change ("AFC") and have served in that capacity since the organization of AFC.

4. No person may become a member of AFC's Executive Committee or Steering Committee until he or she has verified in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify in writing that he or she: (1) is not and never has

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been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving and never has received any form of compensation or reimbursement from Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents; (4) does not hold and never has held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view towards having an expenditure made.

5. To facilitate the above-described review, each interested person is sent a questionnaire, a memorandum and a set of instructions, copies of which are attached hereto as Exhibits A, B and C. The memorandum explains that the questionnaire must be completed and reviewed by me prior to membership on the Steering or Executive Committee of AFC. The questionnaire is designed to verify that all members of the Steering and Executive Committee comply with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditures. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

6. Pursuant to my legal advice, AFC screens all print and media professionals prior to obtaining their services. This screening is done by requiring all such persons to verify in writing that they comply with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditures as described in paragraph 3. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

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7. Pursuant to my legal advice, Mr. Stan Huckaby is not and never has been permitted to make or otherwise participate in any decisions regarding the making of expenditures by AFC's Executive Committee. He is not and never has been a member of AFC's Executive or Steering Committee. Mr. Huckaby's service to AFC is and has always been limited to maintaining the books and accounts of AFC and preparing reports for filing with the FEC.

Jan W. Baran

Jan W. Baran

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of October, 1980.

Notary Public

My commission expires:

My Commission Expires April 30, 1984

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EXHIBIT A

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, _____, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

_____ _____
Date Signature

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Exhibit B

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steering Committee members

FROM: Sen. Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, Chairman

I appreciate your commitment to assist in our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

Under separate cover, I am sending to you a list of over 100 individuals such as yourself who have expressed to me their interest in serving on the Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Our major project this fall will be to inform American voters about Governor Reagan and why he should be our next President. Any individual may contribute up to $5,000 to Americans for Change to help us get the message out. This includes individuals who may have contributed or worked for Governor Reagan in the primary. But as a Steering Committee member, I must ask you to fill out a questionnaire prepared by our counsel. The purpose of the questionnaire is to ascertain the nature of your previous activity on behalf of Governor Reagan, if any. Your affirmative response to one of these questions does not necessarily preclude your serving.

Our counsel, Jan Baran, of the firm of Baker & Hostetler and former Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission, will review your completed questionnaire. Please include your telephone number so that Mr. Baran may reach you if necessary to discuss any of your responses.

Only those who have submitted completed questionnaires, received and approved by counsel, will be permitted to serve on the Steering Committee. So please return your questionnaire as quickly as possible to Americans for Change, 218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, VA 22314 (703) 683-0304.

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

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Exhibit C

INSTRUCTIONS

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE is a political committee not authorized by any candidate which will be making independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan for the 1980 presidential general election. The Federal Election Campaign Act and Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations require that these type of expenditures be made without cooperation or consultation with, and not in concert or at the request or suggestion of Governor Reagan, his authorized committee or his agents. In order to ensure that expenditures are made independent of Governor Reagan or his authorized campaign, all officers and personnel of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE are requested to fill out this questionnaire prior to their involvement in making such expenditures. This document will be reviewed by the committee's counsel and retained with the committee's records.

The term "agent" as used in this questionnaire means any person who has actual oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of Governor Reagan, or means any person who has been placed in a position within the Reagan campaign where it would reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia) ss:

Stan Huckaby for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Assistant Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC"). My only services and activities in relation to AFC are to maintain the books and financial records of AFC and to assist in preparation of reports to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC and have never attended or participated in any meetings of either group.

4. I do not authorize or have the power, express or implied, to authorize expenditures of AFC.

5. I served as Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee for the sole purpose of raising

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funds to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign. I was the treasurer of the Howard Baker campaign, which had one of the largest primary campaign debts to be liquidated. My agreement to serve as the Unity Committee Treasurer was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursements from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees.

6. My only contacts with Ronald Reagan, his agents or campaign committees were two meetings with Ms. Bay Buchanan, the Treasurer of the Reagan campaign to discuss the Unity dinner and accounting. I had previously been introduced to Ms. Buchanan at a seminar sponsored by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants in early 1980. At these meetings I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign. These meetings occurred before the Republican National Convention and the nomination of Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate for president. Since the meetings described herein, I have had no contact whatsoever with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his campaign committees.

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7. Apart from my duties as the Unity Committee Treasurer, I have no authority, express or implied, from Ronald Reagan, his agents or authorized political committees to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, nor have I ever held myself out or have I ever been held out by Ronald Reagan or his agents as having such authority. As described in paragraphs 5 and 6 herein, my position with the Unity Committee is not a position with the Reagan campaign organization which creates the appearance that I have authority to make expenditures on behalf of Reagan.

8. I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs.

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_____
Stan Huckaby

Subscribed and sworn before me this __ day of October, 1980.

_____
Notary Public

My comission expires:

_____

HAND DELIVERED

GCC# 3011
80 OCT 17 P4:26

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELECOPIER (202) 857-0050

IN CLEVELAND, OHIO
3200 NATIONAL CITY CENTER
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8375

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
800 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-1572

October 17, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

Enclosed are the executed affidavits of Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis and J. Stan Huckaby. These documents have been previously submitted without signatures in conjunction with the Motion to Quash Subpoena and to Reconsider Finding of Reason to Believe filed by this office on October 10, 1980, on behalf of Americans For Change ("AFC"), respondent in Matter Under Review ("MUR") 1252.

I wish to take this opportunity to clarify two matters that I discussed in my letter to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") dated October 1, 1980, regarding MUR 1252. First, I stated that AFC had not received from either the complainant or the FEC a July 21, 1980, "supplement" filed by the complainant. Although AFC to this date has not received a notice from the FEC with respect to the "supplement," a copy of that document had been delivered to AFC headquarters in Alexandria, Virginia, by the complainant. I orally informed your associate, Mr. Lawrence Noble, of this fact on October 2, 1980, when this discrepancy came to my attention.

Second, I stated in my letter that Senator Harrison Schmitt has not attended any meeting of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council. As Senator Schmitt swears in the enclosed affidavit, he attended one meeting of this organization in 1978. I learned of this fact subsequent to my letter of October 1.

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Neither factual clarification in any way affects the legal arguments that I have made to the FEC. However, I feel compelled to bring this to the FEC's attention in order that the entire record is accurate. I apologize for any inconvenience that this may have caused.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

Encl.

cc: Senator Harrison Schmitt
Honorable Max Friedersdorf
Honorable John McGarry
Honorable Joan Aikens
Honorable Thomas Harris
Honorable Frank Reiche
Honorable Robert Tiernan

8304042301 41

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)
	)	

AFFIDAVIT

)
) ss:
)

Carl T. Curtis for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC") and have served in this capacity since its organization.

3. As Treasurer I am responsible for the books, records and accounts of AFC. I have knowledge of all funds received, expenditures made and accounts maintained by AFC.

4. AFC has only one checking account into which all receipts are placed and from which all expenditures are made.

5. Any checks that are made out to "Reagan for President in '80" are endorsed by AFC and deposited in AFC's checking account. There is no separate checking account in the name of "Reagan for President in '80."

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6. Harrison H. Schmitt or I must sign any check drawn on AFC's checking account.

7. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

8. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

Carl T. Curtis

Carl T. Curtis

Subscribed and sworn before me this 16th day of October, 1980.

Leigh Snow

Notary Public

My Commission expires:

7/28/81

LEIGH SNOW
GENERAL
NOTARY
COMMISSION
EXPIRES
JULY 28, 1981
STATE OF NEBRASKA

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change) MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

State of New Mexico) ss:

Harrison H. Schmitt for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Chairman and one of the organizers of Americans For Change ("AFC"), a political committee registered in that name with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. The only offices of AFC are located at 218 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. AFC's telephone number is (703) 683-0304.

3. AFC has made and intends to make independent expenditures in support of the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and intends to make contributions to other candidates for federal office. AFC is duly incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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4. Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis and Brad O'Leary are the founders of AFC.

5. Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Members of the Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. As Chairman of AFC, I have attended all meetings of the Executive Committee and no persons other than the members listed above made decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC.

6. AFC has a Steering Committee which consists of 108 members nationwide who assist in fundraising for AFC.

7. Prior to becoming a member of the Executive or Steering Committee, each person must verify in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify that he or she: (1) is not and never has been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving or never has received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his agents or committees; (4) does not and has never held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan,

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his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view toward having an expenditure made.

8. All members of the Executive Committee and Steering Committees have provided such verification, which AFC's counsel has reviewed.

9. AFC has only one bank account. All checks issued by AFC are drawn from this account and must be signed by me or AFC Treasurer Carl T. Curtis. All independent expenditures made by AFC are made by check.

10. Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Steering Committee or Executive Committee. She refused to submit written verification as described in paragraph 7 and, therefore, could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. Ms. Chennault is not and never has been authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC. Ms. Chennault has never attended any meetings or participated in any activities of AFC, including the making of independent expenditures. Ms. Chennault did not participate in founding AFC.

11. Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC and custodian of its records. His sole activity in relation to AFC is and has been to prepare the financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Mr. Huckaby is not a member of the Executive or Steering Committeé of AFC. He does not and has not attended meetings of either group. Mr. Huckaby is neither permitted to make decisions

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or participate in discussions regarding independent expenditures or to sign checks for such expenditures. Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make expenditures on behalf of AFC.

12. In 1978 I agreed to become a member of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council ("RNC Advisory Council"). I attended one meeting of the RNC Advisory Council in 1978. I am not and never have been an officer of the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received any information from this group regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. To my knowledge, this group has never advised Reagan, his committees or agents. I am not and never have been an RNC Committeeman.

13. AFC's Executive Committee has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls regarding the 1980 presidential election, apart from results published in newspapers or periodicals. AFC's Executive Committee has not obtained such information from Reagan, his committees or agents.

14. AFC has not expended any funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC.

15. AFC does not use and has never used the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate in its name. All materials used for the solicitation of funds for AFC contain

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the notice: "Paid for by Americans For Change, Not Authorized by Any Candidate." "Reagan for President in '80" is a fund-raising project of AFC. It is not part of AFC's name. It is not a separate organization or committee or held out to be such in any AFC communication. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account. All checks received by AFC, including those made payable to "Reagan for President in '80" are deposited in AFC's only checking account. All AFC expenditures are made from this same account.

16. AFC has held fundraisers. In each instance AFC has made it clear that the fundraiser was sponsored by AFC. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees.

17. The Executive Committee makes all decisions regarding expenditures for communications in support of Ronald Reagan. The Executive Committee then selects a media or print professional to prepare the communication. Prior to selecting such a professional, the Executive Committee requires him or her to verify in writing that he or she complies with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditure as described in paragraph 7. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

18. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his authorized campaign committees including

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their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers.

19. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

20. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

21. AFC's Executive Committee has never received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs from Reagan or his agents or campaign committees. AFC's Executive Committee has never received a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding any AFC expenditures.

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Harrison H. Schmitt

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15 day of October, 1980.

Notary Public

My commission expires:

Jan. 5, 1981

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change) MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia) ss:

Stan Huckaby for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Assistant Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC"). My only services and activities in relation to AFC are to maintain the books and financial records of AFC and to assist in preparation of reports to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC and have never attended or participated in any meetings of either group.

4. I do not authorize or have the power, express or implied, to authorize expenditures of AFC.

5. I served as Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee for the sole purpose of raising

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funds to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign. I was the treasurer of the Howard Baker campaign, which had one of the largest primary campaign debts to be liquidated. My agreement to serve as the Unity Committee Treasurer was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursements from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees.

6. My only contacts with Ronald Reagan, his agents or campaign committees were two meetings with Ms. Bay Buchanan, the Treasurer of the Reagan campaign to discuss the Unity dinner and accounting. I had previously been introduced to Ms. Buchanan at a seminar sponsored by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants in early 1980. At these meetings I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign. These meetings occurred before the Republican National Convention and the nomination of Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate for president. Since the meetings described herein, I have had no contact whatsoever with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his campaign committees.

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7. Apart from my duties as the Unity Committee Treasurer, I have no authority, express or implied, from Ronald Reagan, his agents or authorized political committees to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, nor have I ever held myself out or have I ever been held out by Ronald Reagan or his agents as having such authority. As described in paragraphs 5 and 6 herein, my position with the Unity Committee is not a position with the Reagan campaign organization which creates the appearance that I have authority to make expenditures on behalf of Reagan.

8. I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs.

Stan Huckaby

Stan Huckaby

Subscribed and sworn before me this 14th day of October, 1980.

Ruth V. Millard

Notary Public

My comission expires:

[illegible]

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Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

BCC 3968

Attachment 2

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECIPT REQUESTED

October 12, 1980

Honorable Max L. Friedersdorf, Chairman
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In response to your Notification of Reason to Believe Finding, dated September 25, 1980 and received by us on October 5, 1980, we would like to submit the information and Exhibits here enclosed for the consideration of the Commission.

The RtB cites expenditures by the Reagan Bush Committee to vendors who contracted with Fund for a Conservative Majority and National Conservative Political Action Committee. The Exhibits in Envelope "A" contain our invoices, and the handwritten date indicating payment coincides with the dates cited in the RtB. It should be noted that Tri State Envelope's sole business is printing envelopes, so that the only information we supply to them as a vendor is the return address we want printed on those envelopes, and where to ship the finished product. You will also note that the order date precedes the payment date by several months. Only one of the dates cited to other committees is subsequent to the dates involving us. (June 18, 1980 to Diversified Direct) The invoice indicates that the materials were shipped - i.e. the transaction was completed - on April 20, 1980, before services were rendered to others. We take the position that we cannot be held responsible for those who contract with vendors we have used after we have used them. We similarly believe that, where mechanical tasks are performed, we are not required to qualify and screen our vendors on the basis that they have not and will not perform services for any other political committee.

Arthur Finkelstein and Associates were retained by us for $3,000 per month. On March 1 the contract was terminated, and $9,000 was owed on the contract at that time. It was paid in two increments, one on April 9 and one on June 5. The only service that this contractor may have performed for us in 1980 was a one state poll, the results of which would be privileged in any case. It further appears only after termination of the contract with us did this consultant become involved with another committee, a matter over which we would have no control. We have no knowledge of what this firm surveyed or what polls it conducted for FCM or NCPAC.

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee

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On or about February 22, 1980, the Committee took possession of a memory typewriter owned by NCPAC. For a period of time, it was uncertain whether the Committee would purchase this machine or lease it, and what the terms of the transaction were to be. The Committee finally agreed to buy the machine and paid for it on July 1, 1980, which expenditure was timely reported to you.

The RtB cites three individuals, Mr. Stan Huckaby, Senator Harrison Schmitt and Mrs. Anna Chennault, as possible "connections" with an independent expenditure group.

Stan Huckaby

Mr. Huckaby has never been employed by the Reagan campaign. His position as treasurer of the Baker campaign naturally precluded his having any contact with the Reagan campaign during the primary period.

After Senator Baker withdrew, with outstanding debts to be paid, Mr. Huckaby became treasurer of the Unity Committee, created to raise funds to pay off the debts of those who had sought the nomination, and whose sole function revolved around the Unity Dinner effort. Mr. Huckaby set up the accounting systems for the Unity Dinner, and consulted with Bay Buchanan, the Reagan for President treasurer solely on the subject of how, if at all, this event would effect our reporting.

We are advised by the RNC that Mr. Huckaby is a tenant of the RNC, for whom he also works, on a per job basis. It is our understanding that he has no contact with executive or managerial RNC people save the Comptroller's office. We understand he also sets up accounting systems for other Republican affiliates.

Mr. Huckaby has had no contact or discussions with our staff at any level with the exception of the above noted consultation with Bay Buchanan, and two or three conversations with me concerning the establishment of the Unity Committee, all of which took place before June of 1980.

Harrison Schmitt

We are unaware of any contacts, correspondence, or disussions of any kind between Senator Schmitt and any Reagan Bush people subsequent to the formation of Americans for Change. Since the filing of this action, we have become aware that Senator Schmitt is on the RNC Economic Advisory Panel. Its function and his participation therein are unknown to us.

Anna Chennault

Mrs. Chennault was informally asked by Senator Paul Laxalt, our Chairman, sometime in the late Spring, if she would serve as Chairman for Nationalities, to which she agreed. Shortly thereafter, she was out of the country for a month, and during her absence, when her office received a request that she serve on a

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committee of AFC, her secretary assumed it was the same group, and allowed the inclusion of Mrs. Chennault's name. Upon her return, Mrs. Chennault advised Americans for Change by telephone that she could not serve.

Mrs. Chennault reports that she never attended any meetings held any conversations with the organizers or officers of AFC, nor, made any contributions to AFC. On July 15th Mrs. Channault was officially appointed Chairman for Nationalities of the Reagan Committee. At my request, as Reagan Bush Chief Counsel, Mrs. Chennault formalized her resignation from AFC by letter on July 22, 1980.

Footnote 4 on page 5 refers to a letter of AFC dated July 13, 1980 (before George Bush became the Vice presidential candidate) for an AFC fundraiser to be held in Houston on the 19th The letter does not suggest that Reagan would attend the event, as he did not. Only the fact that Ambassador Bush had become the Vice Presidential candidate in the intervening days caused Reagan to go to Houston on the 19th. Only by acting in concert with AFC could this coincidence have been avoided.

I hope that the additional information provided, together with the attached invoices will provide you with the basis for a dtermination that this matter should be promptly dismissed.

Sincerely yours,

Loren A. Smith

Loren A. Smith
Chief Counsel,
Reagan Bush Committee

cc: Marcia Gentner, Esq.

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3014

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	:	
	:	
REAGAN GENERAL ELECTION COMMITTEE et al.	:	MUR 1252
	:	

MOTION TO MODIFY SUBPOENA AND INTERROGATORIES, AND TO ACCEPT MATERIALS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED; MOTION FOR CONSIDERATION OF MOTION FILED OUT OF TIME

The Reagan Bush Committee, designated by you as the Reagan General Election Committee, applies to the Federal Election Commission to modify the subpoena and interrogatories received October 6, 1980, and to consider this motion although filed out of time; as reasons therefor states:

1. The scope of the discovery sought improperly exceeds, pursuant to 2 USC 437g(2), the scope of the matters on which the Commission found reason to believe a violation had or would occur, and much of the information and documentation requested is irrelevant to this matter.

2. The Reagan Bush Committee is unable to comply with the breadth of documents required to be produced under the subpoena in the time allowed, because it is without sufficient resources to comply while carrying on the campaign, since assembling the materials, and debriefing every person involved with the campaign would disrupt the campaign activity.

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3. The Reagan Bush Committee is unable to comply with the requirements imposed by the subpoena and interrogatories without engaging in conduct that may be deemed in violation of the law.

4. The Reagan Bush Committee is unable to comply because some of the information requested is privileged.

5. The Reagan Bush Committeee is unable to comply since some of the material called for is not gathered or retained by the Committee.

6. To comply would abridge the First Amemndemnt rights of Reagan Bush Committee.

7. The late receipt of the subpoena directed to Patrick McCartan, Esq., of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue who forwarded it to us with a cover letter dated October 6, 1980, has caused us to be out of time in applying for modification. Not knowing further correspondence on this matter was forthcoming from the Commission, we had failed to advise the FEC that such matters were now being handled internally.

The Reagan Bush Committee does submit the information in the supporting Memorandum and the documents listed in Exhibit A attached hereto in response.

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WHEREFORE, the Reagan Bush Committee applies to the Commission to modify its subpoena and interrogatories to the extent that the material supplied (as listed in Exhibit A) is determined to be sufficient response to the request, and to consider this motion although filed out of time.

Loren A. Smith
Chief Counsel,
Reagan Bush Committee

Mary Lee Garfield,
Deputy Counsel,
Reagan Bush Committee
901 S Highland Street
Arlington, VA 22204
703-685-3810

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EXHIBIT A

LIST OF EXHIBITS

A. Copy of RFP check made payable to NCPAC for payment of a memory typewriter.

B. Copies of mailings #11, #12, #13, #14, #16, #17.

C. 1980 invoices of Wiland and Associates.

D. 1980 invoices of Art J. Finkelstein & Associates.

E. List of employees and consultants from January 1 to date.

F. List of fundraising events.

G. List of pollsters and media buyers.

H. Ruth Jones Contract Termination.

I. Anna Chennault letter to AFC of July 22, 1980.

J. Charts.

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BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	:	
	:	
REAGAN GENERAL ELECTION COMMITTEE et al.	:	MUR 1252

MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF RESPONDENT'S
MOTION TO MODIFY SUBPOENA AND
INTERRORGATORIES, AND TO ACCEPT
MATERIALS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED

INTRODUCTION

The Commission, after a finding of reason to believe the Reagan General Election Committee, hereafter Reagan for President Committee if the reference is pre-convention, or Reagan Bush Committee if the reference is post-convention, has or will violate 2 USC 441a(f) and 26 USC 9012(b)(1) issued a subpoena and interrogatories of such sweeping scope that the campaign would cease to be a campaign if the manpower required to produce what has been requested was put to that task.

To produce every piece of paper that relates to any of the questions posed would require us to move our offices into yours, in the last weeks of the campaign.

In accord with the intention of the federal election laws, we object to the scope of the inquiry, and submit those materials relating to items which the Comission has found reason to believe may violate the Act.

ARGUMENT

The Subpoena and Interrogatories
Impermissibly Exceed the Areas of Inquiry
Deemed 'Relevant' by the Commission
In Its Reason to Believe Findings

2 USC 437g(a)(2) authorizes the Commission, after a finding of reason to believe a person has or will violate the provisions of this Act, to investigate "such alleged, violations"

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In the Rtb Notification, the Commission stated:

> The evidence contained in the complaint that is put forth below represents only that evidence which the General Counsel's Office has found relevant to a determination of whether or not there is reason to believe ...
>
> Notification of Reason to Believe
> (emphasis added)

"Relevant" is not defined in the Act or the Regulations, but in a discovery context, the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure provides the broadest of definitions:

> Parties may obtain discovery regarding any matter, not privileged, which is relevant to the subject matter in the pending action.....
>
> 26(b)(1) FRCP, (emphasis added)

The Commission has found to be relevant in this action, only the following:

1. That FCM and the Reagan for President Committee used three vendors in common.

2. That NCPAC and the Reagan for President Committee used two vendors in common.

3. That FCM and NCPAC used Arthur Finkelstein and Associates after the Reagan for President Committee had used that entity.

4. That the Reagan for President Committee bought a memory typrewriter from NCPAC.

5. That three individuals reported to be associated with AFC were also involved with the Unity Committee (Huckaby), the RNC (Schmitt) and the Reagan Bush Committee (Chennault).

It therefore follows that the only documents that can be subpoened or interrogatories posed are those limited to:

a. The Reagan for President contracts with the suspect vendors.

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2. An explanation of the work done for the Reagan for President Committee and the time frame of the Finkelstein contract.

3. A satisfactory explanation of the typewriter purchase.

4. With regard to the three individuals:

a. Since two of them are not connected with the Reagan Committee, only the Reagan Committee contacts with those persons; and,
b. Mrs. Chennault's contacts with AFC.

It is argueably unreasonable to require th Reagan Bush Committee to move what amounts to the entire conents of its Headquarters into the offices of the Federal Election Commission for the last two weeks of the campaign.

II

Present Personnel is Insufficient
To Gather the Information Sought, and
Present Personnel Cannot be Diverted From
Campaign Activities To Be Debriefed on
Their Telephone Calls and Other Contacts
From January 1, 1980, Most of Which
Do Not Relate to the RtB Finding.

The Commission can take notice of the fact that the last weeks of a general election campaign can be reasonably characterized as hectic.

To assemble the alphabetical list of employees, (Item E of Exhibits attached) required a large number of man-hours and the cooperation of several divisions within the campaign, to the detriment of the activites which would ordinarily require their full time attention.

If each employee were to respond to the information requested in the subpoena, the campaign would be paralysed for days, and such a burden placed upon the campaign of one of the contestants would be an unfair one when time is at such a premium.

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III.

The Reagan Bush Campaign Runs the Risk of Violating the Election Laws If it Seeks the Information Requested, As Soliciting the Information May Result in Contacts With Those We May Not Consult

Some of the committess named in the subpoena are unknown to us, and thus are not authorized committees, some commercial entities are known to us, and have done work for us in the past. We do not know if such entities are employed by independant committees now. While, as we stipulate, we have extensive connections with the RNC, we do not monitor every activity of their hundreds of employees. We are in constant contact with their legal department and are confident that they are in compliance with the law. In all instances, we do not feel we have an affirmative burden to explore the past history of our employees or vendors.

In the case of our mailings, (Item B), we rented the mailing list on a one-shot basis. We do not own the list, and therefore cannot provide it. We do not know to what use it was put before or after our use. It should be noted that our use of these vendors was apparently prior to the use of these vendors by others. We cannot determine, except by prohibited contacts whether this is, in fact, the case.

We belive we have taken every reasonable precaution to avoid even the appearance of a violation, but we also urge that this Committee can not be held responsible for the acts of others, or be required to police others, when the mere policing would result in the appearance of violation.

IV.

Poll Results Are Privileged, and the Committee Cannot Be Expected to Provide Poll Results From An Uncertain Time in the Past to Today

The subpoena calls for all poll and survey results which relate to the candidate's primary or general election taken at any time up to the present. This is so egregiously overbroad, without definition of "survey" as to seem a mockery, when the 'Voter Identification' programs are taken into consideration. In any event, we assert that these results are subject to privilege. We have provided the name of our pollster. (Item G)

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V.

This Committee Does Not Record Incoming Telephone Calls, Require Employment Histories, or Prepare Minutes of Every Meeting

This Committee has never required those using its telephones to record every incoming or outgoing call that was made. We have no system for filing or retention of telephone memos. Employment histories are not a condition of employment.

In order to complete what must be done in the campaign period, time and money do not permit that minutes or each meeting or discussion be kept. We believe very few political committee keep such minutes.

The Committee believes it is unrealistic for the FEC to expect that any political committee could provide such infomration, or function if it were to compile such information.

VI.

The First Amendment Precludes the Requirement That Such Broad Discovery Be Granted About the Activites of Private Citizens Pursuing Their Right of Free Speech and Association

See our brief filed in CA 80-1609, Common Cause, et al.v. Harrison Schmitt et al.(in which we were intervening defendants), p. 10 et seq.

VII.

(1) In the light of the forgoing Argument, with respect to the subpoena, we are producing no documents regarding Request Number 1. The Reagan Bush Committee and its predecessor committees stipulate that it has had and continues to have extensive meetings, discussion and consultation with the Republican National Committee, with its own authorized committees, with Anna Chennault and with Stuart Spencer.

(2) With regard to Subpoena Request Number 2, the response of the Reagan Bush Committee to the Rtb included the invoices for Diversified Direct, Telepost and Tri-State. Item "C" is the Wiland invoices, Item B are the "product" produced by the joint effort of those vendors, as shown on the invoices.

Arthur Finkelstein is also dealt with in the RtB response, and Item "D" are the related invoices.

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(3) See Item H.

(4) See Item A and response to RtB.

(5) We do not record incoming phone calls.

(A) See Itms E, G and J; our present media buyers are:

1. SFM Media Corp, 1180 Ave. of the Americas, NYC
2. D'Arcy-MacMannus and Masius, 360 Madison Ave., NYC.
3. Yardang Consultant Servies, One Romania Plaza, San Antonio, TX

(B) See Item A and response to RtB.

(C) See Item I and response to RtB.

(D) We do not respond to D since you omitted D.

(E) No response

(F) See Item F.

(G)

Wherefore, the Reagan Bush Committee, by its Chief Counsel, Loren Smith, submits the forgoing, and certifies that the answers given and the document produced are true and genuine, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Loren A. Smith
Chief Counsel,
Reagan Bush Committee

Mary Lee Garfield,
Deputy Counsel,
Reagan Bush Committee
901 S Highland Street
Arlington, VA 22204
702-685-3810

8304042303 8

July 22, 1980

The Honorable
Harrison Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

At the Republican convention in Detroit, Chairman Bill Brock and legal advisor of Reagan Committee again urged me to resign from your committee. Our responsibility is to win the election for Reagan and Bush. Since I am officially serving as Chairwoman for Nationalities for Reagan, I have to resign from your organization.

I do hope you understand. However, I continue to serve and make contributions and raise money not only for the Eagles, but also for the Senatorial Trust, as well as the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Good luck to all your good work.

Warmest regards,

Anna Chennault

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I

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
Americans for Change, et al.) MUR 1252

COMMISSION ORDER

The motion of the Americans for Change to rescind the Commission's findings of reason to believe and to quash the Commission order to produce documents and materials and answer questions is denied. The staff of the Office of General Counsel is directed to take all necessary and proper steps to insure compliance with the requests contained in the Order.

Date

Max Friedersdorf, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

Attest:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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Attachment II

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

DENIAL OF MOTIONS TO RESCIND THE COMMISSION'S FINDING OF REASON TO BELIEVE AND QUASH THE COMMISSION'S SUBPOENA AND ORDER

The Federal Election Commission hereby denies the Motion of Americans for Change to Rescind the Commission's findings of reason to believe violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act have occurred and to Quash the Commission's Order to Produce Documents and Materials and to Answer Questions.

Max Friedersdorf
Chairman

John W. McGarry
Vice Chairman

Thomas E. Harris
Commissioner

Joan D. Aikens
Commissioner

Frank P. Reiche
Commissioner

Robert O. Tiernan
Commissioner

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Jan Baran, Esquire
Baker & Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Baran:

The Commission has received the Motion to Rescind the Commission's findings of reason to believe and to quash its subpoena to produce documents and materials and its order to answer written questions, filed by you on behalf of Americans for Change ("AFC"). The Commission reviewed and considered the motions and affidavits submitted in support thereof and on November , 1980, voted to deny AFC's motions and to decline to accept the affidavits submitted as a substitute for a full compliance with the Commission subpoena and order. 1/ A copy of the Commission's denial order is enclosed.

Accordingly, AFC is requested to produce for inspection and copying the documents previously described in the Commission's October 1, 1980 subpoena, at Room 706, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on November , 1980, and all subsequent business days thereafter required to complete inspection. Answers to the written questions propounded by the Commission subpoena must be submitted to the above address within ten (10) days of your receipt of this letter.

1/ In this regard, however, it should be noted that AFC's response that it commissioned no polls will suffice as a response to the Commission document request #5.

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With respect to compliance with the Commission's previously issued subpoena and order, we direct your attention to the specific directions for proper compliance set out in the paragraph preceeding the document requests on page three of the subpoena sent to Americans for Change.

If you have any questions or problems, please contact Ms. Patricia F. Bak, the staff attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 523-4060.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Commission Order

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 24, 1980

Jan Baran, Esquire
Baker & Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 1299

Dear Mr. Baran:

Enclosed please find a copy of the letter and complaint mailed to Senator Harrison H. Schmitt, Chairman of the Americans for Change, on October 2, 1980.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosures

8304042304

GCC 3059

COVINGTON & BURLING
888 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

TELEPHONE
(202) 452-6000

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER
(202) 452-6418

TWX: 710-822-0005
TELEX: 89-593
CABLE: COVLING

Copy (orig. in 1252

HAND DELIVER

October 21, 1980

Marsha Gentner, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MURs 1252 and 1299

Dear Ms. Gentner:

I would like to request an extension of time to respond to MUR 1299 and to comment further on the issues concerning 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) in MUR 1252 until November 14.

As I indicated to you in my letter of October 3, 1980, I have been in trial before the United States District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma since September 8. Opposing counsel did not begin their case in chief until October 14, and their first witness has not yet completed his testimony. There is obviously no possibility that the trial will conclude before October 24. I trust that you will notify me if there is any problem with granting the extension requested.

Sincerely yours,

John R. Bolton /af

John R. Bolton

(Dictated but not read by
Mr. Bolton)

0 OCT21 A10:10

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 23, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

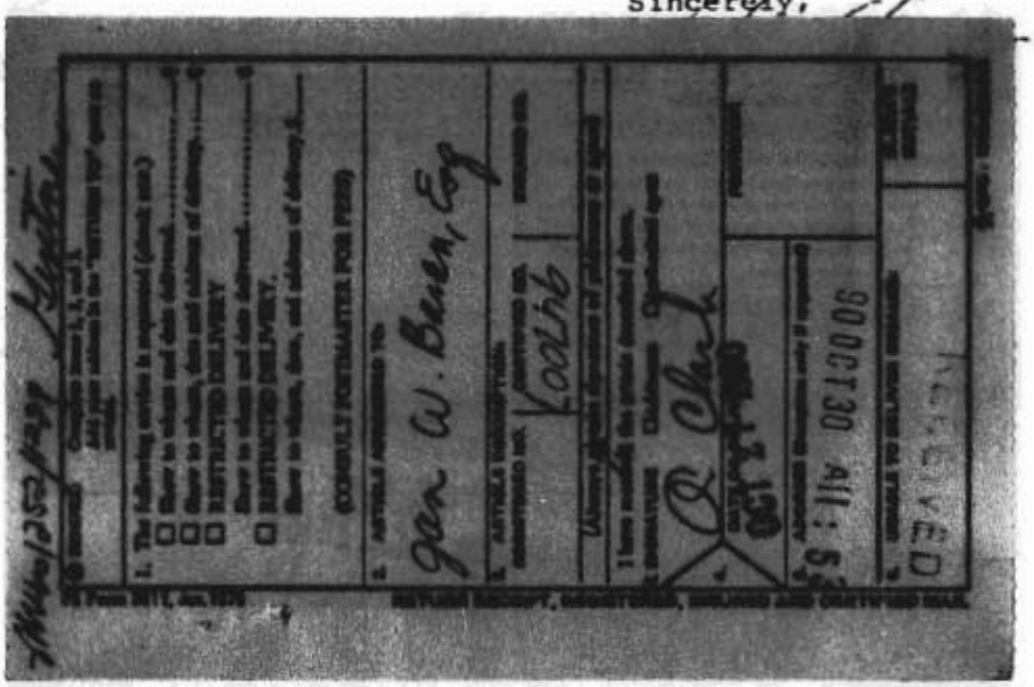
Re: MUR 1252 and MUR 1299

Dear Mr. Baran:

On September 25, 1980 you were notified of the Commission's findings concerning your client, Americans for Change (AFC), with respect to the complaint filed by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee and captioned MUR 1252. On September 29, 1980 the Commission received a complaint filed by Common Cause against your client, and a copy of that complaint was mailed to AFC. This letter is to further notify you that on October 15, 1980, the Commission voted to merge the complaint in MUR 1299 with MUR 1252, and to treat it as a single investigatory matter.

If you have any questions with respect to this or any other Commission action, please call Marsha G. Gentner, Anne A. Weissenborn, or Patricia F. Bak at (202) 523-5071.

Sincerely,



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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 1252 and MUR 1299

Dear Mr. Baran:

On September 25, 1980 you were notified of the Commission's findings concerning your client, Americans for Change (AFC), with respect to the complaint filed by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee and captioned MUR 1252. On September 29, 1980 the Commission received a complaint filed by Common Cause against your client, and a copy of that complaint was mailed to AFC. This letter is to further notify you that on October 15, 1980, the Commission voted to merge the complaint in MUR 1299 with MUR 1252, and to treat it as a single investigatory matter.

If you have any questions with respect to this or any other Commission action, please call Marsha G. Gentner, Anne A. Weissenborn, or Patricia F. Bak at (202) 523-5071.

Sincerely,

MGG
10/22/80

8304042307

HAND DELIVERED

RECEIVED
GCC# 3011
80 OCT 17 P4:26

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELECOPIER (202) 857-0050

IN CLEVELAND, OHIO
3200 NATIONAL CITY CENTER
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8378

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
500 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-1572

October 17, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

Enclosed are the executed affidavits of Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis and J. Stan Huckaby. These documents have been previously submitted without signatures in conjunction with the Motion to Quash Subpoena and to Reconsider Finding of Reason to Believe filed by this office on October 10, 1980, on behalf of Americans For Change ("AFC"), respondent in Matter Under Review ("MUR") 1252.

I wish to take this opportunity to clarify two matters that I discussed in my letter to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") dated October 1, 1980, regarding MUR 1252. First, I stated that AFC had not received from either the complainant or the FEC a July 21, 1980, "supplement" filed by the complainant. Although AFC to this date has not received a notice from the FEC with respect to the "supplement," a copy of that document had been delivered to AFC headquarters in Alexandria, Virginia, by the complainant. I orally informed your associate, Mr. Lawrence Noble, of this fact on October 2, 1980, when this discrepancy came to my attention.

Second, I stated in my letter that Senator Harrison Schmitt has not attended any meeting of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council. As Senator Schmitt swears in the enclosed affidavit, he attended one meeting of this organization in 1978. I learned of this fact subsequent to my letter of October 1.

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Neither factual clarification in any way affects the legal arguments that I have made to the FEC. However, I feel compelled to bring this to the FEC's attention in order that the entire record is accurate. I apologize for any inconvenience that this may have caused.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

Encl.

cc: Senator Harrison Schmitt
Honorable Max Friedersdorf
Honorable John McGarry
Honorable Joan Aikens
Honorable Thomas Harris
Honorable Frank Reiche
Honorable Robert Tiernan

3304042304

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)
	)	

AFFIDAVIT

)
) ss:
)

Carl T. Curtis for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC") and have served in this capacity since its organization.

3. As Treasurer I am responsible for the books, records and accounts of AFC. I have knowledge of all funds received, expenditures made and accounts maintained by AFC.

4. AFC has only one checking account into which all receipts are placed and from which all expenditures are made.

5. Any checks that are made out to "Reagan for President in '80" are endorsed by AFC and deposited in AFC's checking account. There is no separate checking account in the name of "Reagan for President in '80."

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6. Harrison H. Schmitt or I must sign any check drawn on AFC's checking account.

7. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

8. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

Carl T. Curtis

Carl T. Curtis

Subscribed and sworn before me this 16th day of October, 1980.

LEIGH SNOW GENERAL NOTARY COMMISSION EXPIRES JULY 28, 1981 STATE OF NEBRASKA

Leigh Snow

Notary Public

My Commission expires:

7/28/81

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

State of New Mexico) ss:

Harrison H. Schmitt for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Chairman and one of the organizers of Americans For Change ("AFC"), a political committee registered in that name with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. The only offices of AFC are located at 218 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. AFC's telephone number is (703) 683-0304.

3. AFC has made and intends to make independent expenditures in support of the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and intends to make contributions to other candidates for federal office. AFC is duly incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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4. Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis and Brad O'Leary are the founders of AFC.

5. Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Members of the Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. As Chairman of AFC, I have attended all meetings of the Executive Committee and no persons other than the members listed above made decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC.

6. AFC has a Steering Committee which consists of 108 members nationwide who assist in fundraising for AFC.

7. Prior to becoming a member of the Executive or Steering Committee, each person must verify in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify that he or she: (1) is not and never has been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving or never has received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his agents or committees; (4) does not and has never held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan,

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his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view toward having an expenditure made.

8. All members of the Executive Committee and Steering Committees have provided such verification, which AFC's counsel has reviewed.

9. AFC has only one bank account. All checks issued by AFC are drawn from this account and must be signed by me or AFC Treasurer Carl T. Curtis. All independent expenditures made by AFC are made by check.

10. Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Steering Committee or Executive Committee. She refused to submit written verification as described in paragraph 7 and, therefore, could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. Ms. Chennault is not and never has been authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC. Ms. Chennault has never attended any meetings or participated in any activities of AFC, including the making of independent expenditures. Ms. Chennault did not participate in founding AFC.

11. Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC and custodian of its records. His sole activity in relation to AFC is and has been to prepare the financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Mr. Huckaby is not a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. He does not and has not attended meetings of either group. Mr. Huckaby is neither permitted to make decisions

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or participate in discussions regarding independent expenditures or to sign checks for such expenditures. Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make expenditures on behalf of AFC.

12. In 1978 I agreed to become a member of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council ("RNC Advisory Council"). I attended one meeting of the RNC Advisory Council in 1978. I am not and never have been an officer of the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received any information from this group regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. To my knowledge, this group has never advised Reagan, his committees or agents. I am not and never have been an RNC Committeeman.

13. AFC's Executive Committee has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls regarding the 1980 presidential election, apart from results published in newspapers or periodicals. AFC's Executive Committee has not obtained such information from Reagan, his committees or agents.

14. AFC has not expended any funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC.

15. AFC does not use and has never used the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate in its name. All materials used for the solicitation of funds for AFC contain

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the notice: "Paid for by Americans For Change, Not Authorized by Any Candidate." "Reagan for President in '80" is a fund-raising project of AFC. It is not part of AFC's name. It is not a separate organization or committee or held out to be such in any AFC communication. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account. All checks received by AFC, including those made payable to "Reagan for President in '80" are deposited in AFC's only checking account. All AFC expenditures are made from this same account.

16. AFC has held fundraisers. In each instance AFC has made it clear that the fundraiser was sponsored by AFC. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees.

17. The Executive Committee makes all decisions regarding expenditures for communications in support of Ronald Reagan. The Executive Committee then selects a media or print professional to prepare the communication. Prior to selecting such a professional, the Executive Committee requires him or her to verify in writing that he or she complies with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditure as described in paragraph 7. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

18. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his authorized campaign committees including

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their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers.

19. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

20. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

21. AFC's Executive Committee has never received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs from Reagan or his agents or campaign committees. AFC's Executive Committee has never received a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding any AFC expenditures.

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Harrison H. Schmitt

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15 day of October, 1980.

Dorothy Butt
Notary Public

My commission expires:

Jan. 5, 1981

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change) MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia) ss:

Stan Huckaby for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Assistant Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC"). My only services and activities in relation to AFC are to maintain the books and financial records of AFC and to assist in preparation of reports to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC and have never attended or participated in any meetings of either group.

4. I do not authorize or have the power, express or implied, to authorize expenditures of AFC.

5. I served as Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee for the sole purpose of raising

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funds to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign. I was the treasurer of the Howard Baker campaign, which had one of the largest primary campaign debts to be liquidated. My agreement to serve as the Unity Committee Treasurer was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursements from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees.

6. My only contacts with Ronald Reagan, his agents or campaign committees were two meetings with Ms. Bay Buchanan, the Treasurer of the Reagan campaign to discuss the Unity dinner and accounting. I had previously been introduced to Ms. Buchanan at a seminar sponsored by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants in early 1980. At these meetings I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign. These meetings occurred before the Republican National Convention and the nomination of Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate for president. Since the meetings described herein, I have had no contact whatsoever with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his campaign committees.

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7. Apart from my duties as the Unity Committee Treasurer, I have no authority, express or implied, from Ronald Reagan, his agents or authorized political committees to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, nor have I ever held myself out or have I ever been held out by Ronald Reagan or his agents as having such authority. As described in paragraphs 5 and 6 herein, my position with the Unity Committee is not a position with the Reagan campaign organization which creates the appearance that I have authority to make expenditures on behalf of Reagan.

8. I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs.

Stan Huckaby

Stan Huckaby

Subscribed and sworn before me this 14th day of October, 1980.

Ruth V. Millard

Notary Public

My comission expires:

[illegible]

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DOCKET 04:2

BAKER & HOSTETLER
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

HAND DELIVERED

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTENTION: Ms. Marsha Genter

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BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELECOPIER (202) 857-0050

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CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8378

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
800 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861- 1531

October 10, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Steele:

Enclosed is a Motion to Quash the Subpoena served on Americans For Change ("AFC") by the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") on October 3, 1980 and a Motion For Reconsideration of the FEC's finding of reason to believe that AFC has violated certain provisions of the federal election laws. Also, AFC proffers certain information to the FEC concerning its finding of reason to believe and its subpoena. Attached to the above-mentioned motion are the affidavits of Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis, Jan W. Baran and J. Stan Huckaby. The affidavits of Messrs. Schmitt, Huckaby and Curtis are unsigned. They have been read to and approved by the above-mentioned individuals but because of travel commitments they are not executed. Signed affidavits will be filed with the FEC early next week.

Very truly yours,

William H. Schweitzer

William H. Schweitzer

WHS:gh
Encls.

cc: Hon. Robert O. Tiernan
Hon. Frank P. Reiche
Hon. Thomas E. Harris
Hon. Joan D. Aikens
Hon. John W. McGarry
Hon. Max L. Friedersdorf

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

MOTION TO QUASH SUBPOENA AND TO RECONSIDER FINDING OF REASON TO BELIEVE

Comes now Americans For Change ("AFC") by its counsel Baker & Hostetler and pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.15(a) moves the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") to quash the subpoena served on AFC's counsel on October 3, 1980. AFC also moves the FEC to reconsider its finding of reason to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) and 432(e)(4) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) on the basis of the affidavits and proffer of evidence submitted herein. As grounds for these motions AFC refers the FEC to the Memorandum of Points and Authorities and accompanying affidavits attached hereto and incorporated herein.

WHEREFORE, AFC prays that the FEC quash the subpoena issued herein, rescind its finding of reason to believe

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that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) and 432(e)(4) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and dismiss AFC as a respondent in Matter Under Review 1252 (80).

BAKER & HOSTETLER

By: _____

William H. Schweitzer
Jan W. Baran
Rebecca L. Jackson
818 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Counsel for Americans For Change

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)

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MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

I.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

On September 29, 1980 the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") notified Americans For Change ("AFC") of its determination that there is reason to believe that AFC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). By letter dated October 1, 1980, AFC responded to the FEC's notice by denying that AFC violated the above-designated provisions and offering to submit additional factual and legal material demonstrating the FEC's error in finding "reason to believe" that violations occurred.

On Friday, October 3, 1980, AFC received a subpoena from the FEC directing it to produce specified documents and answer written questions. The FEC seeks production of materials concerning communications between AFC and various organizations and individuals; the organizational and governing instruments of AFC; decisions of AFC to expend funds in support of Ronald Reagan; surveys or polls concerning the election of Ronald Reagan; AFC campaign materials prepared for Ronald Reagan or specified Reagan committees and the Republican National Committee ("RNC"); AFC materials containing materials prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC; solicitation of funds for AFC relating to the 1980 presidential campaign; and telephone calls to or from AFC. The FEC also seeks answers to interrogatories regarding individuals participating in the authorization of expenditures or the dissemination of materials in relation to the 1980 presidential campaign and their affiliations with other organizations; meetings of AFC prior to May 23, 1980; addresses and phone numbers used by AFC; fundraisers held by AFC in relation to the 1980 presidential election; and affiliations of AFC members and participants.

On the basis of legal and factual material submitted herewith, AFC submits that the subpoena is unnecessary, that the FEC should rescind its finding of "reason to believe"

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that AFC violated the federal election laws and that the FEC should dismiss respondent AFC from the Matter Under Review ("MUR") 1252 (80).

II.

ARGUMENT

A. The FEC Cannot Find Reason To Believe That AFC Has Violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) Since That Provision Has Been Adjudged Unconstitutional.

As the FEC is aware, a three-judge district court in an opinion by Circuit Judge Malcolm Richard Wilkey ruled that 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) is facially unconstitutional. Common Cause v. Schmitt, et al., Nos. 80-1609 and 80-1754, (D.D.C., decided, August 28, 1980) (three judge district court).[1/]

The Court held:

> Given our holdings that section 9012(f) is an expenditure restriction, and is, therefore, a powerful inhibition on political speech, we must strike down that section as it fails to survive the strict scrutiny required by the First Amendment. The compelling governmental interest to fight electoral corruption is insufficient, here as in Buckley, to justify what amounts to a direct limitation on political speech. Whereas a presidential candidate by accepting public funds may choose for him or herself to do without unlimited contributions and expenditures, the candidate's public supporters have a separate, protected right to express themselves, individually or jointly. This preserves free access and full participation in the public debate.

Id. slip op. at 22.

1/ The opinion was issued in these cases on September 30, 1980.

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Section 9012(f) is null and void. See, Norton v. Shelby County, 118 U.S. 425 (1886) recently cited in Gentry v. United States, 546 F.2d 343 (Ct. Cl. 1976) (unconstitutional statute void ab initio). The FEC cannot find reason to believe that AFC has violated Section 9012(f) by making excessive expenditures, whether they are "in-kind" or "independent." Nor can the FEC investigate alleged violations of the voided section. It should reconsider and rescind this determination and quash the subpoena as it relates to alleged violations of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f).

B. There Is No Reason To Believe That AFC Has Violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

Section 441a(a) of Title 2 United States Code prohibits contributions in excess of $1,000 to any candidate or his authorized political committees. Contributions for purposes of Section 441a(a) include "expenditures made by any person in cooperation, consultation or concert with, or at the request of a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents." 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i). However, contributions do not include independent expenditures. "Independent expenditure" is defined as "an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate,

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or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate." 2 U.S.C. 431(17). Section 109.1(a)(4) of the FEC's regulations state that:

> '[m]ade with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with or at the request or suggestion of a candidate or any agent or authorized committee or candidate' means - [a]ny arrangement, coordination or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display or broadcast of the communication.

11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i).

A presumption of such coordination may be raised when the expenditure is "[b]ased on information about the candidates' plans, projects or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward obtaining an expenditure made." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(A). A presumption also may exist if the expenditure is "[m]ade by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee or who is, or has been receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(B). An agent is defined as any person who has authority, express or implied, to make or authorize expenditures on behalf of a candidate or who holds a position in the candidate's campaign organization where it would reasonably appear that he has such authority. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(5).

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No expenditures have been made by AFC which can be construed or presumed to be contributions within the statutory or regulatory definitions. As the attached affidavits demonstrate, decisions to make expenditures are made only by members of AFC's Executive Committee. Affidavit of Harrison H. Schmitt ("Schmitt Affidavit") ¶ 5. The members of AFC's Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 5. AFC also has a Steering Committee which assists in fundraising for AFC.

All members of the Executive and Steering Committees are independent of the Reagan campaign. They have been carefully screened by AFC's counsel and such individuals have verified that they are not a past or present officer of an authorized committee, a person authorized, past or present, to raise funds or make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan or a person who has received any form of compensation from Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 7-8; Affidavit of Jan W. Baran ("Baran Affidavit") ¶¶ 4-5; Affidavit of Carl T. Curtis ("Curtis Affidavit) ¶ 7. All members of the Executive Committee and the Steering Committee have verified that they have never received information either directly or indirectly from Ronald Reagan, his agents or committees with a view toward having an expenditure made. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 7-8; Curtis Affidavit ¶ 8; Affidavit of Baran ¶¶4-5.

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No campaign materials have ever been made or disseminated which contain any materials prepared or used by Ronald Reagan or any of his committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 14. Prior to hiring their services, the Executive Committee requires all media and print professionals to verify in writing that they are independent of Ronald Reagan. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 17. AFC has commissioned no polls or surveys nor has it received such information from Reagan, his committees or agents. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 13. In short, no AFC expenditures have ever been made at the request or suggestion of Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents or as a result of or with the use of information or materials from Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 5-8; 13-18; 21.

The grounds that the FEC advances in support of its determination of AFC's non-independence are factually inaccurate and legally insufficient. First, Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Executive or Steering Committee; she never attended any meetings of either group; she is not and never has been authorized to make expenditures on behalf of AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 10. She did not participate in any way in the organization of AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 10. The Executive Committee has had no communications with Ms. Chennault regarding Ronald Reagan's projects, plans or needs. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 10.

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Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC. His sole activity in relation to AFC is to prepare the books and financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 11; Affidavit of Stan Huckaby ("Huckaby Affidavit") ¶ 2. He is not a member of either the Executive Committee or Steering Committee and has never attended meetings of these groups or made decisions or participated in discussions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 11; Huckaby Affidavit ¶ 3. He has no authority to authorize or make AFC expenditures. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 11; Huckaby Affidavit ¶ 4. Under the FEC's regulations a presumption of coordination does not arise since Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make AFC expenditures and, thus, no AFC expenditures are ever "made by or through him." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(A); Huckaby Affidavit ¶ 4. He has had no contact with Reagan or his agents since Reagan's nomination and has not received from Reagan or his agents any information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs. Huckaby Affidavit ¶¶ 6-8.

Senator Harrison H. Schmitt is a member of the RNC National Advisory Council, but does not and has never held office with or received compensation or reimbursement from this organization. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12. He has not attended any meetings of this group since 1978. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12. He has received no information from this

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group regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12. As far as he knows, this group has never advised Reagan, his agents or committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 12.

There is no factual or legal basis for finding reason to believe that AFC is making expenditures in cooperation, consultation or concert with or at the request of Reagan, his committees or agents. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a). AFC has no arrangement or coordination with and receives no direction from Reagan, his agents or committees. 11 C.F.R. 109.1(a)(4). No presumption of coordination is raised with respect to AFC expenditures. The affidavits clearly establish that no AFC expenditures are based on information about Reagan's plans, projects or needs. 11 C.F.R § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(4). No AFC expenditures are or ever have been made by or through any person who: (1) is an agent of Reagan; (2) has been compensated or received reimbursement from Reagan, his commitees or agents; or (3) has authority to raise funds or make expenditures on behalf of Reagan, his agents or committees. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a)(4)(i)(B). No expenditures are made by or through Ms. Chennault or Mr. Huckaby. Senator Schmitt and all other members of the Executive Committee are independent of the Reagan campaign. There is no factual or legal basis for finding reason to believe that AFC has violated Section 441a(a).

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C. AFC Has Not Violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

Section 432(e)(4) of Title 2 United States Code prohibits the use of the name of any candidate in the name of an unauthorized political committee. As the FEC well knows, AFC's name, as registered with the FEC, does not include the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate. AFC does not and has never used "Reagan" or any other candidate's name, as part of its own in any of its communications with the public or otherwise. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. "Reagan for President in '80" is not part of the name of AFC, nor is it the name of any sub-organization of AFC or held out to be as such in any AFC communications or materials. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. It is the title of a fundraising project undertaken by AFC. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account and all checks made payable to this project are deposited in AFC's account. Curtis Affidavit ¶ 5; Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. All communications regarding this project include the notice required by § 441d. Such a notice is included in the Schmitt letter referred to by the FEC and states that AFC and not any candidate is paying for the solicitation. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. There is no basis for a finding of a reason to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

D. The Subpoena Is Unnecessary and Should be Quashed.

The FEC should quash the subpoena served on AFC on October 3, 1980. The legal and factual materials submitted

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herein establish that there is no foundation for a finding that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) or 432(e)(4). The FEC cannot proceed on claims arising under 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) since that statute is void as facially unconstitutional.

The affidavits conclusively establish the independence of AFC expenditures in support of Reagan. As further support of this independence, AFC makes the following proffer in response to the subpoena:

1. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents or his authorized campaign committees, including their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 18. Materials regarding organizations and entities which are not agents or authorized committees of Ronald Reagan are not relevant to the alleged violations of Sections 441a(a) or 432(e)(4). 2 U.S.C. § 431(17).

2-3. AFC has provided information regarding its organization, policies and procedures in the affidavits submitted herewith.

4. The manner in which AFC makes decisions to expend funds is documented in the affidavits submitted herewith.

5. AFC has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls concerning the 1980 presidential election apart

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from results published in newspapers and weekly periodicals. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 13.

6-7. AFC has not expended funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan or his committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 14.

8. In soliciting funds AFC has at all times used its registered committee name as the entity paying for the solicitation. It has not used Ronald Reagan's name as part of its own. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15. It places all contributions in one account in the name of AFC from which all expenditures are made. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 15; Curtis Affidavit ¶¶ 4-5.

9. AFC has not communicated by telephone or otherwise with Reagan, his committees or agents regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 7-8; 18.

With respect to the interrogatories AFC makes the following proffer:

A. AFC has identified all persons who participate in decisions to expend funds. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 5. In preparing materials relating to the 1980 presidential campaign AFC uses professional print and media persons who must verify to AFC that they are independent of Ronald Reagan, his agents or committees prior to use of their services. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 17; Baran Affidavit ¶ 6.

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B-D. Names of persons who participated in AFC organizational discussions and the address and telephone number of AFC are provided in the affidavits submitted herewith. Schmitt Affidavit ¶¶ 4-5.

E. AFC has provided information regarding AFC's fundraisers. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 16. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees. Schmitt Affidavit ¶ 16.

F. The affidavits provided herewith establish that all members of AFC's Executive Committee and the professionals who assist in material preparation are independent of Reagan, his committees or agents. Other affiliations of these individuals are not relevant to the issue of coordination under section 441a(a) and disclosure of this information substantially infringes on the First Amendment freedoms of these members. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 14-15 (1976).

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III.

CONCLUSION

The legal and factual materials submitted herewith establish that AFC is not violating 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) or 432(e)(4). The FEC cannot proceed on complaints of violations of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) since that statute is void as unconstitutional. The FEC should rescind its finding of

reason to believe that AFC is in violation of the federal election laws, quash its subpoena as unnecessary and dismiss respondent AFC from MUR 1252 (80).

Respectfully submitted,

BAKER & HOSTETLER

By: _____

William H. Schweitzer
Jan W. Baran
Rebecca L. Jackson
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Counsel for Americans For Change

3304042307E

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

State of New Mexico) ss:

Harrison H. Schmitt for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Chairman and one of the organizers of Americans For Change ("AFC"), a political committee registered in that name with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. The only offices of AFC are located at 218 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. AFC's telephone number is (703) 683-0304.

3. AFC has made and intends to make independent expenditures in support of the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and intends to make contributions to other candidates for federal office. AFC is duly incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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4. Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis and Brad O'Leary are the founders of AFC.

5. Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Members of the Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. As Chairman of AFC, I have attended all meetings of the Executive Committee and no persons other than the members listed above made decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC.

6. AFC has a Steering Committee which consists of 108 members nationwide who assist in fundraising for AFC.

7. Prior to becoming a member of the Executive or Steering Committee, each person must verify in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify that he or she: (1) is not and never has been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving or never has received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his agents or committees; (4) does not and has never held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan,

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his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view toward having an expenditure made.

8. All members of the Executive Committee and Steering Committees have provided such verification, which AFC's counsel has reviewed.

9. AFC has only one bank account. All checks issued by AFC are drawn from this account and must be signed by me or AFC Treasurer Carl T. Curtis. All independent expenditures made by AFC are made by check.

10. Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Steering Committee or Executive Committee. She refused to submit written verification as described in paragraph 7 and, therefore, could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. Ms. Chennault is not and never has been authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC. Ms. Chennault has never attended any meetings or participated in any activities of AFC, including the making of independent expenditures. Ms. Chennault did not participate in founding AFC.

11. Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC and custodian of its records. His sole activity in relation to AFC is and has been to prepare the financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Mr. Huckaby is not a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. He does not and has not attended meetings of either group. Mr. Huckaby is neither permitted to make decisions

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or participate in discussions regarding independent expenditures or to sign checks for such expenditures. Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make expenditures on behalf of AFC.

12. In 1978 I agreed to become a member of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council ("RNC Advisory Council"). I attended one meeting of the RNC Advisory Council in 1978. I am not and never have been an officer of the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received any information from this group regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. To my knowledge, this group has never advised Reagan, his committees or agents. I am not and never have been an RNC Committeeman.

13. AFC's Executive Committee has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls regarding the 1980 presidential election, apart from results published in newspapers or periodicals. AFC's Executive Committee has not obtained such information from Reagan, his committees or agents.

14. AFC has not expended any funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC.

15. AFC does not use and has never used the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate in its name. All materials used for the solicitation of funds for AFC contain

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the notice: "Paid for by Americans For Change, Not Authorized by Any Candidate." "Reagan for President in '80" is a fund-raising project of AFC. It is not part of AFC's name. It is not a separate organization or committee or held out to be such in any AFC communication. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account. All checks received by AFC, including those made payable to "Reagan for President in '80" are deposited in AFC's only checking account. All AFC expenditures are made from this same account.

16. AFC has held fundraisers. In each instance AFC has made it clear that the fundraiser was sponsored by AFC. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees.

17. The Executive Committee makes all decisions regarding expenditures for communications in support of Ronald Reagan. The Executive Committee then selects a media or print professional to prepare the communication. Prior to selecting such a professional, the Executive Committee requires him or her to verify in writing that he or she complies with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditure as described in paragraph 7. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

18. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his authorized campaign committees including

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their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers.

19. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

20. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

21. AFC's Executive Committee has never received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs from Reagan or his agents or campaign committees. AFC's Executive Committee has never received a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding any AFC expenditures.

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_____

Harrison H. Schmitt

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ____ day of October, 1980.

_____

Notary Public

My commission expires:

_____

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)
	)	

AFFIDAVIT

)
) ss:
)

Carl T. Curtis for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC") and have served in this capacity since its organization.

3. As Treasurer I am responsible for the books, records and accounts of AFC. I have knowledge of all funds received, expenditures made and accounts maintained by AFC.

4. AFC has only one checking account into which all receipts are placed and from which all expenditures are made.

5. Any checks that are made out to "Reagan for President in '80" are endorsed by AFC and deposited in AFC's checking account. There is no separate checking account in the name of "Reagan for President in '80."

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6. Harrison H. Schmitt or I must sign any check drawn on AFC's checking account.

7. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

8. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

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_____
Carl T. Curtis

Subscribed and sworn before me this _____ day of October, 1980.

_____
Notary Public

My Commission expires:

_____

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)
	)	

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia	)	ss:

Jan W. Baran for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am a member of the District of Columbia Bar and the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. I was formerly executive assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am legal counsel for Americans For Change ("AFC") and have served in that capacity since the organization of AFC.

4. No person may become a member of AFC's Executive Committee or Steering Committee until he or she has verified in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify in writing that he or she: (1) is not and never has

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been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving and never has received any form of compensation or reimbursement from Ronald Reagan, his committees or agents; (4) does not hold and never has held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view towards having an expenditure made.

5. To facilitate the above-described review, each interested person is sent a questionnaire, a memorandum and a set of instructions, copies of which are attached hereto as Exhibits A, B and C. The memorandum explains that the questionnaire must be completed and reviewed by me prior to membership on the Steering or Executive Committee of AFC. The questionnaire is designed to verify that all members of the Steering and Executive Committee comply with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditures. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

6. Pursuant to my legal advice, AFC screens all print and media professionals prior to obtaining their services. This screening is done by requiring all such persons to verify in writing that they comply with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditures as described in paragraph 3. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

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7. Pursuant to my legal advice, Mr. Stan Huckaby is not and never has been permitted to make or otherwise participate in any decisions regarding the making of expenditures by AFC's Executive Committee. He is not and never has been a member of AFC's Executive or Steering Committee. Mr. Huckaby's service to AFC is and has always been limited to maintaining the books and accounts of AFC and preparing reports for filing with the FEC.

Jan W. Baran

Jan W. Baran

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of October, 1980.

Notary Public

My commission expires:
My Commission Expires April 30, 1984

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Exhibit A

QUESTIONS (Read instructions before completing)

1. Have you at any time been authorized to raise contributions for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

2. Have you at any time been authorized to expend funds for Governor Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

3. Have you at any time received any compensation or reimbursement from Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

4. Have you at any time rendered any voluntary services to Governor Reagan or his campaign committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

5. Have you at any time served as an officer of Governor Reagan's authorized committee with respect to his 1980 presidential campaign?

yes no

6. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents, provided you with any information about his campaign's plans, projects or needs with respect to the 1980 presidential election campaign?

yes no

7. Have Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents suggested to you or requested that you make independent expenditures on his behalf during the 1980 presidential elections?

yes no

8. Have you consulted with Governor Reagan, his campaign committee or any of his agents regarding independent expenditures before agreeing to participate in the activities of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE?

yes no

IF YOU HAVE RESPONDED "YES" TO ANY OF THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE EXPLAIN BRIEFLY ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

I, _____, have answered the
(print or type name)
above questions to the best of my knowledge and belief.

_____ _____

Date Signature

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Exhibit B

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steering Committee members

FROM: Sen. Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, Chairman

I appreciate your commitment to assist in our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

Under separate cover, I am sending to you a list of over 100 individuals such as yourself who have expressed to me their interest in serving on the Steering Committee of Americans for Change.

Our major project this fall will be to inform American voters about Governor Reagan and why he should be our next President. Any individual may contribute up to $5,000 to Americans for Change to help us get the message out. This includes individuals who may have contributed or worked for Governor Reagan in the primary. But as a Steering Committee member, I must ask you to fill out a questionnaire prepared by our counsel. The purpose of the questionnaire is to ascertain the nature of your previous activity on behalf of Governor Reagan, if any. Your affirmative response to one of these questions does not necessarily preclude your serving.

Our counsel, Jan Baran, of the firm of Baker & Hostetler and former Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission, will review your completed questionnaire. Please include your telephone number so that Mr. Baran may reach you if necessary to discuss any of your responses.

Only those who have submitted completed questionnaires, received and approved by counsel, will be permitted to serve on the Steering Committee. So please return your questionnaire as quickly as possible to Americans for Change, 218 N. Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, VA 22314 (703) 683-0304.

Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate.

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Exhibit C.

INSTRUCTIONS

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE is a political committee not authorized by any candidate which will be making independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan for the 1980 presidential general election. The Federal Election Campaign Act and Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations require that these type of expenditures be made without cooperation or consultation with, and not in concert or at the request or suggestion of Governor Reagan, his authorized committee or his agents. In order to ensure that expenditures are made independent of Governor Reagan or his authorized campaign, all officers and personnel of AMERICANS FOR CHANGE are requested to fill out this questionnaire prior to their involvement in making such expenditures. This document will be reviewed by the committee's counsel and retained with the committee's records.

The term "agent" as used in this questionnaire means any person who has actual oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of Governor Reagan, or means any person who has been placed in a position within the Reagan campaign where it would reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia) ss:

Stan Huckaby for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Assistant Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC"). My only services and activities in relation to AFC are to maintain the books and financial records of AFC and to assist in preparation of reports to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC and have never attended or participated in any meetings of either group.

4. I do not authorize or have the power, express or implied, to authorize expenditures of AFC.

5. I served as Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee for the sole purpose of raising

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funds to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign. I was the treasurer of the Howard Baker campaign, which had one of the largest primary campaign debts to be liquidated. My agreement to serve as the Unity Committee Treasurer was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursements from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees.

6. My only contacts with Ronald Reagan, his agents or campaign committees were two meetings with Ms. Bay Buchanan, the Treasurer of the Reagan campaign to discuss the Unity dinner and accounting. I had previously been introduced to Ms. Buchanan at a seminar sponsored by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants in early 1980. At these meetings I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign. These meetings occurred before the Republican National Convention and the nomination of Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate for president. Since the meetings described herein, I have had no contact whatsoever with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his campaign committees.

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7. Apart from my duties as the Unity Committee Treasurer, I have no authority, express or implied, from Ronald Reagan, his agents or authorized political committees to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, nor have I ever held myself out or have I ever been held out by Ronald Reagan or his agents as having such authority. As described in paragraphs 5 and 6 herein, my position with the Unity Committee is not a position with the Reagan campaign organization which creates the appearance that I have authority to make expenditures on behalf of Reagan.

8. I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs.

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_____
Stan Huckaby

Subscribed and sworn before me this __ day of October, 1980.

_____
Notary Public

My comission expires:

_____

BAKER & HOSTETLER
[illegible] CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
[illegible], D.C. 20006

8 P 040423 0

Lawrence Noble, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

#2845

BAKER & HOSTETLER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 861-1500
TELECOPIER (202) 857-0050

IN CLEVELAND, OHIO
3200 NATIONAL CITY CENTER
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8378

IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
100 EAST BROAD STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 228-1541

IN DENVER, COLORADO
800 CAPITOL LIFE CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO 80203
(303) 861-0600

IN ORLANDO, FLORIDA
250 CNA TOWER
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32802
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-1572

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
80 OCT 1 PM 5: 25

October 1, 1980

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Madame & Sirs:

I am in receipt of your letter dated September 25, 1980. Pursuant to your suggestion in paragraph 2 of your letter, Americans For Change ("AFC") will submit additional factual and legal materials, which will demonstrate that the FEC erred in finding "reason to believe" that AFC contravened certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended ("Act") or Chapter 95 of Title 26 of the United States Code.

AFC strongly objects to the FEC's finding for the following reasons. First, the FEC has chosen to ignore the recent decision of a three-judge court which unanimously rejected the FEC's argument that 26 U.S.C. §9012(f) limits independent expenditures. FEC v. Americans For Change, No. 80-1754 (D.D.C. August 28, 1980) (three-judge court) (order granting summary judgment in favor of AFC and co-defendants). Notwithstanding the Court's order, the FEC has found that AFC, a party to the above-mentioned suit, may have made "excessive independent expenditures." Such a finding is in direct conflict with the order in FEC v. AFC and, therefore, there is no basis in law for the FEC's finding. Either the FEC has made an inadvertent error or it has decided not to abide by a judicial determination.

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Second, the FEC has not adhered to its own regulations or the Act, 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(1) and, therefore, has seriously affected the due process rights of AFC. The report that accompanied your letter of September 25 states that the FEC finding relating to the use of Governor Reagan's name was based on allegations made by complainants in a "July 21, 1980, supplement to their complaint." AFC has never received this "supplement" from either the complainant or the FEC. As I previously noted in my letter of July 31, 1980, 11 C.F.R. §111.5 requires the General Counsel to notify respondents of complaints filed with the FEC in order to afford respondents a bona fide opportunity to demonstrate that the FEC should take no action on the allegations. AFC has never been afforded such an opportunity with regards to allegations raised in the so-called "supplement" of July 21, 1980. This denial of due process renders the FEC's finding procedurally deficient. Furthermore the allegations are meritless, since Governor Reagan's name is not, and never has been used in AFC's committee name as is apparent from AFC's registration statement filed with the FEC and all notices contained in AFC literature pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §441d.

Finally, AFC has been, and will continue to be, independent of Governor Reagan and his campaign. As the FEC has already been informed, Ms. Anna Chennault is not and never has been a member of AFC's National Steering Committee, nor of AFC's Executive Committee, the group that makes AFC's expenditure decisions. Ms. Chennault has never been privy to any information about AFC's activities or plans regarding independent expenditures in support of Governor Reagan. She has never participated in any activities on behalf of AFC, including independent expenditures. With respect to Mr. Stan Huckaby, he is not and never has been a participant in any decisions made by AFC regarding any independent expenditures in support of Governor Reagan. Mr. Huckaby does not have the authority and in fact has never incurred any expenditures on behalf of AFC. All checks are signed by persons other than Mr. Huckaby. No independent expenditures are made by or through Mr. Huckaby. The report accompanying your letter also refers to Senator Harrison Schmitt, AFC's Chairman, who had been listed in 1979 as a member of a Republican

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National Committee Advisory Council. Senator Schmitt has not participated in the activities of the Advisory Council nor attended any of its meetings. He is not and never has been an officer of the Republican National Committee.

In conclusion, the FEC's action as described in your letter of September 25, 1980, is contrary to a decision of a three-judge panel of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, a serious denial of due process, and contrary to the facts. We demand immediate action by the FEC in dismissing all allegations against AFC, if not upon receipt of this letter then within 24 hours after the filing of additional factual and legal materials.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Baran

JWB:gh

cc: Senator Harrison Schmitt
Honorable Max Friedersdorf
Honorable John McGarry
Honorable Joan Aikens
Honorable Thomas Harris
Honorable Frank Reiche
Honorable Robert Tiernan

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BAKER & HOSTETLER
818 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

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Rec'd 5:35 p
10/10/83

HAND DELIVERED

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 1, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
BAKER & HOSTETLER
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: Matter Under Review (MUR) 1252(80)

Dear Mr. Baran

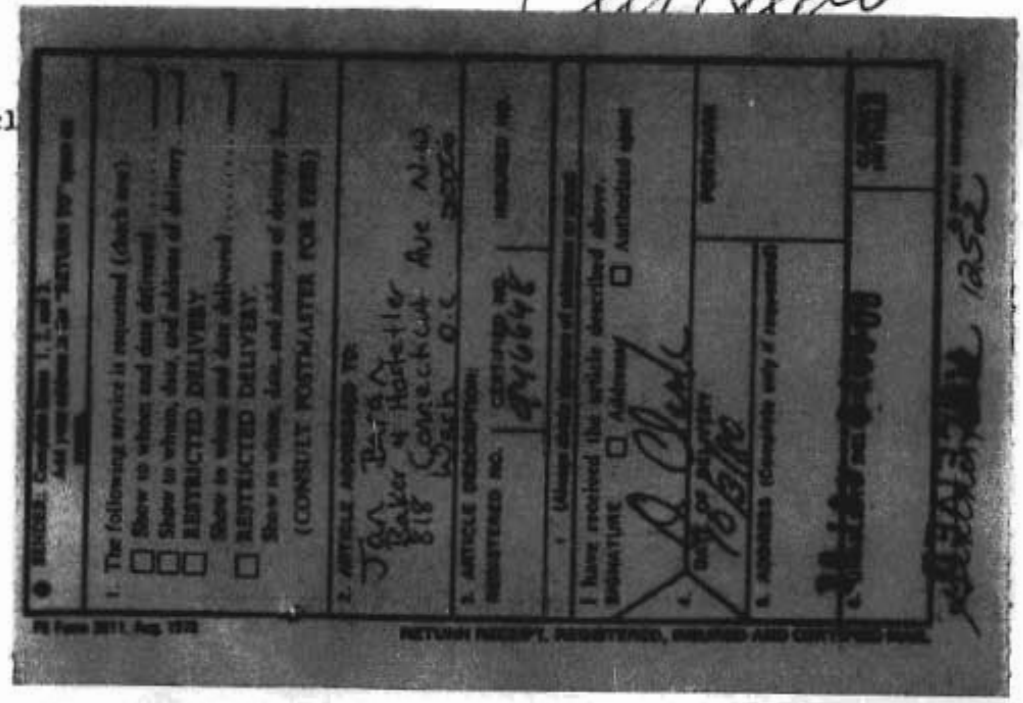
Enclosed is a subpoena to produce certain documents and materials and order to answer written questions issued by the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") to your client, Americans for Change.

The subpoena requires that production of specified documents be made at the time and place stated therein and that responses to the interrogatories be propounded to the Commission within ten (10) days of your receipt of the enclosed order.

If you have any questions, please contact staff attorney Ms. Marsha Gentner at (202) 523-5071 or Ms. Patricia F. Bak at (202) 523-4060.

Sincerely,

Encl



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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS
AND ORDER TO ANSWER WRITTEN QUESTIONS

TO:

Americans for Change
1225 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 1252

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At the instance of the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 437d(a)(1) and (3), the Americans for Change is hereby ordered to produce for inspection and copying all documents and materials listed below that are in the possession or control of Americans for Change or of its officers, agents, staff members, volunteers or employees. Production is to be made at the Office of General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission at 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on October 24, 1980, at 10:00 a.m. In addition, Americans for Change is hereby ordered to submit responses in writing and under oath to the interrogatories propounded herein, to the Federal Election Commission within ten (10) days of its receipt of this order.

As used in this subpoena, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

1. The term "documents and materials" shall mean the original, all copies, and drafts of writings of any kind, printed, audio, visual, or electronic materials including but not limited to correspondence, memoranda, reports, transcripts, minutes, pamphlets, leaflets, notes, letters, lists, telexes, telegrams, messages (including reports, notes memoranda and any other documentation of telephone conversations and conferences), calendar and diary entries, contracts, data, agendas, articles, visual aides, computer print-outs, account statements, billing forms, receipts, checks and other negotiable paper, solicitation materials, records and compilations in the possession, custody or control of the Americans for Change. Designated "documents and materials" are to be taken as including all attachments, enclosures and other documents that are attached to, relate to, or refer to such designated "documents and materials."

2. "Identify" with respect to individuals shall mean to give the full name, last known residence address of such individual, the last known place of business where such individual is or was employed, the title of the job or position held with the entity in question, and the dates of such service.

3. "Americans for Change" or "AFC" shall mean its predecessors, affiliates, committees, subcommittees; divisions, branches, projects, as well as any other bodies which conduct business on behalf of AFC, and its officers, agents, employees, staff, and volunteers.

4. Reagan General Election Committee shall mean the principal campaign committee (see 2 U.S.C. § 431(5)) of Ronald Reagan, the 1980 Republican nominee for the office of President, the committee's predecessors (including, but not limited to the Reagan for President Committee), affiliates, committees, subcommittees, divisions, branches, projects, as well as any other bodies which conduct business on its behalf, and its officers, agents, employees, staff and volunteers.

5. All references to the "FEC" shall mean the Federal Election Commission, its auditors, attorneys, and other employees.

6. "FEC Disclosure Reports" shall mean any reports filed by FCM with the FEC pursuant to the requirements of 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455.

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7. "Agent" shall mean any person who has actual, oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of a candidate; or any person who has been placed in a position within the campaign organization where it could reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(5).

8. "Organizer" with reference to a project or group, shall mean any person who has directly or indirectly participated in the formation, planning, structure or organizational of the project or group in question including, but not limited to, attendance or participation in any meetings, discussions or communications concerning the project or group from the period from January 1979 to the group or project's inception.

9. The term "concerning" with reference to a subject or object shall mean mentioning, discussing, or directly or indirectly regarding, referring, or relative in any way to that subject or object.

If any document called for herein is withheld under a claim of privilege or objection, please furnish a list identifying each such document for which the privilege or objection is claimed, together with the following information:

(a) a description of the subject matter;
(b) the date of the document;
(c) the name and title of the author;
(d) the name and title of the person to whom the document was addressed;
(e) the name and title of the person to whom the document was actually sent;
(f) the identity of any other person who read all or part of the document;
(g) the number of pages;
(h) the paragraph of this subpoena to which the document is otherwise responsive, and
(i) the nature of the claimed privilege or objection.

Please produce in their entirety the following:

1. All documents and materials concerning meetings, discussions, correspondence, or other communications between AFC and any of the of the following persons or organizations or their officials, employees,

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staff members, volunteers, organizers, or agents which relate in any way to the efforts of either AFC or the below listed organizations or individuals with respect to Ronald Reagan's nomination as the Republican candidate for President or Ronald Reagan's general election for President in 1980.

Republican National Committee
Reagan for President Committee
Reagan General Election Committee
Reagan-Bush Committee
Reagan for President Compliance Fund
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Anna Chennault
Stuart Spencer
Senator Jesse Helms
James Lake
Stan Huckaby

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2. All documents and materials concerning the formation, organization, planning, or undertaking of AFC.

3. All articles of incorporation, by-laws, rules, regulations procedural manuals, policy statements, governing instruments, or other documentaion of policies or procedures of AFC.

4. All documents and materials concerning or reflecting any AFC decisions to expend funds which would in any way further the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

5. A copy of any survey results, poll, or memoranda or report containing polling or survey information obtained by or on behalf of AFC concerning the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party or his general election for President in 1980. As to each survey, poll, memoranda or report, please note the source of, or the vendor responsible for, the survey, poll, memoranda or report and the date on which the survey, poll, memoranda or report was secured by AFC.

6. All documents and materials relating to any AFC expenditure of funds for the financing of the dissemination, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part, of any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of campaign materials prepared for Ronald Reagan, the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan General Election Committee, or the Reagan Bush-Committee, the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee, the Reagan for President Compliance Fund, or the Republican National Committee.

7. All documents and materials disseminated, or republished by AFC which contain, in whole or in part, any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of campaign materials prepared or

8304042310 6

used by Ronald Reagan, the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan General Election Committee, the Reagan-Bush Committee, the Reagan for President Compliance Fund, or the Republican National Committee.

8. All documents and materials concerning any solicitation or request for funds for AFC which relate in any way to the furtherande of the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or the general election of Ronald Reagan for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

9. All telephone bills and/or other records of telephone calls made or received by AFC from January, 1980 to the present.

Please answer the following interrogatories:

A. Please identify all officers, directors, employees, staff members, media time buyers, volunteers, consultants or other agents of AFC. With respect to each individual identified, please identify that person's supervisor.[1/]

(1) Please identify which of of the above individuals and any other individuals who, have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the oral or written authorization (express or implied) of any expenditures which relate in any way to the furtherance of the

---

1/ In lieu of identifying the supervisor of each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, AFC may provide the Commission with a copy of its organizational chart.

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election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

(2) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the production, conception, drafting, writing, editing, approval, review, presentation, printing, publication, distribution or dissemination of documents and materials produced by AFC which relate in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other Presidential candidate in 1980.

B. Please provide all date(s) of any meetings, discussions, or other communications concerning the planning, organization, formation, structure, or activities of AFC prior to May 23, 1980.

(1) Identify all of the participants in and all of those in attendance at each of the above meetings, discussions or other communications.

C. Please supply a list of the addresses of each office used by AFC, and the dates of such use from the time of its organization to the present.

D. List the phone numbers and extensions used by AFC since January, 1980 to the present, noting the extensions assigned to or used by each person identified in response to interrogatory A.

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E. List by date and location all fundraisers held by AFC since January, 1980 which related in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, his general election for President in 1980 or which related in any way to the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

F. With respect to each individual identified in response to interogatory A, please note whether that individual has had any past, or has any present association, either by way of employment, position, or membership with any of the below listed organizations, projects, or companies. With respect to each such association, note the dates during which each such person was so associated with the particular organization, group, project or company and the position(s) held with each.

Americans for Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
The Republican Party
The Reagan for President Committee
Group '80
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Citizens for the Republic
Richard A. Viguerie Co., Inc.
Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bruce Eberle Associates, Inc.
Decision Making Information, Inc.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Citizens for the Republic
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Committee for Independent Expenditures for Republicans
Target 80
The Conservative Coalition
The Conservative Caucus
Reagan 80
1980 United Republican Committee
Committment 80

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WHEREFORE, the Vice Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at the office of the Commission at 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., this 29th day of September, 1980.

John W. McGarry
Vice Chairman

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

33040423110

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECEIPT

This is to acknowledge receipt of a letter from the Federal Election Commission addressed to:

Hon. Harrison Schmitt, Chairman
Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St.
Alexandria, Virginia

7/10/80
Date of receipt

L D Campbell
Signature of recipient

On behalf of:
Harrison Schmitt

83040423111

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

October 3, 1980

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Baran:

Enclosed please find a corrected copy of page three of the notification letter sent to your client Americans for Change in connection with Matter Under Review MUR 1252. We apologize for any inconvenience you may have suffered as a result of receipt of the previous copy.

If you have any additional questions or problems, please don't hesitate to contact either Ms. Marsha Gentner at 523-5071 or Ms. Patricia Bak at 523-4060.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure

8304042312

The evidence contained in the complaint that is put forth below represents only that evidence which the Office of General Counsel has found relevant to a determination of whether there is reason to believe that the expenditures of AFC are not "independent expenditures" but rather in-kind contributions to Mr. Reagan. 11 C.F.R. §109.1(c).

AFC registered as a political committee on May 23, 1980, seeking to establish multi-candidate committee status. The allegations concerning AFC generally concern the officers of the committee and their associations with official Reagan committees. Thus, complainant notes that the AFC Assistant Treasurer, Mr. Stan Huckaby, is also the only designated officer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee, a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan, and that AFC Chairman Senator Harrison Schmitt is an RNC Advisory Council member. If Senator Schmitt's position with the RNC is the equivalent of holding office, then pursuant to 11 C.F.R. §109.1(b)(4)(i)(B), AFC expenditures made through him (as well as those made through Mr. Huckaby) would not qualify as independent expenditures as they would be made by an officer of an authorized Reagan committee. In addition, complainants note that Anna Chennault, an individual identified by the press as a founding member of AFC (see Complaint Exhibit Tab 71, Washington Post article reporting on AFC press conference, June 6, 1980, p. 1) has now joined the Reagan General Election Committee. See Washington Post article, reprinted in July 16, 1980, Supplement to Complaint. The ability of such Reagan agents, 11 C.F.R. §190.1(b)(5), to obtain and use information about AFC strategy and activities, may indicate that the activities of AFC are coordinated or made in consultation with the official Reagan committee. See 11 C.F.R. §109.1(a)(b)(4); AO 1979-80; MUR 321. 1/

B. Allegation of Violation of 26 U.S.C. §9012(f)

26 U.S.C. §9012(f) prohibits unauthorized committees from knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1,000 to further the election of candidates of a political party for President and Vice-President who are eligible to receive public funds when such expenditures would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such candidates. As discussed in Part A above, complainants allege that respondent committees have violated or will violate this provision.

1/ The complainant also points to an AFC letter dated July 13, 1980, requesting that supporters attend a fundraiser for Reagan in Houston on July 19, 1980, and the fact that Ronald Reagan and George Bush went to Houston for a campaign appearance on the same date.

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0 1 0 4 2 3 1 1 4

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use $300

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U.S. MAIL

Mr. Jan Baran, Esquire
BAKER & HOSTETLER
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 25, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Baran:

On July 7, 1980, the Federal Election Commission notified your client, Americans for Change ("AFC"), of a complaint that AFC has violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") or Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. A copy of the complaint was forwarded to AFC at that time.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint and of information which you have supplied in response, the Commission has determined that there is reason to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). A report on the Commission's findings is attached. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter.

We acknowledge receipt of your response to this matter which was dated July 31, 1980. In the absence of any additional information or further explanation of circumstances which demonstrate that no further action should be taken against AFC, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred, and proceed with formal conciliation. Of course, this does not preclude the settlement of this matter through informal conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe if you so desire.

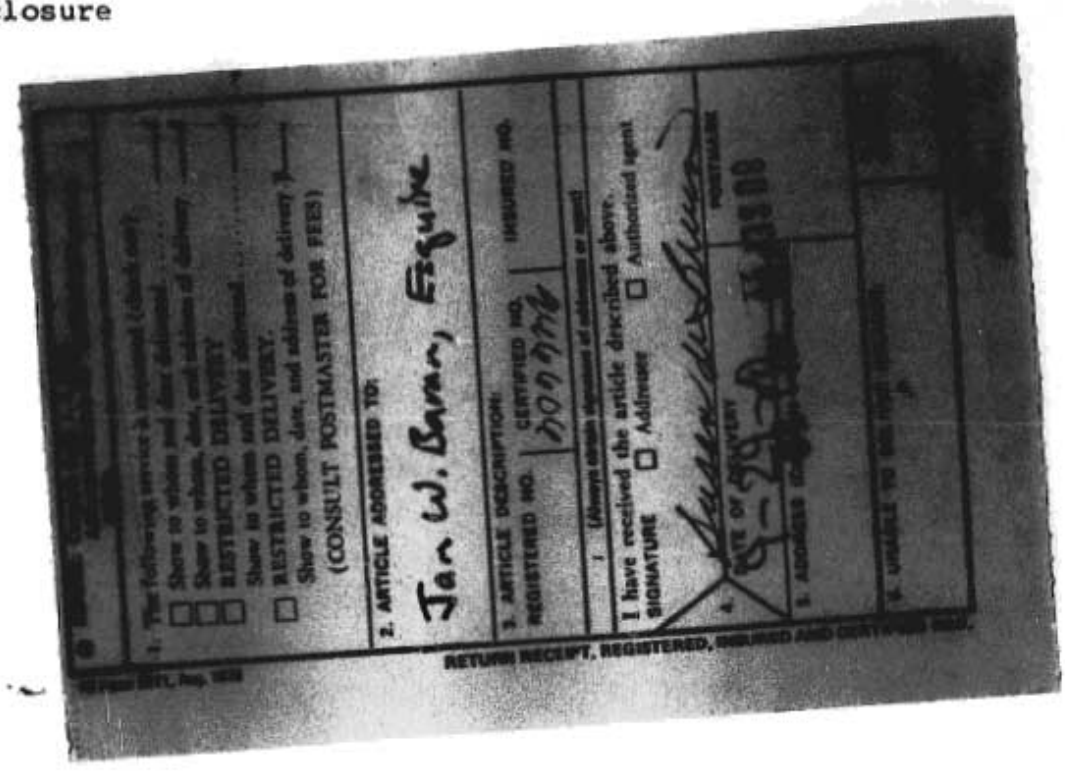
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This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you have any questions, please contact Marsha G. Gentner or Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorneys assigned to this matter, at 523-4071.

Sincerely,

JOHN WARREN McGARRY
Vice-Chairman

Enclosure



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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Jan W. Baran, Esquire
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Baran:

On July 7, 1980, the Federal Election Commission notified your client, Americans for Change ("AFC"), of a complaint that AFC has violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") or Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. A copy of the complaint was forwarded to AFC at that time.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint and of information which you have supplied in response, the Commission has determined that there is reason to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan; and 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4). A report on the Commission's findings is attached. You may submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter.

We acknowledge receipt of your response to this matter which was dated July 31, 1980. In the absence of any additional information or further explanation of circumstances which demonstrate that no further action should be taken against AFC, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred, and proceed with formal conciliation. Of course, this does not preclude the settlement of this matter through informal conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe if you so desire.

AG 9/25/80

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This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you have any questions, please contact Marsha G. Gentner or Anne A. Weissenborn, the attorneys assigned to this matter, at 523-4071.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

NOTIFICATION OF REASON TO BELIEVE FINDING

DATE SEP 25 1980

MUR NO. 1252

STAFF MEMBER (S) & TEL. NO.

RESPONDENT Americans for Change

Marsha Gentner

Anne A. Weissenborn
(202) 523-5071

SOURCE OF MUR: I N T E R N A L L Y G E N E R A T E D

BACKGROUND

On July 2, 1980, the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc., and the Democratic National Committee (hereinafter "Complainants") submitted a complaint which contained the following allegations:

1. That one or more of the respondent committees have violated or will violate 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by exceeding their contribution limitations with regard to Mr. Reagan;

2. That Ronald Reagan and one or more of the respondent committees have violated or will violate 2 U.S.C. § 434 by failing to report properly contributions and expenditures;

3. That one or more of the respondent committees have violated or will violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1,000 to further the election of Mr. Reagan which would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee;

4. That Americans for Change (hereinafter "AFC") has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) in that its project "Reagan for President in '80", is a discrete, unauthorized political committee which has included "Reagan" in its name.

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PRELIMINARY
FACTUAL BASIS AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Allegation of Violations of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

Complainants allege that expenditures to be made by the respondent committees on behalf of Mr. Reagan will be made with the cooperation or prior consent of, in consultation with or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of Mr. Reagan, his authorized committee, or his agents and therefore would be considered non-independent expenditures and thus contributions to the candidate pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7) (B)(i) and 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(c). By virtue of these circumstances, the respondent committees have or will violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) which prohibits unauthorized committees from knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1,000 to further the election of candidates of a political party for President and Vice-President who are eligible to receive public funds, when such expenditures would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such a candidate. In addition, a violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by respondent committees would likewise result from their excessive contributions, if the expenditures in question are found to be non-independent, in-kind contributions.

Complainants cite several factors in support of their argument that the expenditures which have been or will be made by respondent committees on behalf of Ronald Reagan are not "independent" and thus constitute contributions to that candidate in violation of 26 U.S.C.. § 9012(f) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a). These include the present and prior affiliation with Mr. Reagan of certain individuals now allegedly involved with the respondent committees and the use of common vendors.

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The evidence contained in the complaint which is put forth below includes only those items which the Office of General Counsel believes are relevant to determinations of whether there is reason to believe that the expenditures by the respondent committees are not "independent expenditures" but rather in-kind contributions to Mr. Reagan. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(c).

AFC registered as a political committee on May 23, 1980, seeking to establish multi-candidate committee status. The allegations concerning AFC generally concern the officers of the committee and their associations with official Reagan committees. Thus, complainant notes that the AFC Assistant Treasurer, Mr. Stan Huckaby, is also the only designated officer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee, a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan; that AFC Chairman Senator Harrison Schmitt is an RNC Advisory Council member. If Senator Schmitt's position with the RNC is the equivalent of holding office, then pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 109.1.9b)(4)(i)(B), AFC expenditures made through him (as well as those made thorugh Mr. Huckaby) would not qualify as independent expendfiures as they would be made by an officer of an authorized Reagan committee. In addition, complainants note that Anna Chennault, an individual identified by the press as a founding member of AFC (see Complaint Exhibit Tab 71, Washington Post article reporting on AFC press conference, June 6, 1980, p. 1) has now joined the Reagan General Election Committee. See Washington Post article, reprinted in July 16, 1980, Supplement to Complaint. The ability of such Reagan agents, 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(5), to obtain and use information about AFC strategy and activities, may indicate that the activities of AFC are coordinated or made in consultation with the official Reagan committee. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4); AO 1979-80; MUR 321. 1/

B. Allegation of Violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f)

26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) prohibits unauthorized committees from knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1,000 to further the election of candidates of a political party for President and Vice President who are eligible to receive public funds when such expenditures would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such candidates. As discussed in "Part A" above, complainants allege that respondent committees have violated or will violate this provision.

1/ Complainants also point to an AFC letter dated July 13, 1980, requesting that supporters attend a fundraiser for Mr. Reagan in Houston on July 19, 1980, and the fact that Ronald Rfagan and George Bush went to Houston for a campaign appearance on the

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"Part A" above deals with whether or not the respondent committees are independent of the Reagan authorized committees. However, even if these committees are in fact found to be independent, they would still be in violation of Section 9012(f) if they expend more than $1000 on behalf of Mr. Reagan's candidacy, as Section 9012(f) applies to all political committee expenditures, whether or not "independent".

As the complaint and supplements demonstrate, AFC has publicly announced its intention and has begun to solicit funds to spend in excess of $1000 in support of Ronald Reagan's candidacy. Therefore, the Office of General Counsel has recommended that the Commission find reason to believe that AFC has violated or is about to violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f).

C. Allegation of Violation of 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4)

2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4) provides that unauthorized committees may not include the name of any candidate in their names.

As part of their July 21, 1980, supplement to their complaint, complainants provided a copy of a letter from Senator Harrison Schmitt, Chairman of AFC, soliciting contributions for "Reagan for President in '80." This letter contained the statement that it was paid for by Americans for Change. The Office of General Counsel has recommended that the Commission find reason to believe that AFC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)((4).

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COMMISSION DETERMINATION

Based on the above analysis, the Federal Election Commission has found reason to believe:

1. That Americans for Change has violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

2. That Americans for Change has violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

3. That Americans for Change has violated 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(4).

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BAKER & HOSTETLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

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TWX 810 421 8378

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Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 228-1541

In Denver, Colorado
500 Capitol Life Center
Denver, Colorado 80203
(303) 861-0600

In Orlando, Florida
250 CNA Tower
Orlando, Florida 32802
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-

July 31, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

30 JUL 31 P4:54

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

This office represents Americans For Change ("AFC") in Federal Election Commission ("FEC") Matter Under Review ("MUR") 1252. This letter and the attached Exhibit are submitted in response to your notification dated July 7, 1980, and pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) and 11 C.F.R. § 111.6. For the reasons stated below, the FEC should take no action against AFC.

FACTS

AFC is a political committee registered with the FEC pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. AFC's chairman is Senator Harrison H. Schmitt and its treasurer is former Senator Carl T. Curtis. The custodian of AFC's records and its assistant treasurer is Mr. Stan Huckaby, a certified public accountant. AFC accepts undesignated contributions subject to the applicable dollar limitations of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended ("FECA"). 2 U.S.C. § 441a (a)(1)(C) and (a)(2)(C).

AFC intends to make expenditures in support of candidates for federal office, including independent expenditures in support of Governor Ronald Reagan, Republican nominee for the office of President. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109. All independent expenditures by AFC in support of any candidate have been and/or will be made by and through

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only members of the Executive Committee, consisting of Senators Schmitt and Curtis, Senator David Durenberger, Mr. John Harmer and Mr. Brad O'Leary. AFC also has a National Steering Committee. No members of the National Steering Committee participate in the making of any independent expenditures.

A complaint[1/] was filed by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc. and the Democratic National Committee (collectively referred to as "Carter-Mondale"), dated July 1, 1980, against AFC and seven other named respondents. The complaint included twenty-six pages of "Facts" and four pages of "Violations of Law." The complaint filed by ten attorneys on behalf of Carter-Mondale, contains no memorandum of law, but is accompanied by several hundred pages of exhibits consisting of newspaper articles (some over eleven years old), lengthy excerpts from books on political campaigning and campaign financing, copies of solicitation letters by respondents other than AFC, excerpts from Who's Who, and copies of selected public documents filed by the various respondents with the FEC. There is also an affidavit from Mr. Robert Strauss, President Carter's campaign chairman and former DNC chairman, stating his personal views and opinions as to the legal and political consequences of what he believes constitutes a violation of the "spirit" of federal campaign financing laws. Strauss Aff. at ¶ 2.

ARGUMENT

The general allegation in the Carter-Mondale complaint is that AFC and other respondents "are planning to contribute" to the campaign of the Republican presidential

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1/ The FEC General Counsel sent a copy of the complaint with his notification letter of July 7, 1980, as required by 11 C.F.R. § 111.5. Upon information and believe, additional "amendments" and "supplements" have been filed at the FEC by Carter-Mondale. We are unaware of any notifications by the FEC General Counsel other than the letter of July 7, 1980. We respectfully request that any documents filed with the FEC by Carter-Mondale in connection with MUR 1252 be sent to counsel through the required notification procedure in 11 C.F.R. § 111.5. Notification is necessary in order to fully apprise a respondent, such as AFC, of all allegations actually filed with the FEC. After receipt of such notifications from the General Counsel, AFC may exercise again its rights under 2 U.S.C. § 111.6 and further demonstrate why the FEC should take no action on the basis of the "amendments" or "supplements."

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nominee, Complaint at 2, and that such "contributions . . . will violate the law in numerous respects." Complaint at 35. Carter-Mondale admits that it has presented no evidence to establish that there has been any communication between AFC and the Reagan campaign, or among AFC and other respondents who have publicly announced intentions of making independent expenditures. Complaint at 33. Carter-Mondale asserts, however, that "political professionals" are legally incapable of making, or participating in the making of, independent expenditures, even "without day-to-day common direction." Complaint at 33.

AFC submits that Carter-Mondale has filed a complaint that utterly fails to produce any evidence that AFC has made or will make any expenditures in support of Governor Reagan other than lawful independent expenditures. Instead, Carter-Mondale has filed a complaint that is based on irrelevant and/or inaccurate statements in support of a legal proposition that cannot be found anywhere in federal campaign financing laws. Once the complaint is stripped of its political rhetoric, the underlying legal theory suggested by Carter-Mondale is as follows: "political professionals" (which we presume means any officeholder or any person who is skilled at political expression because of his or her experience, skill and activism) are forbidden by law to make independent expenditures; some of the individuals who are participants in and supporters of AFC are "political professionals"; ergo, AFC is prohibited from making independent expenditures, even though there is no evidence of any "arrangement, coordination or direction by the candidate or his or her agent." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i).

Neither the campaign financing laws nor FEC regulations bar "political professionals" from exercising a citizen's statutory and constitutional right to make independent expenditures. An independent expenditure may be made by any "person." 2 U.S.C. § 431(11); 11 C.F.R. § 109.1 (b)(1). The only persons categorically barred by regulation from making such expenditures are authorized committees and the national committee of a political party. 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.1(e) and 110.7(a)(5). AFC is neither.

Once Carter-Mondale's underlying legal theory is discarded, as it must be, the question remains whether complainants have submitted any evidence that AFC has made or intends to make any expenditure "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents." 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i); Cf. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17).

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As noted above, all independent expenditures by AFC must be made by or through its Executive Committee. No member of the Executive Committee has made or intends to make any expenditure in cooperation, consultation or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, Governor Reagan or any of his agents. Carter-Mondale has not proferred any evidence that any member of AFC's Executive Committee has in any way consulted, coordinated or even discussed AFC's activities with Governor Reagan or anyone associated with the Reagan campaign. By the same token, Carter-Mondale has not submitted any information to the FEC that in any way indicates that others 2/ associated with AFC have consulted, coordinated or discussed these matters with Governor Reagan or the Reagan campaign staff. The reason why no such evidence is forthcoming is clear. No evidence of "arrangement, coordination or direction" exists because there has been no arrangement, coordination or direction between AFC and the Reagan campaign. Consequently, there has not been, nor will there be any

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2/ Complainants erroneously allege that certain individuals are "involved" in AFC. For example, neither Mr. Melvin R. Laird nor Mrs. Anna Chennault are associated with AFC. When AFC was formed both Mr. Laird and Mrs. Chennault had expressed their interest in joining the National Steering Committee. However, they subsequently disclosed their intentions to participate actively in the formal Reagan general election campaign, and were therefore never approved for membership on the National Steering Committee. AFC has a formal screening and approval process for individuals who wish to become members of the National Steering Committee.

Complainants also state that Mr. Huckaby, AFC's de facto bookkeeper, is treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidental Unity Committee ("Unity Committee"), a committee affiliated with the Reagan for President Committee. What complainants fail to mention is that the committees of all the candidates for the Republican nomination (except Ambassador Bush and Congressman Anderson) were affiliated with the Unity Committee, which was organized as a joint fundraising committee to liquidate the debts of the losing candidates. The primary beneficiary of this effort is Senator Howard Baker, who will receive approximately 45% of the funds raised (compared to 1% for the Reagan primary committee). Mr. Huckaby is treasurer of The Baker Committee, Senator Baker's principal campaign committee. Mr. Huckaby has an obvious interest in assisting in efforts to reduce the substantial debt of The Baker Committee. In the context of this MUR, Mr. Huckaby's activities are wholly irrelevant in light of the fact that he is not a member of AFC's Executive Committee, and therefore no independent expenditures are made by or through him. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B).

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"contribution" by AFC to the Reagan campaign. AFC denies violating or intending to violate any of the provisions of the federal election campaign financing laws cited by Carter-Mondale. 3/

CONCLUSION

The FEC must take no action against AFC in MUR 1252 because the complaint does not state a factual or legal basis that gives the FEC any reason to believe that AFC has violated any statute within its jurisdiction. The complaint, therefore, should be dismissed.

Respectfully submitted,

BAKER & HOSTETLER

By: Jan W. Baran

William H. Schweitzer

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3/ Carter-Mondale has alleged that AFC has violated or will violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f). AFC denies any such violation for reasons stated in its Motion to Dismiss in Common Cause v. Schmitt, Civil Action No. 80-1609 (D.D.C. filed July 1, 1980), copy attached as Exhibit A. In brief, AFC views section 9012(f) as a limit only with respect to expenditures by an unauthorized political committee that have been authorized or requested by a publicly funded general election presidential candidate. Alternatively, section 9012(f) is unconstitutional.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

COMMON CAUSE, et al., Plaintiffs, v. HARRISON SCHMITT, et al., Defendants.	Civil Action No. 80-1609

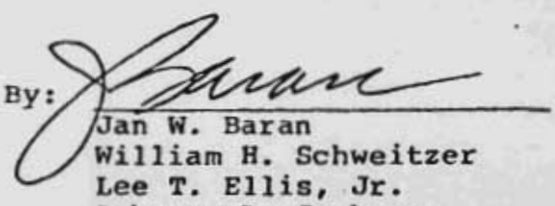
MOTION TO DISMISS OF DEFENDANTS
HARRISON H. SCHMITT, CARL T. CURTIS
AND AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

Come now defendants Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis and Americans For Change by their attorneys Baker & Hostetler and move the court to dismiss this case; and as grounds therefor refer to the Memorandum of Points and Authorities attached hereto and made a part hereof.

WHEREFORE, defendants Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis and Americans For Change pray that the Court dismiss plaintiffs' amended complaint with costs against plaintiffs.

BAKER & HOSTETLER

ORAL HEARING REQUESTED

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I have this 21st day of July, 1980, caused the foregoing pleading to be served by hand upon counsel for each of the parties to this action.

Jan W. Baran

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

COMMON CAUSE, et al., Plaintiffs, v. HARRISON SCHMITT, et al., Defendants.	Civil Action No. 80-1609

MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES
IN SUPPORT OF MOTION TO DISMISS OF DEFENDANTS
HARRISON H. SCHMITT, CARL T. CURTIS
AND AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

STATEMENT OF FACTS

Defendant Americans For Change ("AFC") is a political committee registered with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433.[1/] Defendants Harrison H. Schmitt and Carl T. Curtis are the Chairman and Treasurer, respectively, of AFC.[2/]

AFC intends to raise monies by means of limited contributions from individuals and other political committees in accordance with the FECA. 2 U.S.C. § 441a. AFC intends to make "independent expenditures" in support of candidates for federal offices during the 1980 general election campaign including "independent expenditures" in support of Ronald

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1/ Except as otherwise noted, all citations in this Memorandum relating to the federal election campaign financing laws will be to the current versions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended ("FECA"), and the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act ("Fund Act").

2/ Unless otherwise noted, defendants Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis and Americans For Change shall be referred to collectively as "AFC."

Reagan and George Bush, the Republican candidates for the offices of President and Vice President. "Independent expenditure" is a term defined at 2 U.S.C. § 431(17) and by the FEC in its regulations at 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a) (1980).

On July 1, 1980, AFC was served with plaintiffs' (hereafter collectively referred to as "Common Cause") summons and complaint, motion for an expedited discovery and briefing schedule, and request for the convening of a three-judge court pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9011(b) and 28 U.S.C. § 2284(b)(1). Common Cause seeks an order from the Court declaring that AFC and the other defendants have acted or will act in violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and asks the Court to enjoin defendants from making political expenditures. On July 7, 1980, AFC filed an opposition to Common Cause's motion for an expedited briefing schedule and expedited discovery and a response to Common Cause's request for the convening of a three-judge court. On July 8, 1980, Common Cause filed a reply to AFC's opposition and response and the Court held a hearing on Common Cause's motion and request.

On July 11, 1980, the FEC filed a motion for leave to intervene as a party defendant and informed the Court that it would file a motion to dismiss this action on July 21, 1980. On July 15, 1980, the FEC filed a separate action against AFC and two other political committees, Americans for an Effective Presidency and Fund for a Conservative Majority, which allegedly intend to make independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the general election campaign. FEC v. Americans For Change, Civil Action No. 80-1754, United States District Court for the District of Columbia (hereafter "FEC v. AFC").[3/] In

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3/ Harrison H. Schmitt and Carl T. Curtis are not defendants in FEC v. AFC.

FEC v. AFC, the FEC seeks a declaration by a three-judge court that 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) prohibits political expenditures, including independent expenditures in excess of $1,000, by unauthorized political committees in support of a candidate who elects to finance his general election campaign pursuant to the Fund Act.

On July 16, 1980, the Court informed counsel for AFC that a three-judge court had been convened in the instant case and in FEC v. AFC.

On July 17, 1980, AFC was served by Common Cause with an Amended Complaint seeking the same relief that it sought in its original complaint but adding as defendants Americans for an Effective Presidency and Fund for a Conservative Majority. Common Cause also moved to consolidate the two cases but asked the Court to realign the parties so that Common Cause and the FEC were plaintiffs in both cases. Finally, Common Cause moved to intervene as a party plaintiff in FEC v. AFC.

AFC hereby moves the Court to dismiss the instant case on the grounds that the Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction and that Common Cause has failed to state a claim upon which relief can be granted. AFC will file on July 25, 1980, oppositions to Common Cause's motion to consolidate in the instant case and its motion to intervene in FEC v. AFC. AFC will file on August 4, 1980, a motion to dismiss or, in the alternative, for summary judgment in FEC v. AFC.

ARGUMENT

I.

THE COURT LACKS SUBJECT MATTER JURISDICTION OVER THIS ACTION

A. The FEC Has Exclusive Jurisdiction Over the Civil Enforcement of the Fund Act

Congress has provided the FEC with exclusive jurisdiction over the civil enforcement of the federal election laws, including the Fund Act. 2 U.S.C. § 437c(b)(1). Section 437c(b)(1) specifically provides:

> The Commission shall administer, seek to obtain compliance with, and formulate policy with respect to, this Act [FECA] and chapter 95 [Fund Act] and chapter 96 of Title 26. The Commission shall have exclusive jurisdiction with respect to the civil enforcement of such provisions.

(Emphasis added).

The amended complaint of Common Cause[4/] seeks a declaration that AFC and other defendants have acted or will act in violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and asks the Court to enjoin AFC from making political expenditures. Common Cause asserts that this Court has jurisdiction over this action under 26 U.S.C. § 9011(b) and 28 U.S.C. § 1331.

By seeking such relief Common Cause is requesting civil enforcement of the Fund Act. Congress in section 437c(b)(1) has designated the FEC as the exclusive forum for the adjudication of a private complaint that a person has violated the Fund Act. The FECA provides for the right of a private person to obtain such enforcement. 2 U.S.C. § 437g. Section 437g(a) directs that any person who believes a

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4/ The organization Common Cause has no standing under 26 U.S.C. § 9011(b) since it is not a national committee of any political party or an individual eligible to vote for president. It must be dismissed as party plaintiff.

violation of the Fund Act has occurred may file a complaint with the FEC. The FEC must then notify the respondent, investigate the complaint, determine whether a violation has occurred and attempt to obtain a conciliation agreement.[5/] 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(2)-(a)(5). If such an agreement cannot be obtained, the FEC may seek injunctive and other relief in federal district court. 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(6).

If the FEC dismisses or fails to act on a complaint, the complainant may file an action against the FEC in federal district court. 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8). The district court may direct the FEC to reinstitute the complaint and proceedings under section 437g.

The jurisdiction for adjudicating federal election law claims of private parties against other private parties could not be more clearly delineated. Common Cause must file its claims against AFC with the FEC, which is the agency vested with exclusive jurisdiction over such matters.

Since the FEC has exclusive jurisdiction over civil enforcement of the Fund Act, Common Cause's assertion of jurisdiction under 26 U.S.C. § 9011(b) is erroneous. Section 9011(b) provides that district courts have jurisdiction over actions instituted by the FEC, the national committee of any political party or individuals eligible to vote for President to "implement" or "construe" provisions of the Fund Act. As shown, 2 U.S.C. §§ 437c(b)(1) and 437g vest exclusive jurisdiction over civil enforcement actions with the FEC. The language of 26 U.S.C. § 9011(b) in no way alters the FEC's exclusive jurisdiction.

5/ Throughout the investigative and conciliation stages, the respondent is entitled to confidential treatment of all information and proceedings. 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12). This protection minimizes the chilling effect of disclosure of constitutionally protected political activities.

Common Cause's reliance on the 1971 legislative history of the Fund Act ignores one crucial fact.[6/] The FEC did not exist in 1971. It was first created in 1974, and reconstituted in 1976. See Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 109-43 (1976). The Fund Act as passed in 1971 was to be administered by the Comptroller General.[7/] It was to be his duty to receive expenditure reports, certify a candidate's eligibility for public financing and promulgate rules and regulations to implement the Fund Act. Pub. L. No. 92-178, § 801, 85 Stat. 569 (1971), (prior to 1974, 1976 and 1979 amendments). There was no agency with the duty or requisite powers to enforce administratively the federal election laws.[8/]

However, in 1974 Congress created the FEC and gave it primary jurisdiction over civil enforcement of the FECA. Pub. L. No. 93-443, § 310, 88 Stat. 1280 (1974), (prior to 1976 and 1979 amendments). In reconstituting the FEC after Buckley, Congress in 1976 amended the FEC's primary jurisdiction to make it exclusive; this exclusive jurisdiction was extended to the civil enforcement of the Fund Act. FECA Amendments of 1976, Pub. L. No. 94-283, § 101, 90 Stat. 476 (1976). The House report stated:

6/ See Reply of Common Cause to AFC's Opposition to Expedited Discovery and Briefing Schedule and Convening of Three-Judge District Court at 3-5.

7/ The effective date of the Fund Act passed in 1971 was January 1, 1973 for application to the 1976 presidential election. 28 U.S.C. § 9013 (1976). The FEC was created by amendments to the FECA in 1974. Pub. L. No. 93-443, § 310(a)(1) 88 Stat. 1280 (1974). At that time authority to administer the Fund Act was transferred from the Comptroller General to the FEC. Id. § 9001 et. seq. In 1976 Congress amended the federal election laws to provide the FEC with exclusive jurisdiction to enforce the Fund Act. Pub. L. No. 94-283, § 101, 90 Stat. 476 (1976). The regulatory scheme envisioned by the Fund Act as originally enacted was never implemented.

8/ The Department of Justice could use its general prosecutorial powers to prosecute actions in district court for violations of the Fund Act. It has no authority to conduct administrative proceedings under the Fund Act.

> In addition to centralizing civil enforcement authority in the Commission, the bill takes one additional step to limit unjustifiable litigation burdens that might otherwise be imposed on the courts and on individuals against whom a complaint has been filed. The Commission is charged with the duty, upon receiving a complaint, to attempt to conciliate the matter for a specified reasonable period of time.
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> The phrase "exclusive primary jurisdiction" used to describe the congressional intent to centralize the civil enforcement of the Act in the Federal Election Commission is taken from the Supreme Court's decisions in San Diego Unions v.Garmon, 359 U.S. 236. There the Court recognized that Congress, in enacting the National Labor Relations Act, "entrusted administration of the labor policy for the nation to a centralized administrative agency, armed with its own procedures, and equipped with its specialized knowledge and cumulative experience." (Garmon, 359 U.S. at 242). On that basis the Court stated that all complaints bottomed on an alleged violation of the NLRA are within that Agency's "exclusive competence" (id at 245) and that all other tribunals must therefore "yield to the primary jurisdiction of the National Board" (id). The Court's ruling in Garmon captures the essence not only of the NLRA's administrative scheme, but of this Act's enforcement procedures as well.

H.R. Rep. No. 917, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 4 (1976) (emphasis added). The Conference Committee expressly adopted the House Report's position that the FEC would have exclusive primary jurisdiction over civil enforcement of the federal election laws. H. Conf. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 35 (1976).[9/]

B. Section 9011(b) Does Not Create A Private Cause of Action

The language of section 9011(b) does not give this Court jurisdiction over a civil enforcement action by one private party against another. Its language clearly envisions

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9/ Since the FEC has exclusive jurisdiction over this action under section 437c(b)(1), federal question jurisdiction does not exist absent exhaustion of administrative remedies. Myers v. Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, 303 U.S. 41 (1938). Common Cause cannot proceed with its action under 28 U.S.C. § 1331. Moreoever, section 1331 does not provide for the convening of a three-judge court.

an action by or against the FEC to implement or construe the Fund Act. "Implement" can only refer to the rulemaking authority under the Fund Act, which in 1971 belonged to the Comptroller General and since 1974 has rested with the FEC.[10/] A party who disagrees with an FEC rule implementing the Fund Act may sue the FEC for declaratory and injunctive relief. Section 9011(b) provides private parties with standing to sue the FEC to construe the meaning or constitutionality of a provision of the Fund Act.

The only parties to invoke successfully jurisdiction of a three-judge court under section 9011(b) have done so in suits against the FEC or its predecessors in order to challenge the constitutionality of provisions of the Fund Act. See Buckley v. Valeo, 519 F.2d 817, 819 (D.C. Cir. 1975), aff'd in part and rev'd in part, 424 U.S. 1 (1976); Clark v. Valeo, 559 F.2d 642, 646 n.3 (D.C. Cir.) (en banc), aff'd sub nom. Clark v. Kimmit, 431 U.S. 950 (1977); Republican National Committee v. FEC, 461 F. Supp. 570, 576 (S.D.N.Y. 1978) (opinion accompanying order convening three-judge court), aff'd 616 F.2d 1 (2d Cir. 1980) (en banc), aff'd, ___ U.S. ____,100 S. Ct. 1639 (1980). In fact, courts have recognized that questions appropriately certified to a three-judge panel under section 9011(b) are constitutional questions arising under the Fund Act. See Republican National Committee v. FEC, 461 F. Supp. at 576; Buckley v. Valeo, 519 F.2d at 818-19. In an action under section 9011(b) to implement or construe provisions of the Fund Act there is simply no relief this court can provide to one private party against another private party.[11/]

10/ See n.7, supra.

11/ Shortly after the creation of the FEC the Supreme Court in Cort v. Ash, 422 U.S. 66 (1975) held that 18 U.S.C. § 610, now codified at 2 U.S.C. § 441b, did not create a private cause of action. 422 U.S. at 76. In so holding, the Court recognized that the FECA had vested the FEC with jurisdiction over private enforcement of the federal election laws. Id. at 74-76.

Efficient judicial administration and respect for the proper limits of expedited procedures mandate a narrow construction of the use of a three-judge court under 26 U.S.C. § 9011(b). See Phillips v. U.S., 312 U.S. 246, 253 (1941). Swift & Company v. Wickham, 382 U.S. 111 (1965), illustrates the narrow construction accorded statutes that permit a three-judge court. Under 28 U.S.C. § 2281 (repealed 1976), an individual was entitled to sue and have a three-judge court instituted where a state statute was challenged on grounds of unconstitutionality. Despite the plain words of section 2281 stating that only "unconstitutionality" be shown, the Court held that allegations based on the Supremacy Clause were not sufficient to convene a three-judge court. 382 U.S. at 126-127. Swift clearly indicates that the Supreme Court construes three-judge court statutes very narrowly.

Three-judge court statutes such as section 9011(b), which allow for direct expedited appeal to the Supreme Court, are especially inappropriate for use in connection with disputed factual circumstances.[12/] To interpret the district court's jurisdiction under section 9011(b) as including authority to enforce all provisions of the Fund Act is to open the door to frequent complex factual adjudicatory proceedings before a three-judge court. Delays inherent in any factual adjudication are in conflict with the mandate in section 9011(b) that all proper cases thereunder must "be in every way expedited." Allowing three-judge courts to be constituted for this purpose would also place a substantial drain upon the federal judicial system and impose "unjustifiable litigation burdens" upon individuals and associations

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12/ For example, AFC would assert its right to have a jury decide disputed facts in this case.

exercising fundamental First Amendment rights. H.R. Rep. No. 917, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 4 (1976). Congress surely did not intend such a result when the FEC was given exclusive jurisdiction over adjudicatory enforcement of the Fund Act.

Common Cause's complaint, therefore, must be dismissed because this Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction.

II.

PLAINTIFFS FAIL TO STATE A CLAIM UPON WHICH RELIEF CAN BE GRANTED, BECAUSE SECTION 9012(f)(1) DOES NOT LIMIT INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES BUT LIMITS ONLY EXPENDITURES AUTHORIZED OR REQUESTED BY A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, OR ALTERNATIVELY, IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL UNDER THE FIRST AMENDMENT

A. The Proper Construction of Section 9012(f)(1) Is That It Limits Expenditures By an Unauthorized Political Committee That Have Been Requested or Authorized By a Candidate, But Does Not Limit Independent Expenditures

A fair reading of section 9012(f)(1) in relation to other provisions of the Fund Act, the FECA, and FEC regulations restricts the application of that statute to expenditures by unauthorized political committees[13/] that are authorized or requested by a presidential candidate. Section 9012(f)(1) provides, in pertinent part, that

> it shall be unlawful for any political committee which is not an authorized committee with respect to the eligible candidates of a political party for President and Vice President in a presidential election knowingly and willfully to incur expenditures to further the election of such candidates, which would

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13/ The Fund Act does not define "unauthorized committee." The FEC, however, has specified that "[a]n 'unauthorized committee' is a political committee which has not been authorized in writing by a candidate to solicit or receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of such candidate." 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(f)(2) (1980) (emphasis added). All political committees subject to federal campaign financing laws are either "authorized" or "unauthorized." Id. AFC is an unauthorized committee.

> constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such candidates in an aggregate amount exceeding $1,000.

26 U.S.C. § 9012(f)(1) (emphasis added).

Violation of section 9012(f)(1) constitutes a criminal act punishable by fines and imprisonment. 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f)(3). In construing a parallel penal federal election campaign statute, the Supreme Court noted that a $1,000 limit makes it a criminal offense for an "association to place a single one-quarter page advertisement . . . in a major metropolitan newspaper." Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 40 (1976). "Close examination of the specificity of the statutory limitation is required where, as here, the legislation imposes criminal penalties in an area permeated by First Amendment interests." Id. at 40-41 (citations omitted). Section 9012(f)(1) must contain language that "affords the '[p]recision of regulation [that] must be the touchstone in an area so closely touching our most precious freedoms.' NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S. at 438, 83. S. Ct. at 340." Id. at 41.

Section 9012(f)(1) is properly read as a statute designed to prohibit a candidate from authorizing or requesting unauthorized committees to make expenditures on the candidate's behalf. Section 9012(f)(1) does not limit independent expenditures in support of a candidate.[14/] The proper reading of section 9012(f)(1) preserves the usefulness of the statute to limit those expenditures that have been authorized or requested by the candidate without

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14/ "Independent expenditures" is a term defined at 2 U.S.C. § 431(17) and by the FEC in its regulation at 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a) (1980). Generally, "independent expenditures" are not authorized or requested by the candidate.

infringing upon the constitutional right of individuals and associations to make independent expenditures in support of the candidate. This is clear from a determination of what constitutes "expenditures to further the election" of a candidate. Neither the FECA nor the Fund Act defines this phrase. However, its meaning is discernable from statutory and regulatory provisions that use this term.

For example, a "qualified campaign expense" means an expense incurred by eligible candidates[15/] or their authorized committees[16/] "to further the election" of such candidates. 26 U.S.C. § 9002(11). The FEC has defined when an expenditure furthers the election of eligible candidates as follows:

> An expenditure is made to further a Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate's campaign if it is incurred by or on behalf of such candidate or his or her authorized committee.

45 Fed. Reg. 43,379 (1980) (to be codified in 11 C.F.R. § 9002.11(b)(1)) (emphasis added).

The FECA and FEC regulations implementing both the FECA and the Fund Act clearly define when an expenditure is "on behalf of" an eligible candidate:

> [A]n expenditure is on behalf of a candidate if it is made by
>
> (i) an authorized committee or any other agent of the candidate for purposes of making an expenditure; or
>
> (ii) any person authorized or requested by the candidate, an authorized committee of the candidate, or an agent of the candidate, to make the expenditure

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15/ Defined at 26 U.S.C. § 9002(4); 45 Fed. Reg. 43,378 (1980) (to be codified at 11 C.F.R. § 9002.4)

16/ Defined at 26 U.S.C. § 9002(1); 45 Fed. Reg. 43,378 (1980) (to be codified at 11 C.F.R. § 9002.1). See 2 U.S.C. § 431(6); 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.5(f)(1), 102.12 and 102.13 (1980).

2 U.S.C. § 441a(b)(2)(B) (emphasis added); 11 C.F.R.§ 110.8(g) (1980); 45 Fed. Reg. 43,379 (1980) (to be codified in 11 C.F.R. § 9002.11(b)(2)).

It therefore follows that an "expenditure to further the election of such candidates" is an expenditure made "on behalf of" the candidates. Under the FECA and FEC regulations, an expenditure by an unauthorized political committee is "on behalf of" a presidential candidate only if the expenditure has been "authorized or requested by the candidate, an authorized committee of the candidate, or an agent of the candidate."

AFC has not incurred, nor does it intend to incur, expenditures that have been or will be authorized or requested by any eligible candidates. Common Cause has not alleged that AFC has made or will make expenditures that have been authorized or requested by an eligible candidate. If Common Cause wishes to make this claim, then it must go to the FEC. As noted in Argument I above, this Court does not have jurisdiction over civil enforcement matters. In all other respects, Common Cause fails to state a claim in their complaint against AFC, because section 9012(f)(1) does not apply to the type of expenditures that AFC has made or plans to make. The complaint, therefore, must be dismissed.

B. Assuming Arguendo That Section 9012(f)(1) Limits Expenditures By an Unauthorized Political Committee That Are Not Authorized or Requested By An Eligible Candidate For President, Such a Limit Is Unconsitutional Under the First Amendment.

AFC submits that a fair reading of section 9012(f)(1) restricts its application to expenditures by unauthorized political committees that are authorized or requested by a presidential candidate. Such a construction would be consistent with the general scheme of federal campaign financing laws, and would save the provision from an otherwise unredeemable constitutional infirmity.

Assuming arguendo that section 9012(f)(1) imposes a $1,000 limit on unauthorized or unrequested expenditures by a political committee in support of an eligible candidate, such a statute would unconstitutionally abridge freedoms of speech and association. The conduct that Common Cause suggests is limited by section 9012(f)(1) falls within the type of political expression that the Supreme Court has ruled cannot be limited under the First Amendment.

Limitations on political expenditures affect core First Amendment rights of political expression and association, and must therefore be subject to exacting scrutiny. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 44-45 (1976). The Supreme Court has ruled that a $1,000 limit on independent political expenditures cannot withstand such exacting scrutiny. Id. at 51. Common Cause in effect wishes to relitigate and overturn a principle of constitutional law that was settled by the Buckley case. In doing so, they have placed upon section 9012(f)(1) a construction that "sweeps within its ambit . . . activities that in ordinary circumstances constitute an exercise of freedom of speech," and consequently renders the statute unconstitutional on its face. Thornhill v. Alabama, 310 U.S. 88, 97 (1940).

A limit on "expenditures for communications that in express terms advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate[17/] for federal office"[18/] is unconstitutional. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 44 and 51 (1976). Such a limitation is unconstitutional as applied to any "person,"[19/] including a committee or an association. Id.

17/ "Candidate" is an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election to federal office. 18 U.S.C. § 591(b) (repealed, current version at 2 U.S.C. § 431(2)).

18/ "Federal office" includes the offices of President and Vice President. 18 U.S.C. § 591(c) (repealed, current version at 2 U.S.C. § 431(3)).

19/ "Person" includes "an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other organization or group of persons." 18 U.S.C. § 591(g), (repealed, current version at 2 U.S.C. § 431(11)) (emphasis added).

at 39-40, n.45. The Court has rejected every governmental interest advanced in support of limits on independent political expression. Id. at 44-51.

Plaintiffs suggest that section 9012(f)(1) should be applied to independent political expressions by associations in order "to insure that the campaign of a candidate who has elected to receive federal funding will in fact be financed out of federal funds." Amended Complaint ¶ 1. Implicit in this argument is the belief that the Fund Act is designed to equalize all organized political speech with respect to federally financed presidential campaigns. This argument was roundly criticized and rejected by the Supreme Court in Buckley:

> [T]he concept that government may restrict the speech of some elements of our society in order to enhance the relative voice of others is wholly foreign to the First Amendment, which was designed "to secure 'the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources,'" and "'to assure unfettered interchange of ideas for the bringing about of political and social changes desired by the people.'"

Id. at 48-49 (citations omitted).

The construction of section 9012(f)(1) urged by Common Cause renders that provision unconstitutional on its face.

Common Cause's amended complaint further compels a determination that section 9012(f)(1) is unconstitutionally vague as to the types of associations subject to that statute. It is argued that only "committees" are limited "but not individuals or informal groups of persons acting together directly on their own behalf." Amended Complaint ¶ 2. Initially, this argument is undermined by FEC regulations which categorically state that all political committees as defined in the FECA are subject to section 9012(f). 45 Fed.

Reg. 43,378 (1980) (to be codified in 11 C.F.R. § 9002.9). Political committees by definition include "any committee, club, association, or other group of persons" which raises or expends over $1,000 to influence federal elections. 2 U.S.C. § 431(4); 11 C.F.R. § 100.5 (1980). The scope of this definition clearly encompasses any political group, "formal" or "informal," whose financial activity exceeds $1,000, the sum that Common Cause insists would constitute criminal conduct if spent to further the election of a presidential candidate.

Assuming, however, that section 9012(f)(1) limits expenditures by "formal" associations, but not "informal" associations, such a presumed distinction is so vague that persons "of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning and differ as to its application." Connally v. General Construction Co., 269 U.S. 385, 391 (1926). The federal campaign financing laws do not contain any reference to, let alone a constitutionally specific distinction between, formal and informal committees. A group of persons exercising First Amendment associational rights in the furtherance of political expression lack any guidance as to when they cease to be an "informal group of persons acting together directly on their own behalf" and have instead metamorphasized into a "committee" subject to the section 9012(f)(1) limit and its criminal sanctions. Such vagueness is constitutionally impermissible in the area of political expression. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 42-43 (1976); citing Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516 (1945).

Underlying Common Cause's view that government should be permitted to stifle organized independent political activity is a notion that effective political associations are a threat to the political process. Common Cause's

vision of American politics and political speech is one of an atomized society consisting of individuals and cells composed of individuals "acting together directly on their own behalf." Amended Complaint ¶ 2 It is foremost a vision in direct conflict with the First Amendment right of citizens "to associate with others for the common advancement of political beliefs and ideas." Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 15, citing Kusper v. Pontikes, 414 U.S. 51, 56 (1973), Cousins v. Wigoda, 419 U.S. 477, 487 (1975).

The First Amendment protects politically effective associations, because "[e]ffective advocacy of both public and private points of view, particularly controversial ones, is undeniably enhanced by group association." Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 15, citing NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449, 460 (1958). The Supreme Court struck down a $1,000 limit on independent expenditures because such a limitation on independent political expression

> precludes most associations from effectively amplifying the voice of their adherents, the original basis for the recognition of First Amendment protection of freedom of association. . . .[C]onstraints on the ability of independent associations and candidate campaign organizations to expend resources on political expression "is simultaneously an interference with the freedom of [their] adherents."

424 U.S. at 22-23 (citations omitted) (emphasis added). For the same reasons, the constraints in section 9012(f)(1) must be struck down as unconstitutional.[20/]

20/ The Supreme Court specifically envisioned the formation and operation under the campaign financing laws of "well-financed groups, who would remain free to spend unlimited sums directly to promote candidates and policies they favor in an effort to persuade voters." Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 26 n.26 (1976) (emphasis added). Moreoever, contributors remain free to become "member[s] of any political association and to assist personally in the association's efforts on behalf of candidates." Id. at 22. Political associations simultaneously were left free "to aggregate large sums of money to promote effective advocacy." Id. (emphasis added).

Section 9012(f)(1) as construed by Common Cause is unconstitutional on its face and unconstitutionally vague. For this reason, Common Cause fails to state a claim for which relief can be granted. The complaint, therefore, must be dismissed.

CONCLUSION

WHEREFORE, AFC respectfully asks the Court to grant its motion and dismiss this case with costs against Common Cause.

BAKER & HOSTETLER

By: _____

Jan W. Baran
William H. Schweitzer
Lee T. Ellis, Jr.
Rebecca L. Jackson
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 861-1572

Attorneys for Defendants
Harrison H. Schmitt,
Carl T. Curtis and
Americans For Change

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 1 5

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

COMMON CAUSE, et al.
Plaintiffs

v.

HARRISON SCHMITT, et al.
Defendants

Civil Action No. 80-1609

ORDER

Upon consideration of the Motion to Dismiss of Defendants Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis and Americans for Change filed herein, and any opposition thereto, and it appearing that the Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction and the Amended Complaint fails to state a claim upon which relief can be granted, it is by the Court this _____ day of _____, 1980

ORDERED, that the Motion to Dismiss of Defendants Harrison H. Schmitt, Carl T. Curtis and Americans for Change be, and it is hereby, granted with costs against the plaintiffs.

_____
JUDGE

_____
JUDGE

_____
JUDGE

BAKER, HOSTETLER, FROST & TOWERS
818 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

3 7 0 0 4 2 3 1 5 2

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTENTION: Marsha Getner, Esq.

RECEIVED
'80 JUL 29 PM 1:21

HARRISON SCHMITT
NEW MEXICO

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 24, 1980

Mr. Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: Matter Under Review 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

I hereby notify the Federal Election Commission pursuant to 11 C.F.R. Section 111.23 that Jan W. Baran and William H. Schweitzer of the law firm of Baker and Hostetler, 818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, will represent Americans for Change in Matter Under Review ("MUR") 1252. Mr. Baran's telephone number is 202-861-1572.

On behalf of Americans for Change, I authorize him to receive all notifications and/or communications from the Federal Election Commission to Americans for Change regarding MUR 1252.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

Harrison Schmitt
Chairman, Americans for Change

HS:dw

cc: Jan Baran, Esq.

NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

HARRISON SCHMITT, U.S.S.
United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

WASHINGTON, DC
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1980

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Mr. Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 9, 1980

HAND DELIVERED

The Honorable Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

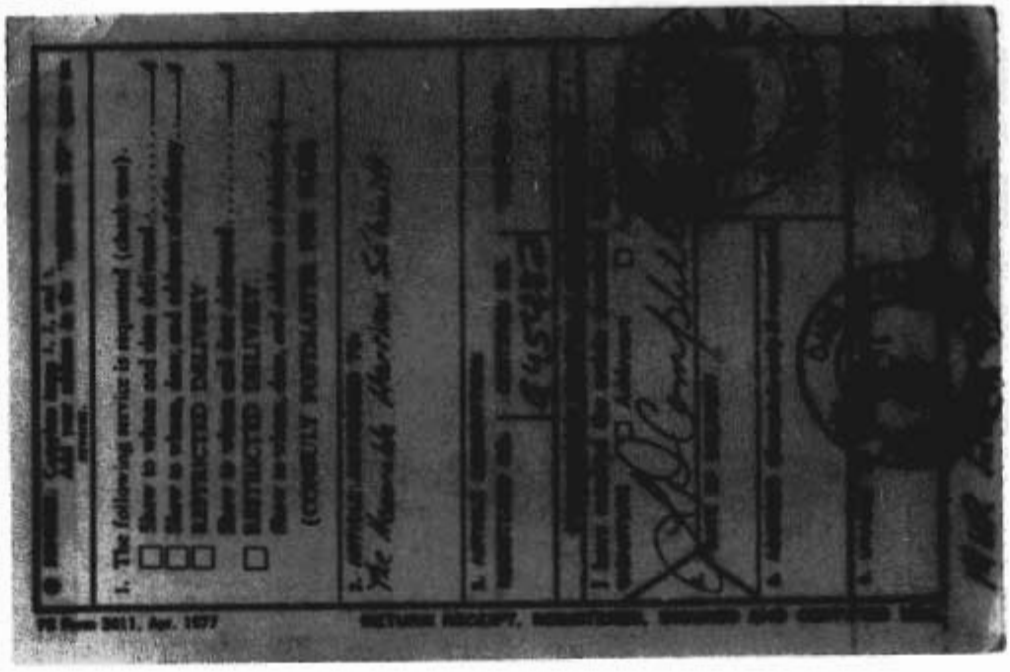
Dear Senator Schmitt:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter the Federal Election Commission today directed be sent to counsel for the Carter-Mondale Presidential Committee, Inc.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure



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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 7, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

The Honorable Harrison H. Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Senator Schmitt:

This letter is to notify you that on July 2, 1980, the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that your Committee may have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") and Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. We have numbered this matter MUR 1252. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We understand that complainant hand delivered a copy of the complaint including exhibits to you on July 2, 1980. Therefore, we have not enclosed a copy of these extensive exhibits to the complaint. However, if you would like another copy of the exhibits, we would, of course, provide it upon request.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, that no action should be taken against your Committee in connection with this matter. Your response must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

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This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by sending a letter of representation stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

If you have any questions, please contact Marsha Gentner, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 523-4057. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedure for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 31, 1983

William A. Long, Esquire
Latham, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Long:

On May 24, 1983, the Commission determined that it will take no further action with regard to the violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP").

Accordingly, the file in this matter has been closed and will become part of the public record within thirty days. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days.

If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

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LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

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1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
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PAUL R. WATKINS (1898-1973)
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TELECOPIER (714) 759-8891

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701 "B" STREET, SUITE 2100
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA 92101-8197
TELEPHONE (619) 236-1234
TELECOPIER (619) 239-3624

April 15, 1983

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Attn: Mrs. Marjorie Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Re: MUR 1252/1299

Gentlemen:

As counsel to and on behalf of Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP"), we are writing in response to a letter dated March 29, 1983 and accompanying brief dated March 28, 1983, that we have received from your general counsel, Charles N. Steele. In his letter, Mr. Steele explained that he had recommended that the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") "find probable cause to believe that a violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) occurred, but that no further action be taken in this regard." In his brief, Mr. Steele bases this recommendation upon the allegation that AEP, an independent multicandidate political committee, made excessive expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan's presidential candidacy in 1980. While we agree that the Commission should not, and indeed cannot, proceed further against AEP, we vigorously object to the recommendation that "probable cause to believe that AEP violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) in 1980" be found. Instead, the Commission is required simply to dismiss MUR 1252/1299.

Neither further court action, nor further administrative findings, can be permitted concerning AEP. The general counsel's brief tellingly concedes that the United States Supreme Court has made the dispositive determination in Common Cause v. Schmitt,

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455 U.S. 129 (1982), that AEP could not constitutionally be found to have violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by its 1980 activities. In Common Cause, the Commission was a plaintiff and AEP a defendant; the suit called upon the court to rule concerning the exact same set of facts addressed by the general counsel in his brief of March 28. In the Common Cause case, the Supreme Court affirmed by vote of an equally divided court the decision of the three-judge district court that § 9012(f) "fails to survive the strict scrutiny required by the First Amendment. The government interest to fight electoral corruption is insufficient, here as in Buckley, to justify what amounts to a direct limitation on political speech." Common Cause v. Schmitt, 512 F.Supp. 489, 501 (D.D.C. 1980). The three-judge district court granted judgment for AEP "on the grounds that § 9012(f) violates the Constitution." 512 F.Supp. at 503. As the general counsel admits at page 6 of his brief, the Supreme Court's affirmance of the district court's decision "effectively closes the civil litigation" concerning the application of § 9012(f) to the 1980 activities of the party defendants to that suit (including AEP).

Because AEP's non-violation was conclusively established in the Common Cause case, the legal doctrine of res judicata bars further litigative or administrative enforcement of § 9012(f) with respect to AEP's 1980 activities. As the general counsel points out, in his brief at page 7, "parties to a particular suit are barred from relitigating in a second action the same issues of fact involving the same parties which have been before a court in an earlier action, either again before the same court in which the initial suit was brought or before other courts of like or lesser jurisdiction." In Montana v. United States, 440 U.S. 147, 153 (1979), the United States Supreme Court applied the doctrine to the federal government, explaining:

> A fundamental precept of common-law adjudication, embodied in the related doctrines of collateral estoppel and res judicata, is that a "right, question or fact distinctly put in issue and directly determined by a court of competent jurisdiction . . . cannot be disputed in a subsequent suit between the same parties or their privies . . . . " Southern Pacific R. Co. v. United States, 168 U.S. 1, 48-49 (1897). Under res judicata, a final judgment on the merits bars further claims by parties or their privies based on the same cause of action.

See also Walsh v. International Longshoreman's Association, AFL-CIO, Local 799, 630 F.2d 864, 869 (1st Cir. 1980) (court refused to allow the National Labor Relations Board to pursue

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preliminary injunction action against the defendant union's labor practices, because another district court had denied the injunction); United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians, 518 F.2d 1298, 1305 (Ct. Cl. 1975) (Indian Claims Commission not allowed to decide claim already litigated between same parties in federal court action). Here, as in the cases referred to above, the Commission cannot relitigate AEP's activities alleged to be in violation of § 9012(f) in any forum.

Just as the Commission cannot relitigate AEP's alleged violation of § 9012(f), the doctrine of res judicata also bars administrative action toward finding such a violation, including making a finding of probable cause to believe such violation has been committed. No administrative agency or commission can lawfully reach any factual conclusion that contradicts the Supreme Court's final resolution of this case, whether or not such administrative determination constitutes or leads to litigation. As pointed out in Developments in the Law -- Res Judicata, 65 Harv. L. Rev. 818, 869 (1952), "[T]here are some situations in which identical causes of action are brought . . . in successive actions before a court and an agency. * * * [I]t cannot be argued in such cases that the agency should be able to reexamine the action of the court." Thus the Commission cannot take any action, administrative or judicial, to bring AEP within the scope of § 9012(f) because the Supreme Court has already decided that that statute cannot constitutionally be applied to AEP for its 1980 activities. In addition, even were administrative findings not barred by the Common Cause case, the scheme for enforcement of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f), set forth in 2 U.S.C. § 437g, does not contemplate unilateral Commission findings of probable cause except insofar as they are designed to lead to an enforcement process whose centerpiece is the threat of litigation. Because litigation against AEP for violation of § 9012(f) in 1980 is barred by Common Cause, so is a Commission finding of probable cause, which is the first step in the civil litigation process.

Wholly apart from the absolute legal bar against further Commission action on MUR 1252/1299, it would be grossly unfair as a matter of equity for the Commission now to charge AEP with violation of § 9012, in the full knowledge that (1) the Supreme Court has already ruled that the statute cannot constitutionally be applied to AEP's 1980 activities, and (2) AEP would have no opportunity to dispel the aura of unlawfulness that such a finding would create.

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Finally, the general counsel's recommendation that the Commission make its decision "with regard to the violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by Americans for an Effective Presidency" (emphasis supplied) is wholly objectionable. While the general counsel's recommendation refers to "the violation" of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f), no tribunal has ever determined that AEP has violated any statute. Further, the provisions for enforcement of § 9012(f), set forth at 2 U.S.C. § 437g, nowhere empower the Commission itself to find that "a violation" has occurred. Indeed, the United States Supreme Court has already affirmed the three-judge court's unanimous determination that AEP cannot constitutionally be found to have violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) in 1980. Accordingly, the Commission can make no finding of violation or of probable cause, and must as a matter of law dismiss MUR 1252/1299 without further comment or consideration.

Very truly yours,

William A. Long

William A. Long
of LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
Counsel to Americans for an
Effective Presidency

cc: Charles N. Steele, Esq.

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FROM • •

LAW OFFICES
LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
SUITE 1200
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

TO • •

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attn: Charles N. Steele, Esq.

BY MESSENGER

LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.
SUITE 1250
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-1584

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Charles N. Steele, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 29, 1983

SENSITIVE

Roderick M. Hills, Esquire
Latham, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Hills:

Based on complaints filed with the Commission on July 2, 1980, and September 26, 1980, the Commission determined on November 5, 1980, that there was reason to believe that your client, Americans for an Effective Presidency, had violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f). An investigation of this matter ensued.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that a violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) occurred, but that no further action be taken in this regard. The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendations.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the positions of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within fifteen days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (10 copies if possible) stating your positions on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, again if possible. The General Counsel's brief and any brief you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote.

Should you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 1252/1299
Americans for an Effective Presidency	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF

I. Statement of the Case

The issues involved in this matter were brought to the attention of the Commission as the result of complaints filed on July 2, 1980, and on September 26, 1980, by the Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee and the Democratic National Committee, and by Common Cause alleging violations of provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP"). 1/ On November 5, 1980, the Commission found reason to believe that AEP had violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan. Notification of the Commission's determination was sent to AEP on December 3, 1980.

A. Alleged Violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f)

In 1971, Congress established a system for the public financing of presidential elections. Enacted as the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act, Pub. L. No. 92-178, 85 Stat. 573 (1971) ("the Fund Act"), this system permits individual taxpayers to participate voluntarily in the funding of presidential

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1/ On October 15, 1980, the two complaints were merged to form MUR 1252/1299.

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election campaigns by means of a $1.00 tax return check-off. Major party candidates who satisfy the eligibility requirements of 26 U.S.C. § 9003 are entitled to equal payments from the fund to defray qualified campaign expenses. Once such a candidate has chosen to accept public funds, he or she may accept private contributions only if they are necessary to make up a deficiency in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. 26 U.S.C. §§ 9003(b)(2), 9012(b). Such candidates must also pledge not to make qualified campaign expenditures in excess of his or her allotment pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9004. 26 U.S.C. § 9001(b)(1). In 1980, this allotment totaled $29[illegible].4 million per major party candidate.

Congress was also concerned that the stated legislative purposes of the public financing of presidential campaigns could be undermined by the infusion of private funds into the political process in the form of independent expenditures by unauthorized committees on behalf of the presidential candidates receiving public funds. 2/ Congress recognized the potential danger to its

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2/ The stated purposes of public financing were to free the candidates from the rigors of fundraising; promote public discussion of issues; restore public confidence in government; "make a major change that would be a tremendous improvement toward lifting the office of the Presidency above the power of private money to control it," 117 Cong. Rec. 41,947 (1970) (remarks by Senator Long); "take the whole presidential electoral process out of the arena of big astronomical money," 117 Cong. Rec. 42,377 (1971) (remarks of Senator Pastore); and thus "end the most flagrent single abuse of our democracy, the unconscionable power of money." 117 Cong. Rec. 41,778 (1971) (remarks of Senator Kennedy).

goals of controlling the amounts spent in presidential elections and of limiting the influence of private monies in these elections if political committee leaders could raise large numbers of contributions and use this aggregated wealth to defray expenses which would otherwise be qualified campaign expenses subject to the candidate's statutory expenditure limitation.

In order to prevent the undermining of the candidate's expenditure limitation and to assure that the receipt of public funds would be a substitute for private funds, not just a supplement to those funds, Congress also included in the Fund Act a limitation of $1,000 on the amount of independent expenditures an unauthorized political committee may incur to further the election of a candidate for the office of President who is eligible to receive public funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9003. The addition of what is now Section 9012(f) was designed "to prevent any political committees from being formed as a subterfuge so that they can go beyond the authorization of the committees and make expenditures that were not within the limitations of the expenditures which are in the bill." 117 Cong. Rec. 42,397 (1971) (remarks of Senator Taft).

Any knowing and willful expenditures totaling in excess of $1,000 by unauthorized political committees for goods or services which would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by the committee of the candidate being supported are in violation of Section 9012(f). 26 U.S.C. § 9002(1) defines "qualified

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campaign expense" as (A) an expense incurred by a candidate of a political party for the office of President or Vice President or by an authorized committee of such candidates "to further" their election to such offices; (B) an expense incurred within the expenditure report period of such candidates (i.e., in the present instance between the date of nomination and thirty days after the presidential election); and (C) an expense the incurring of which is not in violation of law.

On July 24, 1980, the Commission determined that Ronald Reagan, the nominee of the Republican Party for the office of President, was eligible to receive public funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9003 and certified payment to him of $29.4 million.

In 1980, AEP was founded to be a multicandidate political committee not authorized by Ronald Reagan to make expenditures on behalf of his candidacy. In a memorandum prepared for distribution to prospective contributors, the chairman of AEP, Peter Flanigan, stated that the committee's objectives were

> "to raise funds from like-thinking Americans and to expend funds to defeat the reelection campaign of Jimmy Carter, to elect Ronald Reagan President, and to further Governor Reagan's prospects for victory should the presidential election have to be decided in the U.S. House of Representatives." (Memorandum attached hereto).

During 1980, AEP reported making $1,270,208 in independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan's general election campaign for the office of President. All but $500 of these expenditures were made during Ronald Reagan's general election

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expenditure report period, i.e., between July 16, 1980 and December 4, 1980. They paid for the services of political consultants and for costs of press conferences and telephones, and purchased at least $1,066,000 in pro-Reagan media advertisement production and placement services through the firm of Bailey, Deardourff and Associates. 3/

These expenditures indicate that AEP's 1980 activities in support of the Reagan candidacy involved campaign activities which any presidential candidate's committee could undertake so long as it was not hindered by the limitation on expenditures imposed upon recipients of funds from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. AEP solicited contributions on a nation-wide basis and used monies received to make expenditures for media advertising and other means of promoting the candidacy of Ronald Reagan. These expenditures in effect permitted the Reagan campaign to benefit from private contributions which it could not itself receive; they also added $1,270,208 to the $29.4 million expenditure limitation of the Reagan candidacy itself.

This making of expenditures by an unauthorized political committee in support of a presidential candidate receiving public funds was exactly what Congress intended to limit by the promulgation of Section 9012(f). In addition, because all but

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3/ Unlike other independent expenditure committees which supported Ronald Reagan in 1980, AEP did not report the costs of funds solicitation as independent expenditures.

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$500 of AEP's $1,270,108 in general election-related, pro-Reagan expenditures were incurred within Ronald Reagan's general election report period and would have constituted qualified campaign expenses if incurred by his authorized committees, the AEP expenditures come squarely within the language as well as the intent of Section 9012(f), and consequently within the limitations imposed thereby.

On July 15, 1980, the Commission filed a complaint in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia pursuant to 26 U.S.C. §§ 9010(c) and 9011(b) seeking to implement and construe 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) as applicable to three political committees, including AEP. On September 30, 1980, the three-judge court rendered its judgment and opinion, finding that "(t)he plain language of section 9012(f) proscribes categorically the defendants' planned expenditures," but also declaring 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) to be unconstitutional. FEC v. Americans for Change, 512 F. Supp. 489, 492, 500-501 (D.D.C. 1980).

On January 19, 1982, the Supreme Court affirmed by an equally divided Court the finding by a three-judge District Court in the District of Columbia that 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) is unconstitutional. Common Cause, et al. v. Harrison Schmitt, et al., No. 80-846, United States Supreme Court, consolidated with Federal Election Commission v. Americans for Change, et al., No. 80-1067, United States Supreme Court. While the Court's decision effectively closes the civil litigation in FEC v. AFC, the equally divided nature of the Court's opinion leaves the

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issue of the constitutionality of Section 9012(f) still unresolved and thus open. A judgment entered by an equally divided Court is not "entitled to precedential weight". Trans World Airways v. Hardison, 432 U.S. 63, 73 n.8 (1977). See also, Neil v. Biggers, 409 U.S. 188 (1972); Inman v. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co., 361 U.S. 138 (1959); and Ohio ex rel Eaton v. Price, 364 U.S. 263 (1960).

Given the law regarding the non-precedential nature of equally divided Supreme Court opinions, the Commission would not be barred from relitigating the issue of the enforceability of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f). The remaining question is therefore whether or not to pursue enforcement against AEP for its clear violation of this provision.

As regards this particular committee, the prospect of eventual litigation arising out of a 1980-related enforcement action by the Commission necessitates consideration of the potential effects of res judicata and collateral estoppel. Although judicial interpretation of these doctrines is not settled, there appears to be general agreement that parties to a particular suit are barred from re-litigating in a second action the same issues of fact involving the same parties which have been before a court in an earlier action, either again before the same court in which the initial suit was brought or before other courts of like or lesser jurisdiction. American Medical International, Inc. v. Secretary of Health, Education and

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Welfare, No. 79-1460 (D.C. Cir., Aug. 14, 1981); Walsh v. International Longshoreman's Association, AFL-CIO, 630 F.2d 864 (1st Cir. 1980); U.S. v. Anaconda Co., 445 F. Supp. 486 (D.C.D.C. 1977). Therefore, it is likely that, because AEP was a party in FEC v. Americans for Change, supra, the Commission would be deemed estopped from attempting again to enforce Section 9012(f) as regards the 1980 campaign activities of this committee.

Beyond the question of whether the Commission would succeed in any further enforcement effort, it is the General Counsel's view that the Commission should consider that it made a strong attempt to enforce the provisions of the statute in the 1980 election. Further attempts could be made by pursuing this and other cases. In the unique circumstances, however, of a deadlocked Supreme Court on the issues as raised in the 1980 election, avoidance of further litigation over the same issue with regard to the election past seems to the General Counsel to be a valid exercise of the Commission's judgment in pursuing cases.

It must be emphasized, however, that future expenditures by AEP in furtherance of the election of a publicly financed presidential candidate would create a new factual situation to which considerations of estoppel and prior Commission efforts need not apply. Section 9012(f) has not been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. AEP is thus on notice that any project or program involving more than $1,000

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in expenditures on behalf of a presidential candidate receiving funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9001, et seq., in 1984 or beyond, would be undertaken in the knowledge that 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) as enacted by Congress remains in effect.

This Office recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that AEP violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) in 1980 but take no further action with regard to this particular violation.

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III. General Counsel's Recommendation

1. Find probable cause to believe and take no further action with regard to the violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by Americans for an Effective Presidency.

25 March 1983
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachment

83040423175

Attachment

AMERICANS FOR AN EFFECTIVE PRESIDENCY
1225 19th Street, N.W., Suite 415
Washington, D.C. 20036

FROM: Peter Flanigan, Chairman
Americans for an Effective Presidency

TO: Prospective Contributors

RE: Objectives, Perspective and Operation of Americans for an Effective Presidency

It is our intention to communicate the contents of this memorandum -- in its present or in summary form -- to every prospective contributor to Americans for an Effective Presidency.

We invite contributions from those who share in common with us the objectives and perspective of the organization and understand the way it intends to pursue those objectives.

A. Objectives

Americans for an Effective Presidency is a group of individuals gathered together to exercise their constitutional rights to participate in the political process. As such, it is an independent expenditures committee under the Federal Election Campaign Act. It is not authorized by any candidate, by any candidate's Committee or by any national political party.

Its objectives are to raise funds from like-thinking Americans and to expend funds to defeat the re-election campaign of Jimmy Carter, to elect Ronald Reagan President, and to further Governor Reagan's prospects of victory should the presidential election have to be decided in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Paid for by Americans for an Effective Presidency,
An Independent Expenditures Committee Under the Federal Election Campaign Act;
Not Authorized By Any Candidate or Candidate's Committee

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Therefore, it will make expenditures in support of Governor Reagan's election as President and in support of selected Republican candidates for Congress in expectation of their support of Governor Reagan should the election go into the House.

We intend to comply with all existing law by maintaining total independence from the Reagan campaign committee, the Republican National Committee, and their leadership, strategists, and operational personnel.

B. Perspective

All contributors should share the commonly held beliefs of the founding members of Americans for an Effective Presidency. They are the following:

1. The presidential election of 1980 may be the most important in our nation's history.

2. The continuation of Jimmy Carter in office would severely threaten the economic stability of the country and the effectiveness of the free world alliances upon which world peace depends.

3. In the past three years, the defense preparedness of the United States has been allowed to decline to a point of genuine jeopardy to our country and our people.

4. At the same time economic mismanagement by the current administration has permitted inflation at record levels and unemployment at rising levels to undermine the economic security of most American families.

5. At the same time the policies of the current administration have both prevented needed business reinvestment and furthered burdensome government regulation at the expense of big and small business alike and American's workers and America's consumers.

6. And at the same time, indecisive leadership by the current administration has denied the country an effective, understandable or supportable plan for energy independence.

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7. Of the candidates currently running for President, Ronald Reagan is most clearly able to correct these deficiencies and restore American stability, security, confidence and pride.

8. Because of the utmost importance of the election, it is essential to assure effective communications to the voters of Reagan's strengths and Carter's deficiencies.

9. It is the responsibility of all who share these beliefs to do all within their power to assure the defeat of Jimmy Carter and the election of Ronald Reagan.

10. Because the candidacy of John Anderson might prevent any candidate from winning an Electoral College majority and require the House of Representatives to make the choice, it is important for all who share these beliefs to help elect House candidates who would be expected to vote for Ronald Reagan.

These shared views of the founding members of Americans for an Effective Presidency, as listed on our letterhead, form the perspective of the organization. Many of the founding members have held high public office. Their individual views may be familiar to many potential contributors. Any who wish a further presentation of their individual views are invited to write them personally or to write Americans for an Effective Presidency.

C. Operations

Every contributor to Americans for an Effective Presidency is a Member of the organization. All Members who wish to do so may become Participating Members by filling out a questionnaire attesting to their personal independence from the strategy, planning and operations of the Reagan campaign and campaigns for candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. Approval of a Member as a Participating Member will be automatic unless the staff and an appointed committee of the founding members determines from the submitted questionnaire that participation in policy questions by the Member would jeopardize the independence of the organization under the law.

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All Participating Members (including all founding members) will be periodically polled and invited to periodic meetings to consider policy questions before the organization.

An Expenditures Committee (as indicated on the letterhead) has been established to provide supervisory direction to the staff of the organization. They have been chosen for their broad political experience and judgment.

The Expenditures Committee shall solicit the views of the full Participating Membership on major questions of policy. And taking those views into account, it shall determine all expenditures by the organization, hire all staff, provide for legal counsel, supervise all record-keeping, authorize all fund-raising, and represent the organization to the media and the public.

Thomas Reed shall serve as Chairman of the Expenditures Committee and shall provide policy guidance and regular supervision of the staff on behalf of the Expenditures Committee. Mr. Reed, serving as chairman or director of various statewide campaigns in the Western United States over the past 14 years, enjoys an unbroken record of electoral success.

Robert Masson shall serve as Treasurer of the Committee. Mr. Masson is Treasurer of Pepsico, Inc., and is an experienced financial manager.

Professional staff will be retained to implement all aspects of the organization's program. All staff personnel will be required to fill out the same questionnaire that Participating Members fill out in order to assure total independence for the organization. The original staff of Americans for an Effective Presidency includes:

-- Staff Director: Don Fierce: 1976 regional political director for President Ford. Managed numerous Republican campaigns for Congressional and statewide offices.

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-- Media Directors: Bailey, Deardourff & Associates: 1976 general election advertising agency for President Ford. The firm counts ten of the 19 current Republican Governors among their clients.

It is expected that the program implemented by the staff, under the supervision of the Expenditures Committee, will include:

-- Solicitation, via personal and direct mail fund-raising, of several million dollars in contributions.

-- The placement of 75% or more of all funds in television, radio and newspaper advertising to defeat Jimmy Carter, elect Ronald Reagan and increase the likelihood of Ronald Reagan's election if the House of Representatives must decide. The timing and location of such advertising shall be determined by the Expenditures Committee after input from Participating Members and after professional analysis by the staff. The content of such advertising shall be consistent with the objectives and the perspective of the organization as expressed in this memo. Each piece of advertising shall be authorized by the Expenditures Committee only after determination that it is consistent with the views of the Participating Members.

-- Occasional presentation of the views of public figures associated with the organization on subjects relevant to their expertise and consistent with the shared perspective of the Members.

-- Broad (but targeted) media distribution of recorded statements relevant to the campaign by public figures expressing views consistent with the shared perspective of the Members.

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-- Consideration of direct contributions to campaigns of candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives where appropriate to increase the likelihood of Governor Reagan's victory in case the presidential election must be decided in the House. Such contributions would be in addition to or rather than media expenditures made in support of their candidacy. In determining when and where such contributions or expenditures are appropriate, the Expenditures Committee will rely on professional staff analysis.

Expenditures are not planned for any of the following types of activities which would be typical of a campaign organization:

-- Buttons, bumper strips and similar handout paraphernalia of a traditional candidate campaign.

-- Field and precinct organization for Election Day activities.

-- Phone bank or other voter canvassing activities.

D. Summary

It is our hope that all Americans who share the objectives and perspective of Americans for an Effective Presidency, and who understand its contemplated operations, will want to exercise their constitutional right to contribute to its efforts and become a Member. We want their support. We want their participation in its policy decisions to the degree that each individual's actual participation in policy will preserve the legally required independence of the organization from the Reagan campaign and the Republican National Committee.

Our country is on the line in this election. We intend to do something about it. And we want your help.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

December 3, 1980

Roderick M. Hills, Esquire
Lathams, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Hills:

On September 25, 1980 you were notified of the Commission's findings concerning your client, Americans for an Effective Presidency (AEP) with respect to the complaint filed by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee and captioned MUR 1252.

This letter is to further notify you that upon reconsideration of the complaint in MUR 1252, the Commission has found reason to believe AEP violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan. A report on the Commission's finding is attached. You may also submit any additional factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. In the absence of such additional information or further explanation of circumstances which demonstrate that no further action should be taken against AEP, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred, and proceed with formal conciliation. Of course, this does not preclude the settlement of this matter through informal conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe if you so desire.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you have any questions with respect to this or any other Commission action, please call Marsha G. Gentner, Anne A. Weissenborn, or Patricia F. Bak at (202) 523-5071.

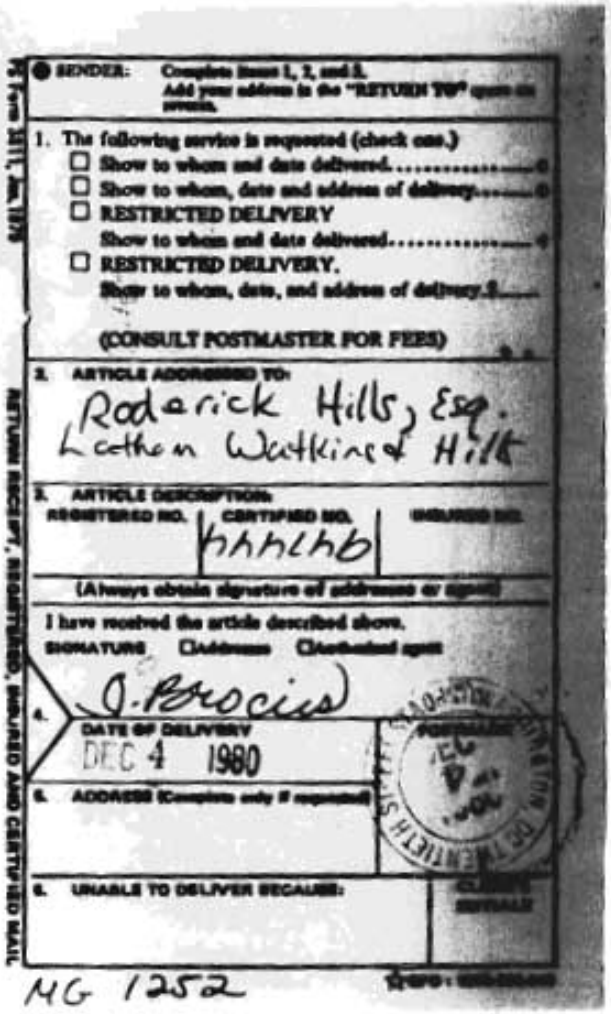
Sincerely,

John Warren McGarry
Vice-Chairman

Enclosure

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Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse.

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2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:
Roderick Hills, Esq.
Latham Watkins & Hill

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REGISTERED NO. | CERTIFIED NO. 544426 | INSURED NO.

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I have received the article described above.
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J. Brocius

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MG 1252

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

NOTIFICATION OF REASON TO BELIEVE FINDING

DATE December 3, 1980

MUR NO. 1252

STAFF MEMBER(S) & TEL. NO.

COMPLAINANTS' NAMES Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee
Democratic National Committee

Marsha G. Gentner

Anne A. Weissenborn
(202) 523-5071

RESPONDENT'S NAME Americans for an Effective Presidency

BACKGROUND

On July 2, 1980, the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee and the Democratic National Committee (hereinafter "Complainants") submitted a complaint which alleges that Americans for an Effective Presidency (hereinafter "AEP") is violating 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures on behalf of the candidacy of Ronald Reagan and both 2 U.S.C. § 9012(f) and 2 U.S.C.§ 441a(a) by making excessive in-kind contributions to Ronald Reagan and his principal campaign committee.

PRELIMINARY
FACTUAL BASIS AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) prohibits unauthorized committees from knowingly and willfully incurring expenditures in excess of $1000 to further the election of candidates of a political party for President and Vice-President who are eligible to receive public funds when such expenditures would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such candidates. Therefore, if an unauthorized committee expends more that $1000 on behalf of such a candidate, that committee has violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f), whether or not the committee is "independent" of the candidate's authorized committee.

As the complaint demonstrates, AEP is soliciting funds in excess of $1,000 to be used "to purchase professionaly prepared television, radio, and newspaper advertising in support of the candidacy of Ronald Reagan." The Office of General Counsel has recommended that the Commission find reason to believe that AEP has violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures.

COMMISSION DETERMINATION

Based on the foregoing analysis, the Federal Election Commission has found that Americans for an Effective Presidency has violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

THROUGH: Lawrence M. Noble
Assistant General Counsel

FROM: Marsha Gentner
Attorney

12/2/80

SUBJECT: Letters in MUR 1252

On November 5, 1980, pursuant to an Office of General Counsel recommendation, the Commission found reason to believe Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP") and the North Carolina Congressional Club ("NCCC") violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan. Upon my consultation with you on November 10, it was decided that the letters notifying AEP and NCCC of the Commission findings would not be immediately sent, but rather would be held pending the outcome of Dan Blessington's memo dealing with the § 9012(f) issue. However, on November 18, I discussed this matter with you again, at which time you instructed me to check into the progress of Dan Blessington's memo. I have done this and do not feel that the memo is progressing fast enough to avoid possible due process problems due to the substantial delay in AEP's and NCCC's receipt of their notifications of a Commission finding of reason to believe. Therefore, I recommend that the letters immediately be sent as drafted, and that we handle any formal or informal responses to the Commission's action as the need arises.

Yes

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MCC# 306

LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

PAUL R. WATKINS (1898-1973)
DANA LATHAM (1898-1974)

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
555 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071
TELEPHONE (213) 485-1234
CABLE ADDRESS LATHWAT
TWX 910 321-3733
TELECOPIER (213) 680-2098

1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
SUITE 1200
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 828-4400
TELECOPIER (202) 862-4415

NEWPORT BEACH OFFICE
660 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE, SUITE 1400
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660
TELEPHONE (714) 752-8100
TELECOPIER (714) 759-8891

SAN DIEGO OFFICE
2550 FIFTH AVENUE, SUITE 712
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA 92103
TELEPHONE (714) 238-4414
TELECOPIER (714) 238-3624

October 21, 1980

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Charles N. Steele, Esq.

Re: MUR 1299

Gentlemen:

As counsel to and on behalf of Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP"), we are writing in response to your letter dated October 2, 1980 to Peter Flanigan, chairman of AEP. The complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission by Common Cause, in which it is alleged that AEP has violated the Federal election laws, is devoid of any merit, and should be dismissed forthwith by the Commission.

In essence, Common Cause alleges variously that AEP is not independent of Ronald Reagan and that AEP's expenditures are unlawful, whether or not AEP is independent of Ronald Reagan, under certain enumerated provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA") and the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act (the "Fund Act"). However, precisely the same issues raised by Common Cause were previously addressed by the Commission in MUR 1252, and the Commission concluded there that it "did not find reason to believe that AEP has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, and, accordingly, has closed its file on this matter as regards AEP." The Commission's letter so notifying AEP was dated September 25, 1980, only one day before Common Cause filed the instant complaint. Under these circumstances, it is incumbent upon the Commission to forthwith dismiss the instant complaint, based upon its decision in MUR 1252.

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While Common Cause asserts numerous alleged violations of law by AEP, there is only one question properly before the Commission: whether, based upon the factual allegations of Common Cause, the Commission has reason to believe that AEP's expenditures are not "independent expenditures" within the meaning of § 431(17) of FECA and the regulations promulgated thereunder, such that AEP's expenditures constitute unlawful contributions to Mr. Reagan under § 441a(a) of FECA. It is shocking that Common Cause asserts that AEP has violated § 9012(f) of the Fund Act, and asks the Commission to so hold regardless of AEP's independence, in complete disregard of the unanimous decision of a three-judge district court, in a case to which Common Cause is itself a party, that § 9012(f) is facially unconstitutional and therefore cannot be applied to AEP. Common Cause v. Schmitt, et al., No. 80-1609; Federal Election Commission v. Americans For Change, et al., No. 80-1754 (Three-Judge Court, August 28, 1980). The fact that the Court's Opinion was not issued until after Common Cause filed the instant complaint with the Commission does not excuse Common Cause's conduct, given the clarity of the Court's Orders of August 28, 1980, and given the obviously selective manner in which Common Cause has referred to the briefs and arguments in that case.

The three-judge court was also unequivocal in its decision that AEP cannot be held to violate Fund Act §§ 9003 (b)(1), 9003(b)(2), 9012(a)(1) and 9012(b)(1): "Each of these sections can be violated only by the candidate receiving federal funds." (Opinion, p. 26).

The only allegation of Common Cause, therefore, that is a proper subject for this Commission's consideration, is whether or not AEP's expenditures are "independent expenditures." As to this issue, it is abundantly clear that the Commission has no basis whatsoever to conclude that AEP's expenditures are not independent, and it has no basis even to conclude that it has "reason to believe" that they are not independent. The only factual allegations of the Common Cause complaint directly concerning AEP are at pages 6 and 26-28 thereof. These allegations of "fact" virtually parallel the allegations made by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc. in MUR 1252, and they are just as irrelevant and, in some cases, just as false as

those earlier allegations. To make the record complete, AEP formally responds to these allegations by referring to, and incorporating herein by this reference, its "Motion to Dismiss" and supporting Affidavit of Roderick M. Hills, copies of which are attached hereto for the Commission's convenience, filed in MUR 1252 on July 23, 1980. This material establishes beyond any doubt that there is no basis on which this Commission can possibly conclude that it has "reason to believe" that AEP lacks independence from Mr. Reagan. By its letter of September 25, 1980 notifying AEP that it was closing its files in MUR 1252 with respect to AEP, the Commission in fact so stated. The current effort by Common Cause to reopen that inquiry based upon the exact same allegations found defective by the Commission earlier, must likewise be rejected by the Commission.

Common Cause's allegations of "shadow" campaigns, along with its distorted views of what is "realistic", or "inescapable", or "predictable", may weave an interesting tale, but a tale of pure fiction and imagination only. Common Cause's apparent view of what is and is not independence bears no relationship whatsoever to the Federal election laws and, in particular, to the definition of "independent expenditure" under FECA, the regulations and the Commission's own Advisory Opinions and decisions.

The one thing that is truly "inescapable" is that AEP has not violated and is not violating any provision of the Federal election laws, properly interpreted and applied. Common Cause's arguments to the contrary seek to completely pervert both the relevant law and the facts concerning AEP, and demonstrate a most callous and inexplicable disregard for the United States Constitution. As with MUR 1252, MUR 1299 should be "closed as regards AEP."

Very truly yours,

Robert K. Burgess

Robert K. Burgess
of LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
Counsel to Americans for an
Effective Presidency

Attachment

3304042313

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 25, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Roderick M. Hills, Esquire
Lathans, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Hills:

On July 7, 1980, the Federal Election Commission notified you that a complaint had been filed against Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP") alleging violations by AEP of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") or Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. A copy of the complaint was forwarded to you at that time.

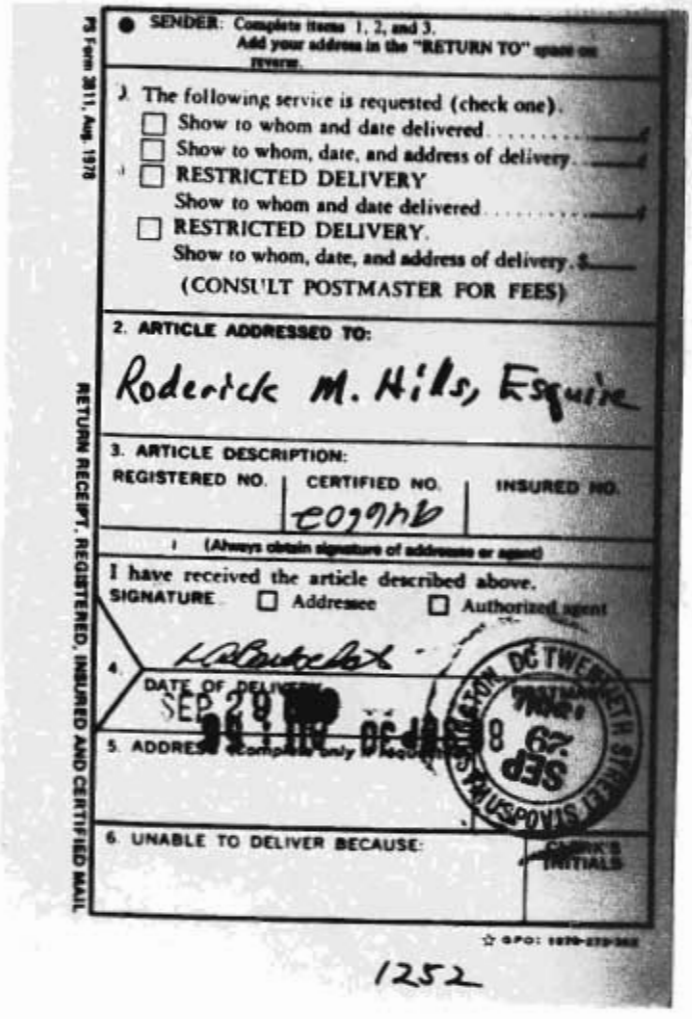
On September 3, 1980, the Commission considered the allegations in the complaint with respect to AEP. The Commission did not find reason to believe that AEP has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, and, accordingly, has closed its file on this matter as regards AEP.

Sincerely,

JOHN WARREN McGARRY
Vice-Chairman

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PS Form 3811, Aug. 1978

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2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:
Roderick M. Hills, Esquire

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1252

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Roderick M. Hills, Esquire
Lathans, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Hills:

On July 7, 1980, the Federal Election Commission notified you that a complaint had been filed against Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP") alleging violations by AEP of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") or Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. A copy of the complaint was forwarded to you at that time.

On September 3, 1980, the Commission considered the allegations in the complaint with respect to AEP. The Commission did not find reason to believe that AEP has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(f) by making excessive in-kind contributions and expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, and, accordingly, has closed its file on this matter as regards AEP.

Sincerely,

8304042391

AW 9/25/80

LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
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PAUL R. WATKINS (1889-1973)
DANA LATHAM (1888-1974)

CABLE ADDRESS LATHWAT
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TELEPHONE (213) 485-1234

ORANGE COUNTY OFFICE
660 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660
TELEPHONE (714) 752-8100

July 23, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Steele:

Enclosed is the original and one copy of the "Motion to Dismiss Submitted by Americans for an Effective Presidency" in the matter of the complaint of The Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc. and the Democratic National Committee, MUR 1252. Pursuant to U.S.C. § 437(g)(12), we trust that this filing will be kept confidential.

Very truly yours,

Robert K. Burgess

Robert K. Burgess
of LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

Enclosures

BY HAND

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FROM

LAW OFFICES
LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
SUITE 1200
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

TO

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

BY HAND

8304043194

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF THE COMPLAINT OF THE CARTER-MONDALE REELECTION COMMITTEE, INC. and DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.	MUR 1252

MOTION TO DISMISS
SUBMITTED BY
AMERICANS FOR AN EFFECTIVE PRESIDENCY

Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP"), by its counsel, hereby moves the Commission to dismiss the complaint against it filed by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc. and the Democratic National Committee (the "Democratic Party Complainants"), on the following grounds:

1. The Commission lacks jurisdiction over the complaint under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1);

2. The complaint fails to state a claim for relief against Americans for an Effective Presidency;

3. AEP's proposed activities are wholly consistent with the Commission's regulations and prior Commission practice and policy.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

If the Commission fails to dismiss the complaint against AEP, and chooses instead to take any action in furtherance of the complaint in the form of an investigative or enforcement action against AEP, it will constitute a serious and continuing abridgement of the core First Amendment rights of AEP and its members of free association, free speech and free and unfettered political expression. As said by the Supreme Court in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 96 S.Ct. 612 (1976):

> "The First Amendment denies government the power to determine that spending to promote one's political views is wasteful, excessive or unwise. In the free society ordained by our Constitution it is not the government, but the people -- individually as citizens and candidates and collectively as associations and political committees -- who must retain control over the quantity and range of debate on public issues in a political campaign." 424 U.S. at 57, 96 S.Ct. at 653.

This complaint of the Democratic Party Complainants, obviously motivated by political rather than legal considerations, must be dismissed forthwith.

I.

THE COMMISSION LACKS JURISDICTION OVER THE COMPLAINT UNDER 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1)

By letter to AEP's counsel dated July 9, 1980 from the Commission's General Counsel, the Commission gave AEP the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing within 15 days, "that no action should be taken against [AEP] in connection with" the complaint filed herein by the Democratic Party Complainants.

The extension of this opportunity to AEP by the Commission may appear on its face to be consistent with § 437g(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA"). That section does state that "before the Commission conducts any vote on the complaint, other than a vote to dismiss, any person so notified shall have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, to the Commission within 15 days after notification that no action should be taken against such person on the basis of the complaint." By its letter, the Commission requested AEP to "submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter."

However, the Commission's action, presumably taken under § 437g(a)(1), is premature. The concept that AEP, or any other respondent, must or should bear the burden of proving to the Commission that "no action should be taken against" it is completely foreign to the United States Constitution and fundamental principles of due process. The Commission has wholly failed to shoulder its own responsibility to notify AEP of the particular violations of law which AEP is alleged to have committed and the specific factual basis for such alleged violations. Since the Commission has not done that, and cannot do that, it has no choice but to dismiss the complaint, as contemplated by § 437g(a)(1).

The complaint of the Democratic Party Complainants certainly does not give notice to AEP of any alleged violation of the law. Such complaint gives not the appearance -- much

less the reality -- of any facts on which to base the barest prima facie case that AEP has violated any provision of law. While it names AEP as a respondent, (1) it does not specifically charge AEP with having violated any provision of law; (2) it does not allege a single fact on which, under the relevant statutes or the Commission's regulations or other published information or otherwise, a finding conceivably can be made that AEP lacks independence from Mr. Reagan; and (3) it does not ask for any relief against AEP.

In order to set in motion the Commission's enforcement procedures under § 437g of FECA, a person must allege that a violation of FECA or of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act (the "Fund Act") "has occurred." But AEP is not alleged to have committed any violation of these statutes.

Nor are the complaint's allegations of "fact" sufficient to support a determination that AEP will violate FECA or the Fund Act if it proceeds with its plans to make expenditures in support of the Republican nominee for President. These "facts" consist of false statements and inference and innuendo drawn exclusively from press statements unsubstantiated and uncorroborated by admissible evidence. Similarly, the self-serving, conclusory "affidavit" of the political head of the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Robert Strauss, contains not one whit of admissible evidence. The complaint and "affidavit" contain nothing more than legally and factually baseless charges that AEP lacks independence from Mr. Reagan because of its members long-time involvement in Republican

party politics, Republican election campaigns, and Republican federal and state administrations. If the Democratic Party Complainants seriously contend that the only persons who can be legally and factually independent of a presidential candidate are those persons who have been political eunuchs all their lives, such has not heretofore been the position of the Commission and they can find no support for that proposition in the Constitution or in the decisions of the Supreme Court. The arguments of the complaint allegedly based on § 9012(f) of the Fund Act and AEP's asserted lack of independence are window dressing for an undisguised politically motivated action taken without a scintilla of legal or factual justification. The Democratic Party Complainants have converted into a highly partisan matter an issue that is vital to all Americans regardless of political persuasion.

Having failed to dismiss the complaint, the Commission has put its imprimatur on a deprivation of AEP's fundamental First Amendment freedoms. It is unthinkable under our Constitution that any government agency procedures can impose burdens on the exercise of these basic rights with such alacrity, regardless of the lack of merit in a "complaint" filed with it. As the Supreme Court said in Buckley, "the First Amendment denies government the power" to do what the Commission has done here.

Thus, since the complaint does not charge AEP with having violated any provision of law, and since the "facts" alleged in the complaint regarding AEP do not remotely support

even a prima facie argument that AEP has violated any provision of law, the Commission lacks jurisdiction to proceed with this matter under § 437g(a)(1) and it must be dismissed. For the Commission to follow any other course of action would be to continue to chill AEP's exercise of its First Amendment rights of free association, free speech and political expression, and would constitute a certain assault on the most fundamental principles of due process.

II.

THE COMPLAINT FAILS TO STATE A CLAIM FOR RELIEF AGAINST AEP

The Democratic Party Complainants have not asked for any relief against AEP and, just as importantly, have not asked for any relief against any respondent that this Commission is empowered to give.

In the complaint, the Democratic Party Complainants request that this Commission "decline to certify Mr. Reagan and the Republican candidate for Vice President as eligible to receive payments under the Fund Act." But the Commission is without statutory authority to grant such relief based upon any of the allegations in the complaint, whether before or after Mr. Reagan applies for such funds.

The preconditions to federal funding are set forth in § 9003 of the Fund Act and Part 141 of the Commission's regulations. Assuming that Mr. Reagan seeks federal funds pursuant to these provisions, and when he does so, this Commission is duty-bound under § 9005 of the Fund Act to certify

his eligibility to receive federal funds to the Secretary of the Treasury, provided only that Mr. Reagan make the agreements and certify to the matters set forth in § 9003. When Mr. Reagan satisfies these preconditions, "the Commission shall certify" his eligibility. 26 U.S.C. § 9005; 11 CFR § 143.1. The Commission's mandate is absolute.

The alleged lack of independence of AEP from Mr. Reagan is irrelevant to this certification mandate. This point is emphasized by § 9007 of the Fund Act and Part 145 of the regulations, which authorize Commission investigation (leading to possible repayment of funds only) to determine whether the presidential candidate made excess expenditures or accepted improper contributions, only "after each presidential election."

The complaint thus not only fails to state a claim for relief against AEP; it also fails to state a claim for relief against anyone. The Commission is without authority to proceed further under § 437g, as a matter of law.

III.

AEP'S PROPOSED ACTIVITIES ARE WHOLLY CONSISTENT WITH THE COMMISSION'S REGULATIONS AND PRIOR COMMISSION PRACTICE AND POLICY

In light of the Commission's failure to dismiss this complaint, and the resulting burdens imposed on AEP to respond to legally unfounded and factually baseless charges, serious questions are raised regarding the constitutionality of the Commission's enforcement procedures, as embodied in

§ 437g.*/ In addition, if the Commission now declines to dismiss this complaint, these problems will only be exacerbated, given the reversal in Commission practice and policy that such action will represent.

A. The Commission Has Acknowledged That § 9012(f) Does Not Apply to Committees Like AEP

The Commission has recently filed suit against AEP and other independent political committees asserting that § 9012(f) of the Fund Act constitutionally may limit expenditures by such committees to $1,000. However, the Commission had the opportunity to adopt that position in 1976 following the Buckley decision during proceedings on proposed regulations which were eventually adopted and which permit unlimited independent expenditures, but expressly declined to do so. At the same time that the Commission adopted its comprehensive regulations which, among other things, authorized unlimited independent expenditures consistent with Buckley and FECA, as amended following that decision, the only regulation adopted by the Commission under § 9012(f) related to expenditures by state party committees. 11 CFR §§ 110.7 and 146.1.

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*/ See also Buckley v. Valeo, 519 F.2d 821, 892-93 (D.C. Cir. 1975) ("Indeed, some of the provisions -- for example, those conferring civil enforcement and candidate disqualification powers on the Commission -- raise very serious constitutional questions," determined not to be "ripe for adjudication" in that case), aff'd in part and rev'd in part, 424 U.S. 1, 137, 96 S.Ct. 612, 690-91, n.175 (1976) (also deferring these questions for lack of ripeness); Note, The Federal Election Commission, The First Amendment, and Due Process, 89 Yale L.J. 1199 (1980).

Moreover, there is a direct conflict between the Commission's current position that Section 9012(f) "does apply to 'independent expenditures committees' and that, as applied, that provision is constitutional," and its position taken only eight months ago, in November 1979, when the Commission acknowledged in response to a challenge to the federal funding of presidential campaigns:

> "Nor are plaintiffs deprived of any freedom to associate with political parties or other groups. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. at 23-23 .... Plaintiffs are free to contribute money to political committees (other than the candidates' authorized committees) to make unlimited independent expenditures ...." Republican National Committee v. Federal Election Commission, 616 F.2d 1 (2d Cir. 1980), aff'd 100 S. Ct. 1639 (1980) (Brief of the Commission, at 48).

Of course, in that case and its companion, Republican National Committee v. Federal Election Commission, 487 F.Supp. 280 (S.D.N.Y. 1980), aff'd 100 S. Ct. 1639 (1980), the Commission was attempting to convince the courts that the Fund Act's prohibition on the receipt of private contributions by presidential candidates was constitutional, because supporters of such candidates had alternative forms of expression still available to them -- unlimited independent expenditures included. The Commission's arguments were apparently effective in those cases. The three-judge court concluded "that the limitations imposed by § 9003 do not abridge the rights of supporters" because, "[m]ost important, uncoordinated expenditures are permitted without limit. Limitations on uncoordinated

expenditures were held unconstitutional in Buckley . . ." The Second Circuit agreed with the decision of the three-judge court, and the Supreme Court affirmed both lower courts.*/

The Commission has also issued public letters and opinions consistent with its position of only eight months ago that the Fund Act does not limit independent expenditures. For example, the Commission stated in connection with the 1976 general election that the "GOP Feminist Caucus" could expend funds with "no limitation" for the production of campaign buttons supporting President Ford in the general election if its "expenses for the buttons [came] within the definition of an independent expenditure." The Commission went on to explain: "Expenses incurred during the general election campaign period must qualify as independent expenditures since as a general rule contributions to Presidential candidates who receive funding are prohibited." Informational Letter re: AOR 1976-28, September 10, 1976. In other words, expenses which do qualify as independent expenditures can be incurred without limitation even where the candidate accepts public funding in the general election.

Similarly, the Commission implicitly acknowledged the legitimacy of independent expenditures in support of then-candidate Carter in the 1976 general election. In describing the form of disclaimer to be used on communications of the

*/ We note that Common Cause also has made an about-face before this Commission (in opposing Advisory Opinion Request 1980-61, subsequently withdrawn), from its unequivocal position as amicus curiae in the RNC case that Republican supporters may form groups and freely spend money without limitation under Buckley. (Brief of Common Cause, at 38-39.)

"Citizens for Carter" committee, "an independent political action committee," the Commission discussed expenditures for such communications while making no mention of § 9012(f). AO 1976-35, August 12, 1976. This silence embodies a tacit approval of independent expenditures by political committees notwithstanding § 9012(f). Discussion of the proper disclaimer to be attached to communications is meaningless unless expenditures for the communications are lawful to begin with.

More recently, in AO 1979-80, March 12, 1980, the Commission has acknowledged the right of political committees to make independent expenditures in the 1980 general presidential election. In response to a question concerning the possible use by an independent political committee of an advertising firm which had previously been engaged by a candidate for the nomination for president, the Commission said that, "if, however, this Republican candidate for nomination becomes the nominee, NCPAC would presumably be precluded from engaging the advertising firm to make independent expenditures during the general election." The Commission did not say that independent expenditures during the general election were prohibited, but rather addressed only the need for such expenditures to be independent. See also Informational Letter to Ralph H. Goettler, October 4, 1976 (referring to the requirement of independence in connection with "independent expenditures on behalf of President Ford" by "an individual or committee").

On numerous occasions, the Commission has had before it the issue of independent expenditures by political committees.

Not once has it attempted to apply § 9012(f) in the manner now sought by the Democratic Party Complainants. Rather, the Commission has carried out its constitutional mandate to protect this "most important" form of political expression. Nothing justifies a different result here.

B. The Commission Also Has Acknowledged That Proposed Activities Like AEP's are "Independent"

For the Commission to find that AEP's proposed expenditures will lack the requisite independence from Mr. Reagan would also be contrary to the Commission's regulations and past practice. In this regard, it is incumbent upon the Commission to compare the allegations of the Democratic Party Complainants with the applicable law, as interpreted by the Commission in its regulations and decisions. The allegations concerning AEP are:

1. AEP's members are long-standing Republicans who have been active in Republican party politics, campaigns and federal and state government. Complaint, pp. 17-25.

2. Mr. Reagan has not discouraged the making of independent expenditures, but Carter-Mondale have a "policy" of discouraging independent expenditures. Strauss "Affidavit," ¶'s 11 and 12.

3. Political professionals are "routinely able to act, directly and indirectly, and in concert and conjunction with other professionals" through the media, although the Democratic Party Complainants make no allegations establishing

any disqualifying contact between AEP and Mr. Reagan. Complaint, p. 33.

By contrast, the Commission defines "independent expenditure" to mean

> "an expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate." 11 CFR § 109.1(a). See also 2 U.S.C. § 431(17).

"Made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of the candidate," has in turn been defined by the Commission to mean

> "(i) Any arrangement, coordination, or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display, or broadcast of the communication. An expenditure will be presumed to be so made when it is -
>
> (A) Based on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward having an expenditure made;
>
> (B) Made by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been, receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent . . ." 11 CFR § 109.1(b)(4).

The allegations of the complaint bear no relationship whatsoever to the facts which would be required to support a lack of independence in accordance with these provisions.

AEP has yet to make an "independent expenditure" at all; i.e., a "communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." The Democratic Party Complainants have not alleged that AEP has received or will receive any information about Mr. Reagan's "plans, projects or needs" from Mr. Reagan or his agents, much less from them "with a view toward having an expenditure made." The Democratic Party Complainants have not alleged that any of AEP's members has or will have any authority to "raise or expend funds" for Mr. Reagan. The Democratic Party Complainants have not alleged that any of AEP's members is or has been an officer of Mr. Reagan's campaign committee. The Democratic Party Complainants have not alleged that any of AEP's members is or has been receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from Mr. Reagan or his committees or agents. And none of the "facts" put before this Commission would support any such allegations.

Furthermore, the Democratic Party Complainants do not, and cannot, allege an "overlap" between AEP members and the participants in Mr. Reagan's presidential campaign staff. Indeed, even in the presence of an overlap as extensive as that apparently involved in MUR 203 and MUR 203(a)(76), the Commission's General Counsel advised that an "overlap" of personnel, standing alone, is insufficient to prevent expenditures from being characterized as independent. A contrary determination "would seem to be a more expansive interpretation of 'cooperation and consultation' than set forth in

§109.1(b)(4)(i)(B)." The Commission's General Counsel went on to say

> "Therefore, we believe that the Commission must consider not just an apparent overlap in personnel and the positions these individuals hold, but whether [the independent committee's] 'independent expenditures' were in fact made 'by or through' these individuals." General Counsel's Report, MUR 203, 203(a), November 11, 1977. (Emphasis added.)

The complaint here falls vastly short of alleging any facts which fit within the statute and regulations, much less any facts showing any "overlap" at all.

Nor does the complaint allege any facts with respect to any vendor or consultant to AEP to bring such vendor or consultant within the areas of possible disqualification discussed by the Commission in AO 1979-80.

In short, nothing heretofore published by the Commission can reasonably be interpreted to cover the facts alleged in the complaint.

If the Commission would like to redefine "independent expenditure," it must do so by regulatory procedures approved by Congress. Moreover, if the Commission does redefine "independent expenditures" in the manner suggested by the complaint, it will violate the letter and spirit of Buckley and the statute itself. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17).

The Commission must determine whether to proceed with an investigation of AEP's proposed activities independently of any determination with respect to the other respondents. The charges against AEP, standing alone, do not support a

claim that AEP has violated or will violate any provision of FECA or of the Fund Act, or that AEP is not or will not be independent from Mr. Reagan within the meaning of Buckley v. Valeo.

Thus, before the Commission may proceed with an investigation of AEP, it would have to redefine "independence" and make the following determinations at least in substantial part:

(1) That Thomas Reed, who is a member of AEP, is not and cannot be independent from Mr. Reagan because he was:

(a) A Republican National Committeeman and a delegate to the Republican National Convention from California from 1968-1972 when Mr. Reagan was Governor of California;

(b) Chairman of Mr. Reagan's 1970 campaign for Governor of California; and

(c) The person who introduced Mr. Reagan to pollster Richard Wirthlin. Complaint, pp. 18-19.

(2) That Peter Flanigan, who is a member of AEP, is not and cannot be independent from Mr. Reagan because he was:

(a) Chairman of New Yorkers for Nixon in 1959;

(b) Chairman of Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge in 1960;

(c) National Deputy Chairman, Nixon for President, in 1968;

(d) An assistant to President Nixon in 1969-74;

(e) Reported to have "been involved in a number of fund raising matters" in 1972 and 1974; and

(f) A (former) member of the Advisory Council on Economic Affairs of the RNC. Complaint, p. 19.

(3) That Winton M. Blount, who is a member of AEP, is not and cannot be independent from Mr. Reagan because he was:

(a) Southeastern Director of the Nixon-Lodge Committee in 1959-60;

(b) Postmaster General of the United States in 1969-71; and

(c) Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1972. Complaint, p. 23.

(4) That John Deardourff, a principal of AEP's media consultants, Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc., is not and cannot be independent from Mr. Reagan because he is:

(a) A political consultant;

(b) A significant political consultant;

(c) A vital political consultant;

(d) A leading professional Republican campaign consultant;

(e) The political consultant in charge of media advertising for the Ford-Dole campaign in 1976; and

(f) The political consultant who ran the campaign of Republican Perry Duryea for Governor of New York in 1978 while serving as a consultant to Republican candidates in Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Complaint, pp. 24-25.

(5) That although AEP has yet to make an independent expenditure, and although the question of independence turns not on who is a member of or contributor to AEP but rather

on the independence of the person who makes the expenditure decision, 2 U.S.C. § 431(17), AEP has violated or is likely to violate FECA or the Fund Act.*/

The Commission cannot possibly make these preposterous findings either factually or as a matter of law, and accordingly the Commission has no alternative but to end this political charade and to dismiss the complaint against AEP forthwith.

IV.

CONCLUSION

Given that AEP's proposed activities constitute political expression "at the core of our electoral process and of the First Amendment freedoms," Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. at 39, 96 S.Ct. at 644, this charade being perpetrated by the Democratic Party Complainants has caused and will continue to cause a substantial chilling effect on the exercise by AEP of these freedoms. The Commission's enforcement procedures, as applied to AEP, do not alleviate this problem; rather, they exacerbate it.

Under no possible reading of the Constitution or of § 437g is this Commission entitled to proceed with a formal investigation of alleged violations of FECA or the Fund Act which are not and cannot be supported by any facts placed before the Commission. Politically motivated allegations premised on incompetent and inadmissible "evidence" cannot

*/ Whether or not William P. Clements, Jr., James Lake, Stuart Spencer and Harry S. Dent are "independent" is irrelevant, since these persons are not, and have never been, members or officers of AEP. See attached Affidavit of Roderick M. Hills.

form the basis of a Commission enforcement proceeding. And even assuming arguendo the truth of such "evidence," an investigation is not authorized since such "evidence" cannot possibly sustain a violation of law. Therefore, the Commission must dismiss the complaint.

Date: July 23, 1980.

Respectfully submitted,

LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

By Robert K. Burgess

Roderick M. Hills
William A. Long
Robert K. Burgess
Edward Sonnenschein, Jr.

1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 828-4400

Attorneys for Americans for
an Effective Presidency

AMERICANS FOR AN EFFECTIVE PRESIDENCY
1225 19th Street, N.W., Suite 415
Washington, D.C. 20036

FROM: Peter Flanigan, Chairman
Americans for an Effective Presidency

TO: Prospective Contributors

RE: Objectives, Perspective and Operation of Americans for an Effective Presidency

It is our intention to communicate the contents of this memorandum -- in its present or in summary form -- to every prospective contributor to Americans for an Effective Presidency.

We invite contributions from those who share in common with us the objectives and perspective of the organization and understand the way it intends to pursue those objectives.

A. Objectives

Americans for an Effective Presidency is a group of individuals gathered together to exercise their constitutional rights to participate in the political process. As such, it is an independent expenditures committee under the Federal Election Campaign Act. It is not authorized by any candidate, by any candidate's Committee or by any national political party.

Its objectives are to raise funds from like-thinking Americans and to expend funds to defeat the re-election campaign of Jimmy Carter, to elect Ronald Reagan President, and to further Governor Reagan's prospects of victory should the presidential election have to be decided in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Paid for by Americans for an Effective Presidency,
An Independent Expenditures Committee Under the Federal Election Campaign Act;
Not Authorized By Any Candidate or Candidate's Committee

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EXHIBIT B

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF THE COMPLAINT OF THE CARTER-MONDALE REELECTION COMMITTEE, INC. and DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.	MUR 1252

AFFIDAVIT OF RODERICK M. HILLS

I, Roderick M. Hills, being first duly sworn, say:

1. I am an attorney at law and a partner in the law firm of Latham, Watkins & Hills, counsel for Americans for an Effective Presidency ("AEP"). I am one of the attorneys at Latham, Watkins & Hills who have devoted substantial time to and have been directly involved in the formation and organizational activities of AEP.

2. On July 9, 1980, AEP filed its Statement of Organization (FEC Form 1) with the Commission in accordance with § 433(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act.

3. Attached hereto as Exhibit A is a list of AEP's founding members and officers. There have not been at any time any other members or officers of AEP. The principal founding members of AEP are Peter M. Flanigan and Thomas C. Reed.

4. During the organization of AEP prior to July 9, 1980, Messrs. Flanigan and Reed and certain other persons involved in the planning of AEP prior to its formation did discuss with other persons the possibility of such other persons becoming members or officers of AEP. However, no other persons became members or officers of AEP, in each case either because of his or her own personal decision not to participate or because counsel for AEP advised that such person could or should not participate.

5. At no time have Messrs. William P. Clements, Jr., James Lake, Stuart Spencer or Harry S. Dent, ever been members or officers of AEP. Of those four gentlemen, only Mr. Spencer and Mr. Lake were even contacted for the purpose of determining whether they could be, and had an interest in being, participants in AEP. At one time, AEP considered contracting with Mr. Spencer for his services as campaign director of AEP. However, after discussion, and several weeks before he joined the Reagan campaign, both Mr. Spencer and AEP principals determined that Mr. Spencer, who is highly respected for his experience in running campaign organizations, had talents not needed by AEP, which intends principally to run a media campaign. For that purpose, AEP retained the political consulting and advertising firm of Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc. AEP considered using Mr. Lake in connection with press matters. After initial discussions with him, however, AEP decided not to use his services.

6. Attached hereto as Exhibit B is a copy of a memorandum from Mr. Flanigan which describes AEP's plans and objectives.

7. To date, AEP has not expended any sums whatsoever in the form of a communication "advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." 11 CFR § 109.1(a). See also 2 U.S.C. § 431(17). At such time as such expenditures are made by AEP, they will be made by an "expenditures committee" of AEP, which will consist of Messrs. Peter Flanigan, Robert Flanigan, Thomas Reed, Robert Douglass, Robert Finch, Herbert Stein, Robert Masson, Winton Blount and the undersigned. Other persons who are members of AEP and who contribute to AEP will be invited to participate in its expenditure decisions if it is established to counsel's satisfaction that they, like the foregoing individuals, are independent from Mr. Reagan, his committee and agents within the meaning of FECA, 2 U.S.C. § 431(17), and the Commission's regulations, 11 CFR Part 109.

8. I have personal knowledge of the foregoing facts.

Dated: July 22, 1980

Roderick M. Hills

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA) ss:

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22 day of July, 1980.

Notary Public

My Commission Expires August 31, 1984

MEMBERS

ANDERSON, Robert O. - Chairman, ARCO, Los Angeles, CA

BIAGGINI, B. F. - Chairman, Southern Pacific Co., San Francisco, CA

BLOUNT, Winton M. - Chairman, Blount Brothers, former Postmaster General of the United States, Montgomery, AL

DE WINDT, E. Mandell, Chairman, Eaton Corp., Cleveland, OH

DOUGLASS, Robert R. - General Counsel, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York City, NY

EISENHOWER, D. David - Writer, Berwyn, PA

FINCH, Robert H. - Partner, Fleming, Anderson, McClung & Finch, and former Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare, Pasadena, CA

FLANIGAN, Peter - Managing Director, Dillon, Reed & Co., former Assistant to the President of the U. S., New York, NY

FLANIGAN, Robert - Rancher, former State Chairman, Republican Party of Colorado, Denver, CO

FLUOR, Bob - Chairman, Fluor Corp., Irvine, CA

HILLS, Roderick M. - Partner, Latham, Watkins & Hills, former Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, DC

HITT, Patricia Reilly - former Assistant Secretary of H.E.W., Los Angeles, CA

JAMES, John V - Chairman, Dresser Industries, Dallas, TX

MacNAUGHTON, D. S. - Chairman, Hospital Corp. of America, Nashville, TN

MALOTT, Robert H. - Chairman, FMC Corp., Chicago, IL

MASSON, Robert H. - Vice President and Treasurer, PepsiCo., Inc., Purchase, NY

MORGENS, Howard - Chairman Emeritus, Proctor & Gamble, Cincinnati, OH

* MOSBACHER, Robert - Independent Oil and Gas Producer, Houston, TX

PACKARD, David - Chairman, Hewlett-Packard Co., former Deputy Secretary of Defense, Palo Alto, CA

PIGGOTT, Charles M. - Chairman, PACCAR Corp., Bellevue, WA

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EXHIBIT A

REED, Thomas C. - President, Quaker Hill Development Corp., former Secretary of the Air Force, St. San Raphael, CA

ROCKWELL, Jr., Willard F. - former Chairman, Rockwell International, Pittsburgh, PA

STEIN, Dr. Herb - Professor of Economics, University of Virginia, former Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

STINSON, GEORGE A. - Chairman, National Steel Corp., Pittsburgh, PA

TERRELL, RICHARD - former Vice Chairman, General Motors Corp., Naples, FL

OFFICERS

Chairman - Flanigan, Peter M.

Chairman of Expenditures Committee - Reed, Thomas C.

Staff Director - Fierce, Donald L.

Media Directors - Bailey, Douglas and Deardourff, John

Treasurer - Masson, Robert H.

General Counsel - Hills, Roderick M.

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* Mosbacher - A member as of July 9, 1980 but subsequently withdrew.

Therefore, it will make expenditures in support of Governor Reagan's election as President and in support of selected Republican candidates for Congress in expectation of their support of Governor Reagan should the election go into the House.

We intend to comply with all existing law by maintaining total independence from the Reagan campaign committee, the Republican National Committee, and their leadership, strategists, and operational personnel.

B. Perspective

All contributors should share the commonly held beliefs of the founding members of Americans for an Effective Presidency. They are the following:

1. The presidential election of 1980 may be the most important in our nation's history.

2. The continuation of Jimmy Carter in office would severely threaten the economic stability of the country and the effectiveness of the free world alliances upon which world peace depends.

3. In the past three years, the defense preparedness of the United States has been allowed to decline to a point of genuine jeopardy to our country and our people.

4. At the same time economic mismanagement by the current administration has permitted inflation at record levels and unemployment at rising levels to undermine the economic security of most American families.

5. At the same time the policies of the current administration have both prevented needed business reinvestment and furthered burdensome government regulation at the expense of big and small business alike and American's workers and America's consumers.

6. And at the same time, indecisive leadership by the current administration has denied the country an effective, understandable or supportable plan for energy independence.

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7. Of the candidates currently running for President, Ronald Reagan is most clearly able to correct these deficiencies and restore American stability, security, confidence and pride.

8. Because of the utmost importance of the election, it is essential to assure effective communications to the voters of Reagan's strengths and Carter's deficiencies.

9. It is the responsibility of all who share these beliefs to do all within their power to assure the defeat of Jimmy Carter and the election of Ronald Reagan.

10. Because the candidacy of John Anderson might prevent any candidate from winning an Electoral College majority and require the House of Representatives to make the choice, it is important for all who share these beliefs to help elect House candidates who would be expected to vote for Ronald Reagan.

These shared views of the founding members of Americans for an Effective Presidency, as listed on our letterhead, form the perspective of the organization. Many of the founding members have held high public office. Their individual views may be familiar to many potential contributors. Any who wish a further presentation of their individual views are invited to write them personally or to write Americans for an Effective Presidency.

C. Operations

Every contributor to Americans for an Effective Presidency is a Member of the organization. All Members who wish to do so may become Participating Members by filling out a questionnaire attesting to their personal independence from the strategy, planning and operations of the Reagan campaign and campaigns for candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. Approval of a Member as a Participating Member will be automatic unless the staff and an appointed committee of the founding members determines from the submitted questionnaire that participation in policy questions by the Member would jeopardize the independence of the organization under the law.

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All Participating Members (including all founding members) will be periodically polled and invited to periodic meetings to consider policy questions before the organization.

An Expenditures Committee (as indicated on the letterhead) has been established to provide supervisory direction to the staff of the organization. They have been chosen for their broad political experience and judgment.

The Expenditures Committee shall solicit the views of the full Participating Membership on major questions of policy. And taking those views into account, it shall determine all expenditures by the organization, hire all staff, provide for legal counsel, supervise all record-keeping, authorize all fund-raising, and represent the organization to the media and the public.

Thomas Reed shall serve as Chairman of the Expenditures Committee and shall provide policy guidance and regular supervision of the staff on behalf of the Expenditures Committee. Mr. Reed, serving as chairman or director of various statewide campaigns in the Western United States over the past 14 years, enjoys an unbroken record of electoral success.

Robert Masson shall serve as Treasurer of the Committee. Mr. Masson is Treasurer of Pepsico, Inc., and is an experienced financial manager.

Professional staff will be retained to implement all aspects of the organization's program. All staff personnel will be required to fill out the same questionnaire that Participating Members fill out in order to assure total independence for the organization. The original staff of Americans for an Effective Presidency includes:

-- Staff Director: Don Fierce: 1976 regional political director for President Ford. Managed numerous Republican campaigns for Congressional and statewide offices.

-- Media Directors: Bailey, Deardourff & Associates: 1976 general election advertising agency for President Ford. The firm counts ten of the 19 current Republican Governors among their clients.

It is expected that the program implemented by the staff, under the supervision of the Expenditures Committee, will include:

-- Solicitation, via personal and direct mail fund-raising, of several million dollars in contributions.

-- The placement of 75% or more of all funds in television, radio and newspaper advertising to defeat Jimmy Carter, elect Ronald Reagan and increase the likelihood of Ronald Reagan's election if the House of Representatives must decide. The timing and location of such advertising shall be determined by the Expenditures Committee after input from Participating Members and after professional analysis by the staff. The content of such advertising shall be consistent with the objectives and the perspective of the organization as expressed in this memo. Each piece of advertising shall be authorized by the Expenditures Committee only after determination that it is consistent with the views of the Participating Members.

-- Occasional presentation of the views of public figures associated with the organization on subjects relevant to their expertise and consistent with the shared perspective of the Members.

-- Broad (but targeted) media distribution of recorded statements relevant to the campaign by public figures expressing views consistent with the shared perspective of the Members.

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-- Consideration of direct contributions to campaigns of candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives where appropriate to increase the likelihood oi Governor Reagan's victory in case the presidential election must be decided in the House. Such contributions would be in addition to or rather than media expenditures made in support of their candidacy. In determining when and where such contributions or expenditures are appropriate, the Expenditures Committee will rely on professional staff analysis.

Expenditures are not planned for any of the following types of activities which would be typical of a campaign organization:

-- Buttons, bumper strips and similar handout paraphernalia of a traditional candidate campaign.

-- Field and precinct organization for Election Day activities.

-- Phone bank or other voter canvassing activities.

D. Summary

It is our hope that all Americans who share the objectives and perspective of Americans for an Effective Presidency, and who understand its contemplated operations, will want to exercise their constitutional right to contribute to its efforts and become a Member. We want their support. We want their participation in its policy decisions to the degree that each individual's actual participation in policy will preserve the legally required independence of the organization from the Reagan campaign and the Republican National Committee.

Our country is on the line in this election. We intend to do something about it. And we want your help.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 9, 1980

HAND DELIVERED

Americans for an Effective Presidency
Roderick M. Hills, Esq.
Messrs. Latham, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Hills:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter the Federal Election Commission today directed be sent to counsel for the Carter-Mondale Presidential Committee, Inc.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure



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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 7, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Americans for an Effective Presidency
Roderick M. Hills, Esq.
Messrs. Latham, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Hills:

This letter is to notify you that on July 2, 1980, the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that your Committee may have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") and Chapter 95 of Title 26, U.S. Code. We have numbered this matter MUR 1252. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We understand that complainant hand delivered a copy of the complaint including exhibits to you on July 2, 1980. Therefore, we have not enclosed a copy of these extensive exhibits to the complaint. However, if you would like another copy of the exhibits, we would, of course, provide it upon request.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate, in writing, that no action should be taken against your Committee in connection with this matter. Your response must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

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This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by sending a letter of representation stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

If you have any questions, please contact Marsha Gentner, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 523-4057. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedure for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures

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MUR 1250 Benton

LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
SUITE 1200
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 828-4400

PAUL R. WATKINS (1899-1973)
DANA LATHAM (1898-1974)

CABLE ADDRESS LATHWAT
TWX 910 321-3733
TELECOPIER (202) 828-4415

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
555 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071
TELEPHONE (213) 485-1234

ORANGE COUNTY OFFICE
650 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660
TELEPHONE (714) 752-8100

July 3, 1980

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20463

Dear Mr. Steele:

We received on July 2, 1980, a copy of a Complaint apparently filed with the Commission by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee asking that the Commission conduct an investigation of a group of individuals who are planning to form an independent expenditures committee within the meaning of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Such Complaint acknowledges that this group, which has used the name "Americans for an Effective Presidency," has not registered with the Commission.

By this letter we wish to inform you that to date this group has made no expenditure and has collected no funds. If you request, we will be pleased to provide you with affidavits to this effect.

Since the group is still in the planning process, we are confident you will agree that it would be inappropriate for the Commission to investigate the present state of mind of the members of the group not yet formed.

We can tell you that this group does believe that it will register with the Commission within the next two weeks. At that time, we will make fully public the names of all members, the types of activities in which it will engage and the methods to be used in collecting funds.

Contrary to the assertions of the Complaint, we can also tell you that the group now planning to register with the Commission does not include Messrs. William P. Clements, Jr., James Lake, Stuart Spencer or Harry S. Dent.

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GENERAL COUNSEL

Finally, we wish to strongly express our objection to the effort of the Carter-Mondale Committee to deprive these individuals of their core rights of freedom of speech and association and to intimidate them in the exercise of their First Amendment right to participate in the political process by making independent expenditures.

Sincerely,

Roderick M. Hills

Roderick M. Hills of
LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS

RMH:sc

cc: Commissioners of the Federal
Election Commission
Thomas D. Barr, Esq.

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LATHAM, WATKINS & HILLS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
SUITE 1200
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20463

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 31, 1983

Ronald E. Robertson, Esquire
Musick, Peeler and Garrett
Suite 1175, Ring Building
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Robertson:

On May 24, 1983, the Commission determined that there is no probable cause to believe that your clients, Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees, violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1). The Commission also determined that it will take no further action with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by your clients.

Accordingly, the file in this matter has been closed and will become part of the public record within thirty days. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days.

If you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 29, 1983

Ronald E. Robertson,
Special Counsel, Reagan for President
Committee and Reagan/Bush Committee
Musick, Peeler and Garrett
Suite 1175, Ring Building
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SENSITIVE

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Robertson:

Based on a complaint filed with the Commission on July 2, 1980, the Commission determined on September 3, 1980, that there was reason to believe that Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b). On September 26, 1980, a second complaint was filed alleging the same violations. An investigation of this matter ensued.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission take no further action with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that your clients violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b). The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendation.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within fifteen days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (10 copies if possible) stating your position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, again if possible. The General Counsel's brief and any brief you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote.

Should you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele by KHG
Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

Docket J

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 29, 1983

Ronald E. Robertson,
Special Counsel, Reagan for President
Committee and Reagan/Bush Committee
Musick, Peeler and Garrett
Suite 1175, Ring Building
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SENSITIVE

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Robertson:

Based on a complaint filed with the Commission on July 2, 1980, the Commission determined on September 3, 1980, that there was reason to believe that Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b). On September 26, 1980, a second complaint was filed alleging the same violations. An investigation of this matter ensued.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission take no further action with regard to the alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that your clients violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b). The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendation.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within fifteen days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (10 copies if possible) stating your position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, again if possible. The General Counsel's brief and any brief you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote.

Should you have any questions, please contact Anne A. Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele by KHG
Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Ronald Reagan	)	
Reagan/Bush Committee	)	
(aka Reagan General Election Committee)	)	MUR 1252/1299
Reagan for President Committee	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF

I. Statement of the Case

The issues involved in this matter were brought to the attention of the Commission as the result of complaints filed on July 2, 1980, and September 26, 1980, by the Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee and the Democratic National Committee and by Common Cause, respectively, alleging violations of provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and of 26 U.S.C. § 9003(b)(1) and (2), § 9012(a) and § 9012(b)(1) by Ronald Reagan and/or one or more of the respondent committees (Carter/Mondale complaint) or by "the official Reagan campaign". (Common Cause complaint). On October 15, 1980, these two complaints were merged to form MUR 1252/1299. On September 3, 1980, the Commission found reason to believe that Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees had violated or would violate 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by accepting excessive in-kind contributions from Americans for Change, the Fund for a Conservative Majority and the National Conservative Political Action Committee. No action was taken at that time regarding the complainants' allegations of violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(b) and of 26 U.S.C. § 9003(b)(1) and as to any possible

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violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(a) by the authorized committees of Ronald Reagan. Notification of the Commission's determinations was sent to counsel for the authorized Reagan committees, followed, on October 1, 1980, by a subpoena for production of documents and an order for answers to written questions. (Attached as Exhibit 1).

On October 20, 1980, the Commission received a motion from counsel for the Reagan General Election Committee to modify the Commission's subpoena and interrogatories and to accept materials and answers submitted in lieu of the document requests and interrogatories. On December 2, 1980, the Commission voted to deny this motion. On December 22, 1980, counsel submitted responses to certain of the Commission's interrogatories. Additional answers to interrogatories and documents requested in the Commission's subpoena were furnished over the course of the next ten months. The investigation conducted by this Office has also included the taking of the depositions of the former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee and of the Reagan/Bush Committee, of the former deputy director for communications of the Reagan/Bush Committee, of officers of the other respondent committees, and of representatives of certain vendors used by both the Reagan campaign committees and other respondents in this matter.

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I. Legal Analysis

The Reagan for President Committee was the principal campaign committee of Ronald Reagan during his primary election campaign in 1979-80. The Reagan General Election Committee, later known as the Reagan/Bush Committee, was Mr. Reagan's principal campaign committee during his general election campaign in 1980. Two other committees authorized by Mr. Reagan to make expenditures on his behalf pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(1) during his 1979-80 campaign were the Republican National Committee ("the RNC") and the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee ("the Unity Committee"). During both the primary and general election campaigns the chairman and treasurer of Ronald Reagan's principal campaign committees were United States Senator Paul Laxalt and Ms. Angela M. (Bay) Buchanan, respectively.

AFC, FCM and NCPAC are multicandidate political committees pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A) and 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(4). During 1980, AFC reported making $711,856 in expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan's candidacy for the office of President; NCPAC likewise reported making $2,102,301 in such expenditures and FCM $1,772,835. These expenditures were reported by these committees as "independent" pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 431(17) and 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4)(H)(iii). They included such costs as those of direct mail fundraising, staff salaries, consultant fees, travel, and media advertisement production and placement.

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A. Alleged Violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1)

2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) prohibits candidates and political committees from knowingly accepting any contribution in violation of the provisions of Section 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A) limits to $5,000 the amount of contributions which a multicandidate political committee can make to any candidate and his authorized committees with respect to any election for Federal office.

26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1) makes it unlawful for any candidate of a major party in a presidential election who is eligible to receive public campaign funds pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 9003 to knowingly and willfully accept any contribution to defray qualified campaign expenses unless there is a deficiency in the amount received from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund or unless the expenses to be defrayed would be qualified campaign expenses except for 26 U.S.C. § 9002(11)(c).

2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i) and 11 C.FR. § 100.7(a)(1) define "contribution" as including "anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office." 11 C.F.R. § 100.79a)(1)(iii)(A) states that "anything of value" includes all in-kind contributions, which are in turn defined as the provision of goods and services without charge or at less than the normal and usual charge. Expenditures made by a political committee which "expressly advocate the election or

defeat of a clearly identified candidate, but which are not made with the cooperation, or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate" are deemed independent expenditures and not in-kind contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17) and 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(a). Therefore, in the present instance, a finding of probable cause to believe that an authorized Reagan committee had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) would require evidence of cooperation or consultation by representatives of the Reagan campaign with representatives of AFC, NCPAC or FCM related to these unauthorized committees' expenditures in support of the candidacy of Ronald Reagan.

1) Organization and Expenditure Authorizations

During the primary campaign period, the person charged by the Reagan for President Committee with the solicitation of contributions changed with time, this initially being the responsibility of Franklyn Nofziger, then of Michael Deaver and Dan Tara. Direct mail was handled at first in 1979 by an outside consultant, Robert Morgan of Integrated Communications Systems, Inc., then later by Roger Stone who was initially an employee of the committee and later a consultant representing the firm of Black, Manafort and Stone. (Deposition of Angela M. (Bay) Buchanan, pages 21, 29-30). According to Ms. Buchanan, vendors

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Ms. Buchanan, Campaign '80's activities included media production, buying time, and newspaper, radio and TV advertising. Final decisions as to content were made at the Committee's national office. (Buchanan Deposition, page 39. See also Nofziger Deposition, page 17).

During the general election campaign period, each deputy campaign director could authorize expenditures within his area of responsibility. (Buchanan Deposition, pages 5-14). Each of these areas was termed a "cost center" and each had its own budget. (Buchanan Deposition, page 10). "Campaign '80" was a cost center in itself, with its own bank account. (Buchanan Deposition, page 17).

The Deputy Campaign Director for Campaign Operations, William Timmons, was responsible for political activities in individual states during the general election campaign. Under him were the western, eastern and southern regional coordinators and the regional political directors. (Exhibits 3 and 4). These individuals were authorized to incur expenditures within particular states. (Buchanan Deposition, page 18).

2) Committee Policy Regarding Independent Expenditures

The Office of General Counsel has attempted to ascertain the knowledge available to Reagan Committee personnel as to statutory and regulatory requirements pertaining to the making of independent expenditures on behalf of a candidate by unauthorized

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such as printers or direct mail houses were selected by the individual in charge of a particular activity such as fundraising. (Buchanan Deposition, page 36). Media production during the early part of the primary campaign was handled by the C.T. Clyne Company and later by one or two other companies. Content of media spots was approved at varying times by John Sears, Charles Black, Edwin Meese, Franklyn Nofziger and Richard Wirthlin. (See Buchanan Deposition, page 38).

According to Ms. Buchanan's testimony, campaign policy for the Reagan/Bush Committee was formulated by an executive committee which was composed of the campaign director, Mr. William Casey, his immediate assistants and the deputy campaign directors. (See Exhibit 2). Franklyn C. Nofziger, Deputy Campaign Director for Communications, Reagan/Bush Committee, testified that while he wasn't sure that "executive committee" was the proper term, there was a group of people including William Casey, Edwin Meese, Peter Dailey, probably Mike Deaver, and himself who met every day to discuss the campaign. (Deposition of Franklyn C. Nofziger, page 16). "Clearly, it was the policy-making group for the campaign." (Nofziger Deposition, page 17). Mr. Nofziger stated that this group never discussed the selection of vendors that he could recall, and that the content of media advertising was discussed, but not its placement which was delegated to Peter Dailey and "Campaign '80" located in New York City. (Nofziger Deposition, page 17). According to

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any comments whatsoever, suggest(ions) to anyone as to anything along independent expenditures. Basically, we were not to discuss it, if they wanted to discuss it with anyone at the headquarters, they were to call the general counsel." (Buchanan Deposition, pages 48-49). Ms. Buchanan also testified that she advised her own staff of this policy in writing. (Buchanan Deposition, page 49).

When asked what type of calls might be received concerning independent expenditures, Ms. Buchanan testified that, especially during the general election campaign, people would call to "ask where they could send money."

> At that stage, we indicated that we weren't to discuss where they could send money. We had compliance, or we had our fund, if it was the primary, and that was the extent of our conversation.
>
> If they were to discuss other committees, they would have to talk to the general counsel and let him give them the instructions as to what could or could not be done. (Buchanan Deposition, page 51).

Ms. Buchanan also testified that she did not know whether consultants hired by the Reagan committees were specifically advised of this policy, but "often consultants were involved in the meetings in which case they would be immediately aware of the situation." (Buchanan Deposition, page 53).

One of the documents produced by the Fund for a Conservative Majority ("FCM") in response to a Commission subpoena was a copy

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committees, any policy formulated with regard to such expenditures, and the steps taken to disseminate this information and to enforce the maintenance of the independence of the Reagan committees from the unauthorized committees.

As part of the Reagan committees' response to the filing of the Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee's complaint, Senator Paul Laxalt submitted an affidavit containing the following statement:

> Indeed, the oft-stated policy of the Reagan campaign has been and will continue to be not to stimulate or encourage the formation of independent expenditure groups and not to cooperate with, or give prior consent to, or consult with, or make requests or suggestions to any individuals or groups making independent expenditures in support of the Reagan campaign. This policy was reiterated at meetings held with all key Reagan campaign staff personnel immediately following the conclusion of the Republican National Convention. I am further informed that prior to the Convention, this same policy against cooperation with independent expenditure efforts was repeatedly stated by those responsible for compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Laws to headquarters, regional and field personnel during the Reagan primary campaign. (Exhibit 5, page 2).

In response to questions posed during her deposition with regard to the policy on independent expenditure committees described by Senator Laxalt, Ms. Buchanan stated it "was an understood policy throughout the primary as well as the general." Any calls, etc., involving such expenditures were to be turned over to the Committee's general counsel. "(W)e were not to make

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of a telegram apparently from the Reagan for President Committee with Ronald Reagan shown as the sender. In this telegram, Mr. Reagan asked that FCM stop its effort to raise funds "for an independent and unauthorized committee in my behalf." (Exhibit 6).

While unable to identify this particular telegram, Ms. Buchanan indicated that there was concern at the Committee that "there was fundraising going on and that people were under the impression that it could possibly be our committee, that it was not our committee. [S]o it was that information, that type of discussion that prompted a telegram...." (Buchanan Deposition, page 42).

Another document supplied by the Reagan committee in response to the Commission's subpoena was a copy of a memorandum from Loren A. Smith, chief counsel of the Reagan/Bush Committee to the North Carolina Reagan/Bush Leadership, dated September 4, 1980. (Exhibit 7). In this memorandum, Mr. Smith stated that he was responding to a request of the North Carolina committee by "setting forth . . . guidelines for our campaign's relationship with the party [North Carolina GOP]" in light of the party's close relations with the North Carolina Congressional Club which was making independent expenditures on behalf of the Reagan/Bush campaign. Mr. Smith then cited four policies or rules designed to permit the Reagan campaign to comply with the law.

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In light of the Laxalt affidavit and of the two Reagan committee communications discussed above, it appears that the leadership of the Reagan campaign was well aware of the law governing independent expenditures and that it formulated official policies designed to maintain its independence from the unauthorized committees making such independent expenditures. Whether or not such independence was maintained is another issue; however, the Committee's stated policy was apparently clear and disseminated to Committee personnel.

3. Application of 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(ii)(B); Non-Presumptive Evidence of Contacts

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B), expenditures are to be presumed to have been made by "arrangement, coordination or direction" of a candidate or the candidate's agent or authorized committee if they are

> Made by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to issue or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent ....

Based on this regulation, evidence that personnel of any unauthorized committee, authorized to make expenditures on its own behalf, had once been officers of, or compensated or reimbursed by an authorized committee of the candidate being supported, or that an unauthorized committee had employed the same vendors as consultants as those employed by an authorized

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committee, would give rise to the presumption that the unauthorized committee had consulted with, or coordinated its activities with, the candidate or his/her authorized committee. Once a presumption is raised, it then becomes necessary to examine the facts surrounding an individual or a vendor's relationship to the activities of the respective committees involved in order to determine whether or not the alleged independence of the unauthorized committee's expenditures has apparently been compromised.

In situations where a presumption of coordination through an individual or vendor would not arise pursuant to Section 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B), evidence should still be sought of actual contacts through that individual or vendor which could point to coordination of activities of the two committees involved.

a. Involvement of Individuals

The basis for the Commission's finding of reason to believe that AFC had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) was the asserted involvement of three specific individuals with both AFC and an authorized committee of Ronald Reagan. These three invididuals were Senator Harrison H. Schmitt, Chairman of AFC; J. Stanley Huckaby, Assistant Treasurer of AFC; and Mrs. Anna Chennault.

(i) Senator Harrison H. Schmitt

Senator Harrison H. Schmitt was a founder of AFC and served as its chairman and as a member of the Executive Committee during 1980. The Executive Committee approved all expenditure budget

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items. (Deposition of Bradley Sean O'Leary, Executive Vice-Chairman of AFC, pages 15-19, 24). All communications on behalf of Americans for Change had to be authorized by Senator Schmitt, who presented them to the Executive Committee for approval. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit 7).

In its complaint, the Carter/Mondale Re-election Committee alleged that Senator Schmitt was a member of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council and therefore was associated with a committee authorized by Ronald Reagan. In an affidavit submitted to the Commission on October 17, 1980, Senator Schmitt confirmed that in 1978 he had agreed to become a member of this advisory council and that he attended one meeting that year. However, he also asserted that he was not and never had been an officer of the advisory council, that he had never received compensation from the council, that he had never received any information from the council "regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs", and that to his knowledge, the group "never advised Mr. Reagan, his committees or agents". Mr. Schmitt also asserted that he was not and never had been a Republican National Committeeman. (Exhibit 8). No expenditures to Senator Schmitt by an authorized Reagan committee have been found in reports submitted to the Commission. Nor is there evidence that he was ever an officer of such a committee.

On the basis of this information, it appears that no presumption of coordination would arise out of Senator Schmitt's

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relationships with AFC and an authorized Reagan committee in that he was neither an officer of, nor received any compensation or reimbursements from, an authorized Reagan committee. There does exist, however, evidence that Senator Schmitt was in contact with the Reagan campaign prior to the formation of AFC.

Documentation supplied by AFC indicates that the meetings at which the details of that committee's organization were worked out took place on and about May 15, 1980. According to telephone records supplied by Senator Schmitt, by May 22, 1980, discussions were underway with prospective members of the AFC Steering Committee. Earlier, in April, 1980, if not before, Senator Schmitt had apparently been in communication with Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman of the Reagan for President Committee, in particular about arrangements for a "series of Congressional interaction sessions" with Mr. Reagan. (Exhibit 9). It appears discussions about such meetings continued at least into early May; however, on May 30, 1980, Senator Schmitt, in a memo to the record, stated that he had "called Laxalt to indicate I could not be part of a campaign issue group. Said I'm going to raise a lot of money but I can't talk about it. He said 'he understands'". (Exhibit 10). On May 21, 1980, Senator Schmitt also noted for the record that he had met with Richard Whalen of the Reagan campaign, about "Congressional relations during a Reagan Presidency", but that "(n)o campaign related items were

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discussed." (Exhibit 11). On September 19, 1980, Senator Schmitt wrote to Senator John Heinz stating

> As has been obvious since May, it has been necessary for me as a member of the National Republican Senatorial Committee to curtail my participation in the Committee's strategy sessions. It is the desire of all who serve on the Executive Committee of Americans for Change to avoid any possible perception of collusion on our part with any committee, organization or person formally connected with the Reagan for President principal campaign committee or with any committee, organization or person who may have inside knowledge as to the plans of the Reagan for President Committee. (Exhibit 12).

In his affidavit, Senator Schmitt also asserted that neither he nor AFC's Executive Committee had "received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs". Nor had the Executive Committee received "a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding AFC expenditures." He stated that AFC had had "no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents or his authorized campaign committees, including their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers." (Exhibit 8, pages 5-6).

Documents and other materials produced by AFC included copies of speeches prepared by the Reagan/Bush Committee plus a "Dear Colleague" letter from Paul Laxalt on Reagan for President letterhead recruiting field staff personnel, and two fundraising letters paid for by the Republican National Committee for the

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RNC's Presidential Fund for a Republican Victory in '80, one addressed to Senator Schmitt and one to an individual in Texas. The latter bore the signature of Ronald Reagan. All of these letters appear to have been part of direct mail efforts or other general solicitation efforts rather than personal letters between Reagan committee and AFC personnel. When asked how AFC had come into possession of the Reagan speeches, Mr. O'Leary testified that the Commission's subpoena asked for all personal documents in Senator Schmitt's office related to the Reagan/Bush campaign. He stated,

> (I)f you are aware, the Reagan/Bush campaign issued two or three documents a day to all members of Congress.... I think you would have found them in Democrats' offices as well as Republicans' offices. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 99-100).

(ii) J. Stanley Huckaby

J. Stanley Huckaby, the assistant treasurer of AFC, had served as treasurer of the Baker for President Committee in 1980. He also served as treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee ("Unity Committee"), which was authorized by Ronald Reagan pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(1). In an affidavit submitted to the Commission on October 17, 1980, Mr. Huckaby stated that the "sole purpose" of the Unity Committee was to raise funds "to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign." Mr. Huckaby asserted that his involvement with the Unity

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Committee "was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursement from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees." (Exhibit 13, page 2).

In their affidavits, both Senator Schmitt and Mr. Huckaby state that the latter's role with AFC consisted only of maintaining the books and financial records of the committee and assisting in the preparation of reports to the Commission. He was not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC, never attended or participated in meetings of these groups, and did not have the power to authorize independent expenditures by AFC. Nor could he sign checks with regard to such expenditures. (Exhibit 8, page 4, and Exhibit 13, page 1).

Given Mr. Huckacy's lack of authorization to make expenditures on behalf of AFC, his relationships with that committee and with the Unity Committee would not bring him within the presumptions of Section 109.1. Regarding more direct evidence of contacts, Mr. Huckaby has asserted that his only contacts with the Reagan campaign were two meetings with Ms. Angela M. (Bay) Buchanan, treasurer of the Reagan committee, to discuss the Unity Committee's dinner. "At these meetings, I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures

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or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign." According to Mr. Huckaby, his meetings with Ms. Buchanan took place before the Republican National Convention, and he had no contact with the Reagan campaign after these meetings. (Exhibit 13, page 2). He has also asserted that apart from his duties as the Unity Committee treasurer, he had no authority from the Reagan campaign to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan. "I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs." (Exhibit 13, page 3).

(iii) Ms. Anna Chennault

Ms Anna Chennault served as Chairwoman for Nationalities for Reagan in 1980.

According to information furnished by AFC and the Reagan for President Committee, it appears that Ms. Anna Chennault was approached by AFC in May or June, 1980, about the possibility of serving on the AFC Steering Committee. 1/ However, according to the affidavit submitted by Senator Schmitt, she never submitted

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1/ According to Mr. O'Leary, the Steering Committee was composed of "prominent people interested in the presidential election" who were invited to serve in this capacity. It was originally intended to be "an advisory group to help with fundraising", but, because of the lawsuit [filed against AFC by Common Cause], the Steering Committee never functioned." (O'Leary Deposition, pages 32, 37).

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written verification of her independence from the Reagan presidential election campaign and thus could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committees. 2/ (Exhibit 8, page 3). On July 22, 1980, apparently at the urging of officials of the Reagan committee, she wrote a formal letter of resignation to Senator Schmitt as Chairman of AFC. (Deposition of Bradley Sean O'Leary, Executive Vice President of AFC, Exhibit J-2; attached hereto as Exhibit 14). Senator Schmitt has asserted that she was never authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC and that she did not participate in the founding of the committee. (Exhibit 8, page 3).

Given Ms. Chennault's lack of expenditure-making authority with AFC, it appears again that no presumption of coordination would arise. Further, Mr. O'Leary, during his deposition, asserted that she never attended strategy meetings or otherwise participated in AFC prior to July 22, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 40-41). No evidence of a coordinating role has otherwise been found.

In addition to the alleged involvements of Senator Schmitt, Mr. Huckaby and Ms. Chennault with both the Reagan campaign and

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2/ Mr. O'Leary testified that a questionnaire was submitted to all staff members and prospective members of the Steering Committee concerning any prior involvement of each person with the 1980 presidential campaign of Ronald Reagan. On the basis of responses received, certain persons were advised that they could not serve on the Steering Committee. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 32-35, Exhibits H and I). See also attached Exhibit 8, page 2.

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AFC, a number of other possible instances of such dual involvement were addressed in the complaints or came to the fore and were pursued during the course of the investigation of this matter. Specifically, it was noted that several individuals whose names appeared on lists of Steering Committee members later withdrew their names from consideration or resigned from that group in order to become active in the Reagan campaign itself. These individuals were Marlow W. Cook, Senator Hiram Fong, Robert P. Griffin, Lawrence J. Hogan, Guilford Dudley, Jr., Wendell Wyatt, Theodore L. Sendak, and James B. Edwards. John Harmer and George Murphy were cited in the complaints as possible agents of cooperation.

(iv) Marlow W. Cook

In a letter dated July 7, 1980, Marlow W. Cook stated that prior to answering the questionnaire submitted to him by AFC, he had received a telegram from Mr. Reagan asking that he "serve in an advisory capacity for his election campaign" in Kentucky. Mr. Cook stated that he had "opted to work directly for the election of Governor Reagan" and therefore, "having performed no services or duties for 'Americans for Change'", he requested that his name be removed "from whatever capacity your organization had determined I might fill." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-3; attached hereto as Exhibit 15). No evidence has been found that Mr. Cook could at any point have authorized expenditures on behalf of AFC. Nor have any expenditures to him been found in

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reports submitted by an authorized Reagan committee. He did not serve as an officer of such a Reagan committee. Therefore, no presumption of coordination would arise.

More generally, Mr. O'Leary has testified that Mr. Cook had no involvement with AFC prior to July 7, that he attended no strategy meetings, and that he, Mr. O'Leary, had no conversations with Mr. Cook after July 7 and through December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 41-42).

(v) Senator Hiram Fong

In a handwritten notation on an AFC letterhead which was apparently received by AFC on July 14, 1980, Senator Fong stated that he would be unable to serve on the Steering Committee. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-5; attached hereto as Exhibit 16). No evidence has been found that Senator Fong could authorize expenditures for AFC or that he ever served as an officer of, or received compensation from, an authorized Reagan committee. Mr. O'Leary has testified that Senator Fong had no role in AFC prior to July 14, 1980, and that he could recall no conversations with Senator Fong either before July 14 or between that date and December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 42-43).

(vi) Robert P. Griffin

Mr. Griffin's letter of June 19, 1980, to Senator Schmitt stated that he was "reluctant to associate with the 'Americans for Change' because . . . it would preclude (him) from playing any role whatever in the general campaign that might involve

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contact with the candidate or his campaign organization." Stating that he could not say that he had had no contact with the Reagan campaign, Mr. Griffin asked to have his name removed from the committee. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-6; attached hereto as Exhibit 17). Again, it appears that Mr. Griffin never had the authority to make expenditures for AFC, and that he was never an officer of a Reagan committee or received payments therefrom. Mr. O'Leary again also testified that Mr. Griffin had had no role in AFC prior to June 19, 1980, and that he could recall no conversations with him either before that date or between June 19 and December, 1980. No contradictory evidence has been found.

(vii) Lawrence J. Hogan

On July 25, 1980, Lawrence J. Hogan wrote to Senator Schmitt stating his intention "to play an active role" in the Reagan campaign and his inability, therefore, "to serve on Americans for Change." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-7; attached hereto as Exhibit 18). Mr. Hogan was, therefore, never authorized by AFC to make expenditures. He did not serve as an officer of a Reagan committee, and no payments to him from such a committee have been identified. Mr. O'Leary testified that to the best of his knowledge Mr. Hogan was not involved with AFC prior to July 25, 1980 and that he could recall no conversations with him before that date and through December, 1980.

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(viii) Guilford Dudley, Jr.

Guilford Dudley, Jr., in a letter to Senator Schmitt dated September 29, 1980, wrote that he had given a luncheon with Mr. Ted Lazenky for AFC, but that because he had been designated Vice-Chairman of the Prelude to Victory Dinner being given in Nashville, Tennessee by the RNC and the Tennessee State Republican Committee, he would have to "abandon any work for any PAC...." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-8; attached hereto as Exhibit 19). Mr. O'Leary testified that, to his knowledge, Mr. Dudley had not invited anyone to the luncheon cited, and had not attended it himself.

The degree of Guilford Dudley, Jr.'s involvement in a luncheon for AFC is apparently a matter of dispute; however, his role as vice chairman of the dinner cited above does not appear to be the equivalent of being "an officer" of an authorized Reagan committee. Reports submitted by the Reagan committees do not show that he received any compensation or reimbursements. Thus, whether or not he could be deemed to have authorized AFC expenditures, no presumption would arise pursuant to Section 109.1.

Regarding any direct evidence of contacts, Mr. O'Leary testified that Mr. Dudley had attended no strategy sessions or meetings of AFC. He recalled no conversations with Mr. Dudley from September 29 through December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 44-45).

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(ix) Wendell Wyatt

In a letter addressed to the Honorable John Harmer dated August 18, 1980, Mr. Wendell Wyatt of Portland, Oregon, stated that he had been requested to serve on the Oregon Steering Committee for Governor Reagan and that he felt he would do more in that capacity. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-9; attached hereto as Exhibit 20). Mr. O'Leary testified that he could not recall the nature of Mr. Wyatt's relationship, if any, with AFC prior to August 18, 1980, and that he did not recall any conversations with him during 1980.

Although Wendall Wyatt apparently served on a Reagan/Bush Committee state steering committee, he was not an officer of an authorized Reagan committee and did not receive any reported compensation or reimbursements therefrom; he apparently was also not authorized by AFC to make expenditures. Therefore, as with the other individuals discussed thus far as regards AFC, no presumption of coordination would arise. No more direct evidence of a coordinating role has been found.

(x) Theodore L. Sendak

Theodore L. Sendak, attorney general of Indiana, originally volunteered to be AFC's state chairman in Indiana; however, according to Mr. O'Leary's testimony, no committee was ever put together there and so this position for Mr. Sendak never materialized. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 47-49). A fundraising

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letter did apparently go out on September 22, 1980, over the signatures of Mr. Sendak, John K. Snyder, and Senator William Ezra Jenner (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-13; attached hereto as Exhibit 21-b); however, Mr. O'Leary has testified that the language of the letter was not approved by the Executive Committee of AFC. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 101-103). On October 9, 1980, Mr. Sendak wrote to Senator Schmitt stating that he had agreed to accept an appointment to the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee of the Reagan campaign effective after the date of the letter and thus was resigning "as Co-Chairman for Indiana of the Americans for Change organization." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-10; attached as Exhibit 22). Mr. O'Leary could recall no later conversations with Mr. Sendak through December, 1980. (O'Leary Deposition, page 51).

Theodore Sendak's relationship to AFC and to the Reagan campaign does pose some questions. From the information included in Exhibit 21-a and 21-b, it appears that AFC in effect authorized Mr. Sendak to undertake a fundraising mailing in Indiana and supplied envelopes, inserts and copies of AFC stationery which could be reprinted. AFC reports do not, however, show payments for the printing and postage costs associated with this mailing. Also, as noted above, Mr. O'Leary testified that the text of the letter, apparently mailed out over the signature of Mr. Sendak, et al., was not approved by AFC

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officers. Therefore, it is not clear whether or not Mr. Sendak was authorized to incur expenditures on behalf of AFC with regard to this letter. On the other hand, his appointment to the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee of the Reagan campaign was not the equivalent of holding office with the Reagan/Bush Committee, and no expenditures to Mr. Sendak by an authorized Reagan committee have been found. Therefore, in the final analysis, it appears that his relationships to AFC and the Reagan/Bush Committee would not give rise to a presumption of coordination. No more direct evidence of coordination through him has been found.

h. James B. Edwards

James B. Edwards, former governor of South Carolina, was asked to participate in AFC by organizing a committee, but, according to Mr. O'Leary, he never performed any particular function for AFC. On September 8, 1980, he wrote to Senator Schmitt stating that he felt he could "best serve our cause working here in South Carolina with Senator Thurmond, Carroll Campbell, Bryan Patrick, Harry Dent and others to carry our state for our team." (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-14; attached hereto as Exhibit 23). According to a contemporaneous telephone card supplied to the Commission by Senator Schmitt, Mr. Edwards had been asked to be co-chairperson of an undertaking in South Carolina. (O'Leary Deposition, Exhibit J-15; attached

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hereto as Exhibit 24). No evidence has been found that Mr. Edwards could at any point authorize expenditures for AFC. Thus, whether or not he ever became an officer of the Reagan campaign or received compensation therefrom, no presumption of coordination would arise. Mr. O'Leary also testified that he had no contacts with Mr. Edwards after the latter resigned from AFC, and that, to his knowledge, no one else at AFC would have had contacts with him. (O'Leary Deposition, page 53).

In summary, a review of persons associated in varying degrees with AFC in 1980 has revealed a number who either had had contacts with the Reagan campaign prior to the formation of AFC or who subsequently either declined an invitation to join AFC or left AFC in order to be free to join the presidential campaign directly. Only one of these individuals, J. Stanley Huckaby, had served as an officer of an authorized Reagan committee prior to becoming involved with AFC, and he was not authorized to make expenditures on behalf of AFC. Although he had not been an officer or received compensation, Senator Schmitt had been in contact with the Reagan campaign prior to the founding of AFC, but apparently studiously avoided any later contact. Those who left AFC to join the Reagan campaign either had not been in expenditure authorizing positions within AFC, or never served as officers of the Reagan campaign or received compensation therefrom; they also apparently cut all ties with AFC after their departures. No contradictory, direct evidence has come to light

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of knowledge gained by these individuals from one committee which was then used to influence the decisions of the other.

h. George Murphy

George Murphy was identified by both complainants as a member of the AFC Steering Committee and, as of July, 1979, as a member of the Policy Board of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council on National Security and International Affairs. Mr. Murphy was apparently not an officer of the latter policy board and no indication has been found in the reports of the Reagan for President Committee or the RNC that he received compensation or reimbursements from either. As a member of the AFC Steering Committee, he did not have the authority to make expenditures. No evidence has been found of actual coordination through his auspices.

i. John Harmer

John Harmer served as co-chairman of AFC and thus was involved in the authorization of expenditures. Both complainants noted his position as lieutenant governor of California at the same time that Ronald Reagan served as governor.

The Commission has determined that associations prior to candidacy are not presumptive of cooperation or coordination. See AO 1979-80, n. 5. Therefore, in the absence of evidence of association with the Reagan campaign in 1979-80, Mr. Harmer's involvement with AFC apparently did not jeopardize its independence.

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The investigation undertaken into the relationship of NCPAC and the Reagan campaign has revealed no movement of Reagan committee officers, or of persons who had received compensation from a Reagan committee, from the Reagan campaign to NCPAC, or from NCPAC to the Reagan campaign. John T. Dolan, Chairman of NCPAC, has testified that he "helped on my own time for Reagan" in 1976, but there is no indication that he was involved in 1979-80. (Deposition of John T. Dolan, page 10). Charles Black and Roger Stone, who were directly involved in the 1979-80 Reagan campaign, had co-founded NCPAC, but left that organization in 1977 and 1978.

David Keene was employed by the George Bush for President Committee throughout the 1979-80 primary campaign period up to receiving his final paycheck on August 1, 1980. Beginning August 29, 1980, NCPAC reported expenditures to Mr. Keene for consultant fees. Mr. Keene was authorized to make expenditures on behalf of NCPAC. (Dolan Deposition, Exhibit A). During his deposition, Mr. Dolan testified that David Keene was hired for the specific purpose of organizing the Ronald Reagan Victory Fund project of NCPAC. (Dolan Deposition, pages 20-21). Although Mr. Keene had some involvement in fundraising, his principal role was working with Mr. Dolan on media production and placement. (Dolan Deposition, page 32; see also, pages 34 and 42).

In its June 19, 1981, supplement to its complaint in this matter, Common Cause alleged that Mr. Keene had been "one of the

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managers of the 1980 primary campaign for the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, George Bush", and that because of his role in the Bush campaign, The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund, which he later directed, could not "be considered 'independent'". In support of this allegation, counsel for Common Cause cited the Commission's response to Opinion Request No. 777 in which an individual who had worked as a volunteer for the primary campaign committee of Gerald Ford in 1976 was informed through Commission counsel that he could not form a political committee which would be making independent expenditures on behalf of the Ford candidacy during the general election campaign, even if he had no further contacts with Ford general campaign committee personnel. Common Cause also asserted that the fact that Mr. Keene's prior work was for the Vice Presidential candidate rather than the candidate for the Presidency did not change the situation, although the only support offered for this argument was the general statement that the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act does not distinguish between Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates who are using public funds.

Contrary to the assertion of Common Cause, the fact that Mr. Keene worked during the primary campaign period for the Vice Presidential candidate is a relevant factor, and distinguishes his post-primary involvement from those of the individual whose activities were addressed in OR 777. Service with a candidate

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for nomination to the office of President who later becomes the nominee for the office of Vice President is not comparable to prior involvement with the Presidential candidate as regards the knowledge of strategy which could be carried over into an ostensibly independent expenditure campaign. Clearly, during the primary period, the Bush campaign was a rival entity totally separate from the Reagan campaign utilizing its own campaign strategies. Whatever strategy was utilized by the Bush Committee in its campaign against Ronald Reagan would seem to have been without utility in a campaign in support of the Reagan candidacy during the general election campaign period.

The emphasis placed by Common Cause upon the failure of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act ("Fund Act") to distinguish between the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates of a political party seeking election together is also not relevant to the issue at hand. The purpose of the Fund Act is to provide for the public financing of presidential elections. Its references to the campaigns of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates as either separate or joint endeavors relate only to questions of expenditure limitations, the definition of "qualified campaign expense" and other rules applying to the general election campaign. The Fund Act nowhere addresses the issue of involvement with or independence from a vice presidential candidate's earlier primary campaign.

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It is the opinion of this Office that Mr. Keene's prior involvement with the vice presidential candidate's own primary campaign would not give rise to the presumption permitted by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b). No evidence of direct contacts between Mr. Keene and the Reagan primary and general campaigns has been found.

Mr. Robert Heckman, Chairman of FCM, has testified that he was neither employed by nor a volunteer for an authorized committee of Ronald Reagan during the 1979-80 election cycle. (Deposition of Robert Heckman, page 5). He stated that he could not remember whether he had volunteered for the Reagan campaign in 1976 (Heckman Deposition, pages 5-6). Mr. Kenneth A. Boehm, Treasurer of FCM, has testified that he had no relationship with an authorized Reagan committee during the 1980 campaign period. In 1976, he was an elected delegate from Pennsylvania to the Republican National Convention where he supported Mr. Reagan, and he also worked as a volunteer for Youth for Reagan in Pennsylvania. (Deposition of Kenneth A. Boehm, page 6).

FCM has provided a list of all persons employed by FCM between September, 1979, and January, 1981. (Heckman Deposition, Exhibit B-1; attached hereto in Exhibit 25). Mr. Heckman has stated that "(t)here is no way for FCM to know whether each of the individuals identified in Interrogatory B [list of employees] has any relationship (past or present) with the groups and

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associations listed in Interrogatory E [including authorized Reagan committees and the other respondent committees]. Such information is not requested or required upon their employment with FCM, and such records are not kept by FCM...." (Exhibit 25, page 2). The only exceptions given are the involvement of all FCM employees in FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" project, Mr. Ralph Galliano's prior associations with Arthur J. Finkelstein on behalf of FCM, and his prior employment with the National Conservative Political Action Committee, and the fact that "many of the employees of FCM are registered Republicans". (Exhibit 25, page 3). Mr. Heckman has asserted that as far as is known to him, "no individual identified in Interrogatory B had any association with the Reagan for President Committee". (Exhibit 25, page 3). The Office of General Counsel has not found evidence of such prior associations, and in particular no evidence of persons authorized by FCM to make expenditures who had served as officers of an authorized Reagan committee or who received any compensation or reimbursements from such a committee.

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b. Use of Common Vendors

One of the principal bases for the finding of reason to believe that Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) was its use of vendors in common with FCM and the National Conservative Political Action Committee

("NCPAC"). Subsequent investigation has also revealed the use of common vendors by the Reagan committees and Americans for Change ("AFC"). In each instance, a presumption of coordination arises as a result of Section 109.1.

This Office has taken the depositions of representatives of certain vendors whose employment served as the basis for the Commission's finding of reason to believe, submitted written questions to another such vendor, and questioned Reagan campaign and NCPAC, FCM and AFC representatives about the nature and content of the services performed by common vendors.

a. Differentiation by Nature of Services

The investigation of the vendors common to the Reagan committees and to FCM, NCPAC and/or AFC has revealed that certain ones were hired to perform only ministerial functions, while others played more active consultative roles with at least one of the vendee committees involved. The first group apparently had no input into the planning of the ultimate product or in the selection of the components of a particular service, but, rather, were provided with all components by the client and merely performed as instructed. Included in this first group are Diversified Direct, Inc., Wiland and Associates, Telecommunications Industries, Inc., Tri-State Envelope Corporation, Metro Printing and Mailing Services, Communication Specialists, Envelopes Unlimited, Bishop and Bryant, Campaign Marketing Group, and Preferred Lists.

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(i) Diversified Direct, Inc.

One of the vendors directly related to the Commission's findings of reason to believe that FCM, NCPAC and the Reagan committees had violated the Federal Election Campaign Act was Diversified Direct, Inc., a printing and mailing company. According to testimony provided by Mr. George P. McDonnell, co-founder and former chief executive officer of Diversified Direct, Inc., this company was formed by the purchase in July, 1979, of assets of Diversified Mail Marketing, Inc., a printing company owned by Richard A. Viguerie. At the time of his deposition, Mr. McDonnell was employed by the Richard A. Viguerie Company as a creative vice president. (Deposition of George P. McDonnell, pages 3-5, 8).

Mr. McDonnell described the activities performed by Diversified Direct, Inc. for clients as follows:

> Directly we performed printing, and we acted as a broker for mailing services, which would be stuffing of envelopes, putting labels on an envelope, putting a stamp on, taking the mail to the Post Office. (McDonnell Deposition, pages 7-8).

Mailing lists were provided by the client, not maintained by Diversified Direct itself. (McDonnell Deposition, page 9).

According to reports submitted to the Commission by the Reagan for President Committee, expenditures were made by that committee to Diversified Direct on March 24, 1980 ($4,097.29), April 22, 1980 ($1,961.27), May 14, 1980 ($11,614.25) and

June 18, 1980 ($17,527.16). (Exhibits A, B and C to McDonnell Deposition; invoices and solicitation letters attached hereto as Exhibit 26). Mr. McDonnell confirmed that Diversified performed services for the Reagan for President Committee and stated that these services were performed through the agency of Black, Manafort and Stone. (McDonnell Deposition, page 10. See also Deposition of Angela M. Buchanan, former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee, page 77). When asked if Diversified Direct's work for Black, Manafort and Stone ever involved discussions of the Reagan campaign, Mr. McDonnell answered "No". He also denied any discussion or suggestions made by Diversified personnel as to how the Reagan campaign should be run. (McDonnell Deposition, page 12).

Mr. McDonnell identified the Diversified Direct invoices sent to the Reagan for President Committee which showed that Diversified Direct had undertaken printing and mailing services for Reagan for President. Identification of sample direct mail pieces and the matching of those pieces to particular invoices proved to be more difficult, partly because Mr. McDonnell did not necessarily see all items printed or otherwise handled by his company and also because the actual services performed by the company varied. For example, an invoice could show that Diversified performed printing services involving computer forms, with the actual work involved having been the printing of only

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independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan. Reagan campaign-related expenditures were made on May 23, 1980 ($1,513.80), June 6, 1980 ($1,600), June 13, 1980 ($7,528.24), June 20, 1980 ($1,125.77), June 27, 1980 ($3,200), July 3, 1980 ($2,200), July 14, 1980 ($600), August 1, 1980 ($3,400), August 8, 1980 ($2,231.88), August 29, 1980 ($2,000), September 5, 1980 ($4,724.35), September 19, 1980 ($834.10), October 31, 1980 ($9,606.29), November 7, 1980 ($501.47), November 14, 1980 ($835.66), and December 12, 1980 ($1,865.69). According to invoices and purchase orders provided to the Commission by NCPAC, the payments through October were for printing services provided between March and August, 1980, for solicitation packages. (See, for example, Exhibits D and E of Dolan Deposition, and Exhibits G and H to McDonnell Deposition; invoices and solicitation letters attached hereto as Exhibit 27). Again, Mr. McDonnell identified the Diversified Direct invoices but was unable to identify the solicitation packages also submitted by NCPAC. When asked if Diversified would have had any input into the text of solicitation materials involved, Mr. McDonnell answered "No". (McDonnell Deposition, pages 43, 46-47). When asked about the source of copy for these same solicitation packages, Mr. Dolan of NCPAC agreed that the Viguerie Company would have supplied the copy in most cases. In answer to the question, "(W)ould Diversified Direct have had any

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the heading, not body copy; or, in other cases, the printing of both the heading and the body copy could have been performed. In still other instances, an offset letter was produced. (McDonnell Deposition, pages 20-21). However, when asked who would have supplied the copy for a solicitation letter printed by Diversified, Mr. McDonnell stated that it was "always the client or his agency." (McDonnell Deposition, page 19). Diversified Direct had no input as to the content of the letters printed. When asked who would have supplied the mailing list, Mr. McDonnell replied, "Always the client." (McDonnell Deposition, page 19).

Mr. Dolan of NCPAC testified that much of the direct mail activity undertaken by that committee in 1979-80 was handled by the Richard A. Viguerie Company of Falls Church, Virginia, that the Viguerie Company was authorized to make expenditures related to direct fundraising, and that the company generally composed the content of mailings and selected mailing lists, both subject to the approval of Mr. Dolan. (Dolan Deposition, pages 29, 30, 31-32). The Viguerie Company was also given the authority to hire sub-vendors. (Dolan Deposition, page 31). According to invoices made available by NCPAC, the Viguerie Company selected Diversified Direct, Inc. as a sub-vendor.

Reports submitted by NCPAC show the following expenditures to Diversified Direct, Inc., a number of which were reported as

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input into the text", Mr. Dolan replied, "No". (Dolan Deposition, pages 75, 77, 80). Mr. Dolan also stated that on several occasions he wrote the copy of the letters. (Dolan Deposition, page 78). According to Mr. Dolan, the Viguerie Company would have supplied the mailing lists for NCPAC solicitations.

Both Kenneth Boehm and Robert Heckman testified that direct mail activity undertaken by FCM in 1979-80 was handled by Michael Thompson and Associates of Springfield, Virginia. (Boehm Deposition, page 20; Heckman Deposition, page 23). Mr. Heckman stated that FCM maintained "very heavy control" over Thompson's work.

> "We met with Thompson . . . on a consistent basis to review work they were doing, and we could have cut it off at any time. We made all decisions that were of any substance whatsoever . . . . I would have seen the initial draft (of any fundraising letter), may have made changes on every other draft between the beginning and the end." (Heckman Deposition, page 22).

Thompson and Associates was given the authority to hire sub-vendors, although FCM could overrule these selections. (Heckman Deposition, page 22). According to invoices made available by FCM, Thompson selected Diversified Direct, Inc., as such a sub-vendor. Reports submitted by FCM show the following expenditures to Diversified Direct, Inc., which were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan. These expenditures

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were made on May 27, 1980 ($2,012.14), June 24, 1980 ($2,989.53), and July 28, 1980 ($3,078.60), and, according to invoices provided to the Commission by FCM, involved printing services provided in April and May, 1980, apparently for solicitation packages and a follow-up letter regarding telephone solicitations. (See Exhibits D, E and F attached to McDonnell Deposition and Exhibits D, E and F attached to Boehm Deposition; invoices and solicitation packages all attached hereto as Exhibit 28). Again, Mr. McDonnell identified the Diversified Direct invoices but was unable to identify the solicitation packages also submitted by FCM; he stated that another employee of Diversified Direct had dealt with this particular client. When asked who would have supplied the text for the solicitation materials involved, Mr. McDonnell stated, "I would guess Thompson, Associates." (McDonnell Deposition, page 36). When asked about the source of copy for these same solicitation packages, Mr. Heckman stated that Thompson and Associates would have supplied the copy. In answer to the question, "Would Diversified Direct make any suggestions about that?", Mr. Heckman replied, "Absolutely not." (Heckman Deposition, pages 26-27). Mr. Heckman stated that he would have approved the text of the letters. (Heckman Deposition, page 28). According to both Mr. Boehm and Mr. Heckman, Thompson and Associates would have supplied the mailing lists for these FCM solicitations; the lists

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were either FCM's in-house lists, lists brokered through Thompson, or others brokered through other houses. (Boehm Deposition, page 34; Heckman Deposition, pages 27-28).

The Office of General Counsel has uncovered no evidence contradicting the testimony of Mr. McDonnell, Mr. Boehm, Mr. Heckman, and Mr. Dolan as to the role played by Diversified Direct in the activities of the Reagan for President Committee, FCM, and NCPAC. Based upon that testimony, it is apparent that Diversified Direct played a passive role in its work as a printing and mailing service. It had no creative input with regard to the content of the material printed for any of these committees, nor did it take the initiative with regard to the selection of mailing lists used. Mr. Boehm, Mr. Heckman and Mr. Dolan have testified that they were not aware, at the time of FCM's and NCPAC's employment of Diversified Direct, that the Reagan for President Committee had also employed that firm as early as April 22, 1980. (Boehm Deposition, page 32; Heckman Deposition, page 25). FCM coordinated its business with Diversified Direct through Thompson and Associates, and NCPAC through the Viguerie Company, while the Reagan for President Committee dealt either directly with Diversified Direct or through Black, Manafort and Stone. Thus, there was no common intermediary.

Given the passive, almost mechanical nature of Diversified Direct's involvement in the activities of FCM, NCPAC and the

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Reagan for President Committee, it appears that the use of this vendor by both committees did not undermine the alleged independence of FCM's and NCPAC's expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan.

(ii) Diversified Mailing Services

Diversified Mailing Services of Waldorf, Maryland, began as a division of Diversified Mail Marketing, Inc., which was, as noted above, a subsidiary of the Richard A. Viguerie Company until July, 1979. Following the purchase of assets of Diversified Mail Marketing by Mr. George McDonnell of Diversified Direct, Inc., Diversified Mailing Services continued as an entity still owned by Richard A. Viguerie. (McDonnell Deposition, pages 15-16). According to Mr. McDonnell, Diversified Direct brokered mailings for Diversified Mailing Services. As a mailing house, Diversified Mailing would break apart any computer letters, "fold them, get them into envelopes and then mail them." (McDonnell Deposition, page 18; see Exhibit 26-a for example of joint Diversified Direct and Diversified Mailing Services involvement).

According to reports submitted by the Reagan for President Committee, this committee made two expenditures to Diversified Mailing Services, the first on January 17, 1980, in the amount of $12,787.29 and the second on February 1, 1980, in the amount of $70. Both were reported as being for direct mail expenses.

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Invoices show that Diversified Mailing Services received at least four deliveries from Diversified Direct, apparently related to four Reagan for President contribution solicitation mailings sent out in January, February, March and April, 1980. (See Exhibits 26-a, 26-g, 26-q and 26-w).

NCPAC made numerous expenditures to Direct Mailing Services in 1979-80. These were reported as being for postage, warehousing, mailing services and/or computer services, and either as operating costs or as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan or in opposition to certain candidates for the U.S. Senate. The expenditures in support of the Reagan campaign were as follows: May 21, 1980 ($12,600) for postage, and June 27 ($3,200), July 25 ($5,000), August 8 ($7,035.44), August 29 ($3,494.61), October 10 ($5,121.82), November 7 ($4,541.74), November 14 ($11,607.65), December 5 ($4,700), December 12 ($2,500), and December 19 ($2,324), 1980, for mail services, postage, and computer services.

As stated above, Richard A. Viguerie was responsible for direct mail fundraising activities undertaken by NCPAC in 1979-80. The question therefore arises as to whether the common employment of Direct Mailing Services by both NCPAC and the Reagan for President Committee would have been likely to compromise the alleged independence of NCPAC's expenditures in support of the Reagan campaign. According to Mr. McDonnell's testimony, the services

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performed by Diversified Mailing Services were even more mechanical in nature than were those of Diversified Direct, involving as they did the folding of letters, stuffing of envelopes, etc. There appears to have been little opportunity for Diversified Mailing's services in themselves to provide an opportunity for coordination of meaningful information. On the other hand, given the ownership of Diversified Mailing Services by Richard A. Viguerie and his role in directing NCPAC's fundraising efforts related to its campaign in support of Ronald Reagan, it is possible that knowledge of the targets and content of the Reagan mailings was gained as a result of the passage of Reagan solicitation letters through his mailing services firm.

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(iii) Tri-State Envelope Corp.

A second vendor, the employment of which formed a basis for the Commission's finding of reason to believe, was Tri-State Envelope Corporation. Tri-State Envelope Corporation is a vendor of envelopes and printing services located in Beltsville, Maryland. The Reagan for President Committee reports show payments made to this vendor on March 24, 1980 ($3,460.80 and $410.80), April 22, 1980 ($6,921.71), May 14, 1980 ($4,863.19), and June 18, 1980 ($4,698.07). According to Ms. Buchanan, this company supplied envelopes for direct mail, a statement apparently confirmed by notations on Tri-State invoices. (Documentation attached hereto as Exhibit 29).

NCPAC made expenditures to Tri-State for envelopes and printing on June 20, 1980 ($2,800), June 27 ($1,600), July 3, 1980 ($1,682.76), August 1, 1980 ($4,269.20), August 8, 1980 ($1,569.40), August 29, 1980 ($2,000), September 5, 1980 ($2,822.65), September 19, 1980 ($850), October 17, 1980 ($718.70), and October 24, 1980 ($456.01), which were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan. (Example of invoices and product attached as Exhibit F-8 to Dolan Deposition; also attached hereto as Exhibit 30). Mr. Dolan testified that he did not know at the time of NCPAC's transactions that Tri-State had also been employed by the Reagan for President Committee (Dolan Deposition, page 83).

FCM also purchased envelopes from Tri-State on July 30, 1980 ($460.54) and November 18, 1980 ($1,381.80). These expenditures, which were not reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan, involved printing services and envelopes for direct mail. Mr. Heckman testified that he did not know at the time of FCM's transactions that Tri-State had been employed earlier by the Reagan for President Committee.

It is the opinion of this Office that the providing of envelopes and the printing of a project name on those envelopes could not give rise to the type of coordination necessary to undermine the independence of expenditures made by the second of two purchasers. The vendor would have had no input into the

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strategy of the campaign or the contents of any mailings involved.

(iv) Wiland and Associates

Yet another common vendor cited as the basis for the Commission's finding of reason to believe was Wiland and Associates, Inc., a data processing service bureau formerly located in Culpepper, Virginia, and now located in Fredericksburg, Virginia. According to testimony provided by E. Michael Lawrence, Regional Vice President, Wiland and Associates specializes entirely in direct marketing. It maintains mailing lists, merges and purges mailing lists, prints computer letters, and analyzes response mailings. Wiland owns no mailing lists, but maintains lists for some of its customers. (Lawrence Deposition, page 5). The printing undertaken by Wiland can involve the computer printing of names and addresses on a letter format or on labels, but not the printing of the text of a letter itself; however, in the case of laser printing, Wiland could print the entire text of a letter. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 9 and 18-19). Wiland is not involved in the writing of copy. (Lawrence Deposition, page 7).

Although a subsidiary company of Wiland and Associates, namely, Wiland Market Analysis and List Brokerage Company, used to be in the business of brokering mailing lists between owners and users, Mr. Lawrence testified that this subsidiary has "been

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dormant for several years". (Lawrence Deposition, page 9). As regards Wiland and Associates, Mr. Lawrence stated that it was possible that suggestions could be made to one client that it might like to rent a list owned by another client, but that that "wasn't any significant part of the business activity." (Lawrence Deposition, page 10). He also stated that "it would be standard not to" discuss a proposed activity of one client with another. "Whatever we are doing for one client, it's with regard to that client's business only. It's not really a proper matter to discuss that with another client." (Lawrence Deposition, pages 10-11).

Reports filed by the Reagan for President Committee show that payments were made to Wiland and Associates on February 22, 1980 ($3,925), March 12, 1980 ($1,400), and April 22, 1980 ($5,710.13). According to these reports, the payments were for mailing services and printing. (See Exhibits 1(a), 1(g) and 1(h) attached to Lawrence Deposition and attached hereto as Exhibit 31). Mr. Lawrence was unable to identify definitely the solicitation materials turned over to the Commission by the Reagan for President Committee as related to expenditures made to Wiland. A memorandum and Diversified Direct invoice turned over by the Reagan for President Committee seem to show that the first of these payments was for the laser printing by Wiland in February, 1980 of letters on computer forms supplied by

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Diversified Direct. (See attached Exhibit 31-a and b). The third payment apparently involved at least the laser printing of names and addresses on a response device included in an April mailing, while the second may have involved the printing of cards to be used in relationship to a phone bank. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 18-21 and 25-31 and Exhibit 1). As regards the content of letters printed, Mr. Lawrence stated that "(w)e don't really have anything to do with the content. It's more a mechanical or production function." (Lawrence Deposition, page 18). According to Mr. Lawrence, it was the Reagan for President Committee which provided the content of the letters and the mailing lists; and it was also the Reagan for President Committee which arranged for any shipments of computer forms from Diversified Direct to Wiland. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 18-22). According to the testimony of the former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee, Roger Stone was the person with the Reagan campaign who would have contacted Wiland. (Buchanan Deposition, page 78). 3/

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3/ Wiland and Associates was also employed by the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), an authorized committee of Ronald Reagan's, during the 1980 general election campaign period. RNC's expenditures to Wiland were as follows: $2,000.82 on July 24; $81.71 on September 10; $16,754.99 on September 17; $34,776.28 on October 22; and $2,614.23 on November 18. These expenditures were reported as being for "merge/purge services", "printing services", and "computer services". All were reported as itemized operating expenditures, not as coordinated expenditures made on behalf of the Reagan/Bush Committee.

FCM also reported expenditures made to Wiland and Associates on January 4, 1980 ($1,900.63), March 3, 1980 ($1,201), March 21, 1980 ($459.17), May 27, 1980 ($1,299), June 24, 1980 ($1,259.11), July 25, 1980 ($13,728.50), September 2, 1980 ($1,835.81 and $1,728.32), August 8, 1980 ($97.10), September 9, 1980 ($3,664.66), October 1, 1980 ($700.51), October 10, 1980 ($47.73) and October 20, 1980 ($47.73). The expenditures were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan and as being for mailing expenses and computer services. According to invoices provided by FCM, these expenditures were payments for services rendered between November, 1979 and July, 1980. (Exhibit 2 attached to Lawrence Deposition; Exhibit 4 attached to Boehm Deposition; invoices and solicitation packages attached hereto as Exhibit 32). Mr. Heckman testified that Wiland and Associates maintains the FCM mailing list and computerizes information pertaining to contributions made to the committee. (Heckman Deposition, page 33).

The services performed by Wiland and Associates for FCM in 1980 which are reflected in the expenditures listed above were undertaken pursuant to arrangements made through Thompson and Associates. When asked if he remembered talking with Mr. Thompson about work which Wiland had been doing for the Reagan for President Committee, Mr. Lawrence indicated that he did not remember such a conversation. He then went on to state:

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> ...as part of the business you do not talk to one client about what another client is doing. It wouldn't happen. You wouldn't talk about what someone else is doing. It would be bad business. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 33-34).

With regard to particular expenditures made to Wiland by FCM, and to the services or products related to those expenditures, Mr. Lawrence identified all Wiland invoices submitted to Thompson and Associates but, with one exception, found it impossible to relate particular solicitation packages to particular invoices. The exception involved a payment made on January 4, 1980, which Mr. Lawrence "suspect(ed)" involved a laser letter produced by Wiland. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 35-36 and Exhibit 2(a)-(d); attached as Exhibit 32-a and 32-b). Mr. Lawrence assumed that Thompson and Associates prepared the copy, and he imagined that Thompson and his client (i.e., FCM) would have decided upon the mailing list. He stated that the list used was not one of Wiland's because of the entry on the invoice "to convert foreign files." (Lawrence Deposition, page 37, Exhibit 2-c). Mr. Heckman confirmed that Thompson and Associates would have supplied the copy and mailing list for this mailing. (Heckman Deposition, page 29). Mr. Lawrence stated that he talked to no one at the Reagan for President Committee about this mailing. (Lawrence Deposition, page 38).

With regard to the expenditures made to Wiland by FCM on March 3, 1980, March 21, 1980, and May 27, 1980, with which this

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Office has been unable to match particular solicitation packages, Mr. Lawrence was able to identify the apparently corresponding invoices, but could not say which mailings were involved. The services performed by Wiland included the merging of mailing lists, the identification of duplicate names, the converting of foreign lists to the Wiland computer format, and the printing of mailing labels.

The FCM expenditure made on June 24, 1980, apparently was related to a solicitation entitled "Texas Package". (See Exhibit 32-d and 32-e). According to Mr. Lawrence, Wiland's input involved production of mailing labels from tapes supplied by Thompson and Associates; Wiland was not involved in the printing of copy. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 44-45). To Mr. Lawrence's knowledge, the Reagan for President Committee was not aware of the mailing of the Texas package. (Lawrence Deposition, page 45).

The FCM expenditure to Wiland and Associates dated July 25, 1980, apparently involved services with regard to two solicitation letters, the "Vice Presidential Survey" Package and the "Final Drive" Package. (Lawrence Deposition, Exhibit 2(q) to 2(y); attached as Exhibits 28-b and 28-d). Again, Mr. Lawrence could identify the Wiland invoices involved, but stated that he didn't recognize the solicitation letters and accompanying materials. Judging by the non-personalization of the copy of the

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first letter supplied, and the fact that it is not a laser computer letter, 4/ he surmised that all Wiland would have seen were the mailing labels. The second letter is a laser letter which may have been printed by Wiland. Mr. Lawrence stated that Mike Thompson probably provided the copy and the mailing list. (Lawrence Deposition, page 50). Mr. Heckman again confirmed that Thompson and Associates would have supplied the copy and the mailing lists involved. (Heckman Deposition, pages 26-27). The copy would have been approved by Mr. Heckman. (Heckman Deposition, page 31).

The two September 2, 1980 expenditures made by FCM to Wiland and Associates apparently involved, at least in part, services performed in June of that year related to a solicitation package designated "Anti-Carter Letter A and B". (Attached as Exhibit 32-1). Again, Mr. Lawrence could identify the invoices, but found only an enclosure showing a sample certificate of appreciation to have been potentially of a personalized nature and thus the type of printing which could have been undertaken by Wiland.

The FCM expenditure on September 9, 1980, apparently was made in payment for services rendered in July, 1980 with regard to a letter designated "On the White House". No particular

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4/ The Wiland invoice related to the July 25, 1980 expenditure by FCM lists Vice President Laser Letters, but no letter of this type was supplied by the respondent.

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solicitation package could be linked to this payment. Mr. Lawrence identified the invoice but could not identify the specific mailing except to agree that Wiland was involved only in the merging and purging of the mailing lists involved and in the preparation of mailing labels. The October 1, 1980 payment by FCM apparently involved only the July, 1980 processing of mailing lists and printing of mailing labels for a solicitation package entitled "Election #1". (Attached as Exhibit 32-o). Because this package was not computerized, Mr. Lawrence stated that Wiland and Associates would not have seen its contents. (Lawrence Deposition, page 57). Mr. Heckman agreed that Wiland's involvement consisted of merging/purging a number of lists. (Heckman Deposition, page 36).

It appears that there is an insufficient basis to conclude that Wiland and Associates, like Diversified Direct, played a role in the activities of either the Reagan for President Committee or FCM which would have resulted in opportunities for the kinds of arrangement, coordination or direction of FCM activities by an agent of the Reagan for President Committee that would compromise the independence of FCM expenditures. According to the testimony of Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Heckman, Wiland and Associates either handled the computerization of mailing lists and the printing of mailing labels related to particular direct mail solicitations, or the laser printing of solicitation

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letters. In the former instances, Wiland personnel would have seen only the computer tapes and printed labels, not the content of the mailings; and in the latter cases, Wiland would have been responsible for printing copy supplied by Thompson and Associates for FCM or by the Reagan for President Committee or its agent, Black, Manafort and Stone. Tapes rented outside Wiland by FCM were supplied by Thompson and Associates. It appears that the involvement of Wiland and Associates did not include strategy planning, copy writing, selection of target populations or any other activity indicating an active role in the campaigns of either client.

NCPAC also reported a series of expenditures to Wiland and Associates during 1980 which were reported as operating expenditures for computer batching and caging services, not as independent expenditures. Mr. Lawrence testified that Wiland's work for NCPAC, which began in the last part of 1978 and extended into August, 1980, was associated with maintaining a part of NCPAC's contributor list. Wiland's specific assignment was to provide a lock-box caging operation, i.e., to collect responses to direct mail solicitations, open them, deposit the checks, "batch" the reply and key punch the reply devices, add the amounts of the donations, and send NCPAC the computer list of donors. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 58-59). Wiland did break down the contributions by mail key, a code identifying the

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particular appeal involved; however, the meaning of the keys was not generally known to Wiland personnel. Mr. Lawrence stated that he remembered no particular involvement with a specifically Reagan-oriented project for NCPAC. (Lawrence Deposition, pages 60-61). He also testified that he did not discuss Wiland's work for NCPAC with anyone from the Reagan for President Committee, nor any work for the Reagan committee with NCPAC personnel. (Lawrence Deposition, page 63).

Mr. Dolan confirmed that the work performed by Wiland and Associates for NCPAC involved maintaining a computer file and collecting and coding contributions from a lock box. He testified that he was not aware of Wiland's employment by the Reagan for President Committee, that NCPAC hired Wiland before that company was employed by the Reagan for President Committee in February, 1980, and that he had not seen the products furnished the Reagan committee. (Dolan Deposition, pages 108-109).

The lock-box caging services performed by Wiland for NCPAC do not appear to have controverted the independence of NCPAC's activities in support of a candidate in that Wiland's role was apparently a mechanical, non-creative one. Wiland personnel saw only the results of NCPAC fundraising, in the form of contributions, not the solicitations or mailing lists being used. Nor were they told

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the meanings of mail keys or solicitation codes by which they broke down the contributions received. In addition, all persons deposed about Wiland's activities have denied any coordinating role.

It appears that the involvement of Wiland and Associates did not include strategy, planning, the writing of copy, the selection of target populations or any other activity indicating an active role in the campaign of either NCPAC or the Reagan for President Committee.

(v) Telecommunications Industries (Telepost)

The common employment of Telecommunications Industries (Telepost) by FCM and the Reagan for President Committee also formed a basis for the Commission's finding of reason to believe in this matter. Thomas Mitchell, Director of Marketing for this company, has testified that Telecommunications Industries markets a registered trademark/service mark product called Telepost which is a high impact letter. (Mitchell Deposition, page 5).

> Basically we have what we call a Telepost letter, and it consists of an envelope and piece of paper that has Telepost written on it. What we do is computer work from that point on to generate Telepost letters. They give us the text and names and addresses, and we simply print the letters that go out, normally as a Telepost letter. That's 95 percent of our business activity. We are not involved in copy writing or any creative work at all.
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> .....
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> Very infrequently we might suggest something that we have seen that's worked in the past

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> for other people and make a suggestion, or something in terms of keeping copies shorter or making them a little more terse. But beyond that (no input). I mean very, very minimal. (Mitchell Deposition, pages 7 and 8).

In response to a question as to whether Telecommunications ever undertakes coordination of efforts of different clients, Mr. Mitchell replied, "No". (Mitchell Deposition, page 8).

According to reports filed by the Reagan for President Committee, expenditures were made to Telepost on March 31, 1980 ($10,000), April 17, 1980 ($20,000) and May 2, 1980 ($7,021.17). These payments were apparently made for a Telepost letter mailed February 15, 1980, and for a laser letter printed on Reagan for President letterhead which was also produced in February, 1980. (Exhibit 1 attached to Mitchell Deposition; invoices and letter attached hereto as Exhibit 33). The Reagan/Bush Committee did not report expenditures to this vendor, and Mr. Mitchell confirmed that no work was done for the Reagan general election committee. (Mitchell Deposition, page 9).

Mr. Mitchell testified that initially he dealt directly with the Reagan staff and later with Black, Manafort and Stone. The texts of the letters and the mailing lists were provided to Telecommunications by Black, Manafort and Stone, or by the Reagan for President Committee. No discussion of strategy or of the content of the letters took place with this firm. (Mitchell Deposition, pages 11-12). Mr. Mitchell also stated that a later

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mailing was done for the Reagan for President Committee in March, 1980, and that the copy and the mailing list would have come from Black, Manafort and Stone. (Mitchell Deposition, pages 21-22).

Reports filed by FCM also show expenditures made to Telecommunications Industries (Telepost) on April 15, 1980 ($602.64), June 24, 1980 ($1,100) and October 6, 1980 ($480). These payments were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan and apparently were for three Telepost letters mailed February 27, 1980, April 16, 1980 and October 17, 1980. (Exhibit 2 attached to Mitchell Deposition; invoices and letter attached hereto as Exhibit 34). According to the Telecommunications Industries invoices, the production of letters printed by this company was arranged through Thompson and Associates. Mr. Mitchell testified that his company has dealt with Thompson and Associates for three or four years and that this relationship was "totally independent of anything that came prior to or subsequently to us dealing with the Reagan for President Campaign Committee." (Mitchell Deposition, page 24). Regarding the first two FCM mailings here at issue, Mr. Mitchell testified that it was presumably Thompson and Associates which provided the copy and the mailing list. "They would simply provide that to us and we would simply do the production." (Mitchell Deposition, page 28). Mr. Mitchell stated that to the best of his knowledge, the Reagan for President letters were not

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discussed with FCM, nor was the Reagan Committee aware of the FCM letters. (Mitchell Deposition, pages 29 and 32).

Mr. Heckman of FCM confirmed that the copy for letters produced by Telecommunications Industries and the mailing lists involved would have been supplied by Thompson and Associates. (Heckman Deposition, page 45) He also stated that he was not aware, at the time FCM made the earlier expenditures to this company, that it had been performing services for the Reagan for President Committee. (Heckman Deposition, page 46).

Again, the services performed by Telecommunications Industries, Inc. make it apparent that there was no coordination of the activities of the two different clients. These services involved only the printing and mailing of computer letters for which the copy and mailing list were supplied by the clients. Therefore, it appears that the evidence could not sustain a finding of coordination between the two committees through this vendor.

(vi) Metro Printing and Mailing Services

Metro Printing and Mailing Services is located in Sterling, Virginia. Reports submitted by the Reagan/Bush Committee show an expenditure made to this company on October 22, 1980, in the amount of $10,800 for postage. The Reagan/Bush Compliance Fund also made expenditures to Metro Printing on August 15, 1980 ($677.82), August 18, 1980 ($160.01), and August 29, 1980

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($677.82) for printing. Information more recently supplied by the Reagan/Bush Committee regarding its $10,800 payment indicates that this expenditure was made for printing and mailing services as well as for postage, and that the mailing involved was directed apparently toward a particular voter group, namely, veterans. On November 3, 1980, $780.77 was refunded by the vendor. (Documentation attached hereto as Exhibit 35).

NCPAC reported expenditures to the same company during the general election campaign period, including ones on August 1, 1980 ($2,629.75), August 8, 1980 ($7,833.70 and $2,100), August 20, 1980 ($2,167.06), August 29, 1980 ($658.14), September 5, 1980 ($1,039.33), September 9, 1980 ($1,742.96), October 10, 1980 ($1,000 and $969.70), October 17, 1980 ($1,950.71), October 24, 1980 ($1,252.88), November 7, 1980 ($600), November 21, 1980 ($1,500), December 3, 1980 ($1,000), December 12, 1980 ($655), and December 19, 1980 ($967.86) for printing. All of the above NCPAC expenditures were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Dolan testified that NCPAC's employment of Metro Printing and Mailing was both direct and through Richard Viguerie and that Metro would have had no input into the content of what was printed. He also stated that he did not believe he was aware, when NCPAC engaged this vendor, that the Reagan/Bush Committee was also using the services of Metro Printing. "But it

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was always our position that they did nothing but perform services just as the Post Office and telephone company did the same." (Dolan Deposition, pages 106-107).

FCM also utilized the services of this firm, with expenditures having been reported as made on January 3, 1980 ($1,446.07), January 31, 1980 ($1,000), June 30, 1980 ($500), June 2, 1980 ($500), July 7, 1980 ($500), July 15, 1980 ($500), August 1, 1980 ($1,200) and September 2, 1980 ($1,300). The FCM payments were reported as operating costs, not independent expenditures. When asked if Metro Printing had done any work in connection with FCM's support of the Reagan candidacy, the chairman of FCM stated, "if we didn't list them as independent expenditures, then it is my impression they never did such work." The chairman also responded in the negative when asked if he knew that this company was being used by the Reagan/Bush Committee at the time FCM made its expenditures. (Heckman Deposition, pages 54-55).

It appears that the roles played by Metro Printing and Mailing for FCM, NCPAC and the Reagan campaign were not potentially conducive to coordination of the committees' respective campaigns. No evidence of coordination has been found.

(vii) Communication Specialists, Inc.

Communication Specialists, Inc., is a printing and mailing company located in Austin, Texas, which was employed by the

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Reagan/Bush Committee and AFC in 1980. According to a report filed by the Reagan/Bush Committee, that committee made an expenditure of $5,098.95 to Communication Specialists, Inc. on October 24, 1980, for "printing" services; this expenditure was made by or for the Reagan/Bush Committee, Texas. Communication Specialists was also employed by the Republican National Committee. The RNC expenditure of $8,242.50 on October 24, 1980, was reported as a coordinated expense on behalf of the Wright for Congress Committee.

AFC's expenditures to Communication Specialists in 1980 were as follows: $1,000 on August 1; $2,079.62 on August 6; $10,000 on September 30; $1,758.68 on October 3; $2,500 on October 9; $5,000 on October 10; $2,500 on October 20; $15,000 on October 22; $20,000 on October 28; $10,000 on November 7; and $3,000 on November 14. These expenditures were reported as being for "printing and mailing" and "printing of brochures, bumper strips, yard signs, buttons and precinct material." 5/

According to Mr. O'Leary's testimony, Communication Specialists performed a variety of services for AFC, including "printing, production, mailing services, folding, stuffing and computerization of . . . letters off a computer list." (O'Leary Deposition, page 71). As regards solicitation packages, this

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5/ The October 22 expenditure was initially reported as being for "placement of radio and newspaper advertisements." In the Committee's next report, this was changed to read as stated above.

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company designed, printed and mailed two basic forms termed respectively "Reagan Gram" packages and "regular" packages, each of which consisted of a carrier envelope, a letter, a business reply envelope, and an inner response document. The "regular" package was a letter signed by Harrison Schmitt or was printed on Harrison Schmitt stationery. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 72-73; examples of solicitation letters attached as Exhibit 36). Mr. O'Leary testified that he and Mr. Schmitt composed the copy for the letters. Communication Specialists had no input into the copy. He also stated that the mailing lists were leased off the open market, and that Communication Specialists had no part in their selection. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 71 and 75). The vendor's role in designing the solicitation packages involved the designing and probably the typesetting of the letterhead used. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 72-73).

Mr. O'Leary testified that he was not aware in 1980 that Communication Specialists had been hired by the Reagan/Bush Committee in Texas. He stated that he did not see copies of materials produced by this vendor for the Reagan/Bush Committee nor, to his knowledge, did anyone else at AFC. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 75-76).

In light of the nature of the services performed for AFC by Communication Specialists, services which involved apparently no creative input, and in light of Mr. O'Leary's denial that AFC representatives were aware that the Reagan/Bush Committee had

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used this same vendor, it appears that the evidence in hand could not sustain a finding of coordination between the two committees through this vendor.

(viii) Envelopes Unlimited

In the supplement to its complaint, Common Cause cited Envelopes Unlimited of Rockville, Maryland, as a vendor common to the Reagan/Bush Committee, the RNC, the Unity Committee, and AFC.

According to its reports, the Reagan/Bush Committee made expenditures to Envelopes Unlimited on August 22, 1980 ($772), August 29, 1980 ($1,073.69), September 26, 1980 ($193.33), October 3, 1980 ($1,366.82), October 23, 1980 ($2,551.63), October 28, 1980 ($1,778.16), and November 14, 1980 ($706.99) for printing, office supplies and stationery. During the general election campaign period, the RNC also made a long series of expenditures to Envelopes Unlimited for postage, mail services and envelopes; all of these payments were reported as operating expenditures, not as expenditures on behalf of the Reagan/Bush Committee. 6/ The Unity Committee's expenditure on July 8, 1980, was in the amount of $840 for "supplies-envelopes".

On July 25, 1980, AFC made an expenditure to this same company in the amount of $249.06 for printing. According to Mr. O'Leary, this expenditure was for the printing of envelopes. (O'Leary Deposition, page 77).

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6/ Expenditures for direct mail services made by RNC on behalf of the Reagan campaign were reported as made to other specific direct mail firms and as in-house RNC services.

Given the nature of the service performed by Envelopes Unlimited for AFC, a service which apparently involved no particular creativity or political strategy, it appears that any presumption of coordination based upon the use of this common vendor would not stand, nor could any inference of cooperation and coordination between the Reagan/Bush Committee, the RNC, or the Unity Committee on one hand, and AFC on the other be sustained.

NCPAC also made an expenditure to this company on October 27, 1980 ($515.60) for office supplies. No evidence has been found that NCPAC used Envelopes Unlimited for anything other than the purchase of these office supplies. There was apparently no creative involvement by this company in NCPAC activities. Therefore, it is the opinion of this Office that the common use of this vendor would not create a sustainable presumption of cooperation and coordination between NCPAC on the one hand and the Reagan/Bush Committee or the RNC on the other.

(ix) Bishop and Bryant

The Republican National Committee was an authorized committee of Ronald Reagan in 1980 during the general election campaign. Bishop and Bryant, Inc. is a political consulting and advertising company located in Washington, D.C. In its complaint, Common Cause cited employment by both the RNC and AFC of Bishop and Bryant, Inc. as evidence of coordinated activity.

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During the 1980 general election campaign period the RNC did make the following expenditures to Bishop and Bryant: $11,200 on September 2; $3,000 on October 6; and $10,980 on October 22. These payments were reported as being coordinated expenditures for media buys and production fees made on behalf of the Hultman for Congress Committee (Iowa), the Atkins for Congress Committee (Ohio) and the Bill Herndon for Congress Committee (North Carolina), respectively. The RNC did not report coordinated expenditures to this vendor in support of the Reagan campaign.

AFC also made expenditures in 1980 to Bishop and Bryant as follows: $1,270.33 on July 25; $3,130.40 on August 21; $5,725.60 on August 25; $92.81 and $1,236 on August 27; and $313.93 on September 8. These AFC expenditures were reported as being for "consultant fees -- media production".

Given the reported use of Bishop and Bryant by the RNC only with regard to its support of certain Congressional campaigns, the possibility of this firm's having served as a coordinating link between the Reagan campaign and AFC is apparently remote. No evidence indicating such a role has been found.

(x) Campaign Marketing Group

Campaign Marketing Group is a telephone solicitation company located in Washington, D.C. In its complaint, Common Cause cited expenditures to this firm by RNC and AFC as additional evidence of cooperation. The 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee also employed this company.

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On December 3, 1980, the RNC made a payment of $68,018.50 for "tele svs" to this firm which was reported as an operating expenditure, not as a coordinated expenditure on behalf of the Reagan/Bush Committee. The Unity Committee's expenditures in 1980 to Campaign Marketing were as follows: $24,991.24 on July 10, $25,249.55 on July 29, 1980, and $23,333.80 on August 20, $4,539.25 for phone banks and $4,539.25 on September 9, for a mailing. AFC's 1980 expenditures to Campaign Marketing included: $534.10 on August 27; $758.45 on September 8; $1,500 on October 1; $216.56 on October 16; and $1,500 on October 20. All of these AFC expenditures were reported as being for "phone and mailing."

Whether or not the RNC utilized the services of Campaign Marketing for activities in support of the Reagan candidacy, as did the Unity Committee in fact, it appears that the passive nature of the services performed by Campaign Marketing Group for AFC would not support a finding of cooperation based upon the employment of this vendor by RNC, the Unity Committee and AFC. Mr. O'Leary testified that Campaign Marketing undertook telephone follow-ups of Urgent Grams which involved urging people to attend luncheons or other events. AFC supplied the names of persons to be called and the copy for the message to be relayed by the caller. Mr. O'Leary testified that Campaign Marketing would not have had any input into what was said. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 81-82).

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Mr. O'Leary also testified that he was aware, through his membership in the American Association of Political Consultants, that this firm was also being employed by the RNC. He stated, "there are only four or five common telephone services in Washington and they are used by all campaigns." (O'Leary Deposition, page 82). His responses were negative when asked whether, to his knowledge, anyone at the RNC ever saw a copy of materials used by Campaign Marketing for AFC or vice versa.

(xi) Preferred Lists, Inc.

Preferred Lists, Inc., of Washington, D.C., is in the business of leasing mailing lists. During the 1980 general election campaign period, the RNC made the following payments to this vendor for list rentals: $10,623.98 on October 2; $90,222.36 on October 13; $3,921 on October 14; $16,949.61 on October 21; $3,652.74 on October 23; $96,388.24 on October 24; $10,556.97 on October 27; $41.34 on October 29; $357.50 on October 31; $66.70 on November 4; $8,960.70 on November 19; $33,316.33 on December 4; and $50,943.47 on December 10. All of these expenditures were reported as operating costs, not as expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan.

As noted by Common Cause in the supplement to its complaint, AFC also obtained mailing lists from Preferred Lists in 1980; these AFC expenditures included ones for $4,735 on July 25; $1,045 on August 27; and $797.48 on October 30. During his deposition, Mr. O'Leary stated that he was the person who decided

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upon what lists were going to be leased, if available. (O'Leary Deposition, page 87). He also acknowledged being aware that the Republican National Committee had used this same vendor in 1980, stating that "(t)here aren't that many political list brokers in the city. To my knowledge, there were only four of them, and everyone in politics used all of them." (O'Leary Deposition, page 88). He testified that to his knowledge the RNC did not have knowledge of the lists purchased by AFC, and he denied knowing what lists RNC used. (O'Leary Deposition, page 89).

Given Mr. O'Leary's testimony that he decided upon the criteria to be used in selecting the lists leased from Preferred Lists and that he was not aware of which ones the RNC was also leasing, the common employment of this vendor would apparently not provide a sustainable basis for a finding of cooperation or coordination between the RNC and AFC.

(xii) Systems '80

In the supplement to its complaint, Common Cause also cited Systems '80 of Bethesda, Maryland as an additional vendor common to the RNC and AFC. This Office has not found evidence of expenditures made to this vendor by the RNC in the reports submitted by that Committee.

(xiii) Pyramid Video Tapes

Pyramid Video Tapes is located in Washington, D.C, and specializes in copying video tapes for re-distribution. The Reagan/Bush Committee reported an expenditure of $317.28 to this

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firm on September 23, 1980; earlier, FCM had reported a $62.40 independent expenditure in support of Ronald Reagan to the same company on January 4, 1980. Given the fact that FCM's expenditure was made fully eight months prior to that made by the Reagan/Bush Committee, it does not appear that the common use of this vendor would give rise to facts which could support a Commission finding that FCM's expenditure was not independent. 7/

NCPAC also employed this company during the general election campaign period, making expenditures on August 13, 1980 ($110.85), October 15, 1980 ($673.63), and October 30, 1980 ($241.30). Only the last of these three expenditures was reported an an independent expenditure in support of Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Dolan testified that the work undertaken by Pyramid Video for NCPAC involved the combining of parts of commercials, copying them, and sending them to television or radio stations. "What they did was copy the master tape we had and send it out to other stations." (Dolan Deposition, pages 102-103). He responded in the negative to questions of whether he was aware at the time Pyramid Video was employed that the Reagan/Bush Committee was also using the services of this vendor and whether

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7/ On July 1, 1982, in MUR 1225, the Commission voted to take no further action with regard to a violation by FCM of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(ii) related to this January 4, 1980 expenditure which involved the use of a recorded speech by Ronald Reagan in radio advertisements paid for by FCM and of a reprint of another Reagan speech in an advertisement in a periodical.

anyone from the Reagan/Bush Committee had viewed the product produced for NCPAC by Pyramid Video. (Dolan Deposition, page 104). Given both the lack of creativity and the minimal activity involved with this vendor, its employment by both NCPAC and the Reagan campaign would seem not to have jeopardized the independence of NCPAC's expenditure.

Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, MediAmerica, Inc., David Keene, Ed Nichols Associates and Thompson and Associates made up the second group of vendors which played, in varying degrees, more active roles in the activities of either one or more of the respondent non-authorized committees or an authorized Reagan committee, or both. Given the nature and timing of their roles, the possibility of coordination through these particular common vendors appears greater than through the first group discussed above.

(xiv) Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates

Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates is a consulting firm located in Mount Kisco, New York. Reports submitted by the Reagan for President Committee show expenditures made to this firm on September 28, 1979 ($3,000), November 28, 1979 ($6,000), January 24, 1980 ($318.95), February 7, 1980 ($12,000), February 6, 1980 ($396.12), March 24, 1980 ($6,000), April 9, 1980 ($3,000), April 30, 1980 ($206.02), and June 5, 1980 ($3,044). According to these reports and to invoices submitted

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by Finkelstein, the payments totaling $18,000 made on February 7 and March 24, 1980 were for telephone polls conducted in Iowa in November and December, 1979, the payments totaling $12,044 made on November 28, 1979 and on April 9 and June 5, 1980, were for political consulting performed in 1979 and January and February, 1980 by Arthur J. Finkelstein, and the remainder involved reimbursements for travel expenses. (Invoices attached hereto as Exhibit 37). The Reagan for President Committee has refused to produce voluntarily the results of the Iowa poll as requested in the Commission's subpoena for production of documents. (Deposition of Angela M. Buchanan, former treasurer of Reagan for President Committee, pages 63-64).

In his July 1, 1982 response to written questions posed by this Office, Mr. Finkelstein stated that the "total scope" of services performed for the Reagan for President Committee encompassed a review of Ronald Reagan's announcement speech, the poll in Iowa noted above, and "occasional phone conversations concerning strategy -- plus perhaps three or so days of work: one in New Hampshire, one in California and a one hour speech in Wisconsin." (Exhibits 38-a and 38-b).

In his response of July 28, 1982, to follow-up questions posed by this Office, Mr. Finkelstein elaborated somewhat upon his earlier answers by stating that he could not recall the telephone conversations cited, but that they were "by and large

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from people with the Committee who knew me from previous campaigns...." Three were from Frank Donatelli, the Committee's Mid-West Coordinator, who asked that Mr. Finkelstein speak in Wisconsin, from Elizabeth Doyle in New York State, and from the New Hampshire State Chairman Senator Gordon Humphrey. According to Mr. Finkelstein, his day in California involved a review of Ronald Reagan's announcement speech, with his Committee contact there being John Sears; during his stay in New Hampshire, he looked at the Committee's campaign plan and suggested buying television time for older voters, and in Wisconsin, he gave a speech before a rally of Reagan volunteers. (Questions and response attached hereto as Exhibits 38-c and 38-d).

Reports submitted to the Commission by FCM show an expenditure made to Arthur J. Finkelstein on March 25, 1980, in the amount of $5,000 for a survey undertaken in Wisconsin. This expenditure was reported as an independent expenditure in support of Ronald Reagan. (Boehm Deposition, Exhibit 9).

In a letter from Ronald W. Finkelstein to Curtis Herge, counsel for FCM, dated October 16, 1980, (attached hereto as Exhibit 39), Mr. Finkelstein stated that the Wisconsin survey was conducted on March 15 and 16, 1980, and that it was paid for and seen only by FCM. In his initial response to written questions, Mr. Finkelstein stated that the survey involved 600 interviews and that his company had written the first draft of the questions posed and submitted them to FCM in that form. (Exhibit 38-b).

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From the above facts, it appears that Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates did play an active role in the activities of the Reagan for President Committee and a lesser but still active role in FCM's pro-Reagan activity shortly thereafter. This company conducted polls and provided political advice to the Reagan campaign between November, 1979 and the end of February, 1980, and drafted and conducted a poll for FCM in March, 1980, which was reported as an independent expenditure in support of Ronald Reagan. These facts constitute evidence which would support a Section 109.1(b) presumption that FCM's $5,000 expenditure to Finkelstein was not independent.

Both Arthur J. Finkelstein and representatives of FCM have denied such coordination. Mr. Finkelstein has stated that neither he nor anyone else at his firm suggested that FCM pay for a survey in Wisconsin and that he never "informed representatives of FCM of information concerning the Reagan for President Committee's strategy or any other matter. No such information was used in the formulation of questions to be used in the March, 1980, survey in Wisconsin." (Exhibits 38-a and 38-b).

He also asserted that all services for the Reagan for President Committee were terminated on February 28, 1980, and, in response to the question of whether he maintained contacts with this Committee after completion of his final assignment and through the remainder of 1980, he stated that neither he nor

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anyone else at Arthur J. Finkelstein, Inc., had any further contact with the representatives of the Committee. (Exhibits 38-a and 38-b).

Mr. Heckman of FCM has testified that at the time FCM contracted with Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, he and others at FCM were not aware that that firm had previously performed services for the Reagan for President Committee. He also stated that he never saw the results of any surveys done by Finkelstein for the Reagan for President Committee and that to his knowledge no one else at FCM would have seen such results. (Heckman Deposition, page 50).

In response to the Commission's subpoena for production of documents, FCM produced a copy of the questions and results involved in the Wisconsin survey undertaken by Finkelstein for that committee. (Questions attached as Exhibit 40). It appears that there is nothing in the questions posed in the Wisconsin survey which would indicate special knowledge of the Reagan campaign's own strategy or concerns that had been derived from Mr. Finkelstein's earlier involvement with the Reagan campaign, in Wisconsin or elsewhere. Rather, the questions posed that were related to reactions to and preferences for individual candidates were either quite broad or related to issues being addressed by all candidates. The totally issue-oriented questions were again not out of the ordinary.

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The fact of the common employment of Arthur J. Finkelstein by the Reagan for President Committee and by FCM, the fact that FCM's employment of this firm took place simultaneously with, or only shortly after that of the Reagan committee and involved an expenditure made in support of the Reagan candidacy, and the fact that Finkelstein was actively involved with the two clients create a situation clearly addressed by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B) and would support a finding of probable cause to believe that the Reagan for President Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a. Representatives of FCM and Arthur Finkelstein have denied that FCM saw a copy of the earlier Reagan poll in Iowa or otherwise benefitted from Mr. Finkelstein's knowledge of Reagan strategy; however, flat denials would not completely outweigh evidence of active involvement. On the other hand, neither the Wisconsin poll questions nor information provided to this Office by Mr. Finkelstein proves that special knowledge was made available to FCM as a result of Mr. Finkelstein's employment by the Reagan committee.

Arthur J. Finkelstein served as a director of NCPAC into 1979. Reports submitted to the Commission by NCPAC also show a significant number of expenditures made to Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates in 1979 and 1980. These expenditures were reported either as in-kind contributions to named Congressional candidates, as independent expenditures in opposition to particular candidates for the Senate, or as reimbursement of

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expenses. None was reported as an independent expenditure in support of Ronald Reagan.

Two of the specific bases for the Commission's finding of reason to believe that NCPAC had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) were reported expenditures made by NCPAC to Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates on June 5, 1980, in the amounts of $1,000 and $1,416.69, the purposes of which were reported as a "Survey - In Kind to Napier S.C.-6" and "Reimbursement of Expenses". Information supplied by NCPAC in response to the Commission's subpoena included a copy of the poll questions and results of a September, 1979 survey in South Carolina paid for on June 5, 1980, and an invoice and two letters dated October 16, 1980, to NCPAC counsel from Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates explaining both of the June 5 payments. (Exhibit J to Dolan Deposition, page 5; letters also attached hereto as Exhibits 41-a, 41-b and 41-c; survey questions attached as Exhibit 42). One of these letters contains the statement that "(i)n the past, Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates have done survey work for the National Conservative Political Action Committee only for Senate, Congressional and state elections." (Exhibit 41-b).

During his deposition, Mr. Dolan stated that "every survey asks questions about prominent political leaders. But each survey consists of between 50 and 100 questions." He acknowledged that there probably were "one or two questions"

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relating in some way to the Reagan candidacy among the survey questions, but stated that "that is true for every pollster in America, I assume." (Dolan Deposition, pages 95 and 97-A). In one of the letters to counsel, cited above, Ronald W. Finkelstein of Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates stated that "(i)n every (survey) no statements advocating either the election or defeat of any candidate existed." (Exhibit 41-b).

The survey undertaken in South Carolina included both candidate and issue oriented questions and also a series of questions regarding the background of the person being questioned. (Exhibit 42). Only one question named a presidential candidate (Jimmy Carter) as one of eight persons or entities about which the respondent was asked to express an opinion, and none appear to reflect special knowledge obtainable only from the Reagan campaign.

The other expenditure made by NCPAC on June 5 to Finkelstein apparently was reimbursement for travel related to Arthur J. Finkelstein's participation in candidate schools held by NCPAC in Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles in February, March and April, 1980. (See Exhibit 41-c). According to the NCPAC chairman, these candidate schools involved only Congressional candidates. (Dolan Deposition, page 99).

Two additional expenditures in the amounts of $2,000 and $10,200, made by NCPAC to Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates on

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May 9, 1980 and November 13, 1980, respectively, were reported as operating expenses for a "survey" and a "voter survey". No candidates were mentioned in the reports. In his response to the written questions submitted to him by this Office, Mr. Finkelstein stated that the May 9 payment was for a survey conducted in the 5th Missouri Congressional District and involved the feasibility of defeating Congressman Richard Bolling, while the November 13 payment was for a poll taken in Iowa which was for the purpose of probing the feasibility of defeating Senator John Culver. (Exhibit 38-b).

The letter from Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates to NCPAC counsel quoted above also contains the statement that "NCPAC paid for and saw only its surveys." (Exhibit L-2). During his deposition, Mr. Dolan confirmed this statement and added, "It would be unethical to show they surveyed anyone else. And Mr. Finkelstein has never done that without permission of the client." (Dolan Deposition, pages 100-101).

The chairman of NCPAC has testified that "(u)nder no circumstances did I ever discuss with (Mr. Finkelstein) the Reagan campaign for the purposes of our independent expenditures or his work, what they were doing." (Dolan Deposition, page 100). In his response to written questions, Mr. Finkelstein stated that he "never informed representatives of NCPAC of information concerning the Reagan for President Committee's, or

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the Reagan/Bush Committee's strategy..." and that no such information was used in the formulation of NCPAC survey questions. "Nor was I aware, other than through normal news channels, of the Reagan or Reagan/Bush strategies." (Exhibit 38-b).

The fact of the common employment of Arthur J. Finkelstein by the Reagan for President Committee and by NCPAC, the fact that NCPAC's employment of this firm took place simultaneously with, or only shortly after that of the Reagan committee, and the fact that Finkelstein was actively involved with the two clients, having even served as a director of NCPAC into 1979, create a situation clearly addressed by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B) and would support a finding of probable cause to believe that NCPAC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A). The assertions of Finkelstein that the surveys conducted by that firm for NCPAC and his involvement in NCPAC's campaign schools pertained only to state and Congressional candidates, together with the denials by Mr. Dolan and by Mr. Finkelstein that NCPAC representatives saw copies of polls other than their own or otherwise benefited from Mr. Finkelstein's knowledge of Reagan strategy must be taken into consideration. However, the evidence of active involvement in both campaigns by Arthur J. Finkelstein and his company is not completely outweighed by the bare denials of Mr. Finkelstein and Mr. Dolan.

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(xv) MediAmerica

MediAmerica, Inc., is a media production and advertising firm located in Alexandria, Virginia, which was employed by the Reagan for President Committee, NCPAC and AFC in 1980. Reports filed by the Reagan for President Committee show expenditures to MediAmerica of $10,000 on January 2, 1980, $8,589.33 on February 21, 1980, $3,000 on May 2, 1980, and $4,000 on October 29, 1980, for telephone banks, and $8,000 on February 8, 1980 for promotional materials. 8/ The former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee testified that Roger Stone would have been responsible for hiring this firm to do telephone fundraising. (Buchanan Deposition, page 66). To the best of her knowledge, MediAmerica did not place media advertisements for the Reagan committee.

Reports filed by NCPAC also contain expenditures made to MediAmerica. These include payments of $8,075.89 on April 17, 1980, $8,500 on July 11, 1980, $5,000 on August 21, 1980, and $5,000 on September 10, 1980, for production costs; $208 on April 28, 1980 for delivery costs; $3,000 on July 16, 1980, $13,200 on July 22, 1980, $1,625 on September 23, 1980, $2,500 on September 25, 1980, $11,110 on October 7, 1980, $15,484.37 and $785.22 on October 15, 1980, $1,961.02 on October 16, 1980,

8/ The committee's former treasurer testified that "promotional materials" should read telephone fundraising. (Buchanan Deposition, page 67).

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$3,200 on October 21, 1980, $3,618.20 on October 22, 1980, and $1,975 on October 27, 1980, for media buys; $2,000 on August 8, 1980, for advertising; $5,727.44 on August 8, 1980, $21,536.25 on September 25, 1980, $15,900.63 on October 3, 1980, $8,618.50 on October 10, 1980, $41,498.07 on October 27, 1980, $37,497.79 on November 3, 1980, $56,333.48 on November 4, 1980, and $21,460.22 on November 12, 1980, for advertising, production costs, mailing services and mail list rentals; $168 on August 8, 1980, $26,103 on August 29, 1980, $25,038 on September 5, 1980, $13,500 on September 24, 1980, $33,750 on September 29, 1980, $44,850 on October 9, 1980, $2,325.60 on October 16, 1980 and $10,300 on October 17, 1980, for postage; $29,996.64 on October 16, 1980, for mail list rental and telephone fundraising; and $5,200 on October 29, 1980, $545.95 on September 3, 1980, $4,438.90 on September 5, 1980, $1,750 on September 4, 1980, and $1,001.60 on September 19, 1980, for typing, printing and computer services. All of these expenditures were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan.

During his deposition, Mr. Dolan testified that G. Richard Geske of MediAmerica was authorized by NCPAC "to produce television commercials and to buy time on selected television stations and radio stations". (Dolan Deposition, page 24). "(H)e was given general discretion to come up with commercials in the early part of the campaign...." (Dolan Deposition, page 34).

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Mr. Dolan also testified that he didn't remember when he knew that MediAmerica had performed services for the Reagan for President Committee. He denied discussing the nature of MediAmerica's services for the Reagan Committee or ever seeing the content of materials produced for the Reagan Committee or discussing the targets of Reagan Committee activity. (Dolan Deposition, page 88). The former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee testified that she was not aware that NCPAC had employed MediAmerica in 1980. (Buchanan Deposition, page 68).

As with Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, the facts involved in the employment of MediAmerica by both NCPAC and the Reagan for President Committee appear to present the type of opportunity for coordination envisioned by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B). Richard Geske of MediAmerica was directly and deeply involved in the media strategy of NCPAC as part of its independent expenditure program in support of Ronald Reagan. This NCPAC involvement was simultaneous with, or just after, MediAmerica's telephone fundraising work for the Reagan campaign. The types of activities performed for each client differed, but the opportunity for MediAmerica to perform a coordinating role was still there. We are confronted by the testimonial denial of Mr. Dolan that he ever discussed MediAmerica's work for the Reagan committee; this denial does not, however, offset completely the fact of opportunity.

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Reports filed by AFC show the following payments in 1980 to MediAmerica for "printing and mailing" or for "printing and mailing of Reagan support letters": $1,686.06 on July 25; $607.94 on August 1; $2,500 on August 5; $95.85 on August 27; $5,000 on September 2; $2,112.85 on September 8; $3,621.43 on September 19; $1,119.61 on October 1; $4,900.16 on October 3; $405.04 and $1,217.94 on October 9; $2,020.84 on October 8; $6,000 on October 16; $10,809.06 on October 24; and $2,348.86 on October 28. All of these payments were reported as independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan.

Mr. O'Leary has testified that MediAmerica is a "mail house" to which AFC supplied copy and mailing lists. (O'Leary Deposition, page 62). According to Mr. O'Leary, a stock format of MediAmerica is an "Urgent Gram", and this format was one of the reasons that AFC selected this vendor. Mr. O'Leary stated that he wrote the copy contained in the "Urgent Grams" entered as exhibits during his deposition (attached hereto as Exhibit 43), and that this copy would have been approved by the AFC Executive Committee. He stated that to his knowledge MediAmerica did not have the capacity to have any input into such copy. AFC, through Mr. O'Leary, also supplied the mailing lists. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 63, 65-66).

Mr. O'Leary was asked if he could identify a letter dated July 2, 1980, from D. Richard Geske to Brenda Jones of AFC, which

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apparently had as an attachment a "Partial Roster of Political Clients Only" which cited the Reagan for President Committee. (Attached hereto as Exhibit 44). Also attached to this letter was a "Services List" which includes "copywriting" as a direct mail fundraising service available. Mr. O'Leary testified that he had never seen this letter before. (O'Leary Deposition, page 68).

Mr. O'Leary also testified that at the time AFC decided to engage MediAmerica he was not aware that the Reagan for President Committee had employed this same firm during the primary campaign. (O'Leary Deposition, pages 68-69). In addition, he answered in the negative when asked if anyone at MediAmerica had discussed their work for the Reagan committee with him and whether, to his knowledge, anyone at MediAmerica had shown copies of AFC solicitation letters to the Reagan committees. (O'Leary Deposition, page 69). The former treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee and Reagan/Bush Committee testified that she was not aware that AFC was employing MediAmerica at the same time that the Reagan campaign was using its services. (Buchanan Deposition, page 68).

The facts involved in the employment of MediAmerica by both the Reagan for President Committee and AFC appear to present the type of opportunity for coordination envisioned by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B). MediAmerica did, apparently, take an active

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role in telephone fundraising for the Reagan committee. In addition, its own business solicitation materials indicate further capacities for creative input such as copywriting.

On the other hand, Mr. O'Leary asserted that MediAmerica had no such creative input with regard to the content of the material printed for AFC, and that it did not take the initiative with regard to the selection of mailing lists used.

(xvi) Ed Nichols Associates

Ed Nichols Associates, located in Bethesda, Maryland, is a direct mail firm. Reports filed by the Reagan for President Committee show expenditures made to this firm on September 19, 1979 ($1,200), November 21, 1979 ($10,000 and $8,297.35), November 27, 1979 ($15,000, $6,000 and $7,200), December 3, 1979 ($10,000), December 12, 1979 ($23,001.05), December 19, 1979 ($6,000 and $579.61), February 6, 1980 ($14,464.03), February 7, 1980 $21,947.20), March 10, 1980 ($29,663.39), March 12, 1980 ($10,000), March 17, 1980 ($30,046), March 31, 1980 ($20,254), April 9, 1980 ($40,000), April 25, 1980 ($30,814.78), May 23, 1980 ($19,218.25), June 10, 1980 ($1,001.10), and July 30, 1980 ($8,800.35) for direct mail expenses, consulting fees, travel reimbursement, a truck rental and telephone banks. The Reagan/Bush Committee reported an expenditure of $27.25 made to Ed Nichols on September 28, 1980, for "refreshments reimbursement". The former treasurer of the Reagan committees

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testified that Ed Nichols and Associates was hired by Charles Black to perform services for the Reagan for President Committee involving political direct mail, including consulting with the committee on the advisability of doing mailings, etc. (Buchanan Deposition, pages 70-71).

Reports submitted by NCPAC include an expenditure made by that committee to Ed Nichols Associates on November 19, 1980, in the amount of $18,358.00 for mail list rental, mail services, postage and courier service. Although Mr. Dolan could not recall the specifics of this expenditure, he did testify that either NCPAC or the Richard Viguerie Company would have provided the text for the mailing and that Ed Nichols would not have had any input into its content. He stated that he recalled no direct dealings with Mr. Nichols about Ronald Reagan or NCPAC's independent expenditure program, that he was not informed of the content of direct mail services performed by Ed Nichols Associates for Ronald Reagan nor of the target states involved, and that to his knowledge, no representative of the Reagan committees was informed of the content and nature of NCPAC's direct mail activities performed through Ed Nichols. (Dolan Deposition, pages 90-93).

Ms. Buchanan testified that she was not aware that Ed Nichols Associates had also been employed by NCPAC during 1980. (Buchanan Deposition, page 73).

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Again, the active, consultative role played by Ed Nichols and Associates with the Reagan for President Committee would appear to have placed that firm in a position to coordinate the activities of the Reagan campaign and of another client such as NCPAC which was undertaking its own activities in support of the Reagan candidacy.

On the other hand, Mr. Dolan has testified in effect that the involvement of Ed Nichols and Associates with NCPAC was not a creative one; he also has denied acquiring any knowledge of this firm's activities for the Reagan campaign. The evidence in hand is therefore neither clearly for nor clearly against a finding of probable coordination through this common vendor.

FCM also reported an expenditure to Ed Nichols on January 27, 1981 ($3,974.80) for data processing. (Boehm Deposition, Exhibit 10). This expenditure was not reported as an independent expenditure in support of Ronald Reagan, and, according to Mr. Boehm, involved payment for data processing of voter registration tapes which arrived too late for use. Mr. Boehm did not believe that this expenditure involved FCM's campaign for Ronald Reagan. (Boehm Deposition, pages 53-54).

Given the disparate timing of the expenditures made to Ed Nichols and Associates by the Reagan for President Committee and FCM, and the failure of FCM to use the product for campaign purposes, this use of a common vendor does not create a set of

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facts which could support a Commission finding of lack of independence on the part of FCM.

(xvii) Thompson and Associates

As stated above, during 1979-80 Thompson and Associates served as the direct mail consultant for FCM, and in that capacity was responsible for hiring such vendors as Telepost, Diversified Direct and Wiland and Associates, and for selecting mailing lists, etc. This firm also rented at least one mailing list to the RNC during the 1980 campaign, the RNC being an authorized Reagan Committee. (See Exhibit 45). The issue here becomes, therefore, whether the rental of a mailing list to the RNC at the same time this firm was acting as direct mail coordinator for FCM compromised the independence of FCM's expenditures made through Thompson and Associates.

The renting of mailing lists is common in the direct mail solicitation business. In order to show that the rental by Thompson and Associates of a list to the RNC destroyed FCM's independence, it would be necessary to show that FCM benefited from knowledge about the Reagan campaign obtained by Thompson and Associates by virtue of the latter's rental of a mailing list to the RNC. No direct evidence to this effect has been found; however, the channel of communication afforded FCM by Thompson's involvement with the RNC leaves room for doubt as to the independence of FCM's activities.

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4. Additional Contacts

Examination of telephone bills submitted by NCPAC pursuant to subpoena has revealed one telephone call lasting thirty-five minutes which was billed to the NCPAC headquarters and made to Reagan for President headquarters in Salt Lake City, Utah, on July 25, 1980, at 5:30 p.m. When questioned about this call, which originated at the Quality Inn in Alexandria, Virginia, Mr. Dolan stated that on the date the call was made the National Conservative Fund was holding a campaign manager's school at that hotel and that he had had an arrangement whereby he could use the hotel office's telephone and charge the NCPAC office. He speculated that the call at issue might have been one he had made in response to a message, but he could recall no details. (Dolan Deposition, pages 111-117). Later, counsel submitted a statement that "Mr. Dolan has no recollection whether he made the telephone call to Utah" and that "NCPAC has not learned who else might have made that telephone call." Mr. Dolan stated that "for the record at no time did I ever discuss with anybody strategy about the Reagan campaign or our activities or anything else." (Dolan Deposition, page 118). He also testified that NCPAC was interested in non-presidential races in Utah, and that if he had known he was calling Reagan headquarters there "I probably would have noted something for the record." (Dolan Deposition, page 118).

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One of the bases for the Commission's finding of reason to believe that NCPAC had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) was the payment by the Reagan for President Committee of $2,200 to NCPAC for an IBM memory typewriter. The fact that the sale had taken place appeared to indicate the existence of an avenue of communication between the two committees which could be utilized for purposes of coordination.

Documents submitted by NCPAC and the Reagan for President Committee show that the sale of the typewriter was negotiated by Lisa Stoltenberg, Office Manager for NCPAC, and by Neal Peden of the Reagan campaign allegedly as a result of NCPAC's desire to update its office equipment. (Exhibit 2 to Dolan Deposition; also attached hereto as Exhibit 46). Mr. Dolan has testified that Ms. Peden first contacted him to inquire about memory typewriters and he referred her to the NCPAC treasurer, Becki C. Burlingame. He was later consulted about price, but recalled no other facts. (Dolan Deposition, page 48). In a letter dated February 22, 1980, the NCPAC treasurer wrote to Ms. Peden requesting payment. No evidence of other contacts has been found between Mr. Dolan, Ms. Burlingame or Ms. Stoltenberg on the one

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hand and Ms. Peden or Ms. Buchanan of the Reagan for President Committee on the other. 9/

During his deposition, Mr. Dolan was asked about his relationships and campaign-related contacts with a series of individuals involved with the Reagan campaign, including the candidate himself. Mr. Dolan testified that Mr. Reagan had signed fundraising letters for NCPAC in 1976 and 1977, but had stopped this activity in the latter year. (Dolan Deposition,

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9/ According to documents furnished by both committees, the Reagan committee took possession of the typewriter in October, 1979, but NCPAC did not report the receipt of payment until July 15, 1980. On February 22, 1980, a request for payment was sent to Ms. Peden by Ms. Burlingame. (Dolan Deposition, Exhibit 2).

When asked if there had been any disagreement between the committees as to the necessity for payment, Mr. Dolan stated that there had been none that he recalled; he testified that the typewriter was never intended to be an in-kind contribution. (Dolan Deposition, pages 48-49). No explanation has been given for the lateness of the Reagan Committee's payment.

NCPAC did not report the making of any contributions to the Reagan for President Committee; therefore, even if the lateness of the payment by the RFP would cause its use of the typewriter between October, 1979, and July, 1980, to be an in-kind contribution by NCPAC, no violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) would have occurred on the basis of this transaction alone, given NCPAC's $5,000 limitation.

The facts that NCPAC never reported the $2,200 as a debt owed by the Reagan for President Committee, but only as a receipt on July 15, 1980, and that the Reagan for President Committee began to report the $2,200 as a debt owed NCPAC only in July, 1980, constitute apparent violations by both committees of 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). This Office does not recommend pursuit of those violations in light of the committees' eventual reporting of an expenditure and the receipt of that expenditure.

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page 45). Mr. Dolan stated that NCPAC did receive letters signed by Mr. Reagan during 1980 but that these were letters signed for his own campaign and for other candidates for office, not personal letters. (Dolan Deposition, page 45). When asked about other communication with Mr. Reagan in 1979-80, Mr. Dolan stated, "I don't ever recall speaking to Ronald Reagan by phone. And I could probably recount every single meeting I have had with him, and none during that time." (Dolan Deposition, page 46).

Additional individuals about whom Mr. Dolan was questioned were Anthony Dolan, Franklyn C. Nofziger, Paul Russo, Roger Stone, and Charles Black. Mr. Dolan testified that Anthony Dolan is his brother and that the latter was employed by both the Reagan for President Committee and the Reagan/Bush Committee during the 1979-80 campaign period. He stated that Anthony Dolan was an assistant to William Casey, Reagan campaign director, but that he did not know his brother's duties. He stated that his conversations with his brother were kept to social topics "because we knew we were contemplating independent expenditures" and he testified that there was a formal understanding to this effect. Mr. Dolan responded in the negative when asked whether he had ever discussed NCPAC's plans for supporting Mr. Reagan's candidacy with his brother, whether he told his brother to which states NCPAC planned to give attention, and whether he had ever shown his brother drafts of NCPAC fundraising letters. He also

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denied that he had received any advice from Anthony Dolan about the content of letters, that his brother had acted as an intermediary between NCPAC and the Reagan staff, and that his brother had done any work for NCPAC at any time. (Dolan Deposition, pages 49-51).

Franklyn C. Nofziger served as press secretary for the Reagan for President Committee and as Deputy Campaign Director for Communications for the Reagan/Bush Committee. Mr. Dolan testified that he has known Mr. Nofziger since the mid-1970's as a political consultant and as a business partner. (Dolan Deposition, pages 54-55). 10/ He also testified that he could not recall speaking with him in 1979-80, that he never discussed with him NCPAC's plans with regard to its efforts on behalf of Ronald Reagan, that he never showed Mr. Nofziger drafts of NCPAC fundraising letters or scripts for media spots nor informed him of NCPAC's plans for targeting particular states, and that he never sought his advice on these subjects. Mr. Dolan also testified that Mr. Nofziger never consulted Mr. Dolan about Reagan/Bush strategy. Mr. Dolan stated that he was "pretty certain" that Mr. Nofziger never had done any work for NCPAC.

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10/ Mr. Dolan, Mr. Nofziger, David Keene, Roger Stone and Paul Russo were partners in the ownership of an office building in Alexandria, Virginia. Mr. Nofziger testified that this was a limited partnership and that there were no business discussions between himself and Mr. Dolan. (Deposition of Franklyn C. Nofziger, page 24).

(Dolan Deposition, page 57). Mr. Nofziger's testimony during his deposition corroborated that of Mr. Dolan discussed above. (Nofziger Deposition, pages 25-26).

Regarding Paul Russo, who was employed by both the Reagan for President Committee and the Reagan/Bush Committee, Mr. Dolan testified that he has known Mr. Russo for probably five years, and that while he probably did talk with him during the 1979-80 election campaign, he could recall no such conversation. Again, Mr. Dolan denied having talked to Mr. Russo about NCPAC's strategy on behalf of Mr. Reagan, having shown him drafts of scripts for radio or TV spots, having informed him of NCPAC plans for targeting particular states, or having sought his advise about fundraising letters or the content of media spots. Mr. Dolan stated that to the best of his recollection, Mr. Russo had never worked for or consulted with NCPAC. (Dolan Deposition, pages 58-60).

Roger Stone, who served as regional director for New York and Connecticut for the Reagan campaign committees, was one of the founders of NCPAC in 1975 and served as treasurer of this committee until he left NCPAC in 1977. NCPAC reports show that as late as January, 1979, Mr. Stone acted as one of five endorsers of a loan obtained by NCPAC from the First American Bank of Virginia. (This loan was completely repaid by April 27, 1979. Mr. Dolan testified that he was sure that he did talk with

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Mr. Stone during the 1979-80 campaign period, but that "at no time did I discuss (with Mr. Stone) NCPAC independent expenditure strategy on behalf of Ronald Reagan. It was all social conversation, and may have related to other political things that had nothing to do with the Presidential race." (Dolan Deposition, page 61).

Charles Black was employed by the Reagan for President Committee as political director from early 1979 until February, 1980. Like Roger Stone, he was one of the founders of NCPAC, which he left in 1977 or 1978. Mr. Dolan testified that he did talk with Mr. Black during the 1979-80 election campaign period, and that "at no time did we ever discuss the strategy of the Reagan campaign as it related to the Presidential race or independent expenditures. And he never saw scripts or requested information." (Dolan Deposition, pages 62-63).

In summary, this Office's investigation has revealed no evidence of direct contacts between NCPAC and Reagan campaign personnel which involved coordination of activities related to the Reagan campaign. The chairman of NCPAC has asserted that any contacts which may have taken place were not concerned with the presidential campaign, but rather, were social in nature or, as regards the telephone call to Utah, may have involved state campaigns. No information obtained concerning the Reagan committees has been found to contradict these assertions.

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Examination of telephone bills submitted by FCM pursuant to subpoena revealed two telephone calls made from FCM headquarters to Reagan for President headquarters in Inglewood, California, one on October 31, 1979, at 8:50 p.m. which lasted one minute, and one on November 14, 1979, which lasted nine minutes; another call was made from FCM headquarters to the Reagan/Bush headquarters in Little Falls, New Jersey, on November 2, 1980, at 5:53 p.m. and lasted twelve minutes. Neither the chairman nor the treasurer of FCM could identify the makers or the recipients of these calls.

As discussed above, correspondence produced in response to the Commission's subpoena included a 1979 telegram from Ronald Reagan to FCM asking that the Committee's expenditure program in support of his candidacy be halted. The Committee's chairman has testified that this request was discussed by the Board of Directors but that no response was sent. (Heckman Deposition, page 55). Mr. Heckman indicated that there were no further communications between Mr. Reagan and FCM concerning FCM's planned expenditures. (Heckman Deposition, pages 55-56).

During his deposition, Mr. Boehm was asked about his use of the term "official Reagan strategy" in his August 31, 1980 memorandum on FCM strategy. (Exhibit 47). He testified that "(t)hat was what I culled from public sources...." (Boehm Deposition, page 59). When asked if he had had access to

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official Reagan strategy documents, he responded, "No, none whatsoever." (Boehm Deposition, page 59).

No evidence of contacts between AFC and the Reagan authorized committees, other than those discussed in subsection II(3) above, have been found.

5. Conscious Parallelism and Indirect Communication

In its complaint, Common Cause cited as evidence of coordination the respondents' "plans to complement and supplement each other's activities. . . . Each Respondent is consciously attempting to conduct a parallel shadow campaign." This accusation of conscious parallelism was apparently directed toward the selection of geographic areas of concentration by the respondents with regard to media advertising, provision of volunteers, etc. Such selection was deemed by the complainant to be sufficient to show actual agreement between the Reagan committees and the unauthorized committees.

Common Cause and the Carter/Mondale Committee also argued that the respondents were indirectly communicating with each other through the press, with coordination the result. In the latter regard, Common Cause cited the language of 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A) as restated in AO 1979-80.

The concept of conscious parallelism is derived primarily from anti-trust law. The principal cases on this subject are

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Theatre Enterprises v. Paramount Film Distributing, 346 U.S. 537 (1954); and Delaware Valley Marine Supply v. American Tobacco, 297 F.2d 199 (3d Cir. 1961), cert. denied, 369 U.S. 839 (1962). In Theatre Enterprises, the Supreme Court determined that a finding that competitors consciously acted in a parallel fashion does not in itself establish a conspiracy for purposes of the Sherman Act. According to the court in Delaware Valley, conscious parallelism "is circumstantial evidence, the probative value of which necessarily varies with the kind of parallelism and the factual setting where it is found." at 203.

Delaware Valley cites several factors which, together with conscious parallelism, can lead logically to an inference of conspiracy, namely

1) the unlikelihood of numerous parties reaching one of several possible conclusions; and,

2) action in apparent contradiction of a party's self-interest. (at 205-206)

Other such factors which have been present in cases in which conspiracy has been found are:

1) a radical departure from past practices (See e.g., Interstate Circuit, Inc. v. U.S., 306 U.S. 208 (1939);

2) express or implied request for agreements (Interstate Circuit, supra);

3) opportunity to agree;

4) earlier finding of conspiracy (Theatre Enterprises, supra).

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Generally, two or more of these so-called "plus factors" have been present in cases where a conspiracy has been found. (James R. McCall, Sum and Substance of Antitrust, Center for Creative Educational Services, pp. 134-136).

Not all of these anti-trust-related plus factors would be applicable in the context of election campaigns. The unlikelihood of two committees making the same decision as to the substance of solicitations, the targeting of media campaigns, etc., would appear to be a relevant factor, as would express or implied requests for agreements, opportunities to agree and earlier findings of cooperation or consultation between two committees. Contradictions of self-interest do not appear relevant, nor do radical departures from past practice in light of the shifting natures of campaign issues and of the responses of political committees thereto.

Application of plus factors to the selection by NCPAC of certain target areas does not provide support for a finding of cooperation or consultation. No evidence has been found that this committee ever received an express or implied request from the Reagan committees for a division or sharing of geographical responsibility, ever selected targets unusually similar to those of the Reagan campaign in a situation where many targets were possible (see below), was represented at a meeting where an opportunity to agree was present, or has previously been found to have cooperated in a way similar to the activity here alleged.

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> agent . . . . or any other person responsible for reporting contributions and expenditures . . . . It is not the Committee's intent to hold a candidate responsible for suggestions by persons over whom he does not exercise control. Further, for example, if a candidate or some other person suggests in a speech to a group of persons that everything possible should be done to defeat the opponent of the candidate, it is not the intent of the Committee that such a reference in a speech be viewed as a "suggestion" for purposes of the definition. H. Rep. No. 917, 94th Cong., 2d Sess., 5 (1976). (Emphasis added.)

The Conference Report which accompanied S. 3065, the bill containing the amendments finally approved, contained the statement "that advocacy of the election or defeat of a candidate or a general request for assistance in a speech to a group of persons by itself should not be considered a 'suggestion' that such persons make an expenditure to further such election or defeat." The Report also stated that it was the Conference Committee's intent to define "independent expenditures" in a manner consistent with the discussion of such expenditures contained in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976). H. Conf. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong., 2d Sess., 38 (1976).The Court in Buckley emphasized the absence of "prearrangement" and "coordination" in distinguishing between independent expenditures and contributions. 424 U.S. at 47.

It appears that Congress intended to require direct communications between a candidate and his or her authorized committee or agent on the one hand and an unauthorized committee

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Common Cause in its complaint interpreted Section 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A) as including within the definition of "information . . . provided to the expending person . . . with a view toward having an expenditure made", information which is supplied by one committee to the press, published, and then used as a basis for action by another committee. In the view of the complainant, the Reagan committee released such information "with a view toward having expenditures made by Respondents", a "mutual understanding exist[ed] to that effect", and "Respondents have acted on the basis of that understanding." Common Cause complaint, pp. 16-17.

Absent a showing of an actual agreement to use the media for purposes of coordinating activity, it would be very difficult to sustain a finding of cooperation and coordination based upon press releases and subsequent use of the information contained therein. The statutory definition of "independent expenditure" cites possible relationships ranging from "in cooperation with" to "at the suggestion of" with the latter seeming to be the weakest link deemed sufficient to undermine the independence of an expenditure. The Report of the Committee on House Administration which accompanied the 1976 House bill amending the Federal Election Campaign Act contained the following explanation for this phase:

> In the definition of "independent expenditures", the phrase "at the . . . suggestion of . . ." is intended to include <u>direct</u> suggestions made by a candidate or his

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> agent . . . . or any other person responsible for reporting contributions and expenditures . . . . It is not the Committee's intent to hold a candidate responsible for suggestions by persons over whom he does not exercise control. Further, for example, if a candidate or some other person suggests in a speech to a group of persons that everything possible should be done to defeat the opponent of the candidate, it is not the intent of the Committee that such a reference in a speech be viewed as a "suggestion" for purposes of the definition. H. Rep. No. 917, 94th Cong., 2d Sess., 5 (1976). (Emphasis added.)

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It appears that Congress intended to require direct communications between a candidate and his or her authorized committee or agent on the one hand and an unauthorized committee

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on the other before the independence of the latter's expenditures in support of the candidate could be jeopardized. Indirect and uncoordinated communications through the press would not come within the definition of even "suggestion", let alone "in concert with" or "at the request of", etc.

The chairman of NCPAC and the treasurer of FCM have stated that they used press stories to decide where to make their expenditures. (Dolan Deposition, pages 64-65; Boehm Deposition, page 59). However, no evidence has been found of an agreement with a Reagan committee to use the press for this purpose.

7. Summary and Conclusion

To summarize, this Office's investigation of possible violation by the authorized committees of Ronald Reagan of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1) has sought evidence of cooperation or coordination with AFC, FCM and NCPAC by examining the respondent committees' internal organization and policies with regard to maintenance of independence, any prior involvement of NCPAC, FCM or AFC personnel, or agents other than vendors, with an authorized Reagan committee and vice versa, the use of common vendors, any direct contacts between NCPAC, FCM or AFC, and Mr. Reagan or his authorized committees, and conscious parallelism as to campaign activities and indirect communication through the press.

As regards NCPAC, no prior involvement by NCPAC personnel with the 1979-80 Reagan authorized campaign committees has been

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uncovered. Certain individuals involved in the 1980 Reagan campaign had had previous involvement with NCPAC; however, these persons had left NCPAC well before the beginning of the 1979-80 campaign period, and no evidence has been found that NCPAC received information from these persons in 1980 regarding the Reagan campaign. Nor have any election-related "plus factors" been found to support a finding of conscious parallelism in campaign targets and techniques. NCPAC did use information gleaned from the press in formulating its independent expenditure campaign, but no evidence has been uncovered of an actual agreement with the Reagan campaign to use the media for communication.

Evidence of direct contacts between NCPAC and the Reagan committees include one long distance telephone call to the Utah headquarters of the Reagan for President Committee, the maker and recipient of which have not been identified, and the sale of a typewriter by NCPAC to the Reagan for President Committee in 1980, a transaction which does not appear to have facilitated other contacts regarding campaign strategy. Mr. Dolan has acknowledged actual or possible conversations in 1980 with certain persons involved in the Reagan campaign, namely, Anthony Dolan, Paul Russo, Roger Stone, and Charles Black, but has stated that these conversations would have been social in nature and not related to the Presidential campaign.

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Cooperation resulting from the use of certain common vendors does not appear likely given the nature or contents of the products or services obtained. In four instances, however, those involving the common employment of Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, of MediAmerica, of Ed Nichols and Associates, and of Diversified Mailing Services, Inc., the situation is, to varying degrees, different. NCPAC's employment of Finkelstein took place directly on the heels of that firm's employment by the Reagan for President Committee, and the work undertaken by Finkelstein for both campaigns included active involvement by the vendor in the activities of its clients. As stated above, this Office finds that these facts clearly point to the type of potential for cooperation and coordination addressed by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B). However, NCPAC has asserted in reports and in more recent statements that the Finkelstein involvement with that committee was related to its state and Congressional activities. Additionally, Mr. Finkelstein and Mr. Dolan deny that there was any cooperation or coordination with the Reagan campaign. As mentioned, this Office does not believe that the bare assertions by Mr. Finkelstein and Mr. Dolan completely outweigh the evidence of active involvement.

The employment of MediAmerica by NCPAC at the same time or after this firm performed services for a Reagan committee also poses questions as to possible coordination given the very active and creative role played by Richard Geske of MediAmerica in

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NCPAC's media efforts in support of the Reagan candidacy and his firm's perhaps less creative but still active role in telephone polling for the Reagan for President Committee. As noted, Mr. Dolan has denied that NCPAC"s involvement with MediAmerica provided his committee with information about that company's work for Reagan. Yet MediAmerica's dual involvement provided a clear opportunity for coordination.

Richard A. Viguerie of Diversified Mailing Services also played an active, creative role in NCPAC's pro-Reagan campaign as did Ed Nichols in the activities of the Reagan for President Committee. On the other hand, the apparently passive nature of the work performed by Ed Nichols Associates for NCPAC and by Diversified Mailing Services for the Reagan campaign would appear not to have created the type of opportunity for coordination present in the cases of MediAmerica and Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates.

As for FCM, the only concrete evidence of direct contacts uncovered between this Committee and the Reagan campaign are the telegram from Ronald Reagan asking FCM to cease its independent expenditure program on his behalf, and three long distance telephone calls, the makers and recipients of which have not been identified. No prior involvement by FCM personnel with the 1979-80 Reagan authorized campaign committees has been uncovered, nor have any "plus factors" to support a finding of conscious parallelism in campaign targets and techniques. FCM did use

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information gleaned from the press in formulating its independent expenditure campaign, but no evidence of an actual agreement to use the media for communication has been found.

Cooperation resulting from the use of certain common vendors again does not appear likely given the nature, contents, timing or non-utilization of the products or services obtained. In two instances, however, those involving the common employment of Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, and of Thompson and Associates, the situation is different. FCM's employment of Finkelstein took place immediately following that firm's employment by the Reagan for President Committee, the FCM expenditure to Finkelstein did involve that committee's support of the Reagan campaign, and the work undertaken by Finkelstein for both campaigns included active involvement by the vendor in the activities of its clients. As stated above, this Office finds that these facts clearly point to the type of potential for cooperation and coordination addressed by 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B). Both Arthur J. Finkelstein and Robert Heckman have denied any cooperation between FCM and Reagan. Again, this Office does not believe that the denials by Mr. Heckman and Mr. Finkelstein completely outweigh the evidence of Mr. Finkelstein's direct involvement in both campaigns.

The employment of Thompson and Associates by FCM at the same time that this firm was engaged in a list rental to the RNC poses other questions as to possible coordination, although the

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circumstances appear more extenuated than those surrounding the Finkelstein involvement.

In the case of AFC, there was movement into AFC of persons previously involved either in advising the Reagan campaign on strategy (i.e., Senator Harrison Schmitt) or directly with a particular authorized Reagan committee (i.e., Stanley Huckaby). It appears, however, that once AFC was formed, Senator Schmitt carefully avoided further contacts with the Reagan campaign. In the case of Mr. Huckaby, his responsibilities were apparently consciously circumscribed to prevent his involvement in the authorization of AFC expenditures or in the planning of AFC strategy. The persons who left AFC to join the Reagan campaign either were never officially a part of the AFC organization or, although officially on board, never took part in the formation of AFC campaign strategy or played other significant roles. There has been no evidence found of an actual sharing of information via these individuals, and the facts surrounding their involvements with AFC and the Reagan campaign do not give rise to a presumption of cooperation pursuant to the Commission's regulations. Nor have any election-related "plus factors" been found to support a finding of conscious parallelism in campaign targets and techniques. AFC's use of information derived through the media would not in itself constitute coordination.

With one exception, findings of cooperation resulting from the use of common vendors by AFC and the Reagan campaign do not

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appear sustainable given the nature and contents of the products obtained from those vendors, and the lack of evidence to refute denials of knowledge on the part of AFC of the actual work done by such vendors for the Reagan campaign. In one case, however, that of MediAmerica, the situation is more problematical. MediAmerica was apparently actively involved in telephone solicitations for the Reagan for President Committee. Its later work for AFC involved that committee's support of the Reagan campaign, and the business solicitation materials sent AFC by this firm show the Reagan for President Committee as a client and copywriting as one of numerous services available. On the other hand, Bradley S. O'Leary has asserted that MediAmerica did not play a creative role in AFC's activities, including no role in copywriting.

All told, several issues are still open involving vendors and telephone calls as a result of this Office's extensive investigation of the relationship between NCPAC, FCM and AFC on the one hand and the authorized Reagan committees on the other during the 1980 primary and general election campaigns. The most serious of these issues appears to be that of the involvement of Arthur J. Finkelstein in the campaigns of the Reagan for President Committee, FCM and NCPAC. The fact that Mr. Finkelstein is a consultant as well as a pollster and that he admittedly performed consulting services for both the Reagan campaign and for NCPAC within the earlier portion of the primary

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period created a potentiality for a coordinating role not completely overcome by the denials of the two respondents and Mr. Finkelstein. Even if, as alleged, Mr. Finkelstein's work for FCM during the same early primary period consisted only of the Wisconsin survey, that in itself created a possible avenue for coordination, although again all involved have denied that such coordination in fact occurred.

It is highly doubtful that further investigation would be fruitful, either as regards the particular issues cited above or with regard to new lines of evidence. Representatives of NCPAC, FCM, AFC and the Reagan committees have addressed the presumptions of coordination raised of the use of common vendors by consistently and flatly denying that any coordination took place. They have also presented evidence of committee policies and/or actions designed to avoid either the reality or the appearance of cooperative endeavors. Despite such stated policies, opportunities for consultation and cooperation were certainly present as regards all of the respondent committees. Whether or not they were in fact utilized remains in doubt.

Therefore, the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission take no further action with regard to the alleged violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees.

As indicated previously, a finding of a violation of 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1) by the Reagan campaign would require a

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showing that that committee had knowingly and willfully accepted in-kind contributions. The analysis employed above with regard to an alleged violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) applies with equal force to a finding of a knowing violation of Section 9012(b)(1). Therefore, this Office concludes in this regard that while certain issues remain open as to whether the Reagan for President Committee accepted in-kind contributions from AFC, FCM and NCPAC in 1980, no further action should be taken. As regards willfulness, and applying a definition of "voluntary, intentional violation of a known legal duty" to this standard, 11/ the investigation undertaken by this Office has revealed no evidence of intentional acceptance of in-kind contributions by the authorized Reagan committees from the other respondents.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1).

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11/ The Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit has construed the term "knowing and willful" in the context of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(7) (now 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(6)(C)) to require a showing of "defiance" or "knowing, conscious and deliberate flaunting of the Act." American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations v. Federal Election Commission, 629 F.2d 97, 101 (D.C. Cir. 1980), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 982 (1980). However, in U.S. v. Pomponio, 429 U.S. 10 (1976), a case involving violation of the Internal Revenue Code, the Supreme Court stated that a showing of a willful violation requires "a voluntary, intentional violation of a known legal duty." at 12.

GENERAL COUNSEL'S RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the Commission take no further action with regard to the alleged violations by Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

2. That the Commission find no probable cause to believe that Ronald Reagan and his authorized committees violated 26 U.S.C. § 9012(b)(1).

25 March 1987
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachments - 47

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Exhibit 1

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS
AND ORDER TO ANSWER WRITTEN QUESTIONS

TO:

Reagan for President General Election Committee
901 South Highland
Arlington, Virginia 22204

RE: MUR 1252

At the instance of the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 437d(a)(1) and (3), the Reagan for President General Election Committee is hereby ordered to produce for inspection and copying all documents and materials listed below that are in the possession or control of the Reagan for President General Election Committee or of its officers, agents, staff members, volunteers or employees. Production is to be made at the Office of General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission at 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on October 17, 1980, at 10:00 a.m. In addition, the Reagan for President General Election Committee is hereby ordered to submit responses in writing and under oath to the interrogatories propounded herein, to the Federal Election Commission within ten (10) days of its receipt of this order.

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As used in this subpoena, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

1. The term "documents and materials" shall mean the original, all copies, and drafts of writings of any kind, printed, audio, visual, or electronic materials including but not limited to correspondence, memoranda, reports, transcripts, minutes, pamphlets, leaflets, notes, letters, lists, telexes, telegrams, messages (including reports, notes memoranda and any other documentation of telephone conversations and conferences), calendar and diary entries, contracts, data, agendas, articles, visual aides, computer print-outs, account statements, billing forms, receipts, checks and other negotiable paper, solicitation materials, records and compilations in the possession, custody or control of the Reagan for President Committee and the Reagan General Election Committee. Designated "documents and materials" are to be taken as including all attachments, enclosures and other documents that are attached to, relate to, or refer to such designated "documents and materials."

2. "Identify" with respect to individuals shall mean to give the full name, last known residence address of such individual, the last known place of business where such individual is or was employed, the title of the job or position held with the committee or group in question, and the dates of such service.

3. "Reagan General Election Committee" or "RGEC" shall mean the principal campaign committee (see 2 U.S.C. §431(5)) of Ronald Reagan, the 1980 Republican nominee for the office of President, the committee's predecessors (including, but not limited to the Reagan for President Committee), affiliates, committees, subcommittees, divisions, branches, projects, as well as any other bodies which conduct business on its behalf and its officers, agents, employees, staff and volunteers.

4. All references to the "FEC" shall mean the Federal Election Commission, its auditors, attorneys, and other employees.

5. "FEC Disclosure Reports" shall mean any reports filed by FCM with the FEC pursuant to the requirements of 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455.

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6. "Agent" shall mean any person who has actual, oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of a candidate; or any person who has been placed in a position within the campaign organization where it could reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities he or she may authorize expenditures. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(5).

7. The term "concerning" with reference to a subject or object shall mean mentioning, discussing, or directly or indirectly regarding, referring, or relative in any way to that subject or object.

If any document called for herein is withheld under a claim of privilege or objection, please furnish a list identifying each such document for which the privilege or objection is claimed, together with the following information:

(a) a description of the subject matter;
(b) the date of the document;
(c) the name and title of the author;
(d) the name and title of the person to whom the document was addressed;
(e) the name and title of the person to whom the document was actually sent;
(f) the identity of any other person who read all or part of the document;
(g) the number of pages;
(h) the paragraph of this subpoena to which the document is otherwise responsive, and
(i) the nature of the claimed privilege or objection.

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Please produce in their entirety the following:

1. All documents and materials concerning meetings, discussions, correspondence, or other communications between RGEC and any of the of the following persons or organizations or their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers, organizers, or agents which relate in any way to the efforts of either RGEC or the below listed organizations or individuals with respect to Ronald Reagan's nomination as the Republican candidate for President or Ronald Reagan's general election campaign for President in 1980:

Republican National Committee
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Americans for Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Anna Chennault
Stuart Spencer
Senator Jesse Helms
James Lake
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Ruth Jones, Ltd.

2. All documents and materials concerning the following expenditures reported by RGEC in FEC disclosure reports:

Payee	Date	Reported Purpose
Diversified Direct, Inc.	April 22, May 14 June 18, 1980	"Direct Mail"
Wiland and Associates	April 22, 1980	"Printing"
Telepost	April 17 and May 2,	"Direct mail"
Tri State Envelope Corp.	April 22, 1980	"Stationary" "Direct Mail"
Bedford Printing	May 16, 1980	"Printing"
Authur Finkelstein and Associates	April 9, June 5, 1980	"Consulting"

a. Please provide a copy of all documents and materials received by RGEC as consideration for the above listed payments.

b. A copy of any survey results, poll, memoranda or report containing survey or polling information obtained by or on behalf of RGEC concerning the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party or his general election for President in 1980. As to each survey, poll, memoranda, or report, please note

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the source of, or the vendor responsible for, the survey, poll, memoranda or report and the date on which the survey, poll, memoranda, or report was secured by RGEC.

3. All documents and materials relating to the contractual or professional relationship or any other association from January 1980 to present between RGEC and the following entities, their agents, officers or employees undertaken in connection with efforts on the part of RGEC which relate in any way to the furtherance of the election of Ronald Reagan as the nominee of the Republican Party or Ronald Reagan's general election campaign for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

Bailey Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Diversified Direct, Inc.
Wiland and Associates
Telepost
Arthur Finkelstein and Associates
Wiland and Associates
Telepost
Bedford Printing
Ruth Jones, Ltd.

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4. All documents and materials concerning a debt of $2,200 listed in the RGEC, FEC disclosure reports as owed to the National Conservative Political Action Committee since February 22, 1980, for "office equipment" and a receipt of $2,200 listed in the National Conservative Political Action Committee's report as paid on July 15, 1980, for a memory typewriter.

5. All telephone bills and/or reports of telephone calls made or received by RGEC from January 1980 to the present.

Please answer the following interrogatories:

A. Please identify all officers, directors, employees, staff members, media time buyers, volunteers, consultants or other agents of RGEC from January 1980 to the present. With respect to each individual identified, please identify that person's supervisor. 1/

(1) Please identify which of the above individuals or any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the oral or written authorization (express or implied) of any RGEC expenditures which relate in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nomination of the Republican Party or his general election campaign for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate in 1980.

(2) Please identify which of the above individuals and any other individuals who have participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the production, conception, drafting, writing, editing, approval, review, presentation, printing, publication, distribution or dissemination of documents and materials which relate in any to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party or his general election for President in 1980 or which would aid in the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

1/ In lieu of identifying the supervisor of each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, RGEC may provide the Commission with an organizational chart.

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B. Please provide a list of all items (including, but not limited to, office equipment, machinery, furniture, and office supplies) transferred by National Conservative Political Action Committee to RGEC since January 1980, along with an item by item breakdown containing the amount paid, if any, by RGEC for each item.

C. Please provide the date(s) of all discussions, meetings, telephone calls, interviews, or other communications, oral and written, with Anna Chennault from the period of January 1980 to July 20, 1980 which relate in any way to the organization, structure, operation or activities of Americans for Change, the organization structure operation or activities of RGEC or her employment or association with the RGEC.

(1) Identify each participant in all of the above listed discussions, meetings, telephone calls, interviews, or other communications, oral or written.

(2) With respect to each discussion, meeting, telephone conversation, interview, or other communication, oral or written, identified by date and/or participant above, please note the topic of each such discussion, meeting, telephone conversation, interview or communication.

E. List the phone numbers and extensions used by RGEC from January, 1980 to the present, noting the extensions assigned to or used by each person identified in response to interrogatory A.

F. List by date and location all fundraisers held by RGEC since January, 1980 which related in any way to the election of Ronald Reagan as the Presidential nominee of the Republican Party,

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his general election for President in 1980 or which related in any way to the defeat of any other 1980 Presidential candidate.

G. With respect to each individual identified in response to interrogatory A, please note whether that individual has had any past, or has any present association, either by way of employment, position, or membership with any of the below listed organizations, projects, or companies. With respect to each such association, note the dates during which each such person was so associated and the position(s) held with each.

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Americans for Change
Reagan for President in '80
Americans for an Effective Presidency
Fund for a Conservative Majority
Citizens for Reagan in '80
The Republican Party
The Reagan for President Committee
Group '80
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Citizens for the Republic
Richard A. Viguerie Co., Inc.
Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
Ruth Jones, Ltd.
Bruce Eberle Associates, Inc.
Decision Making Information, Inc.
Bailey, Deardourff & Associates, Inc.
Citizens for the Republic
North Carolina Congressional Club
Americans for Reagan
National Conservative Political Action Committee
The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund
Committee for Independent Expenditures for Republicans
Target 80
The Conservative Coalition
The Conservative Caucus
Reagan 80
1980 United Republican Committee
Committment 80

WHEREFORE, the Vice Chairman of the Federal Election Commisison has hereunto set his hand at the offices of the Commission at 1325 K Street, Washington, D.C. this 29th day of September, 1980.

John W. McGarry
Vice Chairman

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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irman - Laxalt
't. to Chairman - Williamson
Chairman - Armstrong

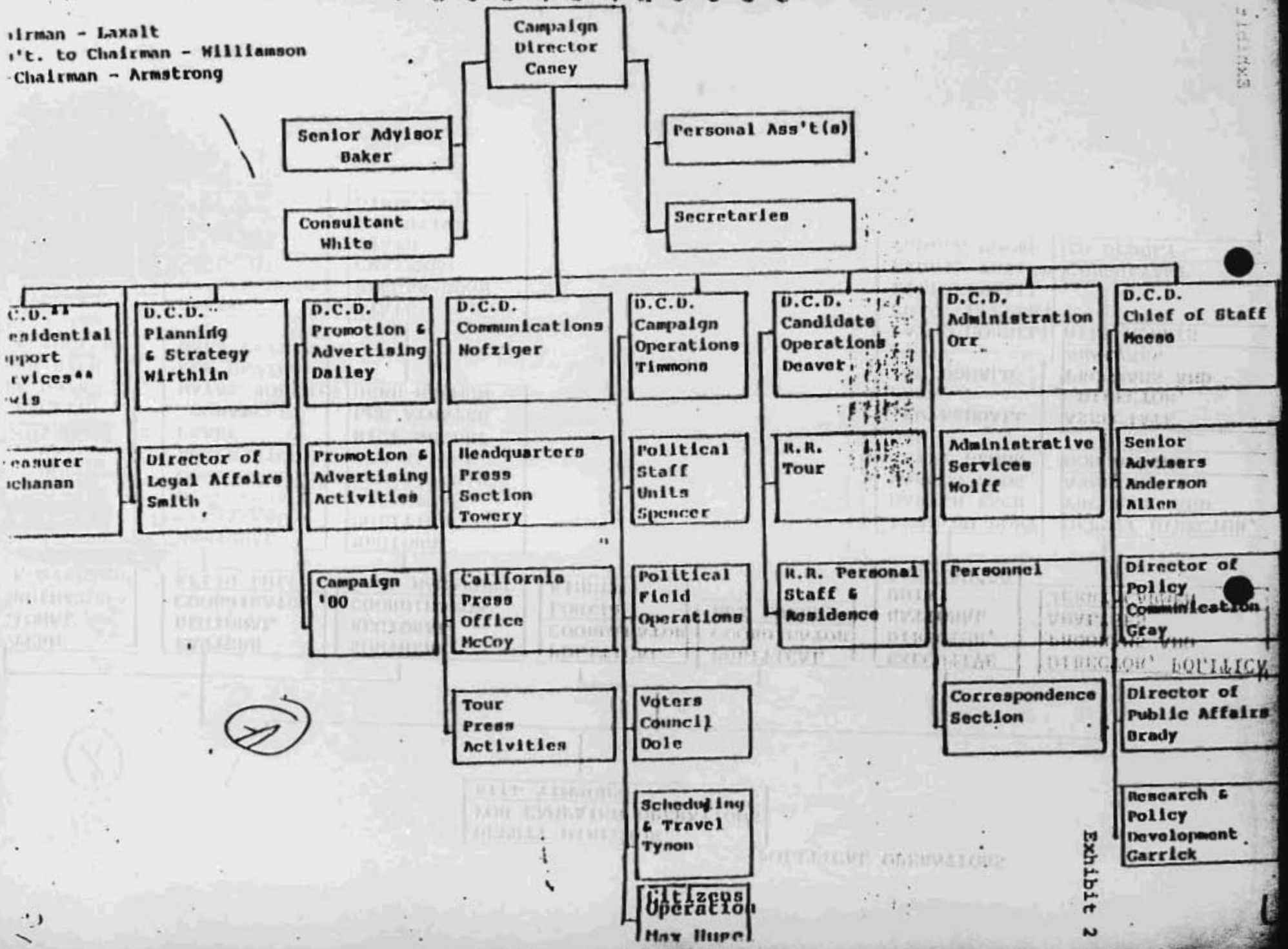


Exhibit 2

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POLITICAL OPERATIONS

DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR CAMPAIGN OPERATIONS
BILL TIMMONS

- **TERN IONAL ORDINATOR K RICHARDS**
  - **IONAL LITICAL RECTORS**
    EX HURTADO
    KE MASSON
    H VAN SICKLE
    LE DUVAL
    LAN BISH
    L TUCKER
  - **ATE AGAN-BUSH AIRMAN**
  - **ATE ECUTIVE RECTORS**
- **EASTERN REGIONAL COORDINATOR**
  KEITH BULEN
  - **REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTORS**
    DON TOTTEN
    ROGER STONE
    FRANK DONATELLI
    WAYNE ROBERTS
    DON DEVINE
    WALT PETERS
  - **STATE REAGAN-BUSH CHAIRMAN**
  - **STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS**
- **SOUTHERN REGIONAL COORDINATOR**
  PAUL MANAFORT
  - **REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTORS**
    LOU KITCHIN
    KEN KLINGE
    RICK SHELBY
    LEE ATWATER
    HERB HARMON
  - **STATE REAGAN-BUSH CHAIRMEN**
  - **STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS**
- **POLITICAL COORDINATOR**
  LORELI KINDER
- **POLITICAL COORDINATOR**
  BUZ LUKENS
- **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL UNITY**
  PAUL RUSSO
  - PETE DU PONT
    MARVIN ESCH
    MARLON COOK
    GARRY BROWN
    DAN KUYKENDALL
    JACK MC DONALD
  - PAT O'DONNELL
    CHAS. LEPPERT
    BILL KENDALL
    DENNIS TAYLOR
    POWELL MOORE
- **DIRECTOR, POLITICAL PROGRAMS AND ANALYSES**
  JERRY CARMEN
  - **DEPUTY DIRECTOR, PROGRAMS AND ANALYSES**
    DON DEVINE
    - **ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, PROGRAMS AND ANALYSES**
      BILL MORRIS
      - **CONSULTANT**
        ED DEBOLT

Exhibit 3

OFFICE OF POLITICAL FIELD OPERATIONS: COORDINATORS AND REGIONAL DIRECTORS

Exhibit 4
(as of August 8, 1980/BT)

ERN COORDINATOR:
H BULEN
Reagan Bush Committee
South Highland Street
: on, VA 22204
685-3470 (RBC).

SOUTHERN COORDINATOR:
PAUL MANAFORT
c/o Reagan Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, VA 22204
703-685-3470 (RBC)
683-6612 (o)
425-5274 (r)

WESTERN COORDINATOR:
DICK RICHARDS
c/o Reagan Bush Committe
901 South Highland Stree
Arlington, VA 22204
703-685-3470 (RBC)
801-621-4432 (o)
801-479-9028 (r)

ERN REGIONAL POLITICAL ECTORS:

NK DONATELLI: OH,PA
Reagan Bush Committee
South Highland Street
ington, VA 22204
-685-3470 (RBC)

DEVINE: MD,DE,D.C.
gan Bush Committee
South Highland Street
ington, VA 22204
-685-3470 (RBC)
-933-6014 (r)

ROBERTS: VT,RI,MA,ME,NH
agan Bush Committee
earsonville, VT 05464
2-644-5749, 8862

GER STONE: NY, CT
5 North Lee Street
eXandria, VA 22314
03-683-6612 (o)
836-6965 (r)

ON TOTTEN: MI,WI,IL,IN
ox 94576
chaumburg, IL 60194
12-882-7079 (RBC)
882-3851 (o)
882-0738 (o)
885-7403 (h)

ALTER PETERS: NJ
6 Pin Oak Trail
edford, NJ 08055
09-695-2860 (o)
654-6542 (r)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTORS:

LEE ATWATER: AL,GA,SC
c/o Reagan Bush Committee
P.O. Box 11896
Columbia, SC 29211
803-252-7340 (RBC)

HERB HARMON: FL
P.O. Box 311
Tallahassee, FL 32302
904-222-7920 (RNC)
224-0374 (o)
386-1588 (r)

LOU KITCHIN: KY,TN,NC
5275 London Drive
Atlanta, GA 30327
404-952-8151 (o)
255-3579 (r)
252-4573 (r)

KENNY KLINGE: MO,AR,LA,MS
c/o Reagan Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, VA 22204
703-685-3470 (RBC)
549-9105 (r)

PAUL MANAFORT: WV, VA
(see address/phone above)

RICK SHELBY: TX, OK
917 N.W. 39th Street
Oklahoma City, OK 73118
512-477-8700 (o)
405-524-3486 (r)

WESTERN REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTORS:

MILAN BISH: SD,NB,KS
Box 1365
Grand Island, NB 68801
308-384-8582 (o)
382-4412 (r)

DALE DUVALL: WA,OR,ID,MT
222 N. Wall, Suite 310
Spokane, WA 99201
509-624-4372 (o)
624-2703 (r)

ALEX HURTADO: NV,CO,UT
1480 Washington Blvd.
Ogden, UT 84404
801-621-6601
773-6220

MIKE MASSON: ND,WY,NM,AR
725 West McDowell Rd.
Phoenix, AZ 85007
602-257-8525 (o)
952-0236 (r)

STU SPENCER: CA
c/o Reagan Bush Committ
901 South Highland Stre
Arlington, VA 22204
703-685-3520 (RBC)
714-979-7151 (o)

TOM VAN SICKLE: AZ,HI
6991 E. Camelback Rd.
Scottsdale, AZ 85251
602-941-1922 (o)
946-2487 (r)

BILL TUCKER: IA,MN
Tucker & Combs S. 2050
Western Fed. Savings

Exhibit 5

AFFIDAVIT OF

PAUL LAXALT

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA) ss.

I, PAUL LAXALT, being first duly sworn, do hereby depose and say:

1. Since 1975 I have served as United States Senator from the state of Nevada. Prior to my election and subsequently I have participated actively in the political process at the national, state, and local levels. Before becoming a United States Senator, I was for a number of years a practicing attorney in Carson City, Nevada; I have also served as Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Nevada.

2. During the 1976 campaign for the Republican nomination for the presidency, I served as Chairman of the Reagan for President Committee.

3. In the 1980 primary campaign just recently concluded, I again served as Chairman of the Reagan for President Committee. I am now Chairman of the Reagan for President General Election Committee. In these respective positions I have had the occasion to become generally familiar with the requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Laws as they apply to campaign contributions, and other related matters.

4. I have had occasion to examine the Complaint filed before the Federal Election Commission by the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, Inc., and the Democratic National Committee against Ronald Reagan et al.

5. Based upon my knowledge and experience in the Reagan campaign, the central charge contained in the Complaint, namely: "that Mr. Reagan and his associates have chosen to try

(6)

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to 'get around' the [Federal campaign] law [and] to coordinate contributions through political fronts claiming to be 'independent' committees" is baseless and without any foundation in fact.

6. Indeed, the often-stated policy of the Reagan campaign has been and will continue to be not to stimulate or encourage the formation of independent expenditure groups and not to cooperate with, or give prior consent to, or consult with, or make requests or suggestions to any individuals or groups making independent expenditures in support of the Reagan candidacy. This policy was reiterated in meetings held with all key Reagan campaign staff personnel immediately following the conclusion of the Republican National Convention. I am further informed that prior to the convention this same policy against cooperation with independent expenditure efforts was repeatedly stated by those responsible for compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Laws to headquarters, regional and field personnel during the Reagan primary campaign.

7. Given my experience in the Reagan campaigns of 1976 and 1980, I can state unequivocally that the advantages held by an incumbent president over a primary or general election challenger are so immense as to be almost insuperable. A president has free and instant access to the national media from his White House doorstep. By contrast, a challenger must expend scarce campaign funds to travel and engage in various campaign activities in order to attract any significiant media attention.

8. The result sought by the complainants to deprive the Reagan-Bush campaign of its only feasible source of campaign funds based upon the chimerical expectations of expenditures by

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groups independent of and unauthorized by our campaign would torpedo the Reagan-Bush effort and initially guarantee the absence of a freely and fairly-contested presidential election in the fall.

9. Any delay or denial of public funds to the Reagan-Bush general election campaign at this stage would cripple our campaign effort, and irreparably injure our ability to present our case to the American people. At this point, given the amount of time remaining between now and the general election as well as the $1,000 per person contribution limit, there is no way to raise from private sources adequate funding for the general election campaign.

10. This fundamental point was made most effectively by my colleague Robert Strauss, the current Chairman of the Carter-Mondale reelection committee, in testimony before the Congress in 1976:

> My responsibilities as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, make me focus on the incalculable problems faced by presidential candidates as long as the status of the FEC remains in question. Most of our candidates cannot sustain even a lapse of a few days in the payment of federal matching funds. Many of our campaigns are operating on a day-to-day cash flow. A time lapse in the certification and distribution of federal funds could be so disruptive to the political process that it could have a dangerous impact on the outcome of both the Democratic and Republican nominating systems. This must be avoided. [Emphasis supplied]

This statement is just as valid today in the general election context as it was during the primary campaigns of 1976.

11. Based upon my previous political experience, were a court to grant any form of temporary injunctive relief in connection with the Reagan-Bush request for certification of

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eligibility for federal campaign funds, it could have drastic political consequences beyond those caused by the interruption in public funding. Such an action would inevitably — even though mistakenly — be misperceived by some members of the public as a judicial determination that the Reagan campaign had done something unlawful or improper, even though nothing could be futher from the truth. Given the sensitivity of the American public to charges of misconduct by elected officials, the corrosive impression created by the initial adverse publicity attending such a judicial action could never be completely removed even after the Reagan campaign was completely vindicated, as it assuredly would be.

12. The result sought by the complainants would leave President Carter in full possession of his pre- and post- convention campaign war chests provided by the public in addition to the vast professional staff and other government resources available to him as President. In addition, he will be principally featured at the publicly-funded events of the Democratic National Convention in further promotion of his candidacy. In contrast, Ronald Reagan and George Bush would be grounded with no campaign funds whatsoever. They would be effectively denied their basic First Amendment rights to communicate with the American people. The Congress never contemplated such an unjust result when it passed the campaign laws which are the subject of the instant complaint.

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13. The foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

PAUL LAXALT

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23rd day of July 1980.

NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission Expires 1-1-82

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9841 AIRPORT BLVD SUITE 1430
LOS ANGELES CA 90045

Exhibit 6

4-068427S205003 07/24/79 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP FCHA
2 3024250624 MGM TDMT YORKLYN DE 07-24 0642P EST

ROBERT HECKMAN CHAIRMAN FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY
1022 WILSON BLVD
ARLINGTON VA 22209

THIS IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF A PREVIOUSLY PHONE-DELIVERED TELEGRAM

IT HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION THAT YOU ARE RAISING FUNDS FOR AN INDEPENDENT AND UNAUTHORIZED COMMITTEE ON MY BEHALF. I ASK THAT YOU IMMEDIATELY STOP THIS EFFORT. I BELIEVE THAT YOU AND YOUR GROUP ARE HONEST SUPPORTERS, HOWEVER YOUR INDEPENDENT EFFORTS CAN ONLY HINDER THE CAMPAIGN EFFORTS OF REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT, MY ONLY AURTHORIZED COMMITTEE
RONALD REAGAN
9841 AIRPORT BLVD SUITE 1430
LOS ANGELES CA 90045

1644 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

Exhibit 7

TO: North Carolina Reagan Bush Committee Leadership

FROM: Loren A. Smith
Chief Counsel

RE: REAGAN BUSH COMMITTEE RELATIONS WITH NORTH CAROLINA GOP.

DATE: September 4, 1980

Per your request I am setting forth the following guidelines for our campaign's relationship with the party. The reason this presents a potential problem, as I understand it, is that the North Carolina GOP has close relations with the North Carolina Congressional Club (NCCC) the group headed by Senator Helms that is making independent expenditures on behalf of the Reagan Bush ticket. These guidelines are designed to comply with the law and allow our campaign to effectively function. Both goals are possible and will be achieved.

1. We may work with any unit of the North Carolina GOP as a unit, as long as that group is not involved in any funding of, control of, or joint office with any independent expenditure effort.

2. We should discourage state and local GOP units or their leadership from working with independent expenditure groups. Federal law considers a political party as incapable of making independent expenditures on behalf of its nominees.

3. In working with a state or local party unit all individuals in that unit who are involved with any independent expenditure should be excluded from participation with the joint party--Reagan-Bush effort or project. While a party unit is not tainted by the involvement of some of the members with an independent expenditure, we should be cautious in dealing with such a party unit to avoid any appearance of coordination between our campaign and the independent expenditure efforts.

4. We may deal with party leaders, as party leaders, who are involved in independent expenditure efforts. However, we should make it clear to them that no discussion of any independent expenditure activity will occur or is such activity encouraged by the Reagan Bush campaign. Further, we should only deal with such individuals on matters where it is necessary to work with them in order to work with the Republican Party. We don't even want to give

the appearance of coordination with an independent expenditure effort. The same rule would apply to the campaigns of other candidates that have involvement with Reagan-Bush oriented independent expenditure groups.

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Exhibit 8

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	MUR 1252 (80)

AFFIDAVIT

State of New Mexico) ss:

Harrison H. Schmitt for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Chairman and one of the organizers of Americans For Change ("AFC"), a political committee registered in that name with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433. The only offices of AFC are located at 218 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. AFC's telephone number is (703) 683-0304.

3. AFC has made and intends to make independent expenditures in support of the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and intends to make contributions to other candidates for federal office. AFC is duly incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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4. Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis and Brad O'Leary are the founders of AFC.

5. Only members of the Executive Committee of AFC make decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC. Members of the Executive Committee are Harrison H. Schmitt, David Durenberger, John Harmer, Carl T. Curtis, Brad O'Leary and Howard J. Ruff. As Chairman of AFC, I have attended all meetings of the Executive Committee and no persons other than the members listed above made decisions regarding independent expenditures by AFC.

6. AFC has a Steering Committee which consists of 108 members nationwide who assist in fundraising for AFC.

7. Prior to becoming a member of the Executive or Steering Committee, each person must verify in writing that he or she is independent of the presidential election campaign of Ronald Reagan. Each person must verify that he or she: (1) is not and never has been authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan; (2) is not and never has been an officer of an authorized committee of Reagan; (3) is not receiving or never has received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his agents or committees; (4) does not and has never held a position in the Reagan campaign; or (5) does not and has not received any information from Reagan,

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his agents or committees regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs with a view toward having an expenditure made.

8. All members of the Executive Committee and Steering Committees have provided such verification, which AFC's counsel has reviewed.

9. AFC has only one bank account. All checks issued by AFC are drawn from this account and must be signed by me or AFC Treasurer Carl T. Curtis. All independent expenditures made by AFC are made by check.

10. Ms. Anna Chennault is not now and never has been a member of AFC's Steering Committee or Executive Committee. She refused to submit written verification as described in paragraph 7 and, therefore, could not be a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. Ms. Chennault is not and never has been authorized to make independent expenditures on behalf of AFC. Ms. Chennault has never attended any meetings or participated in any activities of AFC, including the making of independent expenditures. Ms. Chennault did not participate in founding AFC.

11. Mr. Stan Huckaby is the Assistant Treasurer of AFC and custodian of its records. His sole activity in relation to AFC is and has been to prepare the financial records of AFC and reports for filing with the FEC. Mr. Huckaby is not a member of the Executive or Steering Committee of AFC. He does not and has not attended meetings of either group. Mr. Huckaby is neither permitted to make decisions

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or participate in discussions regarding independent expenditures or to sign checks for such expenditures. Mr. Huckaby has no authority to make expenditures on behalf of AFC.

12. In 1978 I agreed to become a member of the Republican National Committee Advisory Council ("RNC Advisory Council"). I attended one meeting of the RNC Advisory Council in 1978. I am not and never have been an officer of the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received compensation or reimbursement from the RNC Advisory Council. I have never received any information from this group regarding Reagan's plans, projects or needs. To my knowledge, this group has never advised Reagan, his committees or agents. I am not and never have been an RNC Committeeman.

13. AFC's Executive Committee has not commissioned or obtained surveys or polls regarding the 1980 presidential election, apart from results published in newspapers or periodicals. AFC's Executive Committee has not obtained such information from Reagan, his committees or agents.

14. AFC has not expended any funds for the dissemination, distribution or republication of campaign material prepared or used by Reagan, his committees or the RNC.

15. AFC does not use and has never used the name of Ronald Reagan or any other candidate in its name. All materials used for the solicitation of funds for AFC contain

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the notice: "Paid for by Americans for Change, Not Authorized by Any Candidate." "Reagan for President in '80" is a fund-raising project of AFC. It is not part of AFC's name. It is not a separate organization or committee or held out to be such in any AFC communication. "Reagan for President in '80" has no checking or other account. All checks received by AFC, including those made payable to "Reagan for President in '80" are deposited in AFC's only checking account. All AFC expenditures are made from this same account.

16. AFC has held fundraisers. In each instance AFC has made it clear that the fundraiser was sponsored by AFC. No fundraisers have been held jointly with Reagan, his agents or committees.

17. The Executive Committee makes all decisions regarding expenditures for communications in support of Ronald Reagan. The Executive Committee then selects a media or print professional to prepare the communication. Prior to selecting such a professional, the Executive Committee requires him or her to verify in writing that he or she complies with statutory or regulatory requirements for independent expenditure as described in paragraph 7. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 109.

18. AFC has no correspondence or other documents relating to meetings or communications with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his authorized campaign committees including

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their officials, employees, staff members, volunteers or organizers.

19. I am not and never have been authorized by Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees to raise funds or make expenditures on his behalf. I am not an officer of a committee authorized by Reagan, nor do I hold any position in the Reagan campaign. I have never received any compensation or reimbursement from Reagan, his committees or agents.

20. I have never received any information from Reagan, his agents or committees regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs.

21. AFC's Executive Committee has never received information regarding Reagan's projects, plans or needs from Reagan or his agents or campaign committees. AFC's Executive Committee has never received a request or suggestion from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or committees regarding any AFC expenditures.

83040423371

Harrison H. Schmitt

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5 day of October, 1980.

Notary Public

My commission expires:

5 10 81

SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Exhibit 9

April 25, 1980

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Honorable Paul Laxalt
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Paul:

Attached is another look at policy categories which might be the basis of a series of Congressional interaction sessions with the Governor. The five basic categories are obviously interrelated but could serve to channel discussions along useful lines.

On a separate copy of the list I have indicated those Senators who might be asked to head up each session. As I indicated to you earlier, the Governor should probably be well briefed by his people beforehand, and the Senators should have worked out their basic recommendations in advance of each session. In this way, the Governor would have his own framework in which to assimilate the input we felt it was important to make.

One note of caution: If the Senators in each group are not willing to discipline their comments, then each session should be held with only the leader, you and one or two others present. In such a case, each leader would be responsible for gathering and filtering input from others.

Please call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Harrison Schmitt

HS/smg

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Economic – DANFORTH

Fiscal
Tax
Regulation
Labor
Management

Defense – WALLOP

Strategic
Tactical
Civil
Trade

Foreign – LUGAR

Free World
3rd World
Soviet Sphere
China Sphere
Western Hemisphere

Society – SCHWEIKER

Urban
Rural
Welfare
Health
Education
Law Enforcement

Development – SCHMITT

Science
Innovation
Energy and Minerals
Renewable Resources
Environment
Agriculture

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Exhibit 10

MEMO TO RECORD May 30, 1980

FROM: HHS

SUBJ: Reagan Independent Committee

Called Laxalt to indicate I could not be part of campaign issues group. Said "I'm going to raise a lot of money but I can't talk about it".

He said "he understands".

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MEMO FOR THE RECORD May 21, 1980 Exhibit 11

Subject: Visit of Richard Whalen, Reagan Campaign, on May 21, 1980

Mr. Whalen, Doug McCullough, and I discussed matters related to Congressional relations during a Reagan Presidency. My general suggestion was to try to do a few things very well during the first six months and not get tripped into trying all things for all people during that time.

I also suggested continuous contact with Members of Congress supportive of the Administration's efforts. I further suggested that new legislative initiatives were not critical in the first year because the authorization and appropriation bills provided a vehicle which well planned efforts could use to influence almost all aspects of public policy.

No campaign related items were discussed.

Harrison Schmitt/mg

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Exhibit 12

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 19, 1980

Dear John:

I know you are aware that I serve as Chairman of Americans for Change, an independent expenditure committee formed in behalf of Ronald Reagan for President.

As has been obvious since May, it has been necessary for me as a member of the National Republican Senatorial Committee to curtail my participation in the committee's strategy sessions. It is the desire of all who serve on the executive committee of Americans for Change to avoid any possible perception of collusion on our part with any committee, organization or person formally connected with the Reagan for President principal campaign committee or with any committee, organization or person who may have inside knowledge as to the plans of the Reagan for President committee.

I look forward to resuming a more active role in the Senatorial Committee program in 1981.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John Heinz
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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Exhibit 13

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of Americans For Change	)	
	)	MUR 1252 (80)
	)	

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia	)	ss:

Stan Huckaby for his affidavit deposes and says:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained herein and am competent to testify thereto.

2. I am the Assistant Treasurer of Americans For Change ("AFC"). My only services and activities in relation to AFC are to maintain the books and financial records of AFC and to assist in preparation of reports to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC").

3. I am not a member of the Executive Committee or Steering Committee of AFC and have never attended or participated in any meetings of either group.

4. I do not authorize or have the power, express or implied, to authorize expenditures of AFC.

5. I served as Treasurer of the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee for the sole purpose of raising

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funds to enable the participating candidates to liquidate their debts for the presidential primary election campaign. I was the treasurer of the Howard Baker campaign, which had one of the largest primary campaign debts to be liquidated. My agreement to serve as the Unity Committee Treasurer was motivated by my interest in insuring that Senator Baker's debt was liquidated. I have received no compensation or reimbursements from the Unity Committee or Reagan, his agents or committees.

6. My only contacts with Ronald Reagan, his agents or campaign committees were two meetings with Ms. Bay Buchanan, the Treasurer of the Reagan campaign to discuss the Unity dinner and accounting. I had previously been introduced to Ms. Buchanan at a seminar sponsored by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants in early 1980. At these meetings I received no information whatsoever regarding the Reagan campaign plans, projects, strategies or needs, nor did I receive any suggestions or requests for raising funds, or making expenditures or engaging in other activities on behalf of the Reagan campaign. These meetings occurred before the Republican National Convention and the nomination of Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate for president. Since the meetings described herein, I have had no contact whatsoever with Ronald Reagan, his agents, or his campaign committees.

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7. Apart from my duties as the Unity Committee Treasurer, I have no authority, express or implied, from Ronald Reagan, his agents or authorized political committees to make expenditures on behalf of Ronald Reagan, nor have I ever held myself out or have I ever been held out by Ronald Reagan or his agents as having such authority. As described in paragraphs 5 and 6 herein, my position with the Unity Committee is not a position with the Reagan campaign organization which creates the appearance that I have authority to make expenditures on behalf of Reagan.

8. I have never received any information from Ronald Reagan, his agents, or campaign committees regarding Reagan's campaign plans, projects or needs.

Stan Huckaby

Stan Huckaby

Subscribed and sworn before me this 14th day of October, 1980.

Ruth V. Miller

Notary Public

My comission expires:

[illegible]

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Exhibit 14

July 22, 1980

The Honorable
Harrison Schmitt
Chairman
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

At the Republican convention in Detroit, Chairman Bill Brock and legal advisor of Reagan Committee again urged me to resign from your committee. Our responsibility is to win the election for Reagan and Bush. Since I am officially serving as Chairwoman for Nationalities for Reagan, I have to resign from your organization.

I do hope you understand. However, I continue to serve and make contributions and raise money not only for the Eagles, but also for the Senatorial Trust, as well as the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Good luck to all your good work.

Warmest regards,

Anna Chennault

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Exhibit 13

COOK, PURCELL, HANSEN & HENDERSON
CHARTERED
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1015 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

(202) 659-1050
CABLE: CHLAW
TELEX: 440608
TELECOPIER
(202) 659-1877

HARLOW W. COOK
GRAHAM PURCELL
ORVAL HANSEN
DAVID H. HENDERSON
JOHN L. ZORACK
MICHAEL R. ANDREWS
JOHN C. HIRTLAND
F. EUGENE WIRMANN
JAMES CAMPBELL
LAWRENCE A. WEISS

WILLIAM J. NULL
OF COUNSEL

KANSAS CITY OFFICE
SHOOK HARDY & BACON
2300 FLOOR MERCANTILE BANK TOWER
1101 WALNUT
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64106
(816) 474-6550

BOSTON OFFICE
RAMSEY, ECRING & MURRAY
ONE WASHINGTON MALL
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02108
(617) 723-0100

July 7, 1980

Mr. John Harmer
Americans For Reagan
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Mr. Harmer:

On June 3, 1980, I received a mailgram from you requesting assistance in joining your group "Americans For Change." My secretary, by telephone on June 4, notified either your office or Senator Schmitt's office that I would be pleased to join. A few days thereafter, I received a set of instructions to answer eight specific questions so that the organization would have no point of conflict with any individual who would also work directly for the candidacy of Governor Reagan for the presidency.

Prior to answering the questions, I received a telegram from Governor Reagan asking me to serve in an advisory capacity for his election campaign in my home commonwealth of Kentucky. Inasmuch as I feel I could be of more help in the state I had previously represented in the Senate, I have opted to work directly for the election of Governor Reagan to the presidency. Therefore, having performed no services or duties for "Americans For Change", I would request that you remove my name from whatever capacity your organization had determined I might fill. I might further suggest to counteract Archie Cox's ridiculous remarks that you make public my inability to work for your organization because of my direct involvement in the

Make sure Harlow Cook is on steering committee

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Reagan campaign.

Sincerely yours,

Marlow W. Cook

MWC:pc

cc: The Honorable Jack Schmitt

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Hiram Group

Exhibit 16

Americans for Change

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319 Alexandria, Virginia 22314

JUL 1 4 1980

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, Chairman
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, Co-Chairman
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, Co-Chairman
United States Senator Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, Treasurer
(U.S. Senator Nebraska(Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, Vice Chairman
Executive Director
Reagan for President in '80

Senator Fong -
Counsel must clear all steering committee Members. Please fill out and send us as soon as possible

Roger Ailes

Exhibit 17

ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

10850 Traverse Hwy.
Traverse City, MI 49684

616 946 1000

June 19, 1980

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Jack:

As you may know, I responded affirmatively to a June 3 telegram sent in your name requesting me to join a national political committee supporting the candidacy of Governor Ronald Reagan for President.

Not until later, when I received the questionnaire, did I realize that this group is being organized as an "independent" fund-raising committee.

I have no objection whatever to independent groups raising and spending money to support Governor Reagan. In fact, I am pleased to see such activity and I support the idea.

However, in my own case, I am reluctant to associate with the "Americans for Change" because, as I understand the law, it would preclude me from playing any role whatever in the general campaign that might involve contact with the candidate or his campaign organization.

Unfortunately, for your purposes perhaps, I am not in a position now to say that I've had no contact with the candidate's organization. Furthermore, I believe I can -- and I expect to -- play a more useful role in the campaign ahead (at least in Michigan) than merely to have my name appear on the letterhead of an "independent" fund-raising committee.

Frankly, it seems to me that the "Americans for Change" committee could operate effectively with a smaller number of names, and that the committee should be limited to people who, for one reason or another, can play no other role in the effort to elect Ronald Reagan as President.

If you agree with my reaction and analysis, please consider this as a request to remove my name. If you believe I am mistaken, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Griffin

902009

Exhibit 18



OFFICE OF COUNTY EXECUTIVE

LAWRENCE J. HOGAN
COUNTY EXECUTIVE

July 25, 1980

Dear Jack:

As I mentioned to you in Detroit, because I am on the National Committee and intend to play an active role in the Reagan campaign, I will be unable to serve on Americans for Change. I believe both positions are incompatible and may present legal difficulties for your group. The Democrats are looking for any excuse to call it an extension of the campaign and disallow its fund raising activities.

I wish your organization success. If I can every be of assistance to you in another regard, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Larry

Lawrence J. Hogan

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

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Exhibit 19

INGRAM CORPORATION

LIFE AND CASUALTY TOWER · NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219

TELEPHONE 615 244-9300

GUILFORD DUDLEY, JR.
VICE CHAIRMAN

September 29, 1980

Senator Harrison Schmitt
Americans for Change
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

Although I did give the luncheon with Ted Lazenby for your PAC Americans for Change, sponsors of Reagan for President in '80, I have been advised by our attorneys that I will have to abandon any work for any PAC since I was designated Vice Chairman of the Prelude to Victory Dinner campaign put on by the RNC here and the State Republican Committee.

Actually my wife is Chairman of this dinner, and, therefore, I had very little choice but to work for it as Vice Chairman. This does, apparently, eliminate my being able to work for PACs in the future although at the time I did agree to do it, I had no such affiliation.

I wish you luck in your enterprise which is an excellent one, and I wish I could continue to work on it with you.

Sincerely,

Guilford Dudley, Jr.

GD/ls

P. S. I might mention that I am an Eagle and a member of Jack Heinz's Inner Circle and have contributed the limit for myself and my family to the Reagan campaign.

902017

Exhibit 20

SCHWABE, WILLIAMSON, WYATT, MOORE & ROBERTS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1800 STANDARD PLAZA
1100 S.W. 6TH AVENUE
PORTLAND, OREGON 97204
TELEPHONE (503) 222-9981
CABLE ADDRESS "ROSCAL"
TELEX-19963
TELECOPIER-238
CALVIN N. SOUTHER
1906-1979

...UCE SPAULDING
...LLIAM N. KINSEY
...YNE A. WILLIAMSON
...HN L. SCHWABE
...NDELL WYATT
...RDON MOORE
...NNETH E. ROBERTS
...ES B. O'HANLON
...UGLAS W. THOMPSON
...ES R. MOORE
ALLAN FRANZKE
...LAND F. BANAS, JR.
...O G. PIERETTI, JR.
...UGLAS J. WHITE, JR.
...ICANE GILL
...HN R. FAUST, JR.

JAMES A. LARPENTEUR, JR.
JAMES F. SHERERMAN
ROBERT G. SIMPSON
RODNEY A. FOLEY, JR.
THOMAS M. TRIPLETT
ROBERT E. JOSEPH, JR.
PAUL N. DAGLE
KENNETH D. RENNER
KENNETH E. ROBERTS, JR.
DONALD JOE WILLIS
J. LAURENCE CABLE
MICHAEL D. HOFFMAN
JAMES B. HUEGLI
HENRY C. WILLENER
TERRY C. HAUGE

MARK H. WAGNER
JOHN G. CRAWFORD, JR.
NEVA T. CAMPBELL
JOHN E. HART
ROGER A. LUEDTKE
ROY D. LAMBERT
W. A. JERRY NORTH
JAMES T. WALDRON
ROBERT B. DAYTON
DAVID W. ARELROD
ANCER L. HADDERTY
DELBERT J. BRENNEMAN
ROBERT W. NUNN
JAMES E. BENEDICT
WILLIAM H. REPLOGLE
LAWRANCE L. PAULSON
STEVEN H. PRATT

DONALD A. HAAGENSEN
RUTH HARMAN HOOPER
RALPH V. G. SORENSEN
ELIZABETH K. REEVE
CHARLES P. HORNLEY
ROBERT A. STOUT
DANIEL F. ANDE
JAN K. AITCHES
PAUL A. BOCCI
GUY E. STEPHENSON
MARK A. VAN BERGEN
PAUL S. BENET
JAMES H. FINN
DENNIS S. REESE
EUGENE L. GRANT
KATHERINE M. O'NEIL

FORREST W. SIMMONS
OF COUNSEL

August 18, 1980

The Hon. John Harmer
Americans for Change
214 N. Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Governor Harmer:

As I have advised you by telephone, I have been requested to serve on the Oregon Steering Committee for Governor Reagan and I believe that I can do more for the Governor on his behalf in that capacity than serving on the Committee of Americans for Change. I am looking at it strictly as a local Oregon matter and I am sure that you will agree that each of us should do the thing that we feel will be the most effective for Governor Reagan.

It was nice talking to you. I hope to see you one of these days soon.

Sincerely yours,

Wendell Wyatt

Wendell Wyatt

WW:ih

8304 12 3 3 8 7

902005

Exhibit 21-

Americans for Change

Sponsored by REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

Edwin L. Harper, *Co-Chairman*
former Lt. Governor, California

David Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 4, 1980

Attorney General Theodore Sendak
219 State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Dear Ted:

Enclosed please find a fundraising letter for your use in Indiana.

Senator Schmitt asked me convey to you his thanks for your efforts in this area. Further, your work and time were a great help in making the luncheon meeting a success.

I have sent by UPS 1000 - #10 envelopes, 1000 Business reply envelopes, and 1000 pledge cards. I have also enclosed a few sheets of stationary to enable you to have it reprinted.

Please let me know if you have any questions or need further assistance.

Sincerely,

Sarah Ellsworth
SE/gdl

J-12

902449

Exhibit 2

Americans for Change

Sponsors of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80

218 North Lee Street, Suite 319, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 683-5221

Executive Committee

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, *Chairman*
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

John L. Harmer, *Co-Chairman*
Former Lt. Governor, California

Dave Durenberger, *Co-Chairman*
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Carl T. Curtis, *Treasurer*
U.S. Senator, Nebraska (Ret.)

Brad O'Leary, *Vice-Chairman*
Executive Director of Reagan for President in '80

Howard Ruff, *Co-Finance Chairman*
Chairman, Target, Inc.

September 22, 1980

Dear Republican Friend:

We are well aware that this is the time of year that we receive daily, letters asking for contributions for political candidates for National, State and local offices.

All of these campaigns have merit, and deserve your support.

Frankly, we are very concerned about the future of this country and realize that Carter has the position of the Presidency to promote free publicity of "manana" programs to cover up his record of highest unemployment, highest inflation, highest taxes, highest immorality among White House aides and courtesans.

To help Reagan and a cooperative Congress revitalize the American spirit, American defense, American freedoms, American jobs in the private sector, we have to help get Reagan elected.

The federal law today clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as we are supporting---AMERICANS FOR CHANGE--- can raise and spend funds on behalf of Ronald Reagan. Contributions to AMERICANS FOR CHANGE will provide bumper stickers, television time, radio and newpaper ads for the Reagan candidacy.

Please read the enclosures and join us in supporting AMERICANS FOR CHANGE in supplying access for Ronald Reagan in his media efforts to tell his side before the election. Many thanks.

Cordially yours,

John K. Snyder
Co-Chairman for Indiana

Theodore Sendak
Co-Chairman for Indiana

Senator William Ezra Jenner
Honorary Chairman for Indiana

J-13

902250

Exhibit 22

STATE OF INDIANA
ATTORNEY GENERAL
INDIANAPOLIS
46204

THEODORE L. SENDAK
ATTORNEY GENERAL

October 9, 1980

Hon. Harrison Schmitt
Chairman
AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 North Lee Street, Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Jack:

Because I have agreed to accept an appointment as a member of a Criminal Justice Advisory Committee for the Reagan campaign effective after this letter's date, I am formally writing you this letter tendering my resignation as Co-Chairman for Indiana of the AMERICANS FOR CHANGE organization. This will keep either group from having any legal entanglements on my account.

John Snyder will continue to do a great job for you and AMERICANS FOR CHANGE. I am glad I was able to be of some help, too.

Because of my years of work as Attorney General here and as an officer of the National Association of Attorneys General, perhaps I can be of some positive help on the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee.

I have enjoyed working with you and your people. Hope we get to visit more often after November 4.

Best personal wishes for continuing success.

Yours truly,

Theodore L. Sendak

TLS/s

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JAMES B. EDWARDS, D.M.D.
ORAL & MAXILLOFACIAL SURGERY
61 GADSDEN STREET
CHARLESTON, S.C. 29401
(803) 723-3304

Exhibit 23

September 8, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
Russell Senate Office Building
Room 248
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I appreciate your call on the third, and have discussed my situation with several people around the state. After giving it much consideration, I feel that I can best serve our cause working here in South Carolina with Senator Thurmond, Carroll Campbell, Bryan Patrick, Harry Dent and others to carry our state for our team.

I will try to locate somebody of statue to help you in your fund raising efforts here in the state, and will be back in touch with you.

Thank you for your consideration, and I hope you can understand my predicament. Thank you, too, for what you are doing in behalf of this worthy cause.

With warmest regards,

James B. Edwards

JBE/bw

8304042391

902016

Exhibit 24

DATE 11/14/80 DEADLINE ASAP

NAME [illegible]

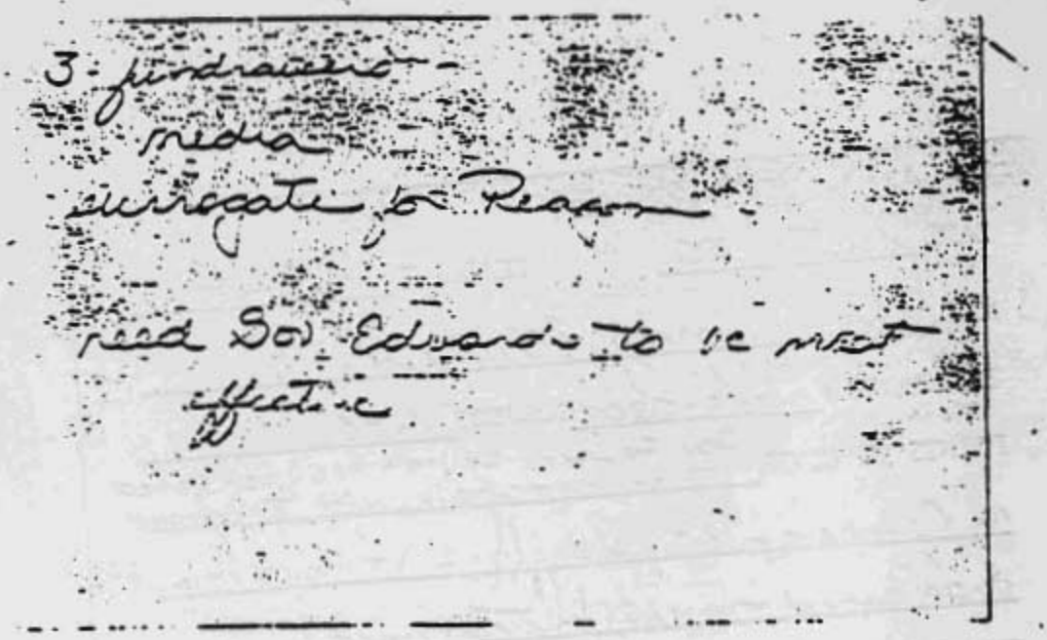
TELEPHONE (803) [illegible] SUBJECT: AFC

POINTS TO COVER Gov. Edwards called - requested to be [illegible] with Thurmond on [illegible] AFC [illegible]

STAFF INITIALS [illegible] (local) INITIALS/DATE 11/14

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901463

Exhibit 25

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

CARTER-MONDALE REELECTION COMMITTEE, INC., et al., Complainants, -against- FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY, et al. Defendants.	MUR 1252

ANSWERS TO INTERROGATORIES

COMES NOW, Fund For A Conservative Majority ("FCM"), by its Chairman, Robert C. Heckman, and in response to the written Interrogatories of the Federal Election Commission to FCM in this matter, answers as follows, in paragraphs lettered to correspond to the lettered paragraphs of the Interrogatories:

B. The Chairman of FCM is Mr. Robert C. Heckman; and, the Treasurer of FCM is Mr. Kenneth F. Boehm. The members of the Board of Directors of FCM are Mr. Robert C. Heckman, Mr. Kenneth F. Boehm and Mr. Jeffrey D. Kane. The Executive Director of FCM from September, 1979 to January 5, 1981 was Mr. Ralph J. Galliano. The current Executive Director of FCM is Mr. Paul G. Dietrich. All staff members of FCM work under the direction of the Executive Director.

Attached hereto is a list of, to the best of your affiant's knowledge, all the people who served on the staff of FCM as an employee, consultant or other agent from September, 1979, to the present.

The following three firms were authorized to make media time buys in behalf of FCM: Thompson and Associates; Edmunds and Associates; and, H.M.L., Inc.

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Exhibit 25

A variety of volunteers worked in or with FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" project. FCM maintained no record of the names of those volunteers.

(1) Expenditures by FCM could only be authorized by a vote of the FCM Board of Directors or by the express direction of the FCM Treasurer and, with his authority, the FCM Executive Director. Fund raising and time buying consultants such as Mr. Mike Thompson, Mr. Tom Edmunds, H.M.L. Inc., and others, were also authorized to approve expenditures when they were working on projects previously authorized by FCM's Treasurer or Executive Director.

(2) Upon information and belief, the following individuals participated in the production of documents and materials by FCM which related to FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" project: Mr. Ralph Galliano, Mr. Frank Cannon, Mr. Ken Boehm, Mr. John Gizzi, Mr. Robert Heckman, J. Curtis Herge, esq., and Mr. Mike Thompson.

(3) The following individuals participated in the planning, organization and formation of FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" project: Mr. Robert Heckman, Mr. Kenneth Boehm, Mr. Jeffrey Kane, Mr. Ralph Galliano, J. Curtis Herge, Esq., and Mr. Mike Thompson.

C. The current telephone number for FCM is (703) 524-4400. No extension numbers were assigned to any individual person listed in response to Interrogatory B. According to the records of FCM, the following additional phone numbers were used by FCM: (703) 524-4400, (703) 525-1304, and (615) 321-6216.

D. Between January, 1980 and the present, neither FCM nor FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" project held any fundraisers or fundraising events.

E. There is no way for FCM to know whether each of the individuals identified in Interrogatory B has any

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relationship (past or present) with the groups and associations listed in Interrogatory 8. Such information is not requested or required upon their employment with FCM, and such records are not kept by FCM, subject, however, to the following:

(1) All employees of FCM had the opportunity to participate in FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" project. By reason of the fact that "Citizens for Reagan in '80" was a project of FCM and was administered as such, "Citizens for Reagan in '80" had no separate legal identity. Therefore, the officers, directors and employees of FCM were the operational and administrative authorities of "Citizens for Reagan in '80."

(2) So far as known to the undersigned affiant, from September, 1979 to November 4, 1980, no individual identified in Interrogatory 3 had any association with the Reagan for President Committee.

(3) Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates was commissioned in the past to do work for FCM under the direction of Mr. Ralph J. Galliano.

(4) Mr. Ralph J. Galliano is a former employee of the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

(5) Many of the employees of FCM are registered Republicans.

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STATE OF VIRGINIA)
COUNTY OF ARLINGTON) SS:

The undersigned, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says that he has read the above and foregoing Answers to Interrogatories by him subscribed, knows the contents thereof, and that the answers therein set forth are true.

Robert C. Heckman
ROBERT HECKMAN

SUBSCRIBED and sworn to before me this 5th day of January, 1981.

Cynthia D. Wilhite
Notary Public

My commission expires: December 5, 1982

5

0304042397

Mottola, Chris
Mullenhoff, Mark F.
Mullins, Kathy M.
Nagurney, Dave M.
O'Brien, William C.
O'Callaghan, James J.
Pair, Leona
Pana Gakos, Estelle
Parlier, Michale W.
Patton, Charles O.
Pelott, Robert O.
Pena, Costanza
Pencarski, Ed
Peterson, Brad
Phares, Tim
Pittman, Virginia Faye
Renfrow, Jeanne Marie
Richardson, Robert C.
Riley, Deborah A.
Riley, Sandy
Ringhausen, Kathryn Y.
Rodway, Allan C.
Roldan, Carlos E.
Roldan, Hernando J.
Sacharanski, John
Salman, Christopher M.
Sanders, David
Sexton, Lea Ann
Shearer, Danny L.
Siemon, Mark A.
Silverfield, Martin B.
Simon, Ken B.
Simonsen, William
Smathers, John
Smutko, Joan S.
Stoskus, Paul J.
Streeter, Linda D.
Strolhrek, John Stanley
Supka, Kevin P.
Switky, William R.
Switky, Ralph
Taylor, Emerson
Tocco, Brian
Tuggle, Linda J.
Tyson, David
Valls, Mary
Van Buskirk, Robert C.
Van Gales, Symarion
Vignare, Christopher
Vignare, Kim
Ward, Robert A.
Wibert, Alta M.
Wolf, Robin
Wood, William
Woodbury, Deborah S.
Zeavin, Jill R.

Fitzgerald, Daniel W.
Fitzgerald, Kevin
Fitzgerald, Megan A.
Gaaserud, Karin
Galliano, Ralph J.
Gavin, Roberta S.
Ghanipour, Maryann
Giampietro, Martha T.
Gizzi, John
Graine, Robin L.
Grasso, Kenneth L.
Haines, Lisa Alice
Hansen, Doris P.
Hansen, Marta
Hansen, Willard
Harding, Mark
Harmon, Arthur
Hackman, Robert C.
Heise, Eric
Henderson, Cheryl
Higgins, Vera Clay
Hightower, Carol
Hines, Susan
Holcomb, Shannon W.
Horness, Jacqueline
Horowityz, Daryl
Howell, David V.
Hughes, Aleighta L.
Hyatt, Susan
Jakaitis, John A.
Jones, Jean P.
Kampolla, Karen M.
Kaplan, William E.
Karlson, Courtney
Keating, Bill
Kelly, Ida
Kelly, John B.
Kelly, Peter B.
Key, Beatrice
Key, Mary A.
Kleiman, Gil
Knight, Willard O.
Kupersmith, Charles D.
Laniguera, Daniel W.
Lambert, Wayne A.
Lamountain, Rick
Lampe, Scott A.
Linderman, Phillip
Lodergan, Hope
Londino, Joe
Longyard, William H.
Lopaz, James A.
Marishi, Sachie
Mann, Michael
Manzelli, Peter
McKee, Eileen
Meder, Cecil
Mills, Kim
Miri, Giso

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ABERNETHY, JOHN J.
ACEVEDO, LISA ANN
Allen, Edward H.
Amburgey, Clavin T.
Amundson, Steve Bruce
Anderson, David P.
Anglari, Maroverite M.
Athanson, Deborah J.
Bake, Margaret L.
Ballentine, Brian T.
Barnes, Mindy
Barnett, Florence A.
Baxter, Bruce E.
Beaty, Kyle B.
Beeler, Richard
Bennett, Thomas D.
Boehm, Ken
Boynton, Robert A.
Brewer, Gregory J.
Brill, Wallace J. Jr.
Bruce, Jodell
Burgess, James E.
Burlingame, Becki C.
Canfield, Mark C.
Cannon, Francis P.
Carlson, Juan M.
Carpey, Daniel M.
Carter, Helen C.
Cerna, Olga J.
Chambers, Bill
Champagne, Bernard J.
Clay, M.E.
Cliff, Dianee
Coker, David
Courman, Mary Ann
Cox, Earl G. Jr.
Crenshaw, Judy
Cross, Carol L.
Curtis, Carla J.
Daugherty, Lloyd
Dawson, Hazel J.
Delaney, Serena A.
Dickinson, Diana L.
Dickson, Diana L.
Dikeman, Carroll H.
Dolan, Bob
Dudley, Michael R.
Dunlop, James R.
Eggers, Mary
Eidlin, Richard J.
Elmore, Patricia
Evans, Catherine D.
Falkenberg, Elaine K.
Field, Mel H.

Diversified Direct, Inc.

EXHIBIT 26-1

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1493

DATE Jan. 25, 1980

TO:

Reagon for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Suite 201

SHIPPED TO:

DMS
Waldorf, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	1/24/80	1141 / 10246	SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
26 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and back.	29.19/M	758.94
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		10.80
	Labor: stripping: —		72.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$841.74

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2/24/80
#1267/2204
B40724

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

55

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1606

NO. A 1495

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

DATE Jan. 25, 1980

TO:

Reagon for President
1828 L St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Suite 201
Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Kiplinger Editors
East West Hwy.
Hyattsville, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 1/24/80	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. 1329 / DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10259	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET-30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
13.5 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and blank back.	32.97/M	445.09
	Authors Alterations: Labor: stripping:		31.50
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$476.59

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1/24/80
#121 1/2 cc
$476.59

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

Exhibit

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. B 5163 26

DATE 1-29-80

MH-11682

TO:

Reagan for Pres., Committee
1828 L. St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO:

DDI

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	1-24-80	RFP 2010 / CM 6253 / 9305		NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: Mailing Services		
7605	Stamp RAE 3-5¢	7.50/M	57.04
	Postage Used $1,140.75		
	Invoice Total		57.04

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3/24/

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Ronald Reagan
Pacific Palisades, California 90272

January 25, 1980

Mr. M. Scott McFadden Jr.
702 Fairway Ln.
Columbia SC 29210

Dear Mr. McFadden:

Nancy and I would like you to have the enclosed photograph as a token of our appreciation for your past support of the Republican Party and conservative causes.

The picture was taken at our home in Pacific Palisades, California.

With your help we will win the White House. 1980 will be a year of Republican victory.

With that in mind, I've listed 4 questions which I'd like your answers to.

Please take a few minutes now to fill out your answers and mail them back to me today.

Your advice is important to me. And what you tell me by your answers will be an important tool in running a winning Reagan for President campaign.

For example, I'd like to know whether you believe Carter, Kennedy or Brown would be the most difficult Democrat candidate to beat.

Since I have personally selected you to give the answers for your area, I really do need to hear back from you right away.

If for some reason you don't want to answer my questions, I will need to know that so I can contact someone else in your area to take your place.

Running for President is an extremely difficult and long undertaking. Since I became a candidate just over three months ago, I have already visited 18 states and given over 70 speeches.

Paid for by REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, 1901 Avenue of the Stars, Suite 1400, Los Angeles, California 90067
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee—Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Ray Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463

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But the fact I may win the chance to make America strong and proud again, to enrich the future of our children, makes the grueling days on the road all worthwhile. With your help, I will win that chance. Let me share some of my thoughts with you on a few of the issues of special concern to me:

Since 1976 we have seen the Democrats:

- give away our canal in Panama to a marxist dictator
- allow America to be humiliated by a terrorist regime in Iran
- fail to stand up to Communist aggression in Afghanistan, Angola, and other trouble spots in the world
- allow the presence of Russian combat troops only 90 miles from our own shores in Communist Cuba
- sign a pro-Soviet SALT II Treaty which would further weaken our military defenses and watch the Russians pull far ahead of us in the arms race
- destroy our intelligence capability so that we can be humiliated and embarassed around the world.

As President, I'll rebuild America's defenses. We need a coherent foreign policy that measures everything by this standard; what is best for the United States of America? It's time we stopped worrying about whether other countries in the world like us and start worrying about whether they respect us.

America must have strong, new leadership if we are to stand up to the Communist attack abroad and restore prosperity and opportunity at home. I want to provide that leadership more than anything I have wanted in my life.

But without the necessary funds, I won't be able to run a winning campaign or stand up for the American ideals which you and I share.

Every respected national and regional poll shows that I can win. But not without your help.

Our campaign treasurer, Bay Buchanan, tells me we must raise $3,595,000 in the next two months. We need

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$230,000 just to pay for the rent, telephones, printing, postage, buttons, bumper stickers and other immediate expenses in the next two weeks.

<u>All the favorable polls in the world won't help if we can't raise this money</u>.

When you return your answers to me, perhaps you can send a check for $10, $15, $25 or even $50. Or possibly you can send us as much as $150 or $250.

Please don't think your contribution won't make a difference in my campaign because it will. I don't have alot of wealthy businessmen sending me checks for $1,000 each.

My campaign is mostly funded by $25 and $50 contributions or less.

If you could send a large check, we certainly could use it. This is maybe even as much as $250 or $500. But anything you can send will be deeply appreciated because it shows I have your trust and support.

I plan to hold a meeting of my top campaign advisors within the next 14 days. I want to discuss your answers to the questions I've enclosed at that meeting.

So please try to fill out and mail back the enclosed reply form today so I will know whether I can count on your financial help and your political advice. Let me know who you think will be the toughest Democrat to beat, and please send a check for $15, $25, $35, $50, or even $100 or more.

In 1980 we can elect a Republican President but only if you and other good people like you do their part now.

I'll be anxiously looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

P.S. Again, it's important that I have your answers in the next 14 days. I must also know whether I can count on your support and whether you will help us meet our financial budget projections. Please let me hear from you today.

8304042340

From:

Mr. Lamar P. Brown
710 Seven Oaks Ln.
Columbia SC 29210

BAA

(Please fill out as completely as possible)

1. Do you consider yourself: ☐ Republican
   ☐ Democrat
   ☐ Independent

2. Which 3 issues in your opinion should I stress in my campaign?
   (Check 3 only)
   ☐ Inflation
   ☐ National Defense
   ☐ Energy
   ☐ Decline in Morality
   ☐ Big Government
   ☐ Welfare Fraud
   ☐ Other _____
   _____

3. Do you consider yourself: ☐ conservative
   ☐ moderate
   ☐ liberal

4. Who do you feel would be easier for me to defeat?
   ☐ Jimmy Carter
   ☐ Teddy Kennedy
   ☐ Jerry Brown

5. Governor Reagan, to demonstrate my support for you, I am enclosing my check for
   ☐ 15 ☐ 25 ☐ 50 ☐ 100
   ☐ 250 ☐ 500 ☐ 1000 ☐ Other _____

PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

I understand the following information is required by federal law:

Occupation _____

Place of Business _____

City/State _____

This solicitation is on behalf of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, 8641 Airport Blvd., Suite 1432, Los Angeles, California 90045
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee—Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington DC 20463

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Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1539

DATE Jan. 31, 1980

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
uite 201.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Kiplinger

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/1/31/80 MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. 1343 / DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10281	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
16,793	Computer forms, with 2 color face and back.	48.88/M	820.84
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		2.70
	Labor: stripping:		31.50
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$855.04

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WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

—DDI JOB JACKET

Diversified Direct, Inc.

2936 Property Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1405

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A-1340

DATE Jan. 31, 19

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Suite 201

Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Kiplinger

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	1/31/80	1340 / 10277	SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
16,294	Computer forms, with 2 color face and coded: No $ amt.	22.71/M	370.03
19,302	Computer forms, same specs. Coded: with $ amt.	same	438.34
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		6.00
	Labor: stripping:		45.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$859.37

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3/24/80

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Diversified Direct, Inc.

RECEIVED FEB 19 1980

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

NO. A 1555

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

DATE Feb 7, 198

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

DMS
Waldorf, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 2/4/80	DDI JOB NO. 10278 DDI P.O. NO. 1344 DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN SX	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, LETTERS.		
38,605	Letters, with 2 color face and back.	24.39/M	941.57
	Authors Alterations: Labor: stripping:		9.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$950.57

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Drop 111-1tF
OK, pay
CBK
2-11-80

#589/204
4-22-80
$1961.27

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 26-H

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. B 5155

DATE Jan. 31, 15

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St. N.W. Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO:

Post Office

MH 011697

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 1/29/80 1/30/80	DDI JOB NO. RF 2011 DDI P.O. NO. CM 1067 DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 9320	SALESMAN	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: MAILING SERVICES GR 225.		
22,389	Insert, stamp, burst, trim & fold, match.	45.00/M	1,007.
	Postage Used: $3,363.15		
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,007.

Okay
Bob
2-6-80

3/24/80
#12677224
$4697.21

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Pacific Palisades, California 90272

Exhibit 26-1

February 11, 1980

R Bay Buchanan
Apt 502
5974 Buckingham Parkway
Culver City, CA 90230

Dear Mr. Buchanan:

This may be the most important letter I've ever written you.

By now I'm sure you've heard the results of the Iowa Caucuses.

Although the public opinion polls showed on Caucus Day that I was favored by more Republican voters than any other candidate, enough of my supporters didn't turn out for me to win.

Although I'm confident that we are well organized and can win in New Hampshire, we can't let this happen again.

Once again the polls show that if every Reagan supporter votes in the early primary, we will win. But if the turn out of our supporters is light, we could be defeated.

I am deeply grateful for your past contribution of $100. But if we are to win in New Hampshire, I must ask you to send me a check in the same amount as before or $200 or $300 if you possibly could.

Let me explain.

We have the dedicated volunteers in New Hampshire to call every Reagan supporter and remind them to vote - but as of today we don't have the $279,000 which we need to install telephone banks in our headquarters in New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Florida and South Carolina.

The telephone company insists on large deposits in advance. Frankly, we must raise this $279,000 in the next two weeks.

All the favorable polls in the world won't help if we can't

8304042341

This solicitation is on behalf of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, 9841 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430, Los Angeles, California 90045
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee - Paul Laxalt, Chairman; Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463

raise this money for telephones today.

Please don't think that your contribution won't make a difference in my campaign because it will.

If you could send a large check today we really could use it. But anything you can send will be deeply appreciated because it shows I still have your trust and support.

I believe we can make this country great again.

America must have strong, new leadership if we are to stand up to the Communist attack abroad and restore opportunity and prosperity at home. I want to provide that leadership more than anything I've wanted in my life.

Your friendship and support have meant so much to me in the past. I really need your help now.

I'm enclosing one of my favorite snapshots of Nancy and me that I'd like you to have as a small token of our appreciation.

I'm confident that we can win in New Hampshire. Please let me hear from you today.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

RONALD REAGAN

P.S. The telephone company requires payment in advance to install our primary day telephones. Please let me hear from you today.

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67

TO: Governor Ronald Reagan

SUBJECT: Emergency in New Hampshire

FROM:

R Bay Buchanan
Apt 502
5974 Buckingham Parkway
Culver City, CA 90230

90230BCHN974 R
AAA

Dear Governor Reagan,

YES, I want to help win in New Hampshire. We must have the telephones needed to get out every Reagan voter.

Enclosed is my maximum contribution of:

☐ $100 ☐$200 ☐$300 ☐_____ Other

towards the $279,000 we must raise immediately. PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT.

I understand the following information is required by Federal law:

Occupation _____

Place of Business _____

City/State _____

-8304042341-

This solicitation is on behalf of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, 9441 Airport Blvd. Suite 1410 Los Angeles, California 90045
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, Ray Laxalt, Chairman, Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report(s) filed with the Federal Election Commission is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC 20463

Diversified Direct, Inc.

2536 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

INVOICE

NO. A 16136

DATE 2/18/80

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Suite 201
Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Central Data Processing
Forestville, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ 2/18/80 MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. 1434 / DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10330	SALESMAN	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
200 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and back.	14.87/M	2,974.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$2,974.00

B30404234I

OK and Printing # 14

2-3/110.00 Printout

Paid July 14, 80 #652-204 $11,614.25

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

69

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1617

DATE 2/18/80

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Suite 201
Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Central Data Processing
Forestville, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 2/18/80	DDI JOB NO. 10331 DDI P.O. NO. 1427 DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
100 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face.	14.72/M	1,457.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,457.00

8304041234 1

Invoice #14

Paid
May 14, 80
#65-204
$1,614.25

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

Exhibit

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1655

DATE 2/25/80

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	2/22/80	1441,1440 / 10354	SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
55 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and back. 1 - UP.	21.58/M	1,186.90
27.5 M	Computer forms with same specs. 2 - Up.	22.71/M	624.51
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,811.41

OK Kings Meeting #14

Paid
Aug 14, 80
#652 - 204
$11,614.25

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

71

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. B 5294

DATE 3-27-80

TO:

Regan for President Committee
1828 L st. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO: MH-11806

Post Office

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. REP 2030 DDI P.O. NO. CM 1102 DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 9630	SALESMAN	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: MAILING SERVICES,		
230,505	Insert, Burst, fold, stamp and match.	38.25/M	8,816.82
	CODE QUANTITY DROP DATE		
	GR233 50,803 3/5/80		
	" 43,895 3/6/80		
	" 27,976 3/6/80		
	" 12,650 3/7/80		
	" 20,660 3/14/80		
	" 7,033 3/17/80		
	" 37,912 3/21/80		
	" 14,066 3/24/80		
	" 15,510 3/25/80		
	230,505		
19,995	Stamp to projected count:	5.00/M	99.98
			8,916.80
	Postage Used: $34,616.25		
	20% charge for excess postage affixed on 19,995 pieces @.15¢ due to client over-estimate.		+599.81
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$9,516.61

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

Exhibit 26-

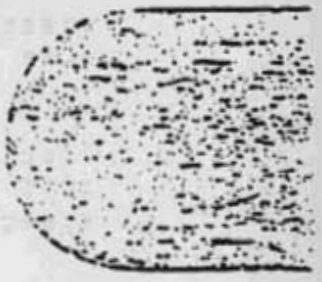




8304042341 8

Mr. Thomas C. Brown, Jr.
502 Hodges Dr
Orangeburg, South Carolina 29115

Dear Mr. Brown:



Ronald Reagan
Pacific Palisades, California 90272

March 3, 1980

Mr. Ladson Beach
PO Box 1304
Orangeburg, South Carolina 29115

Dear Mr. Beach:

Nancy and I would like you to have the enclosed photograph as a token of our appreciation for your past support of the Republican Party and conservative causes.

The picture was taken at our home in Pacific Palisades, California.

With your help we will win the White House. 1980 will be a year of Republican victory.

With that in mind, I've listed 4 questions which I'd like your answers to.

Please take a few minutes now to fill out your answers and mail them back to me today.

Your advice is important to me. And what you tell me by your answers will be an important tool in running a winning Reagan for President campaign.

For example, I'd like to know whether you believe Carter, Kennedy or Brown would be the most difficult Democrat candidate to beat.

Since I have personally selected you to give the answers for your area, I really do need to hear back from you right away.

If for some reason you don't want to answer my questions, I will need to know that so I can contact someone else in your area to take your place.

Running for President is an extremely difficult and long undertaking. Since I became a candidate just over three months ago, I have already visited 18 states and given over 70 speeches.

This solicitation is on behalf of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, 9841 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430, Los Angeles, California 90045
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Sam Eastham, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with and may be purchased from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463

VD

But the fact I may win the chance to make America strong and proud again, to enrich the future of our children, makes the grueling days on the road all worthwhile. With your help, I will win that chance. Let me share some of my thoughts with you on a few of the issues of special concern to me:

Since 1976 we have seen the Democrats:

- give away our canal in Panama to a marxist dictator
- allow America to be humiliated by a terrorist regime in Iran
- fail to stand up to Communist aggression in Afghanistan, Angola, and other trouble spots in the world
- allow the presence of Russian combat troops only 90 miles from our own shores in Communist Cuba
- sign a pro-Soviet SALT II Treaty which would further weaken our military defenses and watch the Russians pull far ahead of us in the arms race
- destroy our intelligence capability so that we can be humiliated and embarassed around the world.

As President, I'll rebuild America's defenses. We need a coherent foreign policy that measures everything by this standard; what is best for the United States of America? It's time we stopped worrying about whether other countries in the world like us and start worrying about whether they respect us.

America must have strong, new leadership if we are to stand up to the Communist attack abroad and restore prosperity and opportunity at home. I want to provide that leadership more than anything I have wanted in my life.

But without the necessary funds, I won't be able to run a winning campaign or stand up for the American ideals which you and I share.

Every respected national and regional poll shows that I can win. But not without your help.

Our campaign treasurer, Bay Buchanan, tells me we must raise $3,595,000 in the next two months. We need

8304042342O

$230,000 just to pay for the rent, telephones, printing, postage, buttons, bumper stickers and other immediate expenses in the next two weeks.

<u>All the favorable polls in the world won't help if we can't raise this money</u>.

When you return your answers to me, perhaps you can send a check for $10, $15, $25 or even $50. Or possibly you can send us as much as $150 or $250.

Please don't think your contribution won't make a difference in my campaign because it will. I don't have alot of wealthy businessmen sending me checks for $1,000 each.

My campaign is mostly funded by $25 and $50 contributions or less.

If you could send a large check, we certainly could use it. This is maybe even as much as $250 or $500. But anything you can send will be deeply appreciated because it shows I have your trust and support.

I plan to hold a meeting of my top campaign advisors within the next 14 days. I want to discuss your answers to the questions I've enclosed at that meeting.

So please try to fill out and mail back the enclosed reply form today so I will know whether I can count on your financial help and your political advice. Let me know who you think will be the toughest Democrat to beat, and please send a check for $15, $25, $35, $50, or even $100 or more.

In 1980 we can elect a Republican President but only if you and other good people like you do their part now.

I'll be anxiously looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

P.S. Again, it's important that I have your answers in the next 14 days. I must also know whether I can count on your support and whether you will help us meet our financial budget projections. Please let me hear from you today.

8304042342 1

From:

Mr. Ladsel Beach
PO Box 1304
Orangeburg, South Carolina 29115

M&D

(Please fill out as completely as possible)

1. Do you consider yourself: ☐ Republican
   ☐ Democrat
   ☐ Independent

2. Which 3 issues in your opinion should I stress in my campaign?
   (Check 3 only)
   ☐ Inflation
   ☐ National Defense
   ☐ Energy
   ☐ Decline in Morality
   ☐ Big Government
   ☐ Welfare Fraud
   ☐ Other _____

3. Do you consider yourself: ☐ conservative
   ☐ moderate
   ☐ liberal

4. Who do you feel would be easier for me to defeat?
   ☐ Jimmy Carter
   ☐ Teddy Kennedy
   ☐ Jerry Brown

5. Governor Reagan, to demonstrate my support for you, I am enclosing my check for
   ☐ 15 ☐ 25 ☐ 50 ☐ 100
   ☐ 250 ☐ 500 ☐ 1000 ☐ Other _____

PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

I understand the following information is required by federal law:

Occupation _____

Place of Business _____

City/State _____

This solicitation is on behalf of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, 5841 Annan Blvd., Suite 1430, Los Angeles, California 90045
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee - Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Ray Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington D.C. 20463

8304042342 2

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

Exhibit 26-Q

36 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-4605

NO. A 1657

DATE 2/29/80

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland & Assoc.
Culpepper, Va.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 2/29/80	DDI JOB NO. DDI P.O. NO. 1454 DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10383	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
48,251	Computer forms, with 2 color face and back.	21.58/M	1,041.25
	Authors Alterations: Labor: stripping:		18.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,059.25

8304042342

OK as is
Quantity
16

Print Run 14,8[illegible]
= 45[illegible]/42 sheet
$11,614.25

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

Exhibit 26-A

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1688

DATE 2/29/80

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland &

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	2/29/80	1453 / 10384	SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
23 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and coded: With $ Amt.	17.25/M	396.75
24 M	Computer forms, with same specs. Coded: No $ Amt.	17.25/M	414.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$810.75

8304042

Auditing #16 Oct. Nov. 13

Paid. Dec. 14, 80

#652/5[illegible] 224

$11,614.25

C.D.S. 50
DEP. 11F

Cut

Exhibit 26

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue - Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 - (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1806

DATE 3/19/80

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036
Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

DMS
Waldorf, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO:	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 3/18/80	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. 1621 / DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10464	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET-30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, LETTERS.		
45 M	2 Sheet letters, with 2 color face and back.	22.46/M	1,010.7
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,010.7

OK. Mailing #16

pd. Mar 14,
= 652 [illegible] =
$11,614.25

8304042345

Exhibit 26-F

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. B 5310

DATE April 2, 198

M# 011819

TO:

Reagan for President Committee
1828 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO:

Post Office

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 3/31/80	DDI JOB NO. REP 2037 DDI P.O. NO. CM 1357 DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 9722	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: MAILING SERVICES, GR 137.		
11,075	Burst, trim, fold, stamp cart., & RAm Match, insert.	61.75/M	683.88
	Postage Used: $3,324.90		
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$683.88

8304123426

OK aug 3

Mail Drop 6
16th Monday
Comp 1 P-F
Cash

7-, 12, 80
- 1,224- 20%
$ 17,527 45

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. B 5301

DATE April 1, 198

MH 011817

TO:

Reagan for President Committee
1828 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO:

Post Office

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. RFP 2038 DDI P.O. NO. GM 1348 DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 9723	SALESMAN	TERMS
	3/31/80		SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: MAILING SERVICES, GR 237.		
36,755	Burst, trim and fold, stamp, match, insert and seal.	45.00/M	1,653.98
	Postage Used: $5,519.40		
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,653.98

8304042347

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

62

Exhibit 26-C

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

736 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

emit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. B 5309

DATE April 7, 1980

FE 011823

TO:

Reagan for President Committee
1828 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO:

Post Office

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 4/2/80	DDI JOB NO. RF 2039 DDI P.O. NO. CM 1347 DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 9724	SALESMAN	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: MAILING SERVICES GR 337		
43,021	Burst, trim, and fold, stamp, insert and seal.	25.75/M	1,107.79
	Postage Used: $3,620.97		
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,107.79

830402342

Bal. Due $17,527.15
- 734 - 200
$17,527.15

Bal. due 4.80
1st mailing
Cost $ PFP
Check

Exhibit 26

Senator Orrin Hatch
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510



330404234229

WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Mr. Morey I Stearns
1114 Parker St
Springfield, MA 01129

Dear Mr. Stearns:

Would the Russians have brutally savaged Afghanistan and pointed a red dagger towards the oil fields of the Middle East, if Ronald Reagan were President?

Would Iranian terrorists have held Americans hostage and humiliated our nation in the eyes of the world, if our President were Ronald Reagan?

Would Ronald Reagan have let the United States throw away its military superiority to the point where the Soviet Union and its mercenaries are emboldened to invade countries around the world?

Of course not.

There are many fine candidates for President this year. But there is only one candidate the Russians and their puppets cannot afford to see elected, and he is Ronald Reagan.

But you know that since Governor Reagan tells me you are one of his most trusted supporters.

That's why I am writing to you today - - to ask you to stand up with me for Ronald Reagan. To stand up with me for a thorough change of leadership in Washington.

I know you've been generous before but frankly the Reagan campaign urgently needs your check for $25.00 or $50.00.

We must raise $249,000 in the next two weeks to keep the Reagan campaign in Wisconsin, Texas, California, and all the western states on schedule.

This money is urgently needed for printing, postage, rent, telephones and radio and TV time.

8304042343G

[illegible] CITIZENS FOR REAGAN/BUSH '84 Committee 9841 Airport Blvd Suite 1430 Los Angeles California 90045
CITIZENS FOR REAGAN/BUSH '84 Committee Reagan Citizen Chairman Bill Clement Treasurer
[illegible] Federal Election Commission Washington DC 20463

For many years now, Washington has been dominated by an elite clique which some people call the "liberal establishment." Presidents come and go, but the elitists who are responsible for our apologetic foreign policy and second-rate defense remain in Washington year after year undermining our nation's security.

Some absolutely vital questions we should ask about each of the candidates are:

- What kind of people will he bring with him to Washington?

- Will they be the same old crowd who feel ashamed of America's prosperity and power?

- Will they be the same old wishful thinkers who believe the Russians are as honest and trustworthy as we are?

- Will they be the same old proponents of unilateral disarmament?

- Will they be the same old appeasers?

My point is this: Unless we bring to Washington genuinely fresh leadership - - all across the board - - we will tragically have missed what is perhaps our last chance to restore American superiority and respect.

Only Ronald Reagan is free of ties to the elitist liberal Establishment which has brought our country to its knees. Only by electing Ronald Reagan can we be sure of really changing things.

We are in very serious trouble. As a member of the United States Senate, I can tell you that matters are even worse than the President will admit to the American people. If ever there was a time when America needed a courageous and forthright leader, the time is now.

If ever there was a time when we needed a President and a government of men and women who are proud of America and willing to defend her, the time is now. If ever there was a time to totally reject the pessimism, defeatism and appeasement of the past, the time is now.

I believe had Ronald Reagan been President, the B-1 bomber would have been built, our Navy would still be the world's mightiest. And, our troops would have the equipment they desperately need to deter war. Because Ronald Reagan has always advocated a defense strong enough to command the world's respect, we would not have felt compelled to surrender the Panama Canal and compel-

8304042343 1

led to abandon our loyal allies on Taiwan. We would not have suffered a long train of humiliating defeats of which Iran and Afghanistan are only the latest.

I know that you and I share Ronald Reagan's vision of a strong, proud and respected America. I believe we have never shared the defeatist viewpoint of the Liberal Establishment any more than Ronald Reagan has.

We have the opportunity to help elect the kind of straight-forward President Americans yearn for. A man who will bring to Washington a wholly new team of men and women with a completely fresh point of view.

I am going to ask you to do two important things.

First, please use the yellow envelope I have enclosed for you to send me the largest contribution you can afford today..

Second, if you can, please try to raise a similar amount from three or four of your friends and neighbors. $10, $15, $25 or even $50 extra will give Governor Reagan's campaign a big boost. Please use the blue envelope to send me any money you can raise from your friends in the next two weeks.

We must elect Ronald Reagan. I urge you to send your largest possible contribution today. Let's have an honest-to-goodness change in Washington.

With warmest regards. I am

Orrin G. Hatch

Orrin G. Hatch
U.S. Senate

P.S. I am working my heart out to elect Ronald Reagan. I hope you will help me by sending your answer in the yellow envelope today.

P.P.S. If you can, remember to send the blue envelope to me in two weeks.

8304042343 2

Please mail today in the yellow return envelope.

TO: Senator Orrin Hatch

FROM: Mr. Morey I Stearns
1114 Parker St
Springfield, Massachusetts 01129

02D 01129STRN114

Dear Senator Hatch,

Yes, we *must* have a President who will stand up to the Communist attack abroad. We must elect Ronald Reagan.

Enclosed is my contribution of:

☐$25.00 ☐$50.00 ☐$75.00 ☐_____Other

towards the $249,000 we need to raise immediately. PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT.

I understand the following information is required by Federal law:

Occupation _____

Place of Business _____

City/State _____

8304042343

[illegible] REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee [illegible] Suite [illegible] Los Angeles, California 90049
[illegible] REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee, Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report(s) is [illegible] and may be obtained from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC 20463

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 191

DATE April 15, 1

TO:

Reagan for President
c/o Cheryl Swain
435 Lee Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland & Assoc.
Culpepper, Va.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 4/1 4/80	DDI JOB NO. 10593 DDI P.O. NO. 1697 DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN SR	TERMS NET—

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOU
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
28.5 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and coded: w/o $ amt.	20.55/M	585.6
27 M	Computer forms, with same specs. Coded: w $ amt.	20.55/M	554.8
			1,140.5
	4% Va. tax:		45.6
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,186.1

8304042343

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

Diversified Direct, Inc.

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-4605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.Y.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

INVOICE Exh. 26

NO. A 19[illegible]

DATE April 21, 19[illegible]

TO:

Reagan for President
c/o Cheryl Swaim
435 N. Lee St.
Alexandria, Va. 22314

SHIPPED TO:

DMS
Waldorf, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 4/19/80	DDI JOB NO. 10595 DDI P.O. NO. 1698 DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, LETTERS.		
54 M	2 sheet letters, with 2 color face and back .	23.97/M	$ 1,294
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		4
	Labor: stripping:		36
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,334

0 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 4 3 5

4-30-80
Ck made
REP Grp
Ck

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

00

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1957

DATE April 21,

TO:

Reagan for President
c/o' Cheryl Swaim
435 N. Lee Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314

SHIPPED TO:

DMS
Waldorf, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	4/19/80	1867 / 10584	SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS.		
108 M	Newspaper clippings, with 1 color face and blank backs.	8.80/M=	950.4
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$950.4

330404234336

ok

4-30-80
17th mailing
RFP
cut

= 12.1 - 10.5%
= 729 - 104
$17,527

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

No. A 1964

DATE April 22, 19

Exhibit 26-Y

TO:

Reagan for President
c/o Black, Manafort & Stone, Inc.
435 N. Lee St.
Alexandria, Va. 22314
Attn: Cheryl Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland & Assoc.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	4/20/80	1866 / 10594	SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
57 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and 2 color back.	17.41/M	992.37
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		4.00
	Labor: stripping:		36.00
	Blueline and color sep.		19.50
			1,051.87
	4% Va. tax:		42.07
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,093.94

8304042347

4-30-80
17th mailing
RFP
CW

ok
[illegible]

1st. 3-mo 15.50
= 129-204
= 17,527.12

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 26- z



Address Correction Requested

FROM: Mrs. Beatrice Shortliffe
2115 58th St
Sacramento, California 958

1634 NUUANU AVE #208.
HONOLULU HI 96817

8304042343 8

Dear Friend and Supporter:

You and I are on a winning streak.

If you have followed it in the news, you know that thanks to the dedication and support of people like you our campaign has swept the early primaries.

We have won over 400 delegates, almost one-half of the number needed to be nominated at the Republican National Convention this summer.

Never before have our chances of electing a conservative Republican President been better.

I am absolutely positive that with your continued help, we can go on to win the Republican nomination and beat Jimmy Carter or Teddy Kennedy in the fall.

There is one thing that deeply disturbs me. Although we have won every major contest so far our campaign funds have trickled off to almost nothing. I am enclosing a clipping from the Washington Post that details this dire situation. Our campaign treasurer, Bay Buchanan, reports that we currently have less than $10,000 on hand.

In the next three weeks we must lay out $199,000 for voter mailings, radio and television time and the expenses of my travelling to the middle and late primary states.

I hate like the dickens to ask you because you have been so generous to me in the past.

But I would deeply appreciate it if you could help us raise the $199,000.

Your check for $10 or $15 or $25 would go a long

way toward meeting our goal.

Everywhere I go in this country, I feel a spirit of hope and optimism about America's future. It is time to rebuild America's military strength and restore economic prosperity and opportunity at home.

The politicians say it can't be done. But I believe with your help we can balance the budget, we can cut taxes, we can create jobs and we can restore America's strength and prestige abroad.

I'm counting on you. I need your help.

Together you and I can make this a year of victory not only for our campaign but also for the American people.

Our financial situation is as urgent as I have stated to you. I know you share my dream for the future of our country. Please don't put this letter aside until you have acted.

With deepest appreciation for your past support.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

P.S. The Texas and California primaries are right around the corner. Our opponents are waiting for us to run out of money or make a serious campaign mistake. With your help, we will avoid these pitfalls and go on to victory. Please let me hear from you today.

8304042344 10

TO: Governor Ronald Reagan

FROM: Mr. Christian L Bendixen
98 400 Komuka Lp No 419
Aiea, Hawaii 96701

PRV 96701BNDX098 CMB

Dear Governor Reagan,

I understand the campaign money situation is urgent. We *must* win the Republican nomination and I am willing to help.

Enclosed is my maximum contribution of:

☐ $10 ☐ $15 ☐ $25 ☐_____ Other

towards the $100,000 we need to raise immediately. PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT.

I understand the following information is required by Federal law:

Occupation _____

Place of Business _____

City/State _____

8304042341

Paid for by the Committee of REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee 9841 Airport Blvd. Suite 1420 Los Angeles, California 90045
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT Committee Fund Lloyd Cheatham Bay Buchanan Treasurer
A copy of our report(s) filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission Washington D.C. 20463

Exhibit 27-a

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1919

DATE April 15, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

DMS
Waldorf, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C788 NCPAC 7269	4/10/80	1692 10563	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, POSTCARDS.		
348 M	Postcards, with 2 color face and 1 color back.	4.35/M	1,513.80
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,513.80

71,000 308.85 87D

71,000 308.85 87W1

206,000 896.10 20D

524 C IE Reagan

C33156

WHITE—CLIENT · GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Place
Stamp
Here

Governor Ronald Reagan
9841 Airport Blvd., #1430
Los Angeles, CA 90045

FIRST CLASS

Dear Governor Reagan:

I understand Federal Election Law prohibits your campaign from spending the funds you need in remaining crucial primary states.

I wanted to let you know that I am making a personal contribution today to an independent campaign on your behalf sponsored by the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

Please accept my best wishes in your campaign for the President. I am behind you 100%.

Sincerely,

pwm

63040423443

Exhibit 27-c

PURCHASE ORDER

DE NO. C788

D. NO. NCPAC-7269

ATE April 3, 1980

ATE REQUIRED April 10-11, 1980

BILL TO National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Boulevard, #513
Arlington, Virginia 22209

SUPPLIER Diversified Direct, Inc.
2936 Prosperety Avenue
Merrifield, Va.

SHIP TO Diversified Mailing Services
Acton Lane
Waldorf, Md.

ACCOUNT NCPAC/House@Prospect/Sufkin-Taylor/Mail Codes 87W, W1, 200

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. All invoices must be accompanied by 2 samples.
2. Bill direct to the client named above. By accepting and fulfilling this purchase order the supplier expressly acknowledges and agrees that this purchase order is to be charged against the account of the client named above, and that the client named above shall be solely responsible for the payment of any invoice arising out of this purchase order.
3. Blueline IS required, unless otherwise specified.
4. 25 samples to RAYCO Production office prior to or no later than delivery date.
5. Please notify us immediately if you are unable to ship complete order by 5 p.m. of specified delivery date.
6. Each package, box or skid must be marked according to special instructions on face of purchase order. If packaging instructions do not appear on purchase order please contact ASR.
7. No changes will be binding on items listed on this P.O. unless written authorization is given.
8. All Freight charges are to be prepaid (at vendors expense, to be included in Bid).
9. No under runs will be accepted. Acceptable over runs are as follows:

5M-10M	15%	50M-100M	4%
10M-25M	10%	Over 100M	2%
25M-50M	6%		

QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	PLEASE SUPPLY ITEMS LISTED BELOW	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
3 2 1 830400		ITEM: Postcard coded PW7 Size: 3 1/2" x 5 1/2" Stock: ~~[illegible]~~ 75lb. Hi-bulk white Ink: PMS 185 Red and Black Prints: 2/1 Blueline required Please return camera ready art and provide 10 samples to production dept. upon completion of job.	$4.35/M	TOTAL: $1513.80

ACCOUNT REP

IMPORTANT: OUR PURCHASE ORDER NUMBER AND JOB NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE. INVOICE IN TRIPLICATE. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS PURCHASE: SEE SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE.

L. Titlow
PURCHASING AGENT

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:	DATE(S) RECEIVED	DATE ORDER COMPLETED	SUPPLIER WORK NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE DATE

QUANTITY RECEIVED

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Smith- no bid does not have enough stock, Prep$4.85

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-4605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1913

DATE April 15, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd,
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

DMS
Waldorf, Md.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C788 NCPAC 7271	4/15/80	1691 / 10567	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, ADS.		
348 M	Reagan ads, with 1 color face on 1 side only.	8.97/M	3,121.56
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$3,121.56
	87W - 87W1 - 20D	Partial	1,600.00
	#524 C II Reagan		1,521.56

8304042341

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DD CHRONOLOGICAL

MATERIAL

JOB NO C788

PURCHASE ORDER

Exhibit 27-e

P.O. NO. NCPAC- 7271

DATE April 3, 1980

DATE REQUIRED April 4, 1980 Approval

BILL TO
National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Boulevard, #513
Arlington, Virginia 22209

SUPPLIER
Diversified Direct, Inc.
2936 Prosperity Avenue
Merrifield, Va.

SHIP TO
Diversified Mailing Services
Acton Lane
Waldorf, Md.

ACCOUNT NCPAC/House-Prospect/Bufkin-Taylor/Mail Codes 87, #1, 200

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. All invoices must be accompanied by 2 samples.
2. Bill direct to the client named above. By accepting and fulfilling this purchase order the supplier expressly acknowledges and agrees that this purchase order is to be charged against the account of the client named above, and that the client named above shall be solely responsible for the payment of any invoice arising out of this purchase order.
3. Blueline IS required, unless otherwise specified.
4. 25 samples to RAVCO Production office prior to or no later than delivery date.
5. Please notify us immediately if you are unable to ship complete order by 5 p.m. of specified delivery date.
6. Each package, box or skid must be marked according to special instructions on face of purchase order. If packaging instructions do not appear on purchase order please contact ASR.
7. No changes will be binding on client listed on this P.O. unless written authorization is given.
8. All Freight charges are to be prepaid (at vendors expense, to be included in Bid).
9. No under runs will be accepted. Acceptable over runs are as follows:

5M-10M	15%	50M-100M	4%
10M-25M	10%	Over 100M	2%
25M-50M	6%		

QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	PLEASE SUPPLY ITEMS LISTED BELOW	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
2/3		ITEM: Reagan Ad coded FW7		
2		Size: 8" x 10"		
345,000		Stock: ~~Medium offset~~ 50lb white offset	$8.97M	
8304		Ink: Black		
		Prints: 1/0 (1 20% screen black)		
		Fold into equal thirds, head out		
		Blueline required		
		Please return camera ready art and provide 10 samples to production dept. upon completion of job.		
			TOTAL:	$3121.56M

ACCOUNT REP

IMPORTANT: OUR PURCHASE ORDER NUMBER AND JOB NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON INVOICES PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE. INVOICE IN TRIPLICATE. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS PURCHASE SEE SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE.

PURCHASING AGENT L. Titlow

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	DATE(S) RECEIVED	DATE ORDER COMPLETED	SUPPLIER WORK NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE DATE

QUANTITY RECEIVED

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

SMith$9.53, M, Prep$ 10.20M

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

6 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

mit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1942

DATE April 15, 1980

TO:

National Political Action Committee.
1500 Wilson Blvd. Suite 511
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

RAVCO

STOMER C788 DER NO. NCPAC 7270	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 4/10/80	DDI JOB NO. 1681 DDI P.O. NO. DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10562	SALESMAN SE	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER LETTERS.		
205 M	Comp. letters with 1 color face and 1 color back. Coded: L 20 D.	16.38/M	3,357.90
143 M	Comp letters same specs. Coded: LW7	16.38/M	2,342.34
			5,700.24
	4% Va. tax:		228.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$5,928.24

830404 EA

870 - 87421 - 524 - C - Lt. Reagan

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 27

Urgentgram

From:	Response Requested by
To:	

8304042341E

URG

Authorized and paid for by the National Conservative Political Action Committee

8304042345



URGENT REPLY REQUESTED NO LATER THAN

IN POPULARITY. REAGAN WILL LOSE VALUABLE MOMENTUM IF HE CANNOT MAINTAIN HIS CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING PROGRAM IN HIGH GEAR IN THE MAY-JUNE PRIMARIES. CARTER CAN PULL AHEAD BECAUSE OF THE FREE ADVERTISING HE GETS AS A SITTING PRESIDENT.

NCPAC HAS AND WILL RUN "INDEPENDENT" PRO-REAGAN ADS TO MAKE SURE THIS DOES NOT HAPPEN.

I AM CONVINCED RONALD REAGAN IS A DEDICATED CONSERVATIVE WHO WILL HELP TURN THIS COUNTRY AROUND IF ELECTED.

BUT, ASIDE FROM THIS, I AM DETERMINED TO HELP GOVERNOR REAGAN NOW FOR TWO REASONS:

1. WHEN NCPAC WAS FOUNDED IN 1976 RONALD REAGAN SIGNED A LETTER PERSONALLY ASKING HIS SUPPORTERS AND OTHER CONSERVATIVES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY TO HELP US. IN FACT NCPAC WAS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION RONALD REAGAN HELPED IN 1976.

   MANY THOUSANDS OF CONSERVATIVES RESPONDED TO HIS CALL. HE IS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS NCPAC IS HERE TODAY WITH A 71% WIN RECORD AGAINST THE LIBERALS.

2. AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF NCPAC SUPPORTERS--PERHAPS YOU WERE ONE--WHO WERE CONTACTED WITH OUR "1980 PRESIDENTIAL SURVEY" SAID REAGAN WAS THEIR NUMBER ONE CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT.

NOW GOVERNOR REAGAN NEEDS OUR HELP.

THE ADS WE PRODUCE WILL BE TOUGH, HARD-HITTING ADS THAT WILL EXPOSE CARTER'S WEAKNESSES AS WELL AS PROMOTE REAGAN.

THESE ADS WILL BE PRODUCED BY TOP NOTCH PROFESSIONALS. THEY TALK ABOUT CARTER'S WEAK HANDLING OF IRAN, INFLATION ETC. AND HOW REAGAN WOULD BE A MUCH BETTER PRESIDENT.

WE WILL RUN THESE ADS IN MAJOR CITIES AND PLACES WHERE MANY VOTERS WILL BE MAKING UP THEIR MINDS BETWEEN CARTER AND REAGAN IN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS.

IF YOU CAN SEND A CONTRIBUTION TO NCPAC TO HELP US HELP GOVERNOR REAGAN, I AM ALSO ASKING YOU TO SEND HIM THE ENCLOSED POSTCARD TELLING HIM OF YOUR SUPPORT.

THE POSTCARDS YOU AND OTHER CONSERVATIVES SEND IN WILL GO TO GOVERNOR REAGAN'S CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. HIS STAFF WILL SEE THE DEEP LEVEL OF SUPPORT GOVERNOR REAGAN HAS WITH CONSERVATIVES LIKE YOU.

WILL YOU PLEASE SEND YOUR LARGEST POSSIBLE CONTRIBU-

C 0 4 0 4 2 3 4 5 0

PURCHASE ORDER

Exhibit 27-

NO C783

NO MCPAC- 7270

E April 3, 1980

E REQUIRED ~~April 8, 1980~~ April 9, 1980

L TO National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Boulevard, #513
Arlington, Virginia 22209

PPLIER

Diversified Direct, Inc.
2936 Prosperity Avenue
Fairfield, Va.

P TO The Viguerie Company
Computer Division

COUNT MCPAC/House-Prospect/Bufkin-Taylor/Mail Codes 87W, 81, 200

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. All invoices must be accompanied by 2 samples.
2. Bill direct to the client named above. By accepting and fulfilling this purchase order the supplier expressly acknowledges and agrees that this purchase order is to be charged against the account of the client named above, and that the client named above shall be solely responsible for the payment of any invoice arising out of this purchase order.
3. Blueline IS required, unless otherwise specified.
4. 25 samples to RAYCO Production office prior to or no later than delivery date.
5. Please notify us immediately if you are unable to ship complete order by 5 p.m. of specified delivery date.
6. Each package, box or skid must be marked according to special instructions on face of purchase order. If packaging instructions do not appear on purchase order please contact ASR.
7. No changes will be binding on client listed on this P.O. unless written authorization is given.
8. All Freight charges are to be prepaid (at vendors expense, to be included in Bid).
9. No under runs will be accepted. Acceptable over runs are as follows:

5M-10M	15%	50M-100M	4%
10M-25M	10%	Over 100M	2%
25M-50M	6%		

QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	PLEASE SUPPLY ITEMS LISTED BELOW	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
		ITEM: Computer Letter/Reply coded L-W7 and L-200 *		
		Size: 11" x 14 7/8" (FOR 3500 LASER)		
		Ink: PMS 293 Blue and Black	$16.38/M	
		Prints: 1/1 (blue over black, blank left and right)		
		Blueline required		
		Stock: 50 lb white offset		
		Please return camera ready art and provide 10 samples to production upon completion of job.		
		2 versions		
		* L-200 -- 205,000		
		** L-W7 -- 143,000		
			TOTAL:	$5700.24

DISCOUNT REP

Send to Alan

8304042

RTANT: OUR PURCHASE ORDER NUMBER AND JOB NUMBER MUST AR ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE. INVOICE IN ICATE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS PURCHASE. SEE SPECIAL RUCTIONS ABOVE.

L. Tichy
PURCHASING AGENT

OFFICE ONLY	DATE(S) RECEIVED	DATE ORDER COMPLETED	SUPPLIER WORKING	SUPPLIER INVOICE NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE DATE

TITY RECEIVED

ONAL INFORMATION

Colorgraphics $37.75M, metro $32.50 - 4/10 del.

Exhibit 27-1
1710

June 20, 1980

PAY Five Thousand Four Hundred Fifty-Four and 36/100 DOLLARS $ 5454.36

Diversified Direct, Inc.
c/o UVB Box 179
Alexandria, VA 22314

NOT NEGOTIABLE

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
12-5/19	For payment of invoices: #A2025, A2024, A2035, A2034, A2059	$5454.36
	#524C IE McGovern $543.70 #524C IE Bayh $543.70 #524C IE Church $543.70 #524C IE Culver $543.70 #524C IE Cranston $543.69 #524C IE Reagan $1125.77 #524D $1610.10	



Exhibit 27:

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE A2059

8 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Mail to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. [redacted]

DATE May 19, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

RAVCO

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C833L NCPAC 8105	5/16/80	1536 / 10699	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
28 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and black back. Coded: L21A.	38.66/M	1082.48
	4% Va. tax:		43.29
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1125.77

#534C
TE Reagan

8304042343

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB COPY

Exhibit 27

NCPAC National Conservative Political Action Committee

1500 wilson blvd. • arlington, va. • 22209



Paid for by NCPAC, not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

does not let up his campaign advertising for even one day.

Here's why:

As I've said, most polls show Carter and Reagan neck and neck.

As you may know, once Carter and Reagan receive the Presidential nominations from their party, their campaigns are given about $21 million each from the Federal Government for the general election campaign.

They are not allowed to raise additional money from individuals or spend more than they are given.

If this is true then Reagan's got an even chance of being elected, right?

Wrong! Because as a sitting President Jimmy Carter will have tremendous advantages over any challenger no matter how low in the polls he may be.

For example:

1. Carter, as President, can literally "create" news. He can get invaluable network time any time he wants it through his action in office.

2. Also, although Federal employees are legally barred from politics you can be sure that Carter will have an army of appointed bureaucrats doing everything in their power to keep their boss in office.

3. Then there's the federal "pork barrell." Carter will be doling out dams, mass transit funds, military bases and you name it buying votes all over the country between now and election day.

4. Finally, there's Big Labor. Frankly, although many blue collar workers support Reagan, the Union Bosses are still committed heart and soul to the Democratic Party and Jimmy Carter. This means that tens of thousands of "Carter volunteers" (who are really on union payrolls) will be beating the bushes for Carter between now and November. Remember, the unions spent over $11 million in 1976 to help elect Carter.

None of the advantages I've just mentioned will count against the spending limit on Carter's campaign.

You can see that to get Reagan elected is going to take more than just the $21 million his campaign will get from the Government.

Like Carter, Reagan is also going to have to have out-

8304042343

side help.

In this case you and me.

Electing Reagan President is going to take everything you and I and every other dedicated conservative can put into it.

Frankly, I don't think we have much choice.

This country simply cannot take another four years of the bankrupt liberal philosophies of Jimmy Carter and his followers.

1980 is a decisive year for our nation.

NCPAC has never been involved in a Presidential campaign before. We have worked hard to elect hundreds of conservatives to Congress, the Senate, and state offices. If I may say so, we're pretty good at it, too.

In fact, in 1978 we won 71% of the elections we were involved in.

This year we hope to be even more successful. As you may know, for the first time in 20 years we have a chance to elect a Republican majority to the U.S. Senate. We only need to defeat 10 of the 24 Democrats up for re-election to take over the Senate.

I'm prepared to commit every shred of talent and resources NCPAC has to elect as many conservatives as possible and to elect Ronald Reagan President. But we can't do it alone.

Will you help me?

Remember, what we do today and in the next few weeks will have a tremendous impact on our nation's future.

That's why I'm asking you to send $1,000 at least to help us elect a conservative President and conservative majority in Congress.

Perhaps you can send more. Perhaps less. But whatever you can send, please don't hesitate. Send what you can immediately.

The pro-Reagan advertisements for radio and T.V. have already been produced. I've enclosed scripts from a couple of them for you to see. Some of the top conservative minds in campaign advertising worked on these ads.

Your $1,000 contribution today will help get

8304042341 3 6

NO. C833L

JRCHASE ORDER

Exhibit 27-

NO. NCPAC- 8105

May 5, 1980

REQUIRED May 16, 1980

_ TO National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Boulevard, #513
Arlington, Virginia 22209

'PLIER

— DDI
2936 Prosperity Ave.
Harrifield, Va

P TO The Viguerie Company
Computer Division

OUNT NCPAC/Prospect/Bufkin-Taylor/Mail Codes 20H2, 21A, 20J

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. All invoices must be accompanied by 2 samples.
2. Bill direct to the client named above. By accepting and fulfilling this purchase order the supplier expressly acknowledges and agrees that this purchase order is to be charged against the account of the client named above, and that the client named above shall be solely responsible for the payment of any invoice arising out of this purchase order.
3. Blueline IS required, unless otherwise specified.
4. 25 samples to RAVCO Production office prior to or no later than delivery date.
5. Please notify us immediately if you are unable to ship complete order by 5 p.m. of specified delivery date.
6. Each package, box or skid must be marked according to special instructions on face of purchase order. If packaging instructions do not appear on purchase order please contact ASR.
7. No changes will be binding on client listed on this P.O. unless written authorization is given.
8. All Freight charges are to be prepaid (at vendors expense, to be included in Bid).
9. No under runs will be accepted. Acceptable over runs are as follows:

5M-10M	15%	50M-100M	4%
10M-25M	10%	Over 100M	2%
25M-50M	8%		

QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	PLEASE SUPPLY ITEMS LISTED BELOW	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
8304023		ITEM: Computer Letters, 1-up FP, coded L-21A		
		Size: 17" x 11" (for 3211 printer)		
		Stock: [illegible] 50 lb white offset	$44.50/M	
		Ink: PMS 287 Blue and Black		
		Prints: 2/1		
		Blueline required		
		Please return camera copy art and provide 10 samples to production dept. upon completion of job.		
			TOTAL	$1,246.00

ACCOUNT REP

RTANT: OUR PURCHASE ORDER NUMBER AND JOB NUMBER MUST R ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE. INVOICE IN ICATE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS PURCHASE: SEE SPECIAL UCTIONS ABOVE.

Sandy Sperger — PURCHASING AGENT

OFFICE ONLY: DATE(S) RECEIVED	DATE ORDER COMPLETED	SUPPLIER WORK NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE DATE

TITY RECEIVED

ColorGraphics-52.29

DNAL INFORMATION

Exhibit A2034

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

36 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

mit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. [redacted]

DATE May 12, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd.
Suite 513
Arlington, Va.

SHIPPED TO:

RAVCO

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
NCPAC 8096	5/12/80	1507 / 10683	JM	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
61 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and black back. Coded: LC8.	25.38/M	1548.18
	4% Va. tax:		61.92
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1610.10

#524D

8304042345 8

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 27-n

CAPITOL WIRE SERVICE

P.O. Box 877
Ben Franklin Sta.
Washington, D.C. 20044

Repeat Message ☒ Yes ☐ No	Operator I.D. # 64105	Request confirming copy to sender via U.S. Mail ☒ Yes ☐ No
Line Count: 62	Payment: ☒ Cash ☐ Charge ☐ Collect	

CLASSIFICATION
☐ Standard Wiregram
☐ Night Letter
☒ Emergency Wire

Send the following message to the individual above.

PLEASE CONTACT ME IMMEDIATELY.

I WAS JUST NOTIFIED YOUR NAME APPEARS ON LIST OF THOSE WHO HAVE NOT SENT 1980 CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE.

I AM DISAPPOINTED TO SEE YOUR NAME NOT ON INACTIVE LIST. I KNOW PERSONALLY YOU HAVE BEEN GENEROUS CONTRIBUTOR TO NCPAC IN THE PAST.

IT IS ESPECIALLY DISAPPOINTING TO ME ALSO BECAUSE THE 1980 ELECTIONS MAY BE THE MOST CRUCIAL IN RECENT HISTORY.

RIGHT NOW, THESE VITAL NCPAC PROJECTS NEED YOUR HELP:

1) TARGET '80-THIS IS OUR PLAN TO DEFEAT THE FIVE MOST LIBERAL MEN IN THE U.S. SENATE: GEORGE MCGOVERN, ALAN CRANSTON, BIRCH BAYH, JOHN CULVER, AND FRANK CHURCH.

OUR POLLS SHOW EACH OF THESE LIBERALS IS NOW BEATABLE BUT WE MUST KEEP UP THE PRESSURE TO HAVE A REAL CHANCE TO DEFEAT THEM IN NOVEMBER.

REMEMBER, WE ONLY NEED TO DEFEAT 10 LIBERAL

DEMOCRATS IN ALL FOR THE REPUBLICANS TO ACTUALLY TAKE OVER THE SENATE.

BUDGET $400,000

2) PRO-REAGAN ADS-REAGAN HELPED NCPAC GET STARTED IN 1975. I AM DETERMINED TO HELP HIM NOW. WE MUST SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ELECT A REAL CONSERVATIVE PRESIDENT. UNFORTUNATELY THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN IS ALMOST OUT OF MONEY. BUT NCPAC CAN BUY AND RUN ADS INDEPENDENT OF HIS CAMPAIGN. THESE ADS WILL EXPOSE CARTER'S WEAKNESSES AS WELL AS HELP REAGAN.

BUDGET $559,000

3) CONGRESSIONAL PROJECT-DOZENS OF GOOD CONSERVATIVES ARE RUNNING FOR CONGRESS ACROSS THE COUNTRY WHO NEED OUR HELP. IF THEY CAN GET THE SUPPORT THEY NEED FROM NCPAC WE COULD ELECT A MAJORITY OF CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS TO CONGRESS THIS YEAR.

BUDGET $403,000

RECEIVED MAY 21 1980

YOU CAN SEE WHY 1980 IS SO IMPORTANT. AND WHY I AM SO DISAPPOINTED WE HAVE NOT HEARD FROM YOU.

IMPORTANT YOU KNOW WHOLE SITUATION: AS OF APRIL 1ST NCPAC IS NEARLY 50% BELOW BUDGET. I FEAR MANY CONTRIBUTORS, LIKE YOU, WAITING TO SEND MONEY CLOSER TO ELECTIONS. BUT FUNDS SPENT RIGHT NOW MOST EFFECTIVE IN SWAYING PUBLIC OPINION TO CONSERVATIVES. MONEY SPENT THIS FALL WILL BE MUCH LESS IMPORTANT.

FAILURE TO RENEW YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT NOW MEANS MAJOR SETBACK FOR CONSERVATIVE ELECTION VICTORY IN 1980.

MY GRAVEST CONCERN RIGHT NOW IS RAPID DETERIORATION OF U.S. ECONOMY AND DEFENSE STRENGTH. CARTER ADMINISTRATION ABL LIBERAL DOMINATED CONGRESS TOGETHER HAVE FAILED TO COUNTER GROWING SOVIET MI[illegible] AND POLITICAL EXPANSIONISM AROUND THE WORLD.

NCPAC MUST DIRECT ALL EFFORTS, ALL RESOURCES TO ELECT A CONSERVATIVE PRESIDENT, SENATE AND HOUSE.

STOPPING U.S. SOCIALISTIC TREND DEPENDS ON THESE 1980 ELECTIONS.

MY ONLY HOPE IS FOR YOU TO RESPOND NOW TO MY EMERGENCY WIRE AND SEND BACK YOUR GENEROUS CONTRIBUTION IMMEDIATELY. YOUR RENEWAL CONTRIBUTION ESSENTIAL TO CONSERVATIVE SUCCESS. UNLESS FORMER NCPAC SUPPORTERS LIKE YOU CONTRIBUTE VITAL

8304042346

Exhibit 27

PURCHASE ORDER

NO C832C.6

NO MCPAC-8096

E May 1, 1980

E REQUIRED May 9, 1980

L TO National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Boulevard, #513
Arlington, Virginia 22209

PPLIER
DDI
2936 Prosperity Ave
Merrifield, VA

IP TO The Yiguerie Company
Computer Division

COUNT MCPAC/House/Bufkin-Taylor/Mail Codes 83C, D

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. All invoices must be accompanied by 2 samples.
2. Bill direct to the client named above. By accepting and fulfilling this purchase order the supplier expressly acknowledges and agrees that this purchase order is to be charged against the account of the client named above, and that the client named above shall be solely responsible for the payment of any invoice arising out of this purchase order.
3. Blueline IS required, unless otherwise specified.
4. 25 samples to RAVCO Production office prior to or no later than delivery date.
5. Please notify us immediately if you are unable to ship complete order by 5 p.m. of specified delivery date.
6. Each package, box or skid must be marked according to special instructions on face of purchase order. If packaging instructions do not appear on purchase order please contact ASR.
7. No changes will be binding on client listed on this P.O. unless written authorization is given.
8. All Freight charges are to be prepaid (at vendors expense, to be included in Bid).
9. No under runs will be accepted. Acceptable over runs are as follows:

5M-10M	15%	50M-100M	4%
10M-25M	10%	Over 100M	2%
25M-50M	6%		

830402.3

QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	PLEASE SUPPLY ITEMS LISTED BELOW	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
		ITEM: Computer Letters coded L-CD		
		Size: 17" x 11"		
		Stock: 50 lb ~~Canary~~ offset	$25.38	
		Ink: PMS 185 Red and Black		
		Prints: 2/1		
		Blueline required		
		Please return camera ready art and provide 10 samples to production dept. upon completion of job.		
			TOTAL	$1,548.18

ACCOUNT REP

PORTANT: OUR PURCHASE ORDER NUMBER AND JOB NUMBER MUST EAR ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE. INVOICE IN PLICATE. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS PURCHASE, SEE SPECIAL TRUCTIONS ABOVE.

Sandy Sperger
PURCHASING AGENT

OFFICE USE ONLY	DATE(S) RECEIVED	DATE ORDER COMPLETED	SUPPLIER WORK NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE NO(S)	SUPPLIER INVOICE DATE

QUANTITY RECEIVED

ColorGraphics-48.92

TIONAL INFORMATION

Exhibit 27-p

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE A2061

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

No. [redacted]

DATE May 19, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

RAVCO

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C833e,f NCPAC 8103	5/14/80	1518 / 10687	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMP. FORMS.		
444 M	Computer forms, with 1 color face and back. Code: L20H.	17.02/M	7556.88
	4% Va. tax:		302.27
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$7859.15
	6/27 partial	←	3200.00
	7/3 partial	—	2220.00
	7/11	—	600.00

#524C
IE Reagan

3304042345

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 27-

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO: [illegible]

DATE: May 19, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

RAVCO

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
[illegible]	5/14/80	1513 / 10687	32	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMP. FORMS.		
444	Computer forms, with 1 color face and back. Code: L20N.	17.02/M	7556.38
	4% Va. tax:		302.27
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$7859.15
	Partial 6/27		3,200.00
	7/8		2,200.00
	7/11		600.00
			$1,839.15

#5240
IE Reagan

Bal

8304042346 3

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 47

Urgentgram

UR

From:

To:

8304041.2346

L20H

Authorized and paid for by the National Conservative Political Action Committee

ADVANTAGE AS A SITTING PRESIDENT.

CARTER CAN GET INSTANT PUBLICITY AND ADVERTISING WHENEVER HE WANTS IT JUST BY CALLING A PRESS CONFERENCE.

ALSO, CARTER CAN "BUY VOTES" BY PROMISING FEDERAL MONEY, DAMS, ETC. TO DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES BEFORE THE ELECTION.

ON TOP OF THIS, HE WILL HAVE AN ARMY OF GOVERNMENT PAID BUREAUCRATS WORKING FOR HIS RE-ELECTION.

FINALLY, YOU CAN BET BIG LABOR WILL BE DOING EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO HELP CARTER AND STOP REAGAN (THEY SPENT OVER $11 MILLION TO HELP CARTER IN 1976).

NONE OF THESE ADVANTAGES WILL BE COUNTED AGAINST THE SPENDING LIMIT ON CARTER'S CAMPAIGN.

BUT NCPAC WITH YOUR HELP WILL RUN "INDEPENDENT" PRO--REAGAN ADS TO HELP OFFSET CARTER'S HUGE ADVANTAGES. THIS KIND OF HELP COULD MAKE THE DIFFERENCE IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION. BUT WE MUST MOVE QUICKLY.

I AM CONVINCED RONALD REAGAN IS A DEDICATED CONSERVATIVE WHO WILL HELP TURN THIS COUNTRY AROUND IF ELECTED. BUT, ASIDE FROM THIS, I AM DETERMINED TO HELP GOVERNOR REAGAN NOW FOR TWO REASONS:

1. WHEN NCPAC WAS FOUNDED IN 1976 RONALD REAGAN SIGNED A LETTER PERSONALLY ASKING HIS SUPPORTERS AND OTHER CONSERVATIVES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY TO HELP US. IN FACT NCPAC WAS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION RONALD REAGAN HELPED IN 1976.

   MANY THOUSANDS OF CONSERVATIVES RESPONDED TO HIS CALL. HE IS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS NCPAC IS HERE TODAY WITH A 71% WIN RECORD AGAINST THE LIBERALS.

2. AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF CONSERVATIVES -- PERHAPS YOU WERE ONE--WHO WERE CONTACTED WITH OUR "1980 PRESIDENTIAL SURVEY" SAID REAGAN WAS THEIR NUMBER ONE CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT.

NOW GOVERNOR REAGAN NEEDS OUR HELP.

THE ADS WE PRODUCE WILL BE TOUGH, HARD-HITTING ADS THAT WILL EXPOSE CARTER'S WEAKNESSES AS WELL AS PROMOTE REAGAN. I HAVE ENCLOSED TWO OF THEM FOR YOU TO SEE.

THESE ADS WERE WRITTEN BY TOP NOTCH PROFESSIONALS. THEY TALK ABOUT CARTER'S WEAK HANDLING OF IRAN, INFLATION, ETC. AND HOW REAGAN WOULD BE A MUCH BETTER PRESIDENT.

WE WILL RUN THESE ADS IN MAJOR CITIES AND PLACES WHERE

3304042345

MANY VOTERS WILL BE MAKING UP THEIR MINDS BETWEEN CARTER AND REAGAN IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

IF YOU CAN SEND A CONTRIBUTION TO NCPAC TO HELP US HELP GOVERNOR REAGAN BY PUTTING THESE ADS ON THE AIR, I AM ALSO ASKING YOU TO SEND HIM THE ENCLOSED POSTCARD TELLING HIM OF YOUR SUPPORT.

THE POSTCARDS YOU AND OTHER CONSERVATIVES SEND IN WILL GO TO GOVERNOR REAGAN'S CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. HIS STAFF WILL SEE THE DEEP LEVEL OF SUPPORT GOVERNOR REAGAN HAS WITH CONSERVATIVES LIKE YOU.

REMEMBER, YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO GOVERNOR REAGAN'S CAMPAIGN AFTER THE CONVENTION. BUT YOU CAN HELP GOVERNOR REAGAN GET ELECTED PRESIDENT BY SENDING YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO NCPAC'S "HELP REAGAN" PROJECT.

BUT WE MUST GET STARTED IMMEDIATELY.

ALL EXPERTS ARE SAYING THE CARTER-REAGAN RACE WILL BE EXTREMELY CLOSE. WE MUST GIVE GOVERNOR REAGAN ALL THE HELP WE CAN NOW.

PLEASE SEND NCPAC $15.00, $25.00 OR MORE IF YOU CAN.

WHATEVER YOU CAN SEND I KNOW GOVERNOR REAGAN WOULD DEEPLY APPRECIATE IT.

AWAITING YOUR REPLY.

SIGNED: JOHN T. DOLAN, CHAIRMAN, NCPAC

8304042346

OVER, PLEASE

Urgentgram

URGENT REPLY REQUESTED

8304042346 7

Paid for by NCPAC, not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

Exhibit 27-

PURCHASE ORDER

MATERIAL

JOB NO. C833e,f

P.O. NO. NCPAC-8103

DATE May 7, 1980

DATE REQUIRED 12 May 8, 1980

BILL TO National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Boulevard, #513
Arlington, Virginia 22209

SUPPLIER DDI
2936 Prosperity Ave.
Merrifield, Va

SHIP TO The Viguerie Company
Computer Division

ACCOUNT NCPAC/Prospect/Bufkin-Taylor/Mail Codes 20H, H1, H2, H4, 20H+

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. All invoices must be accompanied by 2 samples.
2. Bill direct to the client named above. By accepting and fulfilling this purchase order the supplier expressly acknowledges and agrees that this purchase order is to be charged against the account of the client named above, and that the client named above shall be solely responsible for the payment of any invoice arising out of this purchase order.
3. Blueline IS required, unless otherwise specified.
4. 25 samples to RAVCO Production office prior to or no later than delivery date.
5. Please notify us immediately if you are unable to ship complete order by 5 p.m. of specified delivery date
6. Each package, box or skid must be marked according to special instructions on face of purchase order. If packaging instructions do not appear on purchase order please contact ASR.
7. No changes will be binding on client listed on this P.O. unless written authorization is given.
8. All Freight charges are to be prepaid (at vendors expense, to be included in Bid).
9. No under runs will be accepted. Acceptable over runs are as follows:

5M-10M	15%	50M-100M	4%
10M-25M	10%	Over 100M	2%
25M-50M	6%		

QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY RECEIVED	PLEASE SUPPLY ITEMS LISTED BELOW	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
4,000		ITEM: Computer Letter/Replys coded L20H (FOR 3000 LASER) Size: 14 7/8" x 11" Stock: 50 lb canary offset Ink: Black Prints: 1/1 Bleeds left and right Blueline required Please return camera ready art and provide 10 samples upon completion of job.	$17.02¢	
			TOTAL	$7,556.88

ACCOUNT REP

IMPORTANT: OUR PURCHASE ORDER NUMBER AND JOB NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE. INVOICE IN TRIPLICATE. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS PURCHASE SEE SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE.

Sand sparger SSparger
PURCHASING AGENT

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:	DATE RECEIVED	DATE ORDER COMPLETED	SUPPLIER WORK NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE NO.	SUPPLIER INVOICE DATE

QUANTITY RECEIVED

ColorTraphics - 22.37

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Exhibit 27-t

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2095

DATE May 22, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

RAVCO

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C833G NCPAC 8158	5/21/80	1534 10701	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
218 M	Computer forms, with 1 color face and black back. COded: L20G3.	20.43/M	4453.74
	4% Va. tax;		178.14
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$4631.88
		B/1	3400.00
			$1,231.88

#524C
IE Rogers

Bal 8/8

8304042346

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

Exhibit 27-u

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2176

DATE June 20, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

RAVCO

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C897	6/17/80	10823	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
498 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and black back.	15.08/M	7509.84
2 M	Additional:	same	30.16
			7540.00
	4% Va. tax:		301.60
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$7841.60
		8/8 →	1,000.00
		8/22	2500.00
			& 341.60
		8/29	2,000.00
			2,341.60

8304042347 C

524 C - Independent Expenditure

Read on 8/29

WHITE—CLIENT · GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 27-v

1928

Sept. 5, 1 80

7,622.04

Diversified Direct, Inc,
c/o U.V.B., Box 179
Alexandria, VA 22314

NOT NEGOTIABLE

6/12/80	Payment of Invoice #A 2415			
6/20/80	Balance DUe Invoice #A 2176			
7/30/20	Payment of Invoice #A 2386			
8/19/90	Payment of Invoice #A 2452	#524C IE Reagan	$4,724.35	
6/12/80	Payment of Invoice #A 2423	#524C IE McGovern	101.18	
7/18/80	Payment fo Invoice #A 2321	#524C IE Bayh	101.18	
7/24/80	Payment of Invoice #A 2336	#524C IE Culver	101.19	
7/24/80	Payment of Invoice #A 2349	#524C IE Cranston	101.19	
		#524C IE Church	101.19	
		#524D	2,391.76	$7,622.04

8304042347 1

Exhibit 27-W

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2415

DATE Aug. 12, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, VA. #513 Suite
22209

SHIPPED TO:

TVC

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
D007 NCPAC 9566	8/7/80	11069	H	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER LETTERS.		
18 M	Computer letters, with 2 color face and 1 color back.	45.07/M	811.26
1.8 M	Additional:	same	81.12
			892.38
	4% Va. tax:		35.69
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$928.07

Reagan SAVC

Total
Reagan $4724.35
T'80
(2) 101.18 ea.
(3) 101.19 ea
D - $2391.76

Exhibit 27-x

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2452

DATE Aug 19, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Virginia 22209

SHIPPED TO:

Mediamerica
Alex., Va.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C989 NCPAC 9403	8/1/80	11037	H	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	PRINTING SERVICES, LETTERS.		
10 M	Letters, with 2 color face and 1 color back.	68.26/M	682.60
1 M	Additional:	same	68.26
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		4.00
	Labor: stripping:		60.00
			814.86
	4% Va. tax:		32.59
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$847.45

524c

Reagan

8304042347

Exhibit 27-Y

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2386

DATE July 30, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. Suite 513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

TVC.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C977A-C	7/30/80	11013	H	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	PRINTING SERVICES, CHESHIRE FORMS.		
10 M	Cheshire forms:, with 1 color face.	53.08/M	530.80
1 M	Additioanl:	same	53.08
			583.88
	4% Va. tax:		23.35
	TOAL INVOICE:		$607.23

524 C
IE Reapar

3304 0417

Exhibit 27-2

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2427

DATE Aug 12, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

DMS

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
D007 NCPAC 9565	8/11/80	11070	H	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	PRINTING SERVICES, LETTERS.		
36 M	Letters, with 1 color face and 2 color back.	21.95/M	790.20
2 M	Additional:	same	43.90
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$834.10

3304042347

524 C

Receipts

354 8600

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE Exhibit

936 Prosperity Avenue - Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 - (703) 573-1605

No. A 2507

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

DATE Aug 27, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd.
Suite 513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

TVC

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C986A NCPAC 9745	8/15/80	11102	H	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	PRINTING SERVICES, LETTERS.		
524 M	Letters, with 3 color face and 1 color back.	13.18/M	6906.32
3 M	Additional:	same	39.54
	#524M C Reagan		
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		2.00
	Labor: stripping:		30.00
			6977.86
	4% Va. tax:		279.11
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$7256.97

8304042347 6

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL
GOLDENROD—DDI JOB JACKET

Exhibit 2-bb

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2511

DATE Aug 28, 1980

TO:

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

TVC

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
D047 NCPAC 0029	8/26/80	11136	H	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	PRINTING SERVICES, LETTERS.		
150 M	Letteres, with 1 color face and back.	14.96/M	$ 2244.00
1 M	Additional:	same	14.96
			2258.96
	4% Va. tax:		90.36
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$2349.32

Reagan #524C

8304012347?

—BASIC UNIT SPECIAL ASSISTANCE CANADA—ACCOUNTING PAK—CO CHRONOLOGICAL

Exhibit 27-QQ

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

2936 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 2454

DATE Aug 19, 1980

TO:

Naitonal Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, Va. 22209

SHIPPED TO:

TVC

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
C977A NCPAC 9473	8/4/80	11042	H	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER LETTERS.		
146 M	Computer letters, with 3 color face and 1 color back.	17.14/M	2502.44
2 M	Additional:	same	34.28
			2536.72
	Authors Alterations: Labor: stripping:		24.00
			2560.72
	4% Va. tax:		102.43
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$2663.15
		10/17	⇒ 1,000.00
			1,663.15
		10/24	1,000.00
			663.15

#-524C

Defeate Carter

330404234756

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

Liberty Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

NO. A 1975

DATE April 25, 1980

: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

D:

Fund for a Conservative
Majority
./o Thompson & Associates
7015 Keene Mill Road
Springfield, Va. 22151

SHIPPED TO:

Exhibit 28-a

Wiland & Assoc.

CFM 180

ER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	4/24/80	1693 / 10599	SE	NET—30

ITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
M	Computer forms, with 3 color face and 1 color back.	13.69/M	2,806.45
	Authors Alterations:		-
	Halftones reshot:		26.70
	Line shots:		5.40
	Labor: stripping:		36.00
			2,874.55
	4% Va. tax:		114.98
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$2,989.53

330404234176

VP Memo page 1-2 only.

See attached.



Exhibit 28-5

Citizens for Reagan
in 80'

REAGAN/VICE-PRESIDENTIAL SURVEY PACKAGE

81 AUG 6 P4:43

Citizens for Reagan

8304042318C

24



Citizens for Reagan in 80!

A project of FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

Thursday

Dear Friend:

Reagan as President and a Conservative Majority in the Senate is within our grasp!

National columnist Jack Anderson has referred to this possibility when he recently wrote:

> "... if a conservative Republican should win the presidency next year, his allies in the Senate could help him change the political direction of the country dramatically."

With your help we can nominate and elect Ronald Reagan as President! And we can control the Senate as well!

"Citizens for Reagan in 80" is a special project of the prominent multi-candidate political action committee -- Fund for a Conservative Majority. FCM is one of the oldest PAC's in the country and it's efforts have helped elect many of today's conservative leaders.

FCM is working to elect conservative candidates to federal office who will actively work to limit the size, price and control of government.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" can be the deciding factor in nominating Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

Please join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today.

Tens of thousands of dollars in "independent money" must be raised if Reagan's campaign for President is to succeed.

The Eastern Establishment Liberals within the Republican Party are pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars into a "STOP Reagan Campaign."

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

8304042349

We must not allow them to succeed!

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is an independent campaign working to nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

Citizens for Reagan will encourage our fellow citizens to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Citizens for Reagan is campaigning in all the important primary and convention states. However, the extent to which we campaign depends directly upon the amount of support received from patriotic Americans like you.

Citizens for Reagan budgeted a great deal of money for the important New Hampshire primary on February 26, and has now focussed its efforts on the later primaries in the South, in the Midwest and in Texas.

Radio and newspaper advertising, voter mailings, polling and literature distribution will be carried out by "Citizens for Reagan in '80".

<u>The goal is simple: to nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States</u>.

Ronald Reagan is a strong, articulate and experienced leader. He proved he was an effective executive while serving as Governor of California.

As a matter of fact, Reagan was the first major spokesman calling for a national "taxpayers revolt" by urging the citizens to join him in bringing government under control.

And Ronald Reagan has clearly understood the Soviet threat and has always called for a superior U.S. military force.

Once Reagan is nominated at the Republican convention, we will not stop our campaign -- no indeed. "Citizens for Reagan in '80" will continue to campaign right up to election day.

As an independent campaign, "Citizens for Reagan in '80" is not bound by the federal law to disband after Ronald Reagan's nomination. However, the only money Ronald Reagan will have after his nomination will be that which the Federal Election Commission gives him.

As an independent effort "Citizens for Reagan in '80" has no limit on expenditures before or after the nomination.

<u>Ronald Reagan can win in 1980. But to win he needs your help today</u>.

138

Many Republican candidates have entered the Presidential sweepstakes -- Bush, Baker, Connally, etc.

Why? Because Jimmy Carter can be defeated in 1980.

But the best man to challenge Jimmy Carter is Ronald Reagan. You and I both know this.

For instance, just imagine the Presidential Debates in the fall of 1980 between Reagan and Carter! Or against Ted Kennedy if he should take the nomination from President Carter. Ronald Reagan will so out-class and out-debate Carter or Kennedy that the American people will simply have to vote for our man!

Send your maximum contribution today to the Fund for a Conservative Majority and join "Citizens for Reagan in '80". Already the campaigns are gearing up and we need operational money to help nominate and elect Conservatives to the United States Senate and Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

And with your participation we can also help decide who Reagan's Vice President will be.

Please join in the national "Reagan's Running Mate Survey" which is enclosed.

Who should Reagan ask to run with him? You can help make this decision by sending us the enclosed survey as soon as you complete it.

The results of this survey will be periodically released to the news media right up to the Republican National Convention.

Please take these three important steps to help insure Ronald Reagan's nomination and election as President of the United States:

(1) Be sure you and your Reagan friends are registered to vote.

(2) Fill out the enclosed "Reagan's Running Mate Survey" and send it to us today.

(3) Please enclose a maximum contribution with your survey. Make your check payable to Fund for a Conservative Majority.

Don't let the liberal news media and the Eastern Establishment Republicans keep us from nominating and electing Ronald Reagan!

Join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today. Send your maximum contribution just as soon as possible to the Fund for a Conservative Majority.

On November 4, 1980 Ronald Reagan can be elected President of the United States.

On January 20, 1981 Ronald Reagan can be sworn in as the 40th President of the United States!

On January 21, 1981 President Reagan will begin to bring government under control; he will take action to decrease the rate of inflation; and he will begin to build an effective military defense for our country and our allies.

All this can actually happen! But to make sure it does you must first join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today.

I am anxiously awaiting your reply.

Sincerely,

Bob Heckman

Robert Heckman, Chairman
Fund for a Conservative Majority

P.S. Tens of thousands of dollars must be raised quickly to allow "Citizens for Reagan in '80" to continue to organize in the key primary states and to promote Ronald Reagan at State Republican conventions around the country.

Please join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today! Send your completed survey and your contribution to the Fund for a Conservative Majority.

140

8304042343

Paid Political Advertisement

AMERICA NEEDS LEADERSHIP!



America needs Ronald Reagan as President of the United States. At a time when government seems too big and too powerful, we need a man to bring control of government back to the people.

Government deficit spending continues —

Costly regulations add $100 billion each year to the price of goods and services —

Soviet military strength is increasing while America's defense capability is declining —

America cries for a strong national leader. *Ronald Reagan is the leader America needs in 1980!*

JOIN "CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80"

An independent expenditure campaign by Fund for a Conservative Majority, one of the oldest political action committees in the country.

PLEDGE YOUR SUPPORT!

Send your contribution today!

"Citizens for Reagan in '80"

Count me on the Reagan Team for 1980! I am most happy to join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" and to work to nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

___ $15 ___ $25 ___ $50 ___ $100
___ $500 ___ $1,000 ___ $5,000 ___ Other

(Make Check to: Fund for a Conservative Majority or FCM)

A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority, 927 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Occupation _____
Self-employed? _____
Place of Business _____

The contribution and all expenditures are paid for by funds of a committee which is not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

47

8304042343

THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

The Fund for a Conservative Majority (FCM) is one of the oldest conservative political action committees in the country. It was established under the original name Young Americans Campaign Committee several years before the Federal Election Commission came into existence.

Over the years FCM has supported most of the country's conservative leaders. Men like Governor Ronald Reagan; Senators John Tower, Jesse Helms and Orrin Hatch; and Congressmen Jack Kemp, Robert Dornan and Dan Marriott have all been assisted in their elections by this important political action committee.

The Board of Directors of the Fund for a Conservative Majority includes Robert Heckman who also serves as Director of State and Regional Activities for Young Americans for Freedom; Kenneth Boehm, former Prosecuting Attorney and award winning radio personality; and Jeff Kane, a successful businessman in the state of Maine. FCM's Executive Director is Ralph Galliano formerly with the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

The Fund for a Conservative Majority is dedicated to the goal of creating a conservative majority in the Congress and of electing a conservative President.

FCM believes a conservative majority in the Senate and a Conservative President can be elected in 1980.

Activities for the 1980 Election

"Senate Control in '80" is one of FCM's two current major political campaigns.

Conservatives can win control of the U.S. Senate in 1980. Many of the ultra-Liberals who must face the voters next year are very vulnerable to defeat: Liberal Senators like George McGovern of South Dakota, Gary Hart of Colorado, John Culver of Iowa, Birch Bayh of Indiana, John Durkin of New Hampshire and *at least ten others.*

FCM plans to be very active in this campaign to gain "Senate Control in '80."

• • • • • • • • • • •

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is a special independent campaign effort to help secure the nomination and election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" will be working in key primary states such as New Hampshire, Florida, North Carolina and Texas, and at the important state conventions of Virginia, South Carolina and Missouri. Mailings, newspaper and radio ads, billboards and other political campaign activities will be sponsored by this independent campaign.

512 Eleventh Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005

FCM has helped these Conservative Leaders:
(partial listing)


Gov. Ronald Reagan


Sen. Roger Jepsen


Sen. Jesse Helms


Sen. Bill Armstrong


Sen. John Tower


Sen. Gordon Humphrey


Sen. Strom Thurmond

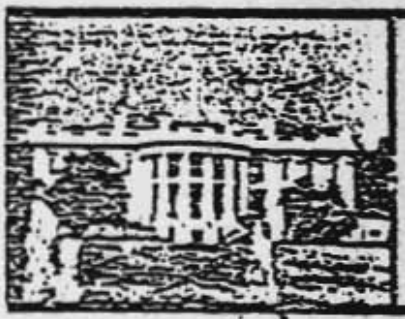

Cong. Jack Kemp


Sen. Orrin Hatch


Cong. Robert Bauman


Cong. Robert Dornan


Cong. John Ashbrook





Projects Sponsored By

THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE ORITY

FCM

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority not authorized by

43



Reagan's Running Mate Survey

distributed by Citizens for Reagan in '80

(A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority)

Please show your 1st and 2nd choices for the Vice Presidential candidate to run on Ronald Reagan's Ticket



John CONNALLY ____



Cong. Phil CRANE ____



Cong. Jack KEMP ____



Sen. Jesse HELMS ____



George BUSH ____



Sen. Bob DOLE ____



Sen. John TOWER ____

other ____

8304042348 6

YES, I want to join Citizens For Reagan In '80!

Enclosed is my contribution in the amount of:

____ $15	____ $25	____ $50	____ $100	____ $250
____ $500	____ $1,000	____ $2,500	____ $5,000	____ Other

(Make Check to: Fund for a Conservative Majority or FCM)

The Federal law requires that we ask the following questions:

Occupation _____ Self employed? _____

Place of Business _____

Corporate contributions can be accepted. They should be issued to the order of The Fund for a Conservative Majority — State Fund. These contributions will be utilized only in connection with state and local races where corporate contributions

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80
A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005



Paid for and distributed by Fund for a Conservative Majority
Not affiliated with any candidate.



THANKS FOR HELPING US PAY POSTAGE

Citizens for Reagan in '80
A project of:
Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Paid for and distributed by Fund for a Conservative Majority
Not affiliated with any candidate.

Diversified Direct, Inc.

INVOICE

36 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

NO. A 1983

mit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

DATE Exhibit 28- April 25, 19

TO:

Fund for a Conservative
Majority
c/o Thompson & Assoc.
7015 Keene Mill Road
Springfield, Va. 22151

SHIPPED TO:

CFR 180

Wiland & Assoc.

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	4/24/80	DDI P.O. NO. 1708 / 10609	SE	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
133 M	Computer forms, with 3 color face and black back.	15.27/M	2,030.91
	4% Va. tax:		81.2
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$2,112.1

Find Drive

8304042349 0

WHITE—[illegible] PINK—[illegible] CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

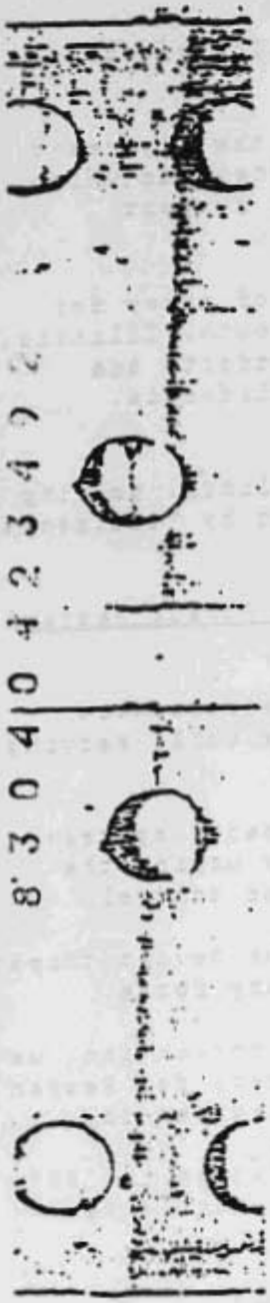
FINAL VICTORY DRIVE PACKAGE

8304042349 1



Citizens for Reagan in 80!

A project of FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY



May 16, 1980

Mr. P C Davis
PO Box 1063
Quincy, FL 32351

Dear Mr. Davis:

Reagan as President and a Conservative Majority in the Senate is truly within our grasp!

National columnist Jack Anderson has referred to this possibility when he recently wrote:

> "... if a conservative Republican should win the presidency next year, his allies in the Senate could help him change the political direction of the country."

With your help we can soon nominate and elect Ronald Reagan as President! And we can control the Senate as well!

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is a special project of the prominent multi-candidate political action committee -- Fund for a Conservative Majority. FCM is one of the oldest PACs in the country and its efforts have helped elect many of today's conservative leaders.

FCM is seeking to elect conservative candidates to federal office who will actively work to limit the size, price and control of government.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" can be the deciding factor in electing Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

If we are to succeed, we need your help. Please join with "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today.

A significant amount of "independent money" has already been raised to help nominate and elect Reagan our next President.

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

But more, much more, needs to be done.

The Eastern Establishment and the liberal news media hope to deny victory to Ronald Reagan.

We must not allow them to succeed! Reagan can win!

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is an independent campaign working to nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

Citizens for Reagan will encourage our fellow citizens to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Citizens for Reagan is campaigning in all the important primary and convention states. However, the extent to which we campaign depends directly upon the amount of support received from you and other patriotic Americans.

Citizens for Reagan budgeted a great deal of money for the important primaries in New Hampshire, the South, Illinois, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Texas. Now its efforts are focussed on the important final primaries in California, Ohio and New Jersey, on June 3rd.

Radio and newspaper advertising, voter mailings, polling and literature distribution is being carried out by "Citizens for Reagan in '80".

<u>The goal is simple: to nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.</u>

Ronald Reagan is a strong, articulate and experienced leader. He proved he was an effective executive while serving as Governor of California.

As a matter of fact, Reagan was the first major spokesman calling for a national "taxpayers revolt" by urging the citizens to join him in bringing government under control.

And Ronald Reagan has clearly understood the Soviet threat and has always called for a superior U.S. military force.

Once Reagan is nominated at the Republican convention, we will not stop our campaign -- no indeed. "Citizens for Reagan in '80" will continue to campaign right up to election day.

As an independent campaign, "Citizens for Reagan in '80" is not bound by the federal law to disband after Ronald Rea-

830402349

Reagan Country

Final VICTORY Drive

JUNE 3 1980

June 3 Primaries

California
168 delegates

Mississippi
22 delegates

Montana
20 delegates

New Jersey
66 delegates

New Mexico
22 delegates

Ohio
77 delegates

Rhode Island
13 delegates

South Dakota
22 delegates

West Virginia
18 delegates

Total delegates at stake on June 3:
428

8304042349

May 15, 1980

Mr. Bruce R Johnson
340 E Madison Ave
Wheaton, IL 60187

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Now we must secure the final nomination victory for Ronald Reagan and prove that he can defeat President Carter this fall!

On June 3, nine important states hold Republican Primaries -- for your future reference, I have noted the list of states on the margin of this page.

Ronald Reagan must use these elections to build a strong base of support for winning in the fall.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" has budgeted large amount of money to build a base of suppo: in these important states -- a base for defeating President Carter.

Blue collar workers, conservative Democra' and Independents, religious Americans and smal: businessmen are the "key voters" who will secu: final victory for Ronald Reagan.

And with your help "Citizens for Reagan i '80" will reach these voters in the nine important states which hold primaries on June 3. Five of these nine states -- Mississippi, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island and West Virgin went for Carter in 1976.

But Reagan can carry all of them in 1980! These states can be the margin of victory for Reagan in the fall.

The June 3 primary elections not only mus be won by Reagan -- but he must convince conservative Democrats and Independents to vot for him in large numbers. And these new Reaga voters must then be put to work campaigning fc Reagan's final victory in November.

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

It is now clear: President Jimmy Carter can be defeated this fall by Ronald Reagan!

President Carter has admitted that Governor Reagan will be a tough opponent. The national public opinion surveys show Reagan and Carter running neck and neck.

Even the national media now admits that Ronald Reagan will be a strong and effective candidate for President.

Let's put the "icing on the cake". Let's win BIG on June 3, in all nine primary states.

With your help, Reagan can go to the Republican Convention in Detroit with these important nine states "in his camp".

Support "Citizens for Reagan in '80", the highly successful independent campaign sponsored by Fund for a Conservative Majority, a multi-candidate political action committee. FCM is also concentrating its political expertise on gaining "Conservative Senate Control" in 1980.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" has been an important factor in the tremendous Reagan campaign successes this spring. The official Reagan for President organization is limited by federal law on how much it can spend. "Citizens for Reagan in '80" has no legal limits on its expenditures.

And the same is true this fall. "Citizens for Reagan in '80" will be able to spend as much as it can raise to help Ronald Reagan defeat Jimmy Carter on November 4.

Send your maximum contribution today.

Help Ronald Reagan win all nine primaries on June 3. Help build the base of support that will be so necessary for victory this fall.

I am looking forward to your support. Only with your help will Ronald Reagan be our next President.

Sincerely,

Bob Heckman

Robert C. Heckman, Chairman
Fund for a Conservative Majority

P.S. A Big Reagan win in these nine states on June 3 -- with large voter support from Democrats and Independents -- will prove Governor Reagan can defeat President Carter in the fall.

Please help FCM "wrap up the nomination" for Reagan on June 3, by sending your maximum contribution today.

8304042345

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE!



Republicans must understand that when they vote for their choice for President, they really do have a choice!

RONALD REAGAN is the best candidate for Republicans. He's a better choice than George Bush.

HERE'S THE DIFFERENCE:



Ronald Reagan

TAX CUTS: Ronald Reagan supports the major Kemp-Roth tax cut proposal (30% across the board tax cut in three years) which is also endorsed by the Republican National Committee and the majority of Republicans in Congress.

EXPERIENCE PROVEN: Ronald Reagan has successfully governed the largest state in the Union for eight years. As Governor of California he proved to be an excellent administrator of an innovative and strong state and a man who can limit the power and cost of government.

DRAFTING WOMEN: Ronald Reagan agrees with the experts and is opposed to drafting women into our armed forces. At a time when America must quickly rebuild its military strength Reagan does not believe that drafting women will benefit our nation's defense needs.

GOVERNMENT GROWTH: Ronald Reagan will cut government size, government power and government cost, he did it in California and he will do it again as president.

GUN CONTROL: Ronald Reagan opposes gun control and has clearly spoken out for the right of every citizen to keep and bear arms.

George Bush

TAX CUTS: George Bush is opposed to the Kemp-Roth tax cut. He voted for a 10% income tax surcharge in 1968, against a tax cut in 1969 and to increase the national debt in 1969 and 1970. Then the people of Texas defeated Bush in 1970 when he ran for the Senate.

EXPERIENCE LIMITED: George Bush has never had the responsibility of running government, large or small. We can't afford another President who doesn't understand how to effectively and efficiently run our federal government.

DRAFTING WOMEN: George Bush has endorsed the drafting of women into the American armed forces.

GOVERNMENT GROWTH: George Bush supports further growth in the federal government as he did while in Congress. For example, he voted to establish OSHA, the most dictatorial of all federal agencies, and to nationalize welfare programs under the federal government.

GUN CONTROL: George Bush favors gun control. While in Congress he voted for the infamous 1968 Gun Control law.

Don't be misled.

Vote for Ronald Reagan!

Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80

For more information about Citizens for Reagan in '80 and how you can help nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States, send your name and address to:

Citizens for Reagan in '80
A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority
[illegible] Mason Boulevard, Suite 1401
Arlington, Virginia [illegible]

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of $ _____

Make check payable to: Fund for a Conservative Majority.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Be a part of the Reagan Team for 1980!

3304042346

Final VICTORY Drive

JUNE 3 1980

Reply Memorandum

Reagan Country

June 3 Primaries

California
168 delegates

Mississippi
22 delegates

Montana
20 delegates

New Jersey
66 delegates

Dear Bob:

The nomination of Ronald Reagan is in sight! Now we must prove he can defeat President Carter this fall.

The national polls show we can win. But we must use the up-coming June 3 primaries to build the organization to defeat President Carter and elect Ronald Reagan.

Here is my "Final Drive" contribution:

___ $25 ___ $50 ___ $100 ___ $250

___ $500 ___ $1,000 ___ $5,000 ___ Other

(Make check payable to Fund for a Conservative Majority or FCM)

Corporate Contributions can be accepted.
They should be issued to the order of the Fund for a Conservative Majority – State Fund. These contributions will be utilized only in connection with state and local races where corporate contributions are permitted.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Federal law requires that we ask:

Occupation _____

Name of Employer? _____ Self-Employed? _____

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not by any candidate or candidate's committee.

New Mexico
22 delegates

Ohio
77 delegates

Rhode Island
13 delegates

South Dakota
22 delegates

West Virginia
18 delegates

Total delegates at stake on June 3:
428

30040234097

Exhibit 3(

tri-state envelope corporation of maryland

INVOICE

ENVELOPE MANUFACTURERS • 6900 FAIGLE ROAD, BELTSVILLE, MD. 20705 • (301) 792-7170
(202) 953-3570

NUMBER 11027

INVOICE DATE	OUR ORDER NUMBER	YOUR ORDER NUMBER	VIA OUR TRUCK	UNLESS SPECIFIED IN THE CAPTION AREAS BELOW: TERMS: NET 10 DAYS	SHIPPED TO: SAME AS "SOLD TO"				
5/27/80	5-0939-80M	NCPAC-7760	X		Waldorf, Maryland	1	1	1	

C832-a,c,d,g

National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd. - # 513
Arlington, VA 22209

1=PREPAID 2=COLLECT
1=COMPLETE 2=PARTIAL
1=F.O.B. DESTINATION 2=F.O.B. OUT PLANT
3=CUT CHARGES TO FOLLOW
3=FREIGHT CHARGES TO FOLLOW

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION		PRICE	AMOUNT
237,000	# 9 24 brown kraft os ds std sty wdow			
		printed	13.80/M	3270.60
4	3 lots	cuts		99.30
	1.) 26,000 - Ca8			
	2.) 180,000 - CC8			3369.90
	3.) 31,000 - CC81	MD5%		168.50
		Total		3538.40
13141	Dave			
Bl# 13385				

7/25 + 8/1

#524D - 1,769.00
#524C = 1,769.00
Reque
IE

BILLED	SHIP	OUT CHG	FRT CHG	SUBTOTAL	TAX	TOTAL

PLEASE PAY

3304042 3/4 2

Exhibit 30-e

tri-state envelope corporation of maryland

INVOICE

ENVELOPE MANUFACTURERS • 6900 FAIGLE ROAD, BELTSVILLE, MD. 20705 • (301) 792-7170
(202) 953-3570

NUMBER 12019

INVOICE DATE	OUR ORDER NUMBER	YOUR ORDER NUMBER	VIA OUR TRUCK	UNLESS SPECIFIED IN THE CAPTION AREAS BELOW: TERMS: NET 10 DAYS	SHIPPED TO: SAME AS "SOLD TO"
6-27-80	6-1205-SOUNDOAC 8606	Y		DMS MD	1 1 1

JOB C912

National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd
Arlington VA 22209

1=PREPAID 2=COLLECT
1=COMPLETE 2=PARTIAL
1=F.O.B. DESTINATION 2=F.O.B. OUR PLANT
X=CUT CHARGES TO FOLLOW
X=FREIGHT CHARGES TO FOLLOW

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	AMOUNT
22,800	Copy was changed by customer after 22,800 envelopes had already been run on the press. These envelopes were bailed per Sandy at RAVCO.		
272,000	#9 24 WW OS DS Std Sty Wdw		
294,800	Total billed for	16.00M	4712.00
	plates		106.00
	restripping		10.00
BL# 13987 (170,000) Lot 1 14149 (102,000) Lot 2 Dave			4828.00
	MD 5%		241.40

SALES	SLSM	CUT CHG.	PRT. CHG.	SUB-TOTAL	TAX	TOTAL
						5069.40

PLEASE PAY

#524C
DE Reagan

8/1 — 3500.00
1569.40 Bal 8/8

8304042345

Exhibit 30-f

tri-state envelope corporation of maryland

INVOICE

ENVELOPE MANUFACTURERS • 6900 EAGLE ROAD BELTSVILLE, MD. 20705 • (301) 792-7170
(202) 953-3570

NUMBER 12031

INVOICE DATE	OUR ORDER NUMBER	YOUR ORDER NUMBER	VIA OUR TRUCK	UNLESS SPECIFIED IN THE CAPTION AREAS BELOW: TERMS: NET 10 DAYS	SHIPPED TO: SAME AS "SOLD TO"	
6-30-00	6-1290-SO	NCPAC 8581 C897	x		DMS MD	1

1=PREPAID 2=COLLECT
1=COMPLETE 2=PARTIAL
1=F.O.B. DESTINATION 2=F.O.B. OUR PLANT
X=CUT CHARGES TO FOLLOW
X=FREIGHT CHARGES TO FOLLOW

National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 Wilson Blvd#513
Arlington VA 22209

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	AMOUNT
450,000	#9 24 BK OS DS Std Sty Wdw	10.10M	4545.00
	plates		48.00
			4593.00
	MD 5%		229.65
	Total		4822.65
		8/29	2000.00
			2822.65

#524C
TE Reagan

BL# 14112 (175,000)
13853 (275,000) Dave

SHIPPED	SLSM	CUT CHG	PRT CHG	SUB-TOTAL	TAX	TOTAL

PLEASE PAY

8304043

Exhibit 30-g

tri-state envelope corporation of maryland

INVOICE

ENVELOPE MANUFACTURERS • 6900 FAIGLE ROAD, BELTSVILLE, MD. 20705 • (301) 792-7170
(202) 953-3570

NUMBER 12145

INVOICE DATE	OUR ORDER NUMBER	YOUR ORDER NUMBER	VIA OUR TRUCK	UNLESS SPECIFIED IN THE CAPTION AREAS BELOW: TERMS: NET 10 DAYS	SHIPPED TO: SAME AS "SOLD TO"
7-[illegible]-80	6-1347-80A	VCPAC 6712	x		DAS rd

National Conservative Polotical Action Commi[illegible]
1500 Wilson Blvd #513
Arlington VA 22209

1 = PREPAID 2 = COLLECT
1 = COMPLETE 2 = PARTIAL
1 = F.O.B. DESTINATION 2 = F.O.B. OUR PLANT
X = CUT CHARGES TO FOLLOW
X = FREIGHT CHARGES TO FOLLOW

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	AMOUNT
140,000	3-5/8 x 7-3/4 24 WW OS DS Regular Split Gum	10.60M	1484.00
	plates		10.00
			1494.00
	AD 5%		74.70
	Total		1568.70
		9/19	850.00
			718.70
BL# 14278 (35,000)			
12989 (35,000)			
12251 (70,000)	Dave		

Reagan Supply x Print

S. TAX	SLSM.	CUT CHG.	FRT. CHG.	SUB-TOTAL	TAX	TOTAL

PLEASE PAY

CUSTOMER COPY

830404235O

Exhibit 30-h

tri-state envelope corporation of maryland INVOICE

ENVELOPE MANUFACTURERS • 6900 FAIGLE ROAD, BELTSVILLE, MD. 20705 • (301) 792-7170 (202) 953-3570

NUMBER 12087

INVOICE DATE	OUR ORDER NUMBER	YOUR ORDER NUMBER	VIA OUR TRUCK	UNLESS SPECIFIED IN THE CARTON AREAS BELOW: TERMS: NET 10 DAYS	SHIPPED TO SAVE AS "SOLD TO"
7-2-90	4-1820-ONV	8691	X		DMS MD

JOB C897

National Conservative Political Action Comm
1331 Wilson Blvd #513
Arlington VA 22209

1=PREPAID 2=COLLECT
1=COMPLETE 2=PARTIAL
1=F.O.B. DESTINATION 2=F.O.B. OUR PLANT
X=CUT CHARGES TO FOLLOW
X=FREIGHT CHARGES TO FOLLOW

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	AMOUNT
43.000	#9 24 BK OS DS Std Sty WSw	10.10M	434.30
	MD 5%		21.72
	Total		456.02
SL= 14115 Dave			

20 K-14 21 T 21 T 21 T

213-6'40-9/6

MEMORANDUM

Exhibit 31-a

Ex. 1 (b)
11-17-81, Lawrence
DV

To: Bay Buchanan

From: Cheryl Gwaim

Subject: Required Checks

Date: February 20, 1980

In order to procure goods and services required for our March 3, 1980, prospect mailing and March 7, 1980, Reagan for President house file mailing, it is necessary that the following three checks be federal expressed to me today.

Amount of Check	Provider (to whom check should be made) & Address
1. $1,763.00 #1228/2264 Feb 22, '80	Todd Allan Printing 802 Rhode Island Avenue, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20018 to be used to pay for 265,000 Ronald Reagan pictures to be used as inserts for prospect mailings - at $ 6.65 per thousand.
2. $1925.00 #1229/2264 Feb. 22	Wiland & Associates 111 West Davis Street Culpepper, Va. 22701 to be used for laser printing of approximately 75,000 letters and response devices for RFP-house file mailing - at $ 46.00 per thousand, plus $250 for tape conversion
3. $3,347.50 #1230/2264 Feb. 22	Atlantic List Company, Inc. 2100 M Street, N.W., Suite 307 Washington, D.C. 20037 to be used to rent names from Daily News Digest at $ 75.00 per thousand and California Ringmakers at $ 80.00 per thousand - these lists have been proven to work for us.

Without my immediate receipt of these checks, the necessary goods and services cannot be possibly obtained.

Thank you.

Cheryl Gwaim

8304042350

Diversified Direct, Inc. Exhibit 31-b INVOICE

36 Prosperity Avenue • Fairfax (Merrifield) Virginia 22031 • (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1659

DATE 2/29/80

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland &

EX 1 (c)
11-17-81 - Lawrence
SK

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 2/29/80	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. 1453 / DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10384	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
23 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and coded: With $ Amt.	17.25/M	396.75
24 M	Computer forms, with same specs. Coded: No $ Amt.	17.25/M	414.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$810.75

Audit #16 OK w/JS

8304042350

P.O. 80 DEP. 14F

Cust

Pd. Dec 14, 80

#652/ 224

$11,614.25

Triple "K" Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1505

Exhibit No. A 1057, 31-C

Mail to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

DATE 2/29/80

TO:

Reagan for President
1828 L St., N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: C. Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland & Assoc.
Culpepper, Va.

Ex 1(d)
11-17-81, Lawrence Sw

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 2/29/80	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. 1454 / DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10383	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
48,251	Computer forms, with 2 color face and back.	21.58/M	1,041.25
	Authors Alterations: Labor: stripping:		18.00
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,059.25

8304042350

OK subj. invoicing $1059.25 10

Proj: 14,8[illegible]
= 650/54 2-3[illegible]-1
$11,614.25

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

[illegible] BE LEFT

31

Exhibit G1-d

Ex 1 (1)
11-17-81, Lawrence
SW

MEMORANDUM

To: Bay Buchanan

From: Cheryl Swaim

Date: April 10, 1980

Enclosed are invoices for the Reagan for President-House File 16th mailing which dropped on March 28, 1980. Among these invoices is a warehouse charge by Diversified. All have been reviewed and found to be according to agreements.

Samples of the 16th mailing are enclosed. In addition, a cost analysis for this mailing is enclosed.

With my memorandum of March 1, 1980, were samples of the "$1,000 Legal Limit" letters. I have sent additional samples to Judy Harrison, at her request, who will deliver them to you.

The 17th mailing is scheduled for the week of April 20, 1980. Immediate expenses for this mailing are as follows:

Amount	Vendor & Address	Purpose
$5,710.13	Wiland & Associates 219 East Davis Highway Culpeper, Va. 22701 Attn: Bob Perrott	laser-printing of 53,121 letters and 56,622 2-up response devices
$14,238.05	U.S. Postmaster	12,611 @ .30 each (high d: 40,510 @ .15 each 52,122 @ .084 each

Thank you for your time.

RECEIVED APR 17 1980

8004235056

DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC. — INVOICE

936 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1911

DATE April 15, 19

TO:

Reagan for President
c/o Cheryl Swaim
435 Lee Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland & Assoc.
Culpepper, Va.

Ex 1 (1) 11-17-81, Haig CA

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/MAILED.	DDI JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. / DIVISIONAL JOB NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS
	4/1 4/80	1697 / 10593	SK	NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
28.5 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and coded: w/o $ amt.	20.55/M	585.67
27 M	Computer forms, with same specs. Coded: w $ amt.	20.55/M	554.85
			1,140.52
	4% Va. tax:		45.62
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,186.14

8304042350 7

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CORPORATE COPY

2935 Prosperity Avenue · Fairfax (Merrifield), Virginia 22031 · (703) 573-1605

Remit to: DIVERSIFIED DIRECT, INC., c/o U.V.B. BOX 179, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

NO. A 1964

DATE April 22, 19

Exhibit 31-f

TO:

Reagan for President
c/o Black, Manafort & Stone, Inc.
435 N. Lee St.
Alexandria, Va. 22314
Attn: Cheryl Swaim

SHIPPED TO:

Wiland & Assoc.

Ex 1(k)
11-17-81, Laura

CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED/ MAILED. 4/20/80	DDJ JOB NO. / DDI P.O. NO. 1866 / DIVISIONAL JOB NO. 10594	SALESMAN SK	TERMS NET—30

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	RE: PRINTING SERVICES, COMPUTER FORMS.		
57 M	Computer forms, with 2 color face and 2 color back.	17.41/M	992.37
	Authors Alterations:		
	Line shots:		4.00
	Labor: stripping:		36.00
	Blueline and color sep.		19.50
			1,051.87
	4% Va. tax:		42.07
	TOTAL INVOICE:		$1,093.94

4-30-80
17th mailing
RFP
CM

WHITE—CLIENT GREEN—REMITTANCE CANARY—ACCOUNTING PINK—DDI CHRONOLOGICAL

Exhibit 32-a

Wiland & Associates, Inc.

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-5100

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
23197,23199	16	Phone/Thompson	November 21, 1979	24681

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Smarr Mailing Alexandria, Virginia

Ex 2(c)
11-17-81, Lawrence
Sv

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
ontinuing Programming				
Modify existing program to convert Foreign Files				
Programming	.22 hrs.	25.00/hr	$ 5.50	
Computer Time for Assembly and Test	.09 hrs.	120.00/hr.	10.80	
onvert, Sort and Consolidate Three Foreign Files (input size)	40,150	8.13/M	326.42	
plit Foreign File by File Type Code				
Process input records	36,007	1.20/M	43.21	
Process output records - Reagan Donors	2,810	1.23/M	3.46	
Process output records - FCM 1977-1979	19,710	1.23/M	24.24	
Process output records - FCM 1976 + Prior	12,460	1.23/M	15.33	
int Reagan Grams to:				
Reagan Donors	2,810	40.00/M	112.40	
FCM 1977-1979	19,710	40.00/M	788.40	
FCM 1976 + prior	12,460	40.00/M	498.40	
irginia Sales Tax			72.47	

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

TOTAL $ $1,900.63

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON/OR BEFORE N/A

PAY THIS AMOUNT $ N/A

2-4

Exhibit 32b

REAGAN GRAM PACKAGE

8304042351C

EX 2(d)
11-17-81, hawtree

5 pages

REAGAN CAN WIN!

REAGAN IN '80 GRAM

REAGAN IN 1980

NOVEMBER 13, 1979

MRS. RUBY K BREAUX
103 E HATHAWAY DR
SAN ANTONIO, TX 78209

DEAR MRS. BREAUX:

TONIGHT RONALD REAGAN ANNOUNCED FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

AS I WATCHED HIM ON TELEVISION, I BECAME MORE CONVINCED THAN EVER THAT REAGAN CAN WIN AND THAT HE WILL BE A STRONG LEADER FOR THE UNITED STATES AND FOR THE FREE WORLD.

REAGAN CAN BE ELECTED PRESIDENT! HIS ELECTION WILL BRING WITH IT SEVERAL NEW CONSERVATIVE SENATORS AND MANY NEW CONGRESSMEN. THE POLITICAL DIRECTION OF OUR NATION WILL DRAMATICALLY CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

"CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80" IS AN INDEPENDENT EFFORT BY A HIGHLY RESPECTED POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE -- FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY.

NOT BOUND BY GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS WHICH LIMIT REAGAN'S CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES IN EACH STATE, THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY CAN RECEIVE INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UP TO $5,000 PER PERSON EACH YEAR.

FCM IS ACTIVELY WORKING FOR THE NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF RONALD REAGAN AND ALSO HELPING TO CAPTURE CONSERVATIVE CONTROL OF THE SENATE IN '80.

YOUR PAST SUPPORT OF FCM HAS HELPED BUILD "CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80" INTO A POWERFUL POLITICAL VOICE IN THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

WITH YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT RONALD REAGAN AND A CONSERVATIVE SENATE WILL BE ELECTED NEXT YEAR, MRS. BREAUX.

WE CAN ELECT REAGAN AND ALSO DEFEAT ULTRA-LIBERAL BIG SPENDING SENATORS SUCH AS GEORGE MCGOVERN, FRANK CHURCH, JOHN CULVER, ALAN CRANSTON, BIRCH BAYH, AND OTHERS.

8304042351 I

"CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80" HAS DEVELOPED A SERIES OF HARD-HITTING AND CREATIVE NEWSPAPER AND RADIO ADS. VOTER MAILINGS WILL BE SENT INTO EACH OF THE KEY PRIMARY STATES.

IN 1976, FCM RAN RADIO ADS FOR RONALD REAGAN BY EFREM ZIMBALIST JR. IN EACH STATE WHERE THESE IMPRESSIVE RADIO SPOTS RAN, REAGAN WON THE PRIMARY.

WE MUST RAISE AT LEAST $47,543 BY DECEMBER 1ST TO BEGIN TO RESERVE RADIO TIME AND NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING SPACE IN THE EARLY PRIMARY STATES.

IF WE DON'T RAISE THIS MONEY, OUR CAMPAIGN FOR REAGAN WILL HAVE TO BE CUT BACK DRASTICALLY.

REAGAN CAN WIN IN 1980 IF WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT, MRS. BREAUX.

TODAY THE AVERAGE 60 SECOND RADIO AD IN KEY PRIMARY STATES COSTS $16.47 APIECE.

I AM HOPING YOU WILL SEND FCM AT LEAST $32.94 TO PAY FOR TWO OF THESE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT REAGAN RADIO ADS.

IF YOU CAN'T SEND $32.94, PLEASE TRY TO CONTRIBUTE $16.47 TO PAY FOR ONE RADIO AD. WHATEVER YOU CAN AFFORD TO SEND WILL BE USED TO NOMINATE AND ELECT RONALD REAGAN IN 1980.

REAGAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT TONIGHT TRULY PROVED HE IS CAPABLE OF NOT ONLY WINNING BUT ALSO OF BEING THE STRONG, STABLE PRESIDENT OUR NATION SO BADLY NEEDS AT THIS TIME.

PLEASE SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TODAY.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH,

ROBERT HECKMAN
CHAIRMAN

P.S. IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE OBVIOUS THAT THE ULTRA-LIBERAL, BIG SPENDER -- TED KENNEDY -- COULD WELL BECOME THE DEMOCRATS' NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT.

THIS DANGEROUS FACT MAKES IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT RONALD REAGAN BE NOMINATED AND ELECTED.

WITH YOUR HELP, REAGAN CAN WIN!

8304023512

REAGAN REPLY GRAM

Dear Bob Heckman:

I support Ronald Reagan for President! We must also elect a Conservative Senate in 1980.

You can count on my support. We are close to victory and I want to be an active part of that success.

I am proud to continue my support of the Fund for a Conservative Majority.

Enclosed is my contribution:

_____ $16.47 for one 60 second REAGAN RADIO AD

_____ $32.94 for two 60 second REAGAN RADIO ADS

_____ $50 _____ $100 _____ $250 _____ $500

_____ $1,000 _____ $2,500 _____ $5,000 _____ other

(Make check payable to: FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY OR FCM)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

OCCUPATION _____ SELF-EMPLOYED? _____

PLACE OF BUSINESS _____

"Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate. 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."

8304042351-2

Wilana & Associates, Inc.

Exhibit 32

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-5100

C.F.R '80 IE

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
25309	16	1415	February 15, 1980	25688

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
tinuing Programming				
dify existing program to convert FCM iles				
Programming	.50 hrs.	25.00/hr.	$ 12.50	
Computer Time for Assembly and Test	.13 hrs.	120.00/hr.	15.60	
vert and Sort FCM 1977-1979 $5+ Donors				
Process input records	22,528	5.48/M	123.45	
Process output records	22,204			
nvert and Sort FCM 1976 and Prior .00+ Donors				
Process input records	14,070	6.60/M	92.86	
Process output records	13,912			
nvert and Sort FCM CIT Reagan 1980 ors				
Process input records	2,525	stp.chg.	67.50	
Process output records	2,681			
int 4-up Cheshire labels to:				
$5.00+ Donors 1977-1979	22,204	2.85/M	63.28	
$10.00+ Donors 1976 and Prior	13,912	3.15/M	43.82	
1980 Reagan Donors	2,681	stp.chg.	22.50	
rginia Sales Tax			17.66	

EX 2 (i)
11-17-81 Lawrence

TERMS NET 30 DAYS TOTAL $ $459.17

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT $ N/A

80

Wiland & Associates, Inc.

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-5100

Exhibit 32-d

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
23979	16	1485	April 14, 1980	26441

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Assóciates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Penny Rogers

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
se/Purce #4 - FMC March 1980 - Texas Race				
cess Mail File Input (including List Version and Duplicate Identification Pressing)	213,906	$3.24/M$	693.06	
ss Mail File Output (including its, Key Assignments and Printing)	165,329	3.00/M	495.99	
pping and Handling to Return Magnetic es	9 tapes	2.50/tp.	22.50	
inia Sales Tax			47.56	

CF 2/6

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS TOTAL $ $1,259.11

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT $ N/A

27

Exhibit 32-



TEXAS PACKAGE

8304042351 6

Ex 2(p)
11-17-81, Lawrence
SV

TEXAS FOR REAGAN!

PRIMARY DATE: MAY 3
DELEGATES: 80

April 15, 1980

Dear Friend of Reagan:

"REAGAN WINS TEXAS - BUSH QUITS RACE".

Those headlines could greet us on Sunday morning, May 4, if you help "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today.

The important Texas primary is held in less than one month -- on Saturday, May 3.

Reagan must win this important election by an overwhelming margin. By doing so, he can prove to the liberal news media, to President Carter and to the country that he can indeed win the Presidency this fall.

In 1976, Governor Reagan defeated President Ford in Texas by winning all the delegates.

This year Reagan can land the "knockout punch" to George Bush by again winning all 80 delegates in the Texas Primary.

Texas is Bush's adopted home state. An overwhelming Reagan victory here will go a long way in finally defeating Bush.

And it is here in Texas that Ronald Reagan can prove just how strong he will be this fall against Jimmy Carter.

Texas is the electoral linchpin to the entire South. If we can win Texas in the fall then President Carter will lose and Reagan will be our next President.

In the May 3 primary, Ronald Reagan can attract such large numbers of conservative Texas Democrats and Independents that the "Lone Star State" will be considered a "Reagan state" this fall. Democrats and Independents who vote for Reagan on May 3, will be the base from which to build yet another Reagan victory in Texas this November.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is targetting Texas with a proposed budget of $100,000 for the May 3 primary.

8304042351 7

This independent campaign is sponsored by Fund for a Conservative Majority, the nationally known and highly respected political action committee. FCM is also using its talent and expertise to help win "Conservative Senate Control" in 1980.

FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" campaign has been very successful this year. The enclosed letter from William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester Union Leader (in New Hampshire), shows just how important this independent campaign has been.

Thanks to tens of thousands of contributors to FCM, Ronald Reagan is well on his way to winning the Republican nomination for President.

Governor Reagan has proven he is a strong candidate. He can attract large numbers of conservative Independent and Democratic voters, as well as the overwhelming majority of Republicans.

But Reagan must continue to attract non-Republicans if he is to win the Presidency this year.

First, Reagan must win and win overwhelmingly in Texas on May 3. Your support of "Citizens for Reagan in '80" will help assure that victory and help knock Bush out of the race.

Radio time, voter mailings and newspaper ads have already been planned.

Campaigns are expensive but look at the goal -- Reagan as President! I know you agree that the investment is well worth it.

Please send your maximum contribution today to Fund for a Conservative Majority. As a multi-candidate PAC, FCM can accept contributions up to $5,000 each year per individual.

Sincerely,

Bob Heckman

Robert C. Heckman, Chairman
Fund for a Conservative Majority

P.S. George Bush considers Texas his home state. He has lived there for 30 years. Help us show him on May 3, that Texas is still Reagan Country!

8304023518

Texas must remain REAGAN country!

Dear Bob:

Reagan must win in Texas on May 3rd! In 1976 he won 100% of the delegate votes in Texas. Reagan can do it again. He must also prove that Texas is a state he can carry in November against Jimmy Carter.

You can count on my support to keep TEXAS for REAGAN!

Enclosed is my contribution of:

___$25	___$50	___$100	___$250
___$500	___$1,000	___$5,000	___Other

Make check payable to Fund for a Conservative Majority

Corporate Contributions can be accepted.
They should be issued to the order of the Fund for a Conservative Majority—State Fund.
These contributions will be utilized only in connection with state and local races where corporate contributions are permitted.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Federal law requires that we ask:

Occupation _____

Name of Employer? _____ Self-Employed?

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not by any candidate or candidate's committee.

8304042351 9

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 5 2 6

TEXAS FOR REAGAN!

PRIMARY DATE: MAY 3
DELEGATES: 88

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80!
A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

TEXAS FOR REAGAN!

PRIMARY DATE: MAY 3
DELEGATES: 88

THANKS FOR HELPING US PAY POSTAGE

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80!
A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

Wiland & Associates, Inc.

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-5100

Exhibit 32 f

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
75,6107,92,419	16		May 19, 1980	26910

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson

CFR 80

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED/DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
de California Records from CCM r File				
Process input records	94,305	$ .75/M	$ 70.73	
Process output records	76,541	.60/M	45.92	
4-up Cheshire Laser labels to s California	76,541	2.33/M	178.34	
op and Print Vice Presidential rs to CCM Less California	76,541	15.00/M	1,148.12	
nia Sales Tax			57.72	

EX 2 (S)
11-17-81 Lawyer
SL

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS TOTAL ▷ $1,500.83

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON/OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT ▷ N/A

215 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE 703

Exhibit 32-9

32,910,26125,126, 181	16	1520	May 19, 1980	26892

Thompson & Associates
7015 Old Keene Mill Road
Suite 203
Springfield, Virginia 22150
Attention: Michael Thompson

Bond Mailing
Woodbridge, Virginia

INVOICE

e/Purge #5 - PCH May 1980 VP Prospect Continuations			
ess Mail File Input (Including List ersion and Duplicate Identification ssing)	422,656	$2.70/M	1,141.17
ess Suppression File Input (Including Conversion and Duplicate Identifica- Processing)	45,485	min. chg.	150.00
ess Mail File Output (Including ts, Key Assignments and Printing Cheshire Labels)	310,830	2.22/M	690.00
e/Purge #6 - PCH May 1980 Final Drive			
ess Mail File Input (Including List ersion and Duplicate Identification ssing)	295,665	2.70/M	798.30
ess Mail File Output (Including ts, Key Assignments and Printing Cheshire Labels)	247,252	2.22/M	548.90
ping and Handling Charges to Return etic Tapes	26 tapes	2.50/ea.	65.00
t Vice President Inner Letters Mi			
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 1	6,859	15.00/M	102.89
rge/Purge #5 Label Set 2	1,959	15.00/M	29.37
		TOTAL	$3,525.93

Fax 2 pages

2893

2782,910,26125,126 181	16	1520	MAY 19

Thompson & Associates
7015 Old Keene Mill Road
Suite 203
Springfield, Virginia 22150
Attention: Michael Thompson

Bond Mailing
Woodbridge, Vir

INVOICE

Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 3	3,864	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 4	2,612	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 5	98,798	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 6	9,038	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 7	34,337	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 8	13,491	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 9	18,492	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 10	14,405	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 11	20,932	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 12	47,112	15.00
Merge/Purge #5 Label Set 13	39,032	15.00
Print "Final Drive" Laser Letters to:		
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 1	82,726	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 2	82,457	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 3	13,911	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 4	11,732	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 5	5,701	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 6	3,214	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 7	3,214	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 8	6,491	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 9	9,968	15.00
Merge/Purge #6 Label Set 10	6,910	15.00
Virginia Sales Tax		

Wiland & Associates, Inc.

218 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-8100

Exhibit 32-i

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
26425	16	1610	June 24, 1980	27261

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 703 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Barry Rogers

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED/ITEM DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
:e/Purce #10 - FCM - V. P. Convention		Ant Costs		
:ess Mail File Input (Including List :ersion and Duplicate Identification ocessing)	391,968	$2.70/M	$1,058.31	
Class Mail File Output (Including :ts, Key Assignments and ~~Sorting~~)	278,514	2.40/M	668.43	
:ping and Handling Charges to Return :netic Tapes	16 tapes	2.50/tp.	40.00	
:inia Sales Tax			69.07	

Ex 2 (aa) 11-17-82 - Lawrence SV

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS TOTAL ⇩ $1,835.81

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT ⇩ N/A

Wiland & Associates, Inc.

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-5100

Exhibit 32-1

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
26424	16	1611	June 24, 1980	27262

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Penny Rogers

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
/Purge #9 - FCM - Anti-Carter				
ss Mail File Input (Including List rsion and Duplicate Identification ssing)	235,501	$3.60/M$	847.80	
ss Mail File Output (Including Key ments and Printing)	222,658	3.00/M	667.97	
ing and Handling Charges to Return tic Tapes	42 tapes	2.50/tp.	105.00	
eight Shipping and Handling Charges			46.92	
nia Sales Tax			60.63	

Ex 2 (dc)
11-17-81 Lawrence
SS

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS TOTAL $ $1,728.32

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT $ N/A

[redacted] ASSOCIATES, INC.

[redacted] EAST BRAS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE [redacted]

EXHIBIT 3

26928	16	Late Lists	June 25, 1980	27312

Thompson & Associates
7015 Old Keene Mill Road
Suite 203
Springfield, Virginia 22150
Attention: Michael Thompson

Thompson & Associates
7015 Old Keene Mill Road
Suite 203
Springfield, Virginia 22150
Attention: Michael Thompson

INVOICE

re/Furve Late Lists - Att'-Carter			
Each List Involved	1	15.00/list	$ 15.00
	2	10.00/list	20.00
Mail File Processing (Convert, Sort and Print)			
Business Week	5,000	3.00/M	15.00
Forecaster	10,000	2.50/M	25.00
Conservative Business Contributors	5,000	2.50/M	12.50
Shipping and Handling Charges to Return Magnetic Tapes	3 tapes	2.50/tape	7.50
Virginia Sales Tax			2.10

Ex 2 (Ex 2)
11-17-81 SD

TERMS NET 30 DAYS BILL BY

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE NOTIFIED ON [redacted] PAYMENT IS [redacted]

$ 97.10

E/A

Exhibit 32-1

Anti-Carter Letter A& B

8304012357

- Ex 2(jj) & 2(jj)2
11-17-81
SW
Lawrence

14 pp



Citizens for Reagan in 80!

A project of FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

Dear Friend of Governor Reagan:

Ronald Reagan can be elected President of the United States!

But only with your help and that of tens of thousands of other concerned and patriotic Americans will President Carter be defeated.

To "top off" our victory on election night, as many as ten or twelve Big Spending Liberal Democratic Senators can be replaced with responsible conservative Republicans! Many powerful Democratic Congressmen can also be defeated.

All this can happen in just a few short months -- on November 4th, National Election Day.

Ronald Reagan must be elected. President Carter simply has not been the strong, creative and effective leader our country and the Free World so desperately needs in these difficult times.

Jimmy Carter has failed as President.

His domestic policies have produced economic chaos for our people.

Carter's foreign policy failures have shaken the Free World.

Carter must be defeated.

Today's inflation rate is running at over 18% -- over three times the inflation rate as when Carter was elected in 1976.

Government spending is projected to be over $615 billion in the next federal budget! This is almost three times the budget of 1972 and over $200 billion more than President Ford's budget in his last year as President.

You and I worked until mid-May this year just to pay our taxes! And taxes take about 40% of the nation's overall earnings.

This year the average American family will pay over $7,000 in federal taxes!

Most of us pay more in taxes than for our combined costs for food, clothing and shelter.

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate committee.

And in our international dealings with friends and enemies, Carter has also been a terrible failure.

Our military has severely deteriorated under the guidance of Jimmy Carter.

The Russians have brazenly invaded Afghanistan and supported Cuban backed revolutions throughout Central America and Africa. Carter's appointments have supported these communist forces as "stabilizing influences"!

President Carter has managed to destroy our political alliance with Iran and today our American compatriots remain hostages to fanatic terrorists in Iran.

Communist China finally got from Jimmy Carter what no other American President would even seriously consider giving it -- the de-recognition of a loyal ally (The Republic of China on Taiwan) and the help of the U.S. in building up the economic and military strength of this communist giant.

And our Free World allies shake their heads in disbelief as they watch America -- only a few short years ago the strong leader of the non-communist world -- quickly becoming a second rate world influence behind the Soviet Union.

But right now you can join with tens of thousands of your fellow Americans to change the direction of our country -- to rebuild our military strength; to begin to dismantle the over-sized federal government; to give each of us and our businesses a large tax cut; and to bring proven, responsible and strong leadership to the Presidency of the United States.

You can join with "Citizens for Reagan in '80" and help elect Ronald Reagan as our next President.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is an independent campaign effort sponsored by the highly respected and nationally recognized Fund for a Conservative Majority.

FCM is also using its expertise and resources to help elect a conservative majority in the Senate. Its "Conservative Senate Control" campaign has already had a significant impact this year and the Liberal Democrats are scared.

This fall Ronald Reagan will be running against Jimmy Carter. Both men will receive their limited campaign budgets from the federal government.

But FCM knows that Ronald Reagan will be running against more than just Jimmy Carter.

The incumbent President will use the White House and federal spending to the maximum to try to buy the election.

Just watch as Carter stages important news events close to the election. Large federal programs will be announced... new appointments will be made from "swing states"... Carter will desperately try to force some sort of international "success"... Presidential press conferences and urgent national messages requiring full network coverage will suddenly become more frequent.

The Big Union Bosses will "pull out all the stops" to defeat Ronald Reagan. Since the Democratic Congress has given the unions special election advantages, you can expect these powerful men to spend millions of dollars in 1980 to stop Ronald Reagan from becoming President.

And the various left-wing, consumer, anti-defense and pro-abortion groups will be supporting Carter and attacking Reagan. Millions of dollars will be spent by these left-wing organizations to secure the jobs of their government friends and to continue the discredited policies of the Carter Administration.

Finally there is the news media. The men and women who "report" the news will try to destroy Governor Reagan. The reports will show Reagan in the worst possible light. Tens of millions of dollars in "news time" will be spent by the media to stop Ronald Reagan from becoming President.

Only you can help offset these built-in disadvantages faced by Ronald Reagan. And you can help defeat Jimmy Carter.

Your support of FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" campaign will directly help elect Ronald Reagan our next President.

Because of the way the federal campaign law is written, this independent effort for Ronald Reagan can spend as much money as can be raised from people like you.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" hopes to spend at least $3,000,000 this fall to help elect Ronald Reagan and also to elect a conservative Senate to work with Reagan in turning our country around.

But to meet this goal "Citizens for Reagan in '80" must find 120,000 people to give at least $25 each to this terribly important campaign effort.

The campaign plans are simple: to carefully and professionally spend as much money as can be raised to reach the American people with good, strong and effective television advertising, with creative radio and newspaper ads and by sending voter mailings to as many voters as possible in key states.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" has been working for over a year to

nominate and elect Ronald Reagan. The sponsoring political action committee -- Fund for a Conservative Majority -- is well-known as a cost-efficient and professionally run organization. "Citizens for Reagan in '80" was a key factor in the Governor's primary victories earlier this year.

The money you give to "Citizens for Reagan in '80" will be spent effectively and professionally to help elect Ronald Reagan.

Send your maximum contribution today and join with tens of thousands of other Americans in support of "Citizens for Reagan in '80".

Your contribution can range up to $5,000.

Remember, you will not be able to contribute to the official Reagan for President organization after Ronald Reagan is nominated. Federal law prohibits it.

But you can help elect Ronald Reagan President by sending your contribution today to the Fund for a Conservative Majority.

After receiving your contributon of at least $25 I will send you a beautifully designed and individually personalized Certificate of Appreciation. You will be proud to hang this document on your wall.

I will also send you timely updates on the election and ask your help and advice as Election Day draws near.

Please send your contribution today. Help elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

I am counting on you. Reagan's election as President could well be determined by the support you give today.

Sincerely,

Bob Heckman

Robert C. Heckman
Chairman

P.S. Jimmy Carter has simply failed as President. Our economy is in turmoil and our military strength is dangerously weak.

Help turn our country around! Join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today. With your help Ronald Reagan can be elected our next President.

8304042353 1

Ex 2(j)2
11-17-81, Lawsuit #1
90



Citizens for Reagan in 80!

A project of FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

Dear Friend:

I'm angry and frustrated when I hear Jimmy Carter rationalize away incredible errors. I'm tired of humiliating defeats all over the world.

A child recently asked me, if the United States were the "good guys", then why weren't we winning? That is a difficult question.

It's hard to explain to a 7 year old how quickly a President can damage a once strong and proud country.

In just four short years President Carter has managed to bring chaos to our economy and to our foreign policy.

We are suffering under an 18% inflation rate which is the highest in over thirty years. If it continues the cost of living will double in less than 5 years!

The average American family will spend over $7,000 just to pay federal taxes this year. In fact most families are forced to spend more on taxes than they do on food, clothing and shelter combined.

Our military strength has been dangerously weakened during the four years of the Carter presidency.

Our friends and allies look to us for leadership -- but all this American President seems able to do is sit back and watch the world slide hopelessly into turmoil.

Jimmy Carter has had his chance as President. And he has failed.

Now it's time for a change. It's time to elect Ronald Reagan!

I've enclosed a sample Certificate of Appreciation for you in what could be the most important campaign group you have ever been asked to help -- "Citizens for Reagan in '80".

This is an independent campaign sponsored by one of the oldest and most respected political action committees in the country -- the Fund for a Conservative Majority. FCM is also working this year to elect a

conservative controlled Senate which will work with the Reagan Administration to make our country strong again.

Once Ronald Reagan is nominated you will not be able to contribute to the official Reagan for President campaign. Federal law prohibits you from contributing. The federal treasury will give Reagan a limited amount of money to spend on his election for President. Jimmy Carter will get the same amount.

But Carter will have many additional and very powerful campaign forces working for him -- these will be worth tens of millions of dollars to Carter. Reagan will not have these resources.

First, Carter will have the White House and the power of the federal government to campaign for him. News events, international crises and special new federal programs will be announced -- with Carter's picture on the front pages of our morning papers and on the nightly TV news.

Second, the Union Bosses will spend over $10 million dollars to support Jimmy Carter. This will happen even as the polls show almost 40% and maybe more of the union members support Ronald Reagan.

Many other left-wing groups will also join in support of Jimmy Carter. They will spend millions of additional dollars in order to defeat Ronald Reagan.

Third, and most disturbing, the national news media will try to destroy Ronald Reagan. They have already started, and their efforts will surely increase.

These important allies of Jimmy Carter -- the White House, powerful Union Bosses, left-wing organizations and the influential national news media -- must be offset by the support of Ronald Reagan's friends.

That is why "Citizens for Reagan in '80" began its work over one year ago to help nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were effectively and professionally raised and spent in the important 1980 primary elections in support of Ronald Reagan.

A highly trained and professional campaign staff is guiding FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80" program. The contributors to FCM can feel confident that their money is being effectively and efficiently spent in a professional and successful manner.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" hopes to spend at least $3,000,000 this fall to help elect Ronald Reagan our next President. That means it must raise at least $3,000,000 from citizens like you.

Creative hard hitting television and radio ads are being written. A half-hour television program is being prepared.

8304042335.3

Full page advertising is ready to be sent to major newspapers and magazines.

Voter mailings into key states are being prepared -- to businessmen, union families, farmers, housewives and veterans.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" can be the difference between Ronald Reagan winning or losing.

If the funds can be raised to execute the professional campaign outlined above then "Citizens for Reagan in '80" can be the effective and critical difference in Reagan's victory.

If not -- then you and I will be faced with yet another four years of Jimmy Carter. That would truly be a disaster.

Please join with tens of thousands of other concerned Americans in supporting "Citizens for Reagan in '80".

After receiving your contribution of at least $25 I will send you a beautifully designed and individually personalized Certificate of Appreciation. You will be proud to hang this document on your wall. Of course, if you can't send $25, any amount will help in our efforts to elect Ronald Reagan our next President.

During the next several months I will send you important campaign updates, ask for your advice and for your help to make sure we elect Ronald Reagan our next President.

Please send your contribution today. Donations up to $5,000 can be accepted.

I am counting on you to help us elect Ronald Reagan our next President.

Sincerely,

Bob Heckman

Robert C. Heckman
Chairman

P.S. Jimmy Carter has failed in his four years as President. Our prestige as a nation has never been so low.

Join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today and become part of the solution to America's problem -- help elect Ronald Reagan our next President!

8304042353

Citizens for Ronald Reagan

Dear Bob:

I am most happy to join you in support of Ronald Reagan for President in 1980. I am firmly committed to the defeat of Jimmy Carter this year.

Ronald Reagan is the best man to be President!

Enclosed is my contribution. I understand that an official "Citizens for Reagan in '80" Certificate of Appreciation will be sent to everyone who sends in at least $25.

__$25 __$50 __$100 __$250 __$500

__$1,000 __$2,500 __$5,000 $___ Other

(Make check payable to Fund for a Conservative Majority or FCM)

Corporate contributions can be accepted.
They should be issued to the order of the Fund for a Conservative Majority – State Fund. These contributions will be utilized only in connection with state and local races where corporate contributions are permitted.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Federal law requires that we ask:

Occupation _____

Name of Employer? _____ Self-Employed? _____

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not by any candidate or candidate's committee.

8.3.0.4.0.4.2.3.5.3.5



Certificate of Appreciation

Presented to

SAMPLE

for active participation in the national campaign to elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States in 1980.

The Officers and Directors of "Citizens for Reagan in '80" thank you for your generous support of Ronald Reagan during the 1980 presidential campaign. "Citizens for Reagan in '80" is an independent campaign sponsored by the nationally-recognized political action committee, Fund for a Conservative Majority.

Robert C. Heckman, Chairman

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80
A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

It's time for a better America
ELECT RONALD REAGAN!

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not by any candidate or candidate's committee.

THANKS FOR HELPING US PAY POSTAGE



Citizens for Reagan In '80
A project of:
Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate.

Willard & Associates, Inc.
219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-5100

Exhibit 32

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
26799	16	1651	July 11, 1980	27453

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
ge/Purge #10 - Thompson & Associates - the White House				
cess Mail File Input (Including List Version and Duplicate Identification cessing)	938,803	$2.46/M	$2,309.46	
cess Mail File Output (Including its, Key Assignments and Laser Labels)	637,187	1.80/M	1,146.94	
ping and Handling Charges to Return netic Tapes	28 tapes	2.50/tp.	70.00	
inia Sales Tax			138.26	

Ex 2 (nr) 11-17-81 Lawrence

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

TOTAL $ 3,664.66

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT $ N/A

Wiland & Associates, Inc.

Exhibit 1-a

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-5100

CFILED

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
7662,63,64	16	1660,65,69,70	July 31, 1980	27732

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	1660 - Thompson & Associates, Springfield, Virginia; 1665 - Republican National Committee, Washington, D. C.; 1669 - Atlantic List Co. Wash, D.C. 1670 - American Spectator Bloomington, ID

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
Merge/Purge Late Lists				
List Conversion	1	15.00/list	$ 15.00	
Mail File Processing (Convert, Sort and Print) CFR '76	106,060	3.00/M	318.18	
Ga Sales Tax			12.73	
Mag Tape Output of 15M Merged Selected SCF's	15,000	4.30/M	64.50	
Mag tape output of Net ALEC Of Master File	62,207	2.55/M	158.63	
Keycoded Cheshire label output of Republican High Donors	3,009	min.chg.	30.00	
Deposit to be refunded when tapes returned,	2 tapes	20.00/tp.	40.00	
ing and Handling Charges			1.47	

Ex 2 (rr) 11-17-81, Lawrence 80

Elect. #1

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

TOTAL $ $640.51

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON/OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT $ N/A

Exhibit XX-C

ELECTION # 1 PACKAGE

8304042359

Ex Z (SS).
11-17-81 - Lawrence
SV
(9 pp)



August 15, 1980

Dear Reagan Supporter:

Our campaign to elect Ronald Reagan President has now entered it final stage.

In just three months the election will be over! Either Ronald Reagan or Jimmy Carter will be President.



And you can help decide who will win this fall.

Most political observers expect the Carter campaign to be a nasty, even vicious, anti-Reagan effort.

Jimmy Carter has the active support of dozens of left wing, ultra-environmental and disarmament groups.

The nation's labor czars have already committed millions of dollars to help re-elect Jimmy Carter.



And the news media will soon attack Ronald Reagan in an effort to reduce his current and commanding lead over Jimmy Carter.

Your help is needed today!

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is the oldest and most effective independent campaign helping to elect Ronald Reagan our next President. It is sponsored by the Fund for a Conservative Majority -- a highly competent and professional political action committee which is also working to elect conservatives to the Senate and the House.



"Citizens for Reagan in '80" has drafted a professional campaign plan to help elect Ronald Reagan. It is a strong, positive plan -- and it is ready to go into effect today!

But your help is needed-if our campaign is to succeed and Jimmy Carter is to be defeated.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" must raise another $275,000 just as fast as possible.



* Radio ads are prepared.
* TV commercials are complete.
* Newspaper ads are ready to be placed.
* Voter mailings are being written now for special voting blocs.

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

To buy initial advertising on TV, radio and in newspapers and to begin to contact the key voters in "swing states", $275,000 must be raised within the next three weeks.

Volunteer efforts are also need to elect Ronald Reagan.

Please send the enclosed post card to Ronald Reagan and pledge not only your personal support, but also promise to find at least 10 more citizens who will vote for Reagan on election day. These votes will be absolutely critical in electing Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" needs your active support today.

Send the enclosed post card to Ronald Reagan at his National Headquarters right outside Washington, D.C. Pledge your vote and also the votes of 10 other citizens you will personally recruit for Ronald Reagan.

With you financial help we can find one million people who will pledge to vote for Ronald Reagan and who will also pledge to find 10 more Reagan voters.

If we succeed we can promise to deliver 11 million votes for Ronald Reagan on election day -- a healthy percentage of the total votes needed to win.

Send Ronald Reagan your voter pledge card and send your maximum contribution today to FCM's "Citizens for Reagan in '80".

Only with your help can we win!

Sincerely,

Bob Heckman

Robert C. Heckman

P.S. Continued support of Ronald Reagan by patriotic Americans like you is critical. With that help Ronald Reagan will be elected President in three short months -- on November 4th!

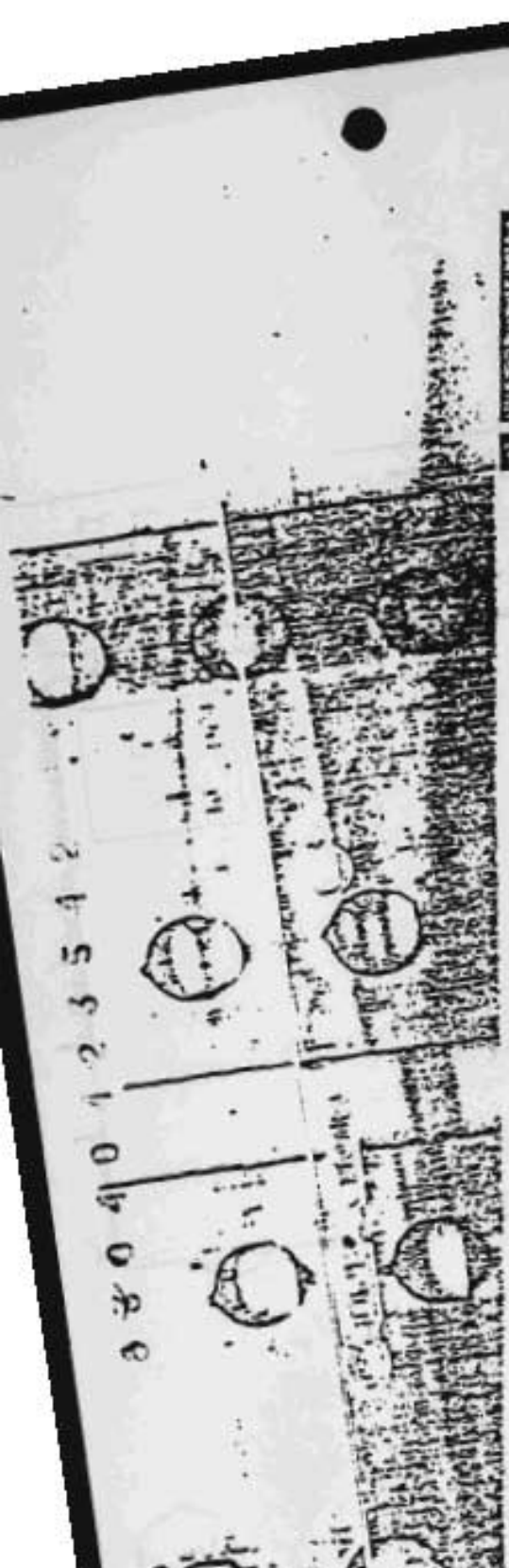
3304042351 1

Citizens for Reagan in '80!

A project of FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY



I support RONALD REAGAN



Dear Mr. Heckman:

I support Ronald Reagan for President and will do all I can to help elect him this fall.

☐ I have sent my post card to Governor Reagan pledging my vote and agreeing to find at least 10 more people who will vote for him on November 4.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution to help FCM in its independent campaign, "Citizens for Reagan in '80."

__$25	__$50	__$100	__$250
__$500	__$1,000	__$5,000	__Other

(Make check payable to Fund for a Conservative Majority or FCM.)

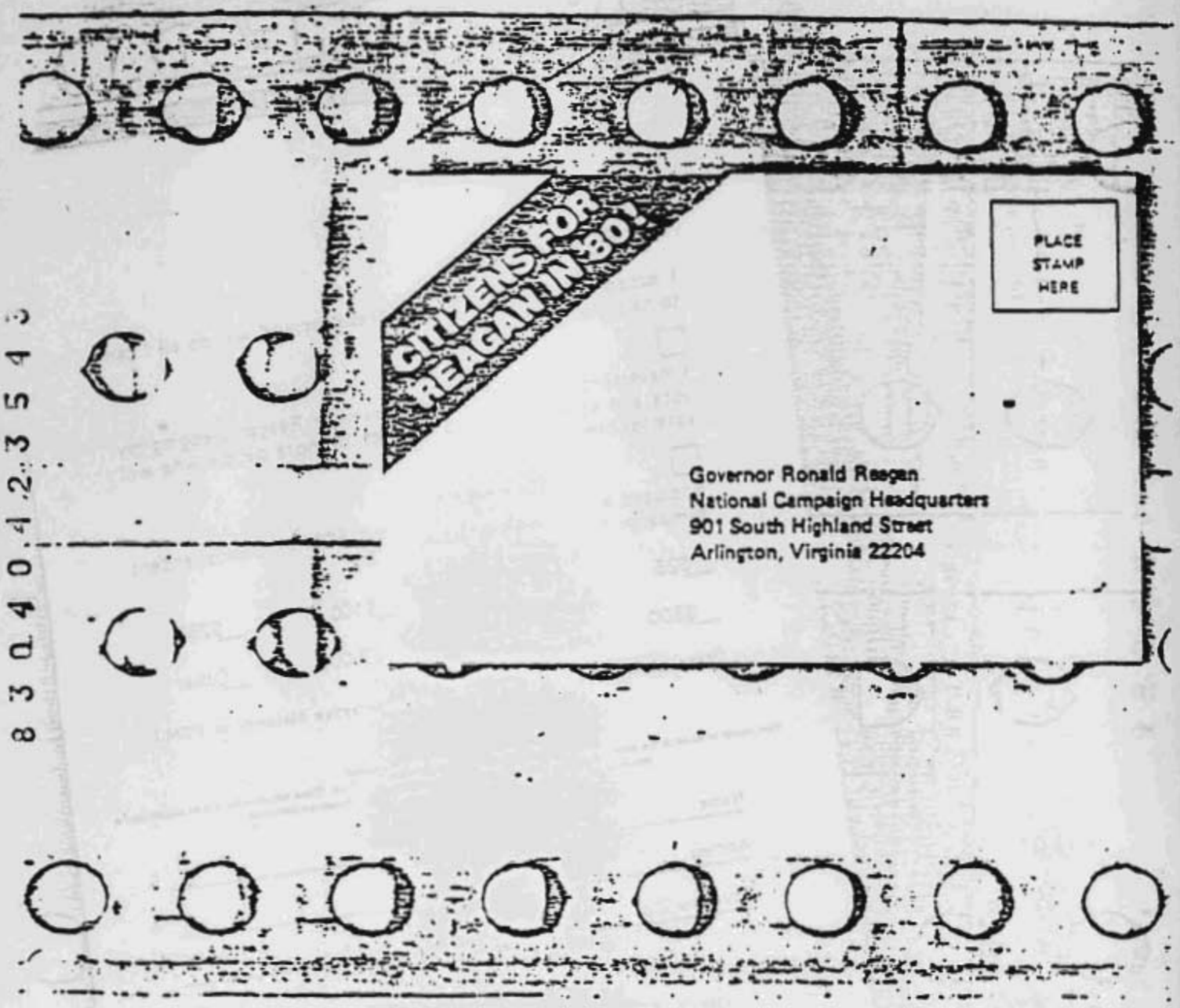
Corporate contributions not to be accepted.
Their should be issued in the order of The Fund for a Conservative Majority—Save Fund. These contributions will be solicited only in accordance with state and local laws where corporate contributions are permitted.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.



8 3 0 4 0 4 1 2 3 5 4 5



8304042354

Dear Governor Reagan:

I pledge that I will vote for you for President on November 4th.

I will also find at least 10 more voters who will support you. On election day I will take the responsibility to make sure they go to the polls and vote for you.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____



8 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 5 1 9

Reagan. . .Reagan. . .Reagan. . .Reagan

This communication and all enclosures are paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.



THANKS FOR HELPING US PAY POSTAGE

Citizens for Reagan in '80
A project of:
Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Paid for and distributed by Fund for a Conservative Majority
Not authorized by any candidate.

Telecommunications Industries, Inc.
A subsidiary of Madron, Inc.
Meadow Road
McLean, Virginia
22102
(703) 821-8200

Exhibit 33-a

Commission Ex. 1-A
10/29/81 RD

TELEPOST

February 15, 1980
Invoice No. 656

RECEIVED FEB 19 1980

Reagan For President
1828 L Street, N.W., Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036

Attention: Ms Cheryl Swaim

159,059 TELEPOST Letters for RFP and CFTR names, Groups I, II and III generated for mailing February 15, 1980 @ 40¢ each
= $63,623.60

postage

Payments received: $24,386.55 (check no. 372)
5,613.45 (check no. 373)

$30,000.00

BALANCE DUE: $33,623.60

8304042351516

$1871.17

#1951/2069

#4454/542
5-2-80
$1021.17

#13

Exhibit 33-b

Commission Ex. 1-g
10/9/81 299

Telecommunications Industries, Inc.
A subsidiary of Hadron, Inc.

1700 Old Meadow Road
McLean, Virginia
22102
(703) 821-8200

TELEPOST

February 15, 1980
Invoice No. 656

Reagan For President
1626 L Street, N.W., Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036

Attention: Ms Cheryl Swaim

159,059 TELEPOST Letters for RFP and CFTR names, Groups I, II and generated for mailing February 15, 1980 @ 40c each = $63,623.60

Payments received: $24,386.55 (check no. 372)
5,613.45 (check no. 373)

$30,000.00

BALANCE DUE: $33,623.60

8304042357

Telecommunications Industries, Inc.
A subsidiary of Hadron, Inc.
7700 Old Meadow Road
McLean, Virginia
22102
(703) 821-8200

1-h
Exhibit 33-c

Commerce Ex. 1-h 10/9/87

TELEPOST

RECEIVED FEB 19 1980

February 15, 1980
Invoice No. 657

Reagan For President
1828 L Street, N.W., Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036

Attention: Ms. Cheryl Swaim

3,518 Live Postage Group I BRE's. (CFTR & RFP) ¢

..15¢ each = $527.70

BALANCE DUE: $527.70

8304042351 8

March 24
70.21.17
1951/2009

Invoice #13

Telecommunications Industries, Inc.
A subsidiary of Hadron, Inc.
17[illegible] Meadow Road
M[illegible]a, Virginia
22102
(703) 821-8200

Exhibit 33-d

TELEPOST

February 15, 1980
Invoice No. 657

Reagan For President
1628 L Street, N.W., Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036

Attention: Ms. Cheryl Swaim

3,516 Live Postage Group I BRE's. (CFTR & RFP) @
.15¢ each = $527.70

BALANCE DUE: $527.70

8304042351 9

TELEPOST
HIGH PRIORITY COMMUNICATION

Exhibit 33-6
Commission Pl-6 4/09/1990

FEBRUARY 15, 1980

R BAY BUCHANAN
APT 502
5974 BUCKINGHAM PARKWAY
CULVER CITY, CA 90230

DEAR BAY:

NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY LESS THAN 14 DAYS AWAY. POLLS SHOW IF EVERY REAGAN SUPPORTER VOTES WE WILL WIN - LAST MINUTE RADIO ADVERTISING CRUCIAL TO GET OUT PRO-REAGAN VOTERS. MUST RAISE $29,000 AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. RADIO STATIONS DEMAND CASH IN ADVANCE.

RADIO COMMERCIALS HAVE BEEN TAPED AND "AIR-TIME" HAS BEEN RESERVED BUT RADIO STATIONS WON'T PUT THEM ON THE AIR UNTIL THEY HAVE OUR PAYMENT IN HAND. MUST HAVE YOUR CHECK IN THE NEXT SEVEN DAYS.

YOUR CHECK FOR $25 WILL BUY ONLY 60 SECOND RADIO AD ON BOSTON STATIONS THAT REACH NEW HAMPSHIRE. WOULD BE A GOODEND IF YOU COULD SEND MORE.

YOUR CHECK FOR $25, $50 OR EVEN $100 COULD MAKE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VICTORY OR DEFEAT IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

PLEASE SEND CHECK TODAY WITH THIS TELEPOST LETTER IN ENCLOSED URGENT REPLY ENVELOPE.

GOD BLESS YOU.
RONALD REAGAN

****

URGENT REPLY TO GOVERNOR REAGAN:
WE "MUST" WIN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE! ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION TO HELP BUY LAST MINUTE RADIO ADS WE NEED TO GET EVERY REAGAN VOTER TO THE POLLS.
ENCLOSED IS MY CHECK FOR:
_____ $25 _____ $50 _____ $100 _____ OTHER

MAKE CHECK PAYABLE TO: REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT, 9841 AIRPORT BLVD., SUITE 1-130, LOS ANGELES, CA 90045

I UNDERSTAND THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS REQUIRED BY FEDERAL LAW:
OCCUPATION_____
PLACE OF BUSINESS_____
CITY/STATE_____ AAG

THIS SOLICITATION IS ON BEHALF OF REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE, 9841 AIRPORT BLVD., SUITE 1430, LOS ANGELES, CA 90045. REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE--PAUL LAXALT, CHAIRMAN, BAY BUCHANAN, TREASURER. A COPY OF OUR REPORT IS FILED WITH AND AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE FROM THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, DC 20463

8304042355

Exhibit 31

TELEPOST®



HIGH PRIORITY COMMUNICATION

CONTENTS REQUIRES IMMEDIATE ATTENTION

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 81110 LOS ANGELES, CA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

Ronald Reagan
9841 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430
Los Angeles, CA 90045

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

8304012551

A subsidiary of Madren, Inc.
22102
(703) 821-8200

Exhibit 33-g

Commission Ex 1-L 12/19/81 RJ

TELEPOST

February 11, 1980
Invoice No. 655

RECEIVED 1980

Reagan For President
1828 L Street, N.W., Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036

Attention: Ms Cheryl Swaim

7,625 Three-page laser letters with two insertions and signature block @ 90¢ each = $6,862.50

Payments received: $3,992.63 (check no. 1214)

BALANCE DUE: $2,869.87

3304043535

$ 702.17
12/1/2009

Telecommunications Industries, Inc. 1200 Old Meadow Road
[illegible], Virginia
22102
(703) 821-8200

A subsidiary of Hadron, Inc.

Exhibit 33-h

TELEPOST

February 11, 1980
Invoice No. 655

Reagan For President
1828 L Street, N.W., Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036

Attention: Ms Cheryl Swaim

7,625 Three-page laser letters with two insertions and signature block @ 90¢ each = $6,862.50

Payments received: $3,992.63 (check no. 1214)

BALANCE DUE: $2,869.87

8304042355 3

Telecommunications Industries, Inc.
A subsidiary of Hadron, Inc.
[illegible] Old Meadow Road
McLean, Virginia
22102
(703) 821-8200

Exhibit 34-B

IE
TEPL80

4/29

TELEPOST

February 29, 1980
Invoice No. 688

Mr. J. Londino
Thompson & Associates, Inc.
7015 Old Keene Mill Road, Suite 203
Springfield, VA 22150

INVOICE

2,232 TELEPOST Letters generated on February 27, 1980
with BRE insertions @ 42¢ each = $937.44

Check for postage received = $334.80

TOTAL DUE: $602.64

TERMS: Net 10 days

Jonathan
Dixie Lee Ripley

FCM

8304042353

ELSPOST®
HIGH PRIORITY COMMUNICATION

DEOTSA Exhibit 34-c

Commission Ex 2-h
10/19/81 RFF

APRIL 14, 1980

MRS DOROTHY C GAERTNER
275 N PORTAGE PATH 3F
AKRON, OH 44303

PENNSYLVANIA PRIMARY APRIL 22ND FIRST "HEAD TO HEAD" CONTEST BETWEEN RONALD REAGAN AND GEORGE BUSH.

LIBERAL REPUBLICANS HOPE TO SLOW THE REAGAN BAND-WAGON IN PENNSYLVANIA.
BUSH TO SPEND ONE MILLION DOLLARS.

POLLS RELEASED TODAY SHOW A VERY CLOSE RACE.

"ANTI-REAGAN" FORCES ARE CONCENTRATING ALL RESOURCES IN PENNSYLVANIA TO DEFEAT RONALD REAGAN.

WE MUST NOT LET THIS HAPPEN!

"CITIZENS FOR REAGAN IN '80", THE INDEPENDENT CAMPAIGN SPONSORED BY FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY WILL SPEND A LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY ON THIS PRIMARY. FCM IS ALSO WORKING TO ELECT A CONSERVATIVE SENATE IN 1980.

SEND YOUR ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION TODAY.

SINCERELY,

ROBERT C. HECKMAN, CHAIRMAN
FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

REAGAN MUST WIN IN PENNSYLVANIA!

ENCLOSED IS MY MAXIMUM CONTRIBUTION:

_____ $100 _____ $500 _____ $1000 _____ $5000 _____ OTHER

FCM CAN LEGALLY RECEIVE UP TO $5,000 A YEAR PER INDIVIDUAL.

MAKE CHECK TO: FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

I UNDERSTAND THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS REQUIRED BY FEDERAL LAW:
OCCUPATION_____
PLACE OF BUSINESS_____
CITY/STATE_____

THIS COMMUNICATION AND ALL ENCLOSURES ARE PAID FOR BY FUND FOR [illegible]

Exhibit 34-b

Communications Industries, Inc.
A subsidiary of Madron, Inc.

1700 Old [illegible] Road
McLean, Virginia
22102
(703) 821-8200

Commission Ex. 7-g
11/9/81
FC

TELEPOST

April 18, 1980
Invoice No. 739

Mr. Kenneth Boehm
Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 1401
Arlington, VA

INVOICE

5,000 TELEPOST Letters generated on April 16, 1980 = $1,850.00

Payment Received: $750.00

TOTAL DUE: $1,100.00

TERMS: Net 10 days

8304042353536

APT030

Exhibit 35-4

REAGAN & BUSH

Batch # 1

INVOICE MAINTENANCE

Batch Date 10/23

Vendor Name Metro Printing + Mailing Service

VOUCHER NO. /12/ VENDOR NO. /1121912191/ INVOICE NO /1111111/

INVOICE DATE /1111111/

EXPLANATION /P101S1T1A1611E/1111111111111/

TOTAL SALE AMT $ 10,800.00

MANUAL CHECK:	COMPUTER CHECK:
PAY CODE /M/	
BANK CODE /011/	BANK CODE /11/
CHECK NO. /11111316 18/	
CHECK DATE /11012121810/	PAYMENT DATE /11.1111/

FINANCIAL ORG. (FOC)	GL ACCT (GLA)	DIST SALE AMT (I
01 /2/ - /610/ - /0101011/	/5181210161	$ 10,800.00
02 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
03 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/11117/	$
04 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
05 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
06 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
07 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
08 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
09 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
10 /2/ - /11/ - /11.111/	/111111/	$

8304042353 7

3

Reagan Bush

Exhibit 35-b

TO: COST CENTER COMMITMENT CONTROL GROUP

FROM: Vets Group - Veterans
(COST CENTER NAME)

DATE: 10-20-80

********** USE FOR ALL EXPENSES INCLUDING TRAVEL **********

EXPENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST
(EAR)

#11368-1
10-22

I request approval to commit the following funds:

VENDOR: Metro Printing and Mailing Services
1200 D. Sterling Blvd
Sterling, Va 22170

AMOUNT: $ 10,800 —

DATE TO BE PAID: —

PURPOSE: Direct mail - Postage.

Signature: Peter A Tinsley
(COST CENTER MANAGER)

Signature: _____
(REQUESTING INDIVIDUAL)

COST CENTER COMMITMENT CONTROL GROUP

✓ Approved _____ Disapproved

Signature: _____ Date: 10/22/80

TREASURER'S OFFICE

_____ Approved _____ Disapproved

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Bank Code - 01
Cost Center No. 60
Expense Acct No. 582
774

RB Form C (8/1/80)

WHITE - Accounting YELLOW - Cost Center Commitment Control Group PINK - Cost

★ ★ ★ 900 South Sterling Blvd., Sterling, Va. 22170—Main Office (703) 471-9000
8246 Lee Highway, Fairfax, Virginia 22031 (703) 573-0900

Exhibit 35-

Invoice No. X1903

Reagan-Bush Committee
901 So. Highland St.
Arlington, VA

Date 10/31/80

Job No.

Cust. P.O.

SALES CODE	SALES REP	ACCOUNT NUMBER	P/C	SHIPPED VIA	TERMS
04					

DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	PRICE/UNIT	AMOUNT
Check Received:			$10,800
Postage Cost:			- 6,296
Printing & Mailing Cost:			- 3,722
Refunded to Customer:			$ 780

Ck # 11368

Transactions not paid after 30 days of invoice date will be subject to a finance charge of 1.5% per month. This amounts to an annual interest rate of 18% per year.

CUT GOVERNMENT WASTE; CONTROL INFLATION; BALANCE BUDGET; CLEAN UP WELFARE PROGRAMS; PROTECT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

REAGANGRAM

REAL FOREIGN POLICY LEADERSHIP; STRONG DEFENSE PROGRAM; PEACE THROUGH [redacted]

(2-016271E058)PD 02/29/76 1107

1107A EST

Exhibit 36

To

I HOPE YOU SHARE MY CONCERN IN THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR FOR THE DANGER CONFRONTING YOUR FAMILY AND OUR COUNTRY. I BELIEVE WE MUST FIGHT TO RALLY OUR FELLOW AMERICANS AGAINST JIMMY CARTERS POLICIES THAT ARE DESTROYING AMERICAS ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND MORAL VALUES.

I AM COMMITTED TO THIS FIGHT AND WILL DO EVERYTHING I CAN DO TO ELECT RONALD REAGAN AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. MY SUCCESS AND GOVERNOR REAGANS ELECTION WILL DEPEND GREATLY ON YOUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP. I CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL WITH YOUR UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT.

I NEED YOUR ASSISTANCE IN DISTRIBUTING BROCHURES, BUMPER STRIPS AND BUTTONS TO YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO SERVE AS A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT CHAIRMAN IN _____.

IF YOU AGREE WE WILL SEND YOU A REAGAN INDEPENDENT PRECINCT KIT BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 15 AND OCTOBER 15. YOUR ONLY RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE TO DISTRIBUTE THIS INFORMATION TO POTENTIAL REAGAN VOTERS.

I KNOW YOU WILL WANT TO HELP ME IN THIS ENDEAVOR BECAUSE YOU WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL PUT AMERICANS BACK TO WORK THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO HAS THE LEADERSHIP ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS IN RESTORING A HEALTHY ECONOMY FOR OUR NATION. RONALD REAGAN CAN DO THIS AS HE ALSO SERVES AS YOUR WATCHDOG AGAINST NONESSENTIAL SPENDING BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION PUNITIVE TO THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A BALANCED BUDGET, FAIR PROFIT FOR FARMERS, A REDUCTION IN FEDERAL INCOME TAXES AND WHO HAS PLEDGED AND SHOWN HIS ABILITY TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT THAT HARASSES AND BURDENS SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND INTERFERES IN OUR DAILY LIVES.

902223

8304042355

I KNOW YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR A STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE CAPABLE OF DETERRING SOVIET MILITARY AND POLITICAL AGGRESSION.

I BELIEVE THAT WE ALL WANT A PRESIDENT THAT WILL SHOW STRONG LEADERSHIP, STRENGTH OF CHARACTER AND A MAN THAT WE CAN BE PROUD TO SERVE US AS HE SOLVES THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING AMERICA.

YOU MUST BECOME INVOLVED IF REAGAN IS TO BECOME PRESIDENT DUE TO THE STRONG OPPOSITION OF LIBERAL SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS WORKING FOR JIMMY CARTER.

I HOPE YOU WILL HELP BY SENDING A CONTRIBUTION FOR TV, RADIO, NEWSPAPER ADS AND PRECINCT KITS. WE NEED BOTH YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND YOUR TIME TO SERVE AS AN INDEPENDENT REAGAN PRECINCT CHAIRMAN.

MAY I COUNT ON YOU FOR A COMMITMENT TO GOVERNOR REAGAN AND THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY . . .

HARRISON "JACK" SCHMITT
U.S. SENATOR NEW MEXICO

8304042353 1

902224

218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

HON. HARRISON SCHMITT, Chairman
HON. CARL CURTIS, Treasurer

An Independent Committee not
authorized by any candidate
or official campaign committee.

FROM: Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Occupation_____ Company Name_____

☐ Check if self-employed ☐ Check if federal employee

☐ Check if sole proprietorship

Dear Senator Schmitt:

☐ I will agree to serve as a Reagan Independent Precinct Chairman for _____.

☐ I cannot serve but will make a contribution.

Enclosed is: ☐ $25 ☐ $250 ☐ $2,500

☐ $50 ☐ $500 ☐ $5,000

☐ $100 ☐ $1,000 ☐ $_____

(make checks payable to Reagan for President in '80)

Please use my contribution for:

☐ Reagan Independent Precinct Kits. Each kit costs $25 and includes buttons, bumper strips, brochures and yard signs.

☐ Radio spots and newspaper ads in my community on

☐ energy ☐ the economy ☐ defense
☐ inflation ☐ tax deduction ☐ Government waste
☐ Government overregulation of family or community
☐ Government overregulation of business & industry

☐ TV ads of endorsements of Ronald Reagan by prominent Democrats and officials in your community.

I also believe your committee should consider spending funds for

_____

_____

_____.

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

902225

83040423535

HARRISON (JACK) SCHMITT
UNITED STATES SENATOR
NEW MEXICO

Sep 8 2 38 PM '80

September 1, 1980

The Honorable Harrison Schmitt
248 Russell SOB
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Schmitt:

I hope you read in your local newspaper Friday of the great victory won in the federal courts on behalf of Ronald Reagan. The victory clears all legal obstacles to the active involvement of civic leaders such as yourself in our Reagan campaign effort. If you and I can move now in the wake of the court's ruling, our effort could win the election for Reagan.

I know our efforts can equalize the financial advantage that Carter now enjoys. We can offset the millions that will be spent for him by organized labor. We can compensate for the millions he can spend on federal projects as the incumbent. We can balance free media he can get as president.

If you missed the story in your paper or on national news, the federal court struck down an attempt by a coalition led by Common Cause, the Carter/Mondale Campaign and the Federal Election Commission to stop our efforts on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I think you know why our committee was originally singled out by Common Cause for this lawsuit. At the time of our filing all other independent committees raising funds were organizations already in existence with a common and limited ideological base. These committees did not have as their primary concern the election of Reagan, indeed most of their budget was for overhead, fund raising and Congressional and Senate races.

We were the first committee to file whose primary concern was the election of Governor Reagan. I think you have also seen that our National Steering Committee includes prominent Democrats, Republicans and Independents from all political spectrums not bound by narrow ideology. The list includes Governors, Senators, Congressmen and Business leaders from every state in our country.

I think you understand how dangerous this has made us to the Carter/Mondale and Common Cause political conspiracy. They determined that we had to be destroyed. I can't tell you how delighted I am that the court struck a blow for freedom by affirming our constitutional right to accept and spend contributions for T.V., newspaper and radio ads on behalf of Ronald Reagan. In view of the recent polls showing a close election this decision could not have come at a more opportune time.

Senator Schmitt I'm writing you this letter not only to bring you up to date but to ask for your help.

901968

A great deal of confusion exists on how best to help elect Governor Reagan. He has personally sent letters asking for your help in electing Republican Senate and Congressional candidates. These are the only appeals the Federal law allows him to make because of public financing of Presidential elections.

I know you have also been asked for contributions to the Republican Party to help Reagan and all other Republican candidates by registering and turning out voters. But the federal law limits how the party can use this money. They can not buy T.V., radio, newspaper or even spend money to communicate through the mails on behalf of Reagan. In addition, because the funds raised will help all Republicans running, it can not serve as an outlet for participation by Democrats and Independents.

I want you to know that we think there are many positive ways you may be able to contribute to help elect Reagan. But a contribution to our committee would be the most effective way to communicate Reagans views to the American voter, and it may be the only way Democrats and Independents will be able to financially help Governor Reagan.

The federal law clearly states that in addition to the candidate's actual campaign, only an independent committee such as ours can spend funds for T.V., radio, newspaper or other voter communications and education devices on behalf of Governor Reagan.

I am going to ask you for a contribution to this effort and I will make you a special pledge. I will guarantee that 100% of any contribution that you make with this appeal will be spent for media within 72 hours of our receiving your check. You may rightfully ask how I can make such a commitment.

I can make that pledge because our legal fees and operation costs have been paid for through the contributions and efforts of a number of your friends including former Governor George Romney of Michigan, former Governor Jimmie Edwards of South Carolina, Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado and Senator George Murphy of California.

We need help because time is running out and there is no question that Common Cause and the Carter/Mondale committee were successful in putting a chilling effect on our early fundraising efforts. But their effort was not as successful as they had hoped. A number of Americans stepped forward and made an early contribution which has already allowed us to begin a media campaign. You may have seen our ads in major dailies and The Wall Street Journal.

We need your commitment to buy radio, T.V. time and newspaper space. I hope you care enough about the outcome of this election and the future of our country to help.

Can I count on you and your spouse for a contribution of $2,000, $1,000, $500 or $250 made out to "REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT '80"? We will begin to buy additional time and space seven days from today. Governor Reagan and America need your help. Please respond.

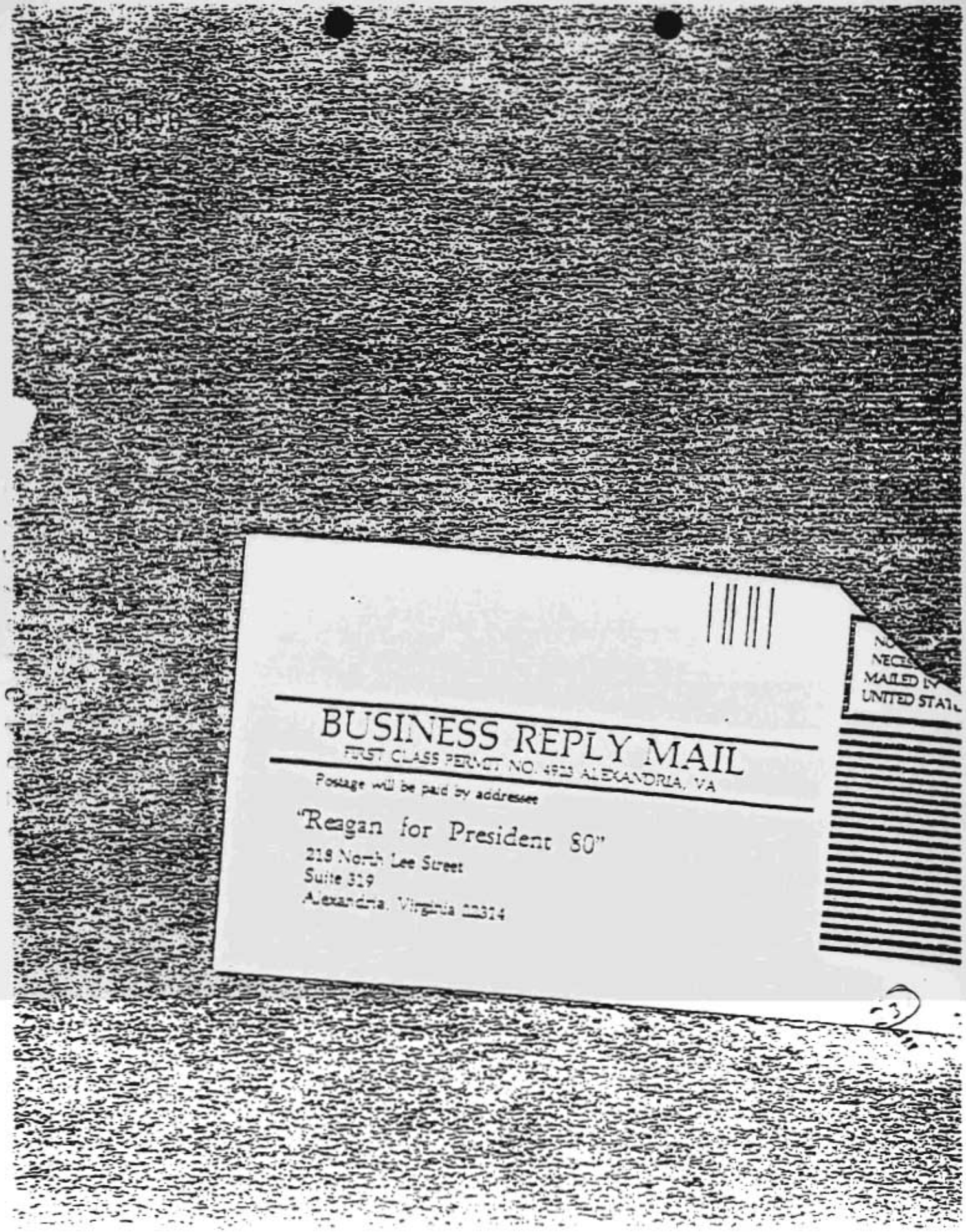
Sincerely,

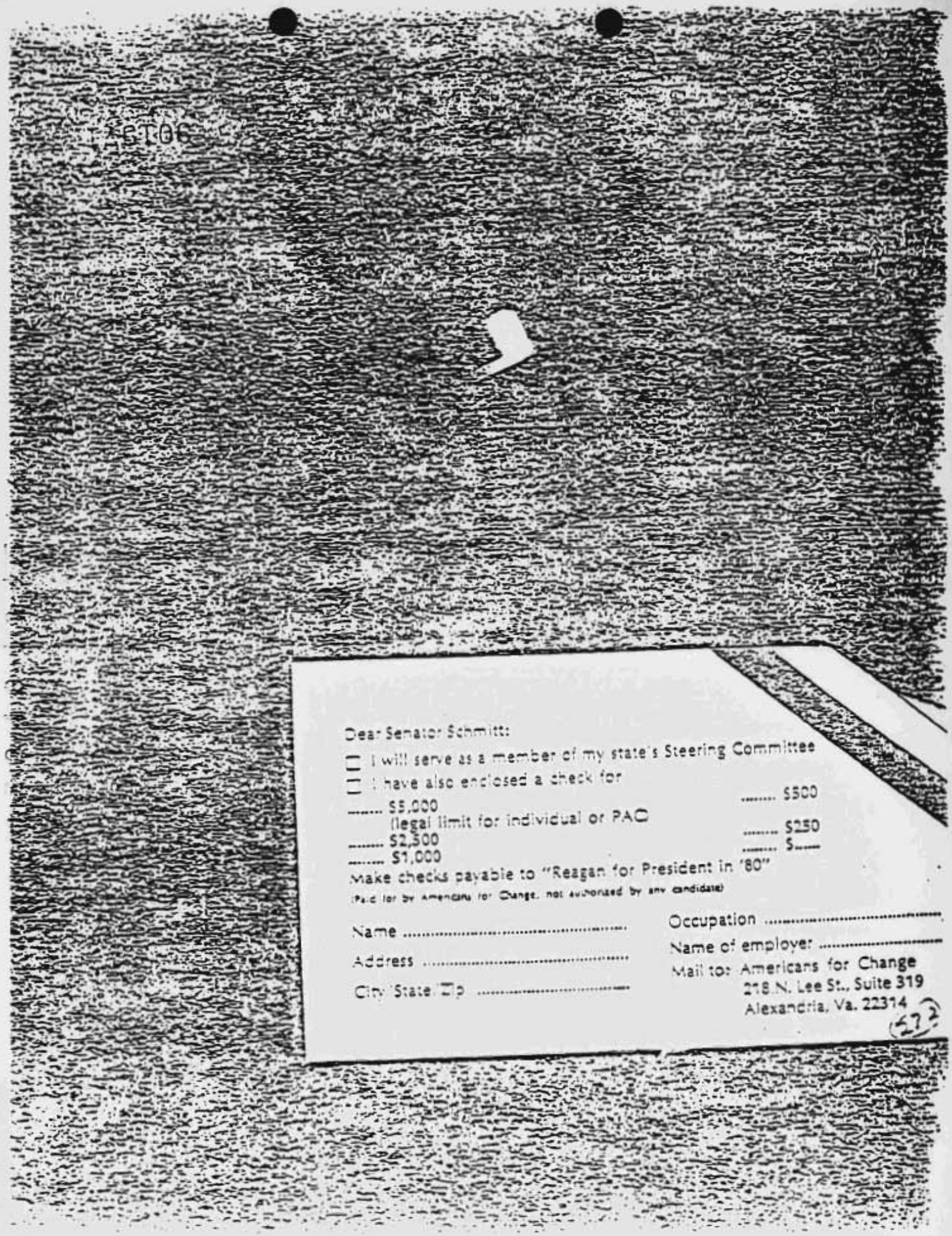
Jack

Harrison (Jack) Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

901969

8304235


BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 4923 ALEXANDRIA, VA
Postage will be paid by addressee
"Reagan for President 80"
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314



Dear Senator Schmitt:

☐ I will serve as a member of my state's Steering Committee

☐ I have also enclosed a check for

..... $5,000
(legal limit for individual or PAC)
..... $2,500
..... $1,000
..... $500
..... $250
..... $____

Make checks payable to "Reagan for President in '80"

(Paid for by Americans for Change, not authorized by any candidate)

Name .....

Address .....

City State Zip .....

Occupation .....

Name of employer .....

Mail to: Americans for Change
218 N. Lee St., Suite 319
Alexandria, Va. 22314

Ronald W. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Moore
Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

Exhibit 37-A

RECEIVED FEC 15 1980

February 5, 1980

Mr. Charlie Black
Reagan for President
1828 "L" Street, NW
Suite # 201
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Charlie;

This should serve as an invoice for work conducted for the Reagan for President Committee:

Study	Month	Cost
Iowa (600 samples)	11/79	$12,000 pd.
Iowa (600 samples)	12/79	6,000
Consulting	1/1-1/31/80	3,000
Consulting	2/1-2/29/80	3,000
Expenses		44

Please make check payable to A.J.F. & Associates for $24,044.00.

Your attention to this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

RWF:emk

83040423567

Exhibit 37-b

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

March 4, 1980

Ms. Bay Buchanan
Reagan for President
9841 Airport Boulevard
Suite # 1430
Los Angeles, CA 90045

Dear Ms. Buchanan;

This should serve as an invoice for work conducted for the Reagan for President Committee:

STUDY	MONTH	COST
Iowa (600 samples)	12/79	$6,000
Consulting	1/1-1/31/80	$3,000
Consulting	2/1-2/29/80	$3,000
Consulting	3/1-3/31/80	$3,000
Expenses		44
Expenses (see attached)	2/12/80	270.02

Please make check payable to A.J.F. & Associates for $15,314.02.

Your attention to this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

RWF:emk

RECEIVED MAR 10 1980

A 10

2.3.4

33040423556

Exhibit 37-c

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 Smith Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

April 7, 1980

Ms. Bay Buchanan
Reagan for President
9841 Airport Boulevard
Suite # 1430
Los Angeles, CA 90045

Dear Bay;

Thank you for the recent check.

This should serve as an invoice for work conducted for the Reagan for President Committee:

STUDY	MONTH	COST
Consulting	1/1 - 1/31/80	$3,000.00
Consulting	2/1 - 2/29/80	3,000.00
Expenses		44.00
Expenses (letter 3/4/80)		270.02
Total		~~$6,314.02~~ 6044.02

As per our agreement $3,000, is due in April, and the balance due in May.

Sincerely,

RW Finkelstein

Ronald W. Finkelstein

RWF:emk

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Exhibit 37-d

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

May 1, 1980

Ms: Bay Buchanan
Reagan for President
9841 Airport Boulevard
Suite #1430
Los Angeles, CA 90045

Dear Bay;

Thank you for the recent check.

This should serve as an invoice for work conducted for the Reagan for President Committee:

Consulting	2/1 - 2/29/80	$3,000.00
Expenses		44.00
Expenses (letter 3/4/80)		~~270.00~~
Total		~~$3,314.00~~ 3,044.00

Rj. 6-5-80 - 435. Ri. $3044.00

Your attention to this matter would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

Mujo last pay as per recently to agreement

P.S. Thanks for keeping your word to me.

RWF:emk

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Exhibit 18-a

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Request for Answers to Written Questions

TO: Arthur J. Finkelstein
Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates
117 Smith Avenue
Mount Kisco, New York 10549

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Arthur J. Finkelstein is asked to submit responses in writing and under oath to the interrogatories propounded herein to the Federal Election Commission within ten days of receipt of this request.

Please answer the following interrogatories:

A. Describe the nature of your work as a political consultant for the Reagan for President Committee between March, 1979 and July 15, 1980.

Describe in detail the specific services and activities which you performed in connection with your work for the Reagan for President Committee for which you received compensation in February, March and April, 1980. What was the date of your final assignment as a consultant for this Committee?

Did you maintain contacts with representatives of the Reagan for President Committee after completion of your final assignment and through the remainder of 1980? If so, with whom did you remain in contact?

B. Did you ever serve as a consultant for the Reagan/Bush Committee? If so, please describe your responsibilities in this regard.

C. Describe the nature of your work, and that of other representatives of Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, for the Fund for a Conservative Majority ("FCM") in 1979 and 1980?

Did you, or anyone else at your firm, suggest that FCM pay for an opinion survey in Wisconsin in March, 1980? If your answer is yes, please describe the circumstances that led to this suggestion. If your answer is no, please state who originated the idea for such a survey?

Please describe your role, and the roles of others at Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, in the formulation of questions to be asked during the March, 1980 survey in Wisconsin paid for by FCM?

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Did you ever inform representatives of FCM of information concerning the Reagan for President Committee's strategy, priorities or concerns which was gleaned as a result of your work as a consultant for the latter committee?

Did you use any such information in the formulation of questions to be used in the March, 1980 survey in Wisconsin by FCM? If your answer is yes, please specify the information used.

Please describe your role, or that of other representatives of Arthur J. Finkelstein, in the utilization by FCM of information derived from the March, 1980 survey in Wisconsin conducted by your firm for FCM.

D. Please describe the nature of your work, and that of other representatives of Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, for the National Conservative Political Action Committee ("NCPAC") in 1979 and 1980.

Please summarize the content of the surveys undertaken by Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates for NCPAC for which payments of $2,000 and $10,700 were made on May 9, 1980 and November 13, 1980, respectively.

What were the populations targeted by these surveys?

Please describe your role, and the roles of others at Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates, in the formulation of questions to be asked during these NCPAC surveys.

Did you ever inform representatives of NCPAC of information concerning the Reagan for President Committee's, or the Reagan/Bush Committee's, strategy, priorities or concerns which was gleaned as a result of your work as a consultant for an authorized Reagan committee?

Did you use any such information in the formulation of questions to be used in the voter surveys paid for by NCPAC on May 9, 1980 and November 13, 1980?

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HAND DELIVERED

Exhibit 38+b

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Avenue
Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

JUL 6 P4:25

DATE: July 1, 1982

TO: Federal Election Commission

FROM: Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates, Inc.

RE: MUR 1252/1299

A. Between September, 1979 and February 28, 1980 I was retained as a consultant by the Reagan for President Committee, but was not utilized extensively. During this period the total scope of services were:

1. Reviewed Ronald Reagan's announcement speech.
2. Conducted Iowa statewide survey, 600 interviews prior to January delegate caucuses. All services were terminated as of February 28, 1980.
3. During the time period mentioned, occassional phone conversations concerning strategy - Plus perhaps three or so days of work: One in New Hampshire, one in California, and one hour speech in Wisconsin.
4. I did not, nor did anyone at A.J.F. & Associates, Inc., have any further contact with any representative with the Ronald Reagan for President Committee.

B. No

C. Conducted statewide Wisconsin survey, 600 interviews, in March, 1980 and gave report.

No, I did not nor did anyone else to my knowledge at A.J.F. & Associat Inc. suggest that the Fund for a Conservative Majority pay for an opin survey in Wisconsin in March, 1980. Ralph Galliano, former executive director of F.C.M., came to us with the idea to "piggy-back" questions on a survey originally planned for our client Doug Cofrin, United Stat candidate for Senate.

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In the formulation of questions to be asked during the March, 1980 survey in Wisconsin paid for by F.C.M., we wrote the questions. Submitted them to F.C.M. in draft form. They made changes and returned the final draft to us.

I never informed representatives of F.C.M. of information concerning the Reagan for President Committee's strategy or any other matters. No such information was used in the formulation of questions to be used in the March, 1980 survey in Wisconsin by F.C.M.

I, nor any other representative of Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates, Inc., played a role in the utilization by F.C.M. of the information derived from the March, 1980 survey in Wisconsin.

D. The nature of work done by representatives of Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates, Inc. and myself for the National Conservative Political Action Committee included surveys for which our firm was compensated and voluntarily speaking at NCPAC campaign schools without compensation.

The payment of $2,000 on May 9, 1980 was made for a survey of the Fifth Missouri Congressional District. This survey was designed to probe the feasibility of defeating Congressman Richard Bolling.

The payment of $10,700 on November 13, 1980 was made for a statewide survey of Iowa. This survey was designed to probe the feasibility of defeating Senator John Culver.

300 interviews and 500 interviews were the sample sizes for the 5th Missouri C.D. and Iowa surveys, respectively. Interviews were conducted randomly within predetermined election units of registered voters.

In the formulation of questions to be asked in these surveys paid for by NCPAC, we wrote the questions. Submitted them to NCPAC in draft form. NCPAC made the changes they desired.

I never informed representatives of NCPAC of information concerning the Reagan for President Committee's, or the Reagan/Bush Committee's strategy, priorities or concerns. No such information was used in the formulation of questions to be used in these surveys. Nor was I aware, other than through normal news channels, of the Reagan or Reagan/Bush strategies.

Arthur J. Finkelstein

6-30-82
Date

Sworn to Notary Dion P. Hoey

DION P. HOEY
NOTARY PUBLIC, State of New York
No. 4743224
Qualified in Nassau County
Commission Expires March 30, 1983

83040123574

Exhibit 30c

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

REQUEST FOR ANSWERS TO ADDITIONAL WRITTEN QUESTIONS

TO: Arthur J. Finkelstein
Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates
117 Smith Avenue
Mount Kisco, New York 10549

Arthur J. Finkelstein is asked to submit responses in writing and under oath to the interrogatories propounded herein to the Federal Election Commission within ten days of receipt of this request.

1. In sub-section A, paragraph 3 of your July 1, 1982 response to question A of the Commission's Request for Answers to Written Questions, dated June 5, 1982, you indicated that between September, 1979 and February 28, 1980, you were involved in "occasional phone conversations concerning strategy" in connection with your work for the Reagan for President Committee for which you received compensation in February, March and April, 1982. Please answer the following questions with regard to these conversations:

   a. With which individual or individuals at the Reagan for President Committee were the conversations conducted?

   b. When did these conversations take place?

   c. What particular element(s) of strategy was discussed during each conversation?

   d. What was the strategy discussed? In particular, did the strategy discussed involve campaigns in certain specific states? If so, which states?

   e. To your knowledge, was any action taken as a result of these strategy discussions? If so, what action?

2. In sub-section A, paragraph 5 of your July 1, 1982 response, you also cite "three or so days of work" for the Reagan for President Committee in New Hampshire, California and a one hour speech in Wisconsin. Please answer the following questions with regard to these assignments.

   a. What was the specific nature of your work for the Reagan for President Committee in New Hampshire?

   Who served as your contact(s) within the Reagan for President Committee regarding this assignment in New Hampshire?

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b. What was the specific nature of your work for the Reagan for President Committee in California?

Who served as your contact(s) within the Reagan for President Committee regarding this assignment in California?

c. Before what organization or group did you speak in Wisconsin on behalf of the Reagan for President Committee?

What was the topic of this speech?

3. Sub-section C, paragraph 5 of your response could be read as stating that you personally played a role in using the results of the survey in Wisconsin which your organization undertook for FCM. Is that a correct interpretation? If not, please clarify the meaning of your response.

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Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 Smith Avenue
Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

MUR #1252

82 AUG 5 P1:31

Exhibit 38-d

82 AUG 5 P3:56

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
July 28, 1982

RE: MUR 1252/1299

1a. I was not called often - And I can't recall each call, but I received calls by and large from people with the Committee who know me from previous campaigns and not necessarily campaign related. Among calls that were related, were calls from Elizabeth Doyle in New York State, Frank Donatelli, the Mid-West Coordinator, and the New Hampshire State Chairman Senator Gordon Humphrey.

b. During normal business hours.

c. Frank Donatelli asked me if I would speak in Wisconsin. Elizabeth Doyle asked me if I thought Reagan would win. Senator Humphrey asked me what Ronald Reagan should do after the Iowa loss.

d. I wasn't engaged in strategy with anyone by phone other than New Hampshire. In New Hampshire I suggested that Governor Reagan should go on television and speak out strongly on conservative principles.

e. I have no reason to believe any specific action was taken on my advice.

2a. I went to New Hampshire to look at their campaign plan and make suggested changes. I made none other than they should buy television time for older voters.

I met with Bob Monier and others I don't recall.

b. None. I looked at the Reagan announcement speech before he gave it. I went to Los Angeles to see the speech - I read it in my hotel room. The speech was left in an envelope with a secretary.

c. Reagan volunteers. Topic - Why Reagan would win.

3. I played no role in the utilization of the F.C.M. survey.

Arthur J. Finkelstein — 8-4-82 (Date)

Sworn to Notary

DON P. HOEY

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Exhibit 39

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

October 16, 1980

Mr. Curtis Herge
Sedam & Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Rd.
McLean, VA 22102

Dear Curtis:

The Fund For A Conservative Majority contracted with Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates to do a statewide survey in the State of Wisconsin. The survey was conducted on March 15, and March 16, 1980.

The Fund For A Conservative Majority paid for and saw only the Wisconsin survey.

With regard to the Ronald Reagan For President Comm., A.J.F. & Associates did two surveys for them. Both of these surveys were conducted in Iowa during December, 1979. The Reagan For President Comm. paid for and saw only its surveys.

In every instance, no statements advocating either the election or the defeat of any candidate existed.

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates was a member of the National Republican Advisory Committee. His participation with this Committee was at best non-existent. He never went to meetings or got actively involved with other Advisory members concerning the Committee's business.

I hope this will answer all questions that you may have. If additional information is needed, please feel free to call.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

RWF:dhd

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Exhibit 40

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 Smith Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

WISCONSIN

MARCH - 1980

1. Media Markets

1. Wausau - Rhinelander 2. Green Bay 3. Milwaukee 4. Madison

5. La Crosse-Eau Claire 6. Minneapolis-St. Paul 7. Rest

2. Are you registered and intending to vote next November?

1. Yes 2. No/All other responses (TERMINATE)

3. If you were to label yourself, would you say you are a Liberal, a Moderate, or a Conservative in your political beliefs?

1. Liberal 2. Moderate 3. Conservative 4. Don't know

4. In your opinion, what is the most important issue facing the United States today?

_____

5. In your opinion, what is the most important issue facing the state of Wisconsin today?

_____

6. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you hear the name, Ronald Reagan?

_____

7. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you hear the name, John Anderson?

_____

8. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you hear the name, George Bush?

_____

12. Now I am going to read you a list of names. Will you please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each? If you have no opinion or have never heard of the person, just say so.

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion	Never Heard Of
a. Jimmy Carter				
e. Ronald Reagan				
f. George Bush				
g. Gerald Ford				
h. John Anderson				

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15. In your opinion, what is the most significant accomplishment of the Carter Administration?

---

16. In your opinion, what is the most significant failure of the Carter Administration?

---

17. What do you like most about Ronald Reagan?

---

18. What do you like least about Ronald Reagan?

---

23. Which statement most accurately reflects your view regarding gun control?

1. Citizens should be free to own rifles, shotguns, and handguns
2. Citizens should be allowed to own rifles and shotguns, but not handguns
3. Citizens should not be allowed to own guns of any kind
4. Don't know/Refused

24. Which statement comes closest to your position on abortion?

1. Anyone should have the right to an abortion at any time
2. Abortion should only be permitted in certain cases, such as rape, incest, or if the mother's life is in danger
3. Abortion should never be permitted regardless of the situation
4. Don't know/Refused

25. Which best reflects your view concerning the possible reinstitution of the military draft?

1. Both men and women should be drafted, with equal duties including combat
2. Both men and women should be drafted, with only men having to serve in combat
3. Only men should be drafted
4. No one should be drafted
5. Don't know/Refused

26. Do you approve or disapprove of Federally funded abortions?

1. Approve 2. Disapprove 3. Don't know/Refused

27. I am going to read you a list of qualifications. Choosing from among George Bush, John Anderson, and Ronald Reagan, who do you feel is best described by each of the following phrases?

	Bush	Anderson	Reagan	All	None	Don't know
a. Experienced in foreign affairs						
b. Will appoint the best men to his administration						
c. Capable of maintaining a strong National Defense						
d. Able to restore honesty to government						

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34. Choosing between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, who do you feel could do a better job in each of the following areas as your President?

	Carter	Reagan	Both	Neither	Don't know
a. Fighting inflation					
b. Finding new alternative of energy					
c. Cutting government spending					
d. Keeping the United States militarily strong					
e. Restoring honesty to government					
f. Bringing qualified men to government					

35. With which political party are you affiliated?

1. Republican 2. Democrat 3. Independent 4. Other(specify)_____

5. Don't know/Refused

36. As you are aware, very few people actually vote in the Primary for President of the United States. In which primary, if any, do you intend to vote - the Republican or Democratic Primary? If you do not intend to vote, just say so.

1. Republican(GO TO #37, 38,39) 2. Democratic(GO TO #37, 40)

3. Will not vote(GO TO #41) 4. Don't know/Refused(GO TO #41)

37. How likely is it that you will vote in the April 1st Primary? Would you say it is very likely, only somewhat likely, or not likely at all to vote in the Primary on April 1st?

1. Very likely 2. Somewhat likely 3. Not likely at all 4. Don't know/Refused

38. IF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY VOTER, ASK - If the Republican Primary Election for President were held today and the candidates were John Anderson, George Bush, Phil Crane, and Ronald Reagan, for whom would you vote?

1. Anderson 2. Bush 3. Crane 4. Reagan 5. Undecided

40. IF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTER, ASK - If the Democratic Primary Election for President were held today and the candidates were Jerry Brown, Jimmy Carter, and Ted Kennedy, for whom would you vote?

1. Brown 2. Carter 3. Kennedy 4. Undecided

44. If the election for President were held today and the candidates were Ronald Reagan, the Republican, and Jimmy Carter, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

1. Reagan 2. Carter 3. Undecided

45. If the election for President were held today and the candidates were Gerald Ford, the Republican, and Jimmy Carter, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

1. Ford 2. Carter 3. Undecided

46. If the election for President were held today and the candidates were John Anderson, the Republican, and Jimmy Carter, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

1. Anderson 2. Carter 3. Undecided

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47. If the election for President were held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Jimmy Carter, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

1. Bush 2. Carter 3. Undecided

48. Would you say you always vote Democrat, usually vote Democrat, vote for as many Democrats as Republicans, usually vote Republican, or always vote Republican?

1. Always Democrat 2. Usually Democrat 3. Democrat/Republican

4. Usually Republican 5. Always Republican 6. Don't know/Refused

49. Do you or does any member of your family who lives in this household work in agriculture or an agricultural related business?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know/Refused

50. What is your annual family income - Is it under $8,000, between $8,001 & $15,000, between $15,001 & $20,000, between $20,001 & $30,000, or over $30,000?

1. Under $8,000 2. Between $8,001 & $15,000

3. Between $15,001 & $20,000 4. Between $20,001 & $30,000

5. Over $30,000 6. Don't know/Refused

51. What is your age?

1. 18-25 2. 26-40 3. 41-55 4. 56-65 5. Over 65 6. Refused

52. What is your race?

1. White 2. Black 3. Other 4. Don't know/Refused

53. Sex?

1. Male 2. Female

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Exhibit 41-a

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

October 16, 1980

Mr. Robert Sparks
Sedam & Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Rd.
McLean, VA 22102

Dear Mr. Sparks:

The check sent by the National Conservative Political Action Committee around the 10th of June, 1980 to A.J.F. & Associates, was earmarked specifically for the following:

a) Survey in South Carolina 6th C.D. (partial payment) $1,000.

b) Travel expenses reimbursed (speaking for NCPAC schools/seminars). The total was $1,416.69.

With regard to the survey, at no time did A.J.F. & Assoc. advocate the election or defeat of any Presidential candidate.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

RWF:dhd

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Exhibit 41-b

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Avenue
Mount Kisco, N. Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

October 16, 1980

Mr. Curtis Herge
Sedam & Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Rd.
McLean, VA 22102

Dear Curt:

In the past, Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates has done survey work for the National Conservative Political Action Committee only for Senate, Congressional, and State elections. In every instance, no statements advocating either the election or the defeat of any candidate existed.

NCPAC paid for and saw only its surveys.

Arthur J. Finkelstein was a member of the National Republican Advisory Committee. His participation with this Committee was at best non-existent. He never went to meetings or got actively involved with other Advisory members concerning the Committee's business.

I hope this will answer all questions that you may have. If additional information is needed, please feel free to call.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

RWF:dhd

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Exhibit 41-c

Nathan J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Main
Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549
(914) 666-0750

May 1, 1980

Mr. Terry Dolan
1500 Wilson Boulevard
Suite #-513
Arlington, VA 22209

Dear Terry:

The following list of monies are due A.J.F. & Associates: NCPAC/NCPEF/NCSEF and expenses:

Colorado - 1st C.D.	4/80	(NCPAC)	$3,000.00	Pd 1000 5/12
Missouri - Statewide	4/80	(NCPAC)	7,500.00	Pd 7000 5/12
	SEP	(NCSEF)	7,500.00	
Washington - Statewide	4/80	(NCPAC)	500.00	
	SEP	(NCSEF)	500.00	
South Carolina - 6th C.D.	3/80	(NCPAC)	1,000.00	
Missouri - 5th C.D.	4/80	(NCPAC)	3,750.00	Pd 2000 5/12
Expenses (1-way)			170.00	
Illinois - 15th C.D.	4/80	REF (NCPEF)	6,400.00	
Expenses (attached)			1,416.69	
Complete Total			~~$31,236.69~~ 21736.69	

Your attention to this matter would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Finkelstein

Expenses: (Letter dated 3/7/80)

Washington	2/13/80	Plane	102.00
		Trans.	15.00
Los Angeles	2/27/80	Plane	618.00
		Hotel	24.00
		Misc.	5.00
Washington	3/11/80	Plane	141.00
		Hotel	72.70
		Hotel	91.51
		Trans.	15.00
		Total	31,093.21

LC Expenses:

Washington	3/9 - 4/10/80	Hotel	70.00
		Misc	125.00
		Hotel	37.45
		Misc.	26.00
		Food	25.00
		Total	323.45

Grand Total 1476.69

Exhibit 42-3

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
117 South Avenue
Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

SOUTH CAROLINA - SEPTEMBER, 1979

1. Media market

   1. Columbia 2. Rest

2. Are you registered and expecting to vote in the next general election?

   1. Yes 2. No/All other responses (TERMINATE)

3. If you were to label yourself, would you say you are a Liberal, a Moderate or a Conservative in your political beliefs?

   1. Liberal 2. Moderate 3. Conservative 4. Don't know/Ref

4. What is the most important issue facing the United States today?

   _____

5. What is the most important issue facing the state of South Carolina today?

   _____

6. Now I am going to read you a list of names. Will you please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each? If you have no opinion or have never heard of the person, just say so.

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion	Never Heard Of
a. Jimmy Carter				
b. Strom Thurmond				
c. Ernest F. Hollings				
d. Richard Riley				
e. Floyd Spence				
f. Kenneth L. Holland				
g. Eddie Chiles				
h. The Western Company				

7. Can you tell me what the Western Company does?

   _____

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8. Who or what is most responsible for our energy crisis?

---

9. Who do you think can best handle our energy problems - the Government or private industry?

1. Government 2. Private industry 3. Don't know/ Refuse

10. What percent of profit do you think the oil companies net on the sale of gasoline?

1. Between 0-5% 2. Between 6-10% 3. Between 11-20%

4. Between 21-30% 5. Between 31-40% 6. Between 41-50%

7. Over 50% 8. Don't know/Refused

11. Do you think there are too many, too few or just the right amount of government regulations concerning energy?

1. Too many 2. Too few 3. Right amount 4. Don't know

12. What one person if any do you most associate with the oil industry

---

13. Would you please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
a. The oil companies have been good for America			
b. The oil companies are making far too much profit and should be taxed heavily			
c. There really is not an energy crisis at all			
d. 20 million Americans share in the oil companies' profits			

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14. Could you tell me if you approve or disapprove of each of the following?

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't kno
a. A special windfall profit tax on oil companies			
b. Decontrol of oil and gas prices			
c. Gas rationing			
d. Nationalizing all oil companies			
e. Deregulation of the oil industry			

15. Which of the following would make you more likely and which would make you less likely to vote for a candidate running for high public office?

	More Likely	Less Likely	No Difference	Don't know
a. A socialist				
b. An incumbent				
c. A liberal				
d. A bureaucrat				
e. A politician				

16. Could you tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
a. Ernest Hollings is a socialist			
b. Ernest Hollings is a liberal			

17. What radio station do you listen to most often?

_____

18. With wich political party are you affiliated?

1. Republican 2. Democrat 3. Independent

4. Other (specify)_____ 5. Don't know/Refused

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19. Would you say you always vote Democrat, usually vote Democrat, vot for as many Democrats as Republicans, usually vote Republican or always vote Republican?

1. Always Democrat 2. Usually Democrat 3. Democrat/Republ

4. Usually Republican 5. Always Republican 6. Don't know/Refu

20. What is the last grade of formal education you have completed?

1. Grade school or less 2. Some high school 3. High school g

4. Some college 5. College graduate 6. Refused

21. Do you or does any member of your family who lives in this household belong to a labor union?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know/Re

22. What is your annual family income - Is it under $8,000, between $8,001 & $15,000, between $15,001 & 20,000, between $20,001 & $30,000 or over $30,000?

1. Under $8,000 2. Between $8,001 & $15,000

3. Between $15,001 & $20,000 4. Between $20,001 & $30,000

5. Over $30,000 6. Don't know/Refused

23. What is your religion?

1. Protestant 2. Catholic 3. Jewish 4. Atheist/Agnostic

5. Other 6. Don't know/Refused

24. What is your race?

1. White 2. Black 3. Other

25. What is your age?

1. 18-25 2. 26-40 3. 41-55 4. 56-65 5. Over 65

6. Refused

3304042359

26. Sex?

1. Male 2. Female

Respondent's Name_____

Street_____

Phone #_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Interviewer's Name_____

8304042359 I

AMERICANS FOR CHANGE
218 N. LEE STREET
SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

Urgent Gram

1-2059485847290 2JAFC3 7/8/80 ACF DLA . Exhibit 43 -a -
01-ALEXANDRIA

DALLAS

Mr. Brad O'Leary
Americans For Change
218 North Lee St., #218
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

I would like to have lunch with you on Friday, July 18, at the City Club in Dallas. We will meet in the Hill Room at 12:00 noon.

I will fly to Dallas that morning directly from the Republican National Convention in Detroit.

I would like to visit with you not in my role as a U.S. Senator, but as Chairman of Americans for Change, a national independent committee whose principle purpose is to work for the election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

I would like to discuss your serving on the Texas Advisory Committee of "Reagan for President in 80". You would be joining Norman Brinker, Betty Andujar, Gordon Galt, Bill Conner, Al Fay, Wales Madden, G.N. Parrott, all of whom have indicated their willingness to serve.

This luncheon will allow me to update you on the Common Cause/John White activity against Reagan and outline our plans for Texas and what you can do if you agree to serve.

Please RSVP to Norman Brinker's office, 214-387-5152.

I look forward to seeing you on the 18th.

Jack Schmitt
U.S. Senator, New Mexico

900523
N-4

Paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, Not authorized by any candidate.

REAGAN FOR PR... '80-PROJECT
218 N. LEE STREET
SUITE 319
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

Urgent Gram©

Exhibit 43-b

1-417555922243UGCOA 8/27/80 AFC TWXDC
01-ALEXANDRIA VA

Mr. Larry Williams
520 6th Ave. E
Kalispell, MT 59901

On June 5th of this year I joined with 200 prominent American civic, business and political figures to form a national, independent bi-partisan committee whose main purpose is to raise and spend funds in the general election in support of Governor Ronald Reagan.

I would like to extend to you an invitation to become a member of the Montana Steering Committee of "RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80."

You would be joining me, U.S. Senator Jack Schmitt (New Mexico), U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger (Minnesota), U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis (Nebraska), John Harmer, former Lt. Governor of California under Governor Reagan, Governor Jimmie Edwards (South Carolina), William E. Miller, former 1964 Republican Vice Presidential candidate, and many other prominent Americans involved in this effort.

I hope you will agree to join us by serving as a member of the "RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT IN '80" Steering Committee. Please respond by mailing the enclosed card as soon as possible.

Sincerely,
Richard G. Shoup

Paid for by AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, Chairman, U.S. Senator Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, New Mexico; Treasurer, U.S. Senator Carl T. Curtis (Ret.) Nebraska. Not authorized by any candidate.

N-12

902212

MEDIAMERICA

Exhibit 44

Mark Center Office Plaza 5
1900 N. Beauregard Street, Suite 12
Alexandria, VA 22311
Phone 703 998-0334

Americans for Change
Brenda Jones
218 North Lee Street
Suite 319
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

July 2, 1980

Dear Brenda:

I appreciate your inquiry concerning our volume typing service, LETTERS UNLIMITED.

Our estimate of .85 per piece on the two page letter we discussed includes typing the carrier envelope, full inside name and address, salutation, date, and closing. All mailing services are also included.

Brenda, please keep in mind that our service does not produce "inkjet" or computer letters. It is the real thing, the highest quality impact typing available in the Eastern region. Our prices however are more reasonable than either computer or inkjet houses.

I have enclosed a brochure for your perusal along with our political services list.

If we can serve your typing needs or provide your organization with other direct mail or fundraising services, please feel free to call me personally.

Sincerely,

D. Richard Geske
President

Enclosures

DRG/meg

902562

3304042359

SERVICES LIST

DIRECT MAIL FUNDRAISING - ALL SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE;
COPYWRITING, DESIGN, PRODUCTION, AND MAILING

DIRECT MAIL VOTER APPEAL PROGRAMS

LIST MAINTENANCE FOR FUNDRAISING, VOTER APPEALS,
THANK YOU LETTERS, ETC.

COMPLETE TELEVISION AND RADIO COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION

AGENCY SERVICES FOR DUB PRODUCTION, PLACEMENT,
AND DISTRIBUTION

TELEPHONE FUNDRAISING

TELEPHONE "GET-OUT-THE-VOTE" CANVASING

TELEPHONE POLLING

VOLUME TYPING SERVICE

SPECIAL EVENT FUNDRAISING

NEWSPRINT AND MAGAZINE DISPLAY ADS (DESIGN,
PLACEMENT, AND DISTRIBUTIONS)

CAMPAIGN BROCHURES AND BUMPER STICKERS

SPECIALIZED POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SOLICITATION PROGRAM

CAMPAIGN CONSULTING:
TELEPHONE BANKS FOR FUNDRAISING OR VOTER ACTIVITY
DIRECT MAIL
SPECIAL EVENTS

8304042359

902563

PARTIAL ROSTER OF POLITICAL CLIENTS ONLY

AMERICANS AGAINST LIBERAL LEGISLATION
AMERICANS FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY
CONNALLY FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
CRANE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
GOVERNOR EDWARD KING
GOVERNOR ROBERT LIST
HERITAGE FOUNDATION
INSTITUTE OF MONEY AND INFLATION
JENKINS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE
LT. GOVERNOR TERRY BRADSTAD
NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN HELEN OBENSHAIN
NATIONAL COMSERVATIVE FOUNDATION
NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES COMMITTEE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE
PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
REAGAN VICTORY FUND
TARGET '80 COMMITTEES
THE CONGRESSIONAL CLUB
THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS
THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION
UNITED STATES SENATE CANDIDATE JIM BUCKLEY
UNITED STATES SENATOR JESSE HELMS
UNITED STATES SENATOR GORDON HUMPHREY
UNITED STATES SENATOR ROGER JEPSON
UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN WARNER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL ARCHER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN ED BETHUNE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL CLINGER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN DANIEL CRANE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN PHILLIP CRANE
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN ROBERT K. DORNAN
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN MICKEY EDWARDS
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN JIM JEFFRIES
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN KEN KRAMER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN DAN MARRIOTT
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN LARRY MCDONALD
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN RON PAUL
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN JOHN ROUSSELOT
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BILL ROYER
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN GERALD B. SOLOMON
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN BOB STUMP
UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN STEVE D. SYMMS
WASHINGTON LEGAL FOUNDATION

902561

3304042352

Willard & Associates, Inc.

219 EAST DAVIS STREET • CULPEPER, VIRGINIA 22701 • TELEPHONE AREA CODE (703) 825-8100

CFILED IE

WORK ORDER NUMBER	ACCOUNT NO.	CUSTOMER P.O.	DATE	INVOICE NO.
27662,63,64	16	1660,65,69,70	July 31, 1980	27732

SOLD TO:	SHIPPED TO:
Thompson & Associates 7015 Old Keene Mill Road Suite 203 Springfield, Virginia 22150 Attention: Michael Thompson	1660 - Thompson & Associates, Springfield, Virginia; 1665 - Republican National Committee, Washington, D. C.; 1669 - Atlantic List Co. Wash, D.C. 1670 - American Spectator Bloomington, ID

INVOICE

FUNCTION PERFORMED - DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION	ACCT. CODE
- Merge/Purge Late Lists				
List Conversion	1	15.00/ list	$ 15.00	
Mail File Processing (Convert, Sort and Print) CFR '76	106,060	3.00/M	318.18	
nia Sales Tax			12.73	
Mag Tape Output of 15M Merged elected SCF's	15,000	4.30/M	[illegible]	
Mag tape output of Net ALEC ct Master File	62,207	2.55/M	158.63	
- Keycoded Cheshire label output of ublican High Donors	3,009	min.chg.	30.00	
eposit to be refunded when tapes turned	2 tapes	20.00/tp.	40.00	
ing and Handling Charges			1.47	

Elected

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS TOTAL ▷ $640.51

IF YOUR CHECK WILL BE POSTMARKED ON/OR BEFORE _____ PAY THIS AMOUNT ▷ N/A

SCHEDULE A - ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Exhibit 46-a Page 1 of 1 for LINE NUMBER 15
(Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page)

Any information copied from such Reports or Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

Name of Committee (in Full)
National Conservative Political Action Committee

	Name of Employer	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt this Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Sundance Broadcasting, Inc. Boise, ID	Refund - Broad-casting cancelation	7/23/80	4.80
Receipt For: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Occupation		
	Aggregate Year-to-Date—$		
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Working Names Inc. 1629 K Street NE Washington, DC	Name of Employer Mail list rental Mail canceled	Date (month, day, year) 7/23/80	Amount of Each Receipt This Period 69.61
Receipt For: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Occupation		
	Aggregate Year-to-Date—$		
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Reagan for President Committee 809 Cameron Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Name of Employer Sale of Memory Typewriter	Date (month, day, year) 7/15/80	Amount of Each Receipt This Period 2,200.00
Receipt For: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Occupation		
	Aggregate Year-to-Date—$		
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Westpark Travel 2600 Wespark Drive McLean, VA	Name of Employer Refund of travel Expense	Date (month, day, year) 7/15/80	Amount of Each Receipt This Period 125.00
Receipt For: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Occupation		
	Aggregate Year-to-Date—$		
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Western Union P. O. Box 26208 Richmond, CA 23260	Name of Employer Refund on Mailgram	Date (month, day, year) 7/23/80	Amount of Each Receipt This Period 70.00
Receipt For: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Occupation		
	Aggregate Year-to-Date—$		
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Name of Employer	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt This Period
Receipt For: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Occupation		
	Aggregate Year-to-Date—$		
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Name of Employer	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt This Period
Receipt For: ☐ Primary ☐ General ☐ Other (specify):	Occupation		
	Aggregate Year-to-Date—$		

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional) 2,469.61

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only) 2,469.61

8304023535

Exhibit 46-b

National Conservative Political Action Committee

1500 wilson blvd. suite 513 arlington, va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

October 17, 1980

Mr. Curt Herge
Sedam & Herge
7600 Old Springhouse Rd.
McLean, VA 22102

Dear Curt:

I've researched the sale of the equipment to the Reagan Campaign and have found the following.

Back in September of 1979 NCPAC's Office Manager Lisa Stoltenberg decided to update some of our office equipment. Because of space problems we needed to sell the old equipment, before we could take delivery of the new. The equipment sold was an IBM Memory typewriter and the equipment purchased was an Olivetti word processor model TES 501. Ms. Pieden of the Reagan Campaign negotiated the sale price of $2,200, with Lisa Stoltenberg and took possession of the equipment. On 7/15/80 we received payment in full and on 7/16/80 we deposited the payment.

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Candace M. Taw
Office Manager

CMT:nkm

30401235

National Conservative
Political Action Committee
1500 wilson blvd. suite 513 arlington, va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

Exhibit 46-C

February 22, 1980

Neal Peden
c/o Reagan for President
1828 L Street, NW #201
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Neal,

It has come to my attention that the Reagan campaign has agreed to buy the IBM memory typewriter they have had in their possession since October of 1979. The confirmed price of this machine was to be $2,200.00.

Since it has been quite a while since this deal was made and no action has been taken towards payment; I am asking now for a check for $2,200.00 to NCPAC for the purchase of the machine mentioned above. I am leaving the Committee soon and I would like to see this cleared up before I go.

If you have any questions about this, please give me a call.

Sincerely,

Becki C. Burlingame
Treasurer

BCB:jd

83040423600

Exhibit 46-d

July 1 1985

PAY TO THE ORDER OF National Conservative Political Action Committee $ 220.00

Two thousand two hundred Dollars and no cents DOLLARS

Santa Monica Bank
FOURTH STREET AND ARIZONA AVENUE
Santa Monica, Calif. 90401

Jay Buchanan

"005983" "122212611" 02 091 542" "0000220000"

330404236011

Exhibit 47

8304042360

FCM CONTRIBUTIONS

August 31, 1980

FCMEP

THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

Kenneth F. Boehm, Esq.
Treasurer

MEMORANDUM

To: Fund for a Conservative Majority Directors

From: Ken Boehm

Subject: Citizens for Reagan in '80 Strategy

8304042360

ELECTORAL VOTE STRATEGY

In three of the last five presidential elections (1960, 1968 and 1972), the shift of a very small number of votes in a few key states could have changed the outcome of those elections.[1] The 1980 election could easily become a photo finish, especially if independent candidate John Anderson is able to capture several states. The wide lead in the polls established by Reagan following the Republican Convention has already been substantially closed. Even if Reagan kept the large lead into September, the volatility of such polls is such that Humphrey was able to close twenty points on Nixon in less than six weeks during the 1968 campaign.

The prospect of an extremely close election brings with it the real possibility that a well-organized independent expenditure campaign could have a decisive impact on the outcome. Properly targeted, the amount of money raised by Citizens for Reagan in '80 could be translated into thousands of votes in states where the popular vote totals of the two major candidates will be very close.

Strategically, an independent expenditure campaign can maximize its influence on the election results by carefully focusing its limited resources on those constituencies and states which offer the largest potential gain for the least possible outlay. Three specific steps are involved. First, a small number of states with a large number of electoral votes, but with prospects of a close popular vote, must be selected. The electoral college works to the benefit of the very largest states (those with more than 14 electoral votes) and the very smallest (those with less than four votes).

Second, voting constituencies which are issue-oriented, open to persuasion and easily reachable through direct mail/mass media must be selected for each targeted state. The electoral college increases the influence of any well-organized minority group which is capable of voting as a bloc. Thus, for example, the opposition of Jewish leaders to Senator Birch Bayh's plan to abolish the electoral college is perfectly rational.

Third, the most cost-effective (and politically effective) way to reach the targeted groups must be selected. Direct mail, radio and newspapers are more useful in targeting carefully defined groups than is television which necessitates a more generalized and less issue-oriented appeal.

The four target states of the Citizens for Reagan in '80 campaign are New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Florida. A variety of criteria were used in selecting these four but the principal reason for their selection was that all four are states in which a concentrated effort by an independent campaign could effect the outcome. Together they represent 93 electoral votes, or more than one-third of the 270 a candidate needs to be elected president.

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 6 0

	PA.	N.Y.	CONN.	FLA.
Electoral Votes	(27)	(41)	(8)	(17)
1976 Results	Carter 50% Ford 48%	Carter 51% Ford 46%	Ford 52% Carter 47%	Carter 52% Ford 47%
Evans/Novak 7/1/80	Leaning Carter	Leaning ~~Ford~~	Leaning Anderson	Leaning Reagan
USN&WR 6/16/80	Swing State	Swing State	Swing State	Swing State
Governor's Prediction 8/18/80	Reagan	Too Close to call	No Response	Reagan
Reagan Strategists 7/28/80	Reagan Key Target	Long Shot for Reagan	Long Shot for Reagan	Reagan Key Target
Carter Strategists 8/25/80	Leaning Reagan	Leaning Reagan	Leaning Carter	Leaning Reagan
Evans/Novak 8/15/80	Leaning Reagan	Leaning Reagan	Leaning Anderson	Probable Reagan

8304012360

Having selected four target states, the difficult process of deciding how best to allocate scarce resources must begin. Some excellent guidelines exist. Political scientist Steven J. Brams and mathematician Morton D. Davis have devised a mathematical formula for the allocation of resources for maximum effectiveness.[2] After a careful study of presidential campaigns and the electoral college system, they decided that larger states should receive even more attention than their proportional share of the electoral college. Resources should be allocated approximately in proportion to the 3/2s power of the electoral votes of each state. This figure is calculated by taking the square root of the number of electoral votes and cubing the results. From there, the percentage of resources can be easily calculated.

The Brams - Davis Formula Applied to FCM's Target States

	Square Root	Cube	% of Time/Resources
N.Y. (41)	6.4	262	53%
PA. (27)	5.2	140	28%
FLA. (17)	4.1	69	13%
CONN.(8)	2.8	22	4%

If the target states and the Brams - Davis formula are accepted as our campaign priorities, the next step in formulating the FCM strategy is to identify those groups which are issue-oriented, open to persuasion, and reachable through direct mail and mass media. A number of such groups exist within the target states. Carter's gross mismanagement of the economy plus his mishandling of issues important to segments of the traditional Democratic coalition gives Reagan an opportunity to make large inroads into what used to be solid Democratic constituencies.

8304012306

BLUE COLLAR VOTE

Pollster Lou Harris has stated that it is an iron rule that any Democrat who slips below 60 percent of the union vote is in trouble. In May, Harris polled union members on which candidate could best handle the economy: 35% said Reagan, 30% said Carter, and 23% favored Anderson. Asked which candidate could best preserve the value of their money, union members in the eight largest states replied: Reagan 38%, Anderson 28%, and Carter 21%.

Reagan's primary victories in Democratic crossover states like Illinois and Wisconsin show his appeal to blue-collar Democrats. Dr. Don Devine's memo to the Reagan campaign ("The Devine Memo: A Winning Strategy for Ronald Reagan,"

Human Events, July 5, 1980), argued forcefully for a strategy aimed at attracting the "BCEC voter" (blue-collar, ethnic and Catholic). He calculated that the BCEC vote could represent 35% of Reagan's majority coalition and stated, "The real test of the campaign is its ability to attract the BCEC voter. This will win or lose the election."

To win the BCEC vote, Dr. Devine suggests the use of four issues: the economy (jobs creation, tax cuts, inflation, unemployment, the Carter "misery index"), a strong foreign policy (concern for plight of Eastern Europeans, a strong defense, an emphasis on Carter's incompetence in the face of Soviet aggression), the Reagan record in California (tax cuts, welfare reform, the size of California) and the right to life issue.

8304042360?

THE CATHOLIC VOTE

Jimmy Carter received 57% of the Catholic vote in 1976. This year two issues can cut against Carter with the Catholic vote: abortion and tuition tax credits.

The right to life issue is going to play more of a role this time because the major parties have taken clearly opposite stands on it. Unlike Ford, who downplayed the issue, Reagan has taken an unequivocal stand in favor of a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion. Since the official Reagan strategy, as outlined by Wirthlin, is to focus on the economy and foreign policy rather than "red-flag" social issues, this issue is perfectly suited for a large scale independent effort. The Robert Heckman memo of August 5 (Appendix) underscores the importance of the right to life vote in New York and suggests that the major focus of the Citizens for Reagan in '80 New York effort be directed toward winning the right to life voters for Reagan.

The second Catholic issue which helps Reagan tremendously is tuition tax credits. Carter, in pursuit of the support of the American Federation of Teachers, has taken a hardline stand against tuition tax credits. This gives Reagan a real opportunity to win the support of hundreds of thousands of Catholic parents who send their children to parochial schools and having to pay out both tuition and school taxes.

THE JEWISH VOTE

In 1976 Jimmy Carter received 72% of the Jewish vote. Since then a long series of Carter administration mistakes (the bungled UN vote, Andy Young's comments, Billy Carter's Libyan relationship, etc.) have seriously eroded that support. A number of polls give Anderson the lead with the Jewish voters. Should the Anderson candidacy collapse, there is a real possibility that Reagan can capitalize on his own strong pro-Israel stands plus the antipathy toward Carter. Although nationally Jewish voters are approximately 3% of the voting population, in New York, Pennsylvania and Florida the percentage is higher.

8304123605

THE CUBAN VOTE

One constituency which is easily targeted and for which there are excellent issues available is the Cuban community. Dade County has more than 90,000 registered Cubans (out of 658,000 registered voters). Out of 112,000 Dade County voters with Spanish surnames, 54,000 are registered Democratic and 45,000 are registered Republican. The registered voter computer tape can be used to break out the names of Cubans and generate labels.

There are several important issues. One is Carter's inept, on-again, off-again handling of the refugee problem. A second is the series of news stories detailing Castro's preference for Carter over Reagan. Third, there is the totally ineffectual Carter "threat" to Castro to remove Soviet troops from Cuba.

A hardhitting direct mail piece targeted to Cuban voters and written in both Spanish and English could be an effective tactic for maximizing the Reagan vote in Florida.

****

8304042360

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Account Number

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

____	(1) Classified Information	____	(6) Personal privacy
____	(2) Internal rules and practices	____	(7) Investigatory files
____	(3) Exempted by other statute	X	(8) Banking Information
____	(4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information	____	(9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical)
____	(5) Internal Documents		

Signed Rose A. Wertheim

Date 6/22/83

FEC 9-21-77

33040423613

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Account Number

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

____	(1) Classified Information	____	(6) Personal privacy
____	(2) Internal rules and practices	____	(7) Investigatory files
____	(3) Exempted by other statute	X	(8) Banking Information
____	(4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information	____	(9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical)
____	(5) Internal Documents		

Signed Anne C. Weissenborn

Date 6/8/83

FEC 9-21-77

a30404236111

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Routing slips

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

____	(1) Classified Information	____	(6) Personal privacy
____	(2) Internal rules and practices	____	(7) Investigatory files
____	(3) Exempted by other statute	____	(8) Banking Information
____	(4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information	____	(9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical)
X	(5) Internal Documents		

Signed Lane R. Weaverdyne

Date 6/24/83

FEC 9-21-77

8304042361

202200

Ccc# 8174

MUSICK, PEELER & GARRETT
A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
SUITE 1175 RING BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 775-1427

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
ONE WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
(213) 629-7600

NEWPORT BEACH OFFICE
SUITE 800
4000 MACARTHUR BOULEVARD
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA
(714) 752-8100

ELVON MUSICK 1890-1968
LEROY A. GARRETT 1908-1983

DENVER OFFICE
SUITE 1500
718 SEVENTEENTH STREET
DENVER, COLORADO
(303) 825-5721

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

July 26, 1982

FEC JUL 27 P4:06

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Anne A. Weissenborn

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mrs. Weissenborn:

Pursuant to your request on Friday, July 23rd, enclosed please find copies of the materials which we have located in the Reagan-Bush Campaign Committee files relating to a $10,800 payment to a vendor, Metro Printing & Mailing Service, Inc., for printing, mailing and postage costs.

If you have any additional questions on this matter please give me a call.

Yours truly,

Ronald E. Robertson
for Musick, Peeler & Garrett

RER:nb
Enclosure

cc: Mr. Curtis Mack (w/o encl.)
Mr. Scott Mackenzie (w/o encl.)

3304042361 3

APT030

REAGAN & BUSH

Batch # 1

Batch Date 10/23

INVOICE MAINTENANCE

Vendor Name Metro Printing + Mailing Services

VOUCHER NO. /12/ VENDOR NO. /1121912191 INVOICE NO /1111111/

INVOICE DATE /1111111/

EXPLANATION /P101S1T1A16161/1111111111111/

TOTAL SALE AMT $10,800.00

MANUAL CHECK:	COMPUTER CHECK:
PAY CODE /M/	
BANK CODE /011/	BANK CODE /11/
CHECK NO. /11111316781/	
CHECK DATE /110121218101/	PAYMENT DATE /1111111/

FINANCIAL ORG. (FOC)	GL ACCT (GLA)	DIST SALE AMT (DSA)
01 /2/ - /610/ - /10101011/	/5181210161/	$ 10,800.00
02 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
03 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
04 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
05 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
06 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
07 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
08 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
09 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$
10 /2/ - /11/ - /11111/	/111111/	$

830404236 1

Reagan Bush

TO: COST CENTER COMMITMENT CONTROL GROUP

FROM: Vets Group - Veterans
(COST CENTER NAME)

DATE: 10-20-80

********** USE FOR ALL EXPENSES INCLUDING TRAVEL **********

EXPENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST
(EAR)

#11368-328
10-22-80

I request approval to commit the following funds: 7989

VENDOR: Metro Printing and Mailing Services Inc
1200 D. Sterling Blvd
Sterling, Va 22170

AMOUNT: $ 10,800— DATE TO BE PAID: _____

PURPOSE: Direct mail - Postage.

Signature: Robert A Tuthill
(COST CENTER MANAGER)

Signature: _____
(REQUESTING INDIVIDUAL)

COST CENTER COMMITMENT CONTROL GROUP

✓ Approved _____ Disapproved

Signature: _____ Date: 10/22/80

TREASURER'S OFFICE

_____ Approved _____ Disapproved

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Bank Code-01
Cost Center No. 60
Expense Acct No. 58200

RB Form C (8/1/80)

WHITE - Accounting YELLOW - Cost Center Commitment Control Group PINK - Cost Center

metro

PRINTING & MAILING SERVICES, INCORPORATED
1200 South Sterling Blvd., Sterling, Va 22170—Main Office (703) 471-9000
8446 Lee Highway, Fairfax, Virginia 22031 (703) 573-0900

Invoice No. X1903

Reagan-Bush Committee
901 So. Highland St.
Arlington, VA

Date 10/31/80

Job No.

Cust. P.O.

04					

Check Received:			$10,800.00
Postage Cost:			- 6,296.40
Printing & Mailing Cost:			- 3,722.83
Refunded to Customer:			$ 780.77

Ck # 11368

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FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA 22030

For postage refund (mh)

Larry R. Patrick

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⑆30404236⑆7

mh
11-5-80



FIRST CLASS MAIL

8 3 0 9 4 0 4 2 3 6 1 8

FROM • •

Law Offices
MUSICK, PEELER & GARRETT
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Suite 1175 Washington, D.C. 20036

TO • •

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Anne A. Weissenborn

RECEIVED
GCC #811
82 JUL 15 P1:11

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
ONE WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
(213) 629-7600

NEWPORT BEACH OFFICE
SUITE 800
4000 MACARTHUR BOULEVARD
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA
(714) 752-6400

MUSICK, PEELER & GARRETT
A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
SUITE 1175 RING BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 778-1427

ELVON MUSICK 1890-1968
LEROY A. GARRETT 1906-1963

DENVER OFFICE
SUITE 1600
716 SEVENTEENTH STREET
DENVER, COLORADO
(303) 629-3768

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

JUL 15 P4:18
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
RECEIVED

July 14, 1982

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Attention: Registration Statement Division

Re: Reagan for President Committee
Reagan Bush Committee
Reagan Bush Compliance Fund

Gentlemen:

Please be advised that the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan Bush Committee and the Reagan Bush Compliance Fund (hereinafter collectively referred to as the "Committees") hereby amend their respective Registration Statements effective July 8, 1982 as follows:

Delete: Treasurer

Arthur J. Dellinger, Sr.
9220 Sunset Boulevard
Suite 206
Los Angeles, California 90069
(213) 275-4252

Add: Treasurer

Curtis Mack
10769 Ohio Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90024
(213) 474-6138

Communication from the FEC's General Counsel relating to the Committees should be sent directly to the undersigned with copies to Mr. Mack at the address shown above. All other correspondence from the Commission to the respective Committees should be sent directly to Mr. Mack at the above address with

8304042361 9

copies to the undersigned. The Arlington, Virginia post office box should no longer be used as an address for the Committees.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Yours truly,

Ronald E. Robertson
for Musick, Peeler & Garrett

RER:nb
cc: Charles N. Steele
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission

8304042360

Code 7545
'82 JUN 14 P12:23

MUSICK, PEELER & GARRETT
A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
SUITE 1175 RING BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 775-1427

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
ONE WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
(213) 629-7600

NEWPORT BEACH OFFICE
SUITE 900
4000 MACARTHUR BOULEVARD
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA
(714) 752-8100

ELVON MUSICK (1890-1968)
LEROY A. GARRETT (1906-1963)

DENVER OFFICE
SUITE 1500
716 SEVENTEENTH STREET
DENVER, COLORADO
(303) 629-5721

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

June 10, 1982

82 JUN 14 P3:33 FEC

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel

Dear Mr. Steele:

This will confirm Edward L. Weidenfeld's letter to you of June 9, 1982, designating the undersigned as Special Counsel to the Reagan for President Committee and the Reagan - Bush Commitee with respect to all pending FEC matters. This is also to advise that John J. Duffy of the law firm of Pierson, Ball & Dowd has been designated to serve as associate special counsel to the Committees for FEC matters.

Please direct all future correspondence from the Commission to the Treasurer for the Committees, Arthur J. Dellinger, Sr. Certified Public Accountants, 9220 Sunset Boulevard, Suite 206, Los Angeles, California 90069, with copies of all such correspondence sent directly to the undersigned.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald E. Robertson

Ronald E. Robertson
for Musick, Peeler & Garrett

RER:nb
cc: Mr. Arthur J. Dellinger
John J. Duffy, Esq.

8304042362 1

RECEIVED
BCA 7928
82 JUN 10 A9:03

LAW OFFICES
McKENNA, CONNER & CUNEO
1575 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 789-7500

CABLE ADDRESS: MCKENCONN WASHDC
TELEX (TWX) 710-822-0149
TELECOPIER (202) 789-7594

LOS ANGELES
TWENTY-EIGHTH FLOOR
3435 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90010
(213) 384-3600 · 388-9321

SAN FRANCISCO
1920 HILLS TOWER
220 BUSH STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104
(415) 433-0640

EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER
(202) 789- 7640

HAND DELIVERED

June 9, 1982

82 JUN 10 P12:39

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Charles Steele, Esq.

Dear Mr. Steele:

This letter is to advise you that Mr. Ron Robertson, a member of the law firm of Musick, Peeler & Garrett, has been designated associate special counsel with respect to pending FEC matters of the Reagan for President Committee and the Reagan Bush Committee (the "Committees"). Mr. Robertson has authority to negotiate on behalf of the Committees and to designate such others as he may deem necessary to represent the Committees before the FEC. Please be advised that the only person authorized to bind the Committees is Mr. Arthur Dellinger, the Treasurer of the Committees.

Copies of future correspondence to the Committees should be directed to Mr. Robertson's attention.

Sincerely,

Edward L. Weidenfeld
General Counsel to the Reagan for
President and Reagan Bush Committees

ELW/prp

cc: R. Robertson
Musick, Peeler & Garrett
1175 Ring Building
1200 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

33040423622

MUSICK, PEELER & GARRETT
SUITE 1175 RIND BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

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WASHINGTON JUL-6'82 D.C. U.S.POSTAGE .20

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

201995 Gen # 8076

LOS ANGELES OFFICE
ONE WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
(213) 629-7600

NEWPORT BEACH OFFICE
SUITE 900
4000 MACARTHUR BOULEVARD
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA
(714) 752-6100

MUSICK, PEELER & GARRETT
A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
SUITE 1175 RING BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 775-1427

ELVON MUSICK 1890-1968
LEROY A. GARRETT 1906-1983

DENVER OFFICE
SUITE 1500
718 SEVENTEENTH STREET
DENVER, COLORADO
(303) 825-5721

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

JUL 7 P3:10

July 6, 1982

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Re: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Gross:

With reference to your letter to John J. Duffy dated June 24, 1982, we wish to thank you for your prompt response to our request for documents with respect to MUR 1252.

Pursuant to your request, enclosed please find our check payable to the United States Treasurer in the amount of $36.00 for these documents.

Best regards,

Ronald E. Robertson

Ronald E. Robertson
Musick, Peeler & Garrett

RER:nb
Enclosure

cc: Arthur J. Dellinger, Sr.
John J. Duffy, Esq.

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MUSICK, PEELER & GARRETT
1200 - 18TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 1175
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

132

15-3/540

July 6, 19 82

PAY TO THE ORDER OF United States Treasurer $ 36.00

Thirty six dollars----------00/100 DOLLARS

The RIGGS NATIONAL BANK
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18TH AND H OFFICE
1800 H STREET, N.W.

FOR documents

Ronald E. Robertson

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 24, 1982

John J. Duffy, Esquire
Pierson, Ball and Dowd
1000 Ring Building
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Duffy:

Enclosed please find copies of the documents you requested with respect to MUR 1252. Included are the notifications of the Commission's findings, the respondent's replies, documents submitted in response to the Commission's subpoena and copies of two deposition transcripts.

Please remit a check payable to the United States Treasurer in the amount of $36.00 for the enclosed documents (720 pages).

If you have any questions concerning the enclosed documents, please contact Anne Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

9304012366

June 24, 1982

John J. Duffy, Esquire
Pierson, Ball and Dowd
1000 King Building
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 1252

Dear Mr. Duffy:

Enclosed please find copies of the documents you requested with respect to MUR 1252. Included are the notifications of the Commission's findings, the respondent's replies, documents submitted in response to the Commission's subpoena and copies of two deposition transcripts.

Please remit a check payable to the United States Treasurer in the amount of $36.00 for the enclosed documents (720 pages).

If you have any questions concerning the enclosed documents, please contact Anne Weissenborn at (202) 523-4175.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

3304042362?

MUR 1252

Arthur J. Dellinger, Sr.
Dellinger & Dellinger
Certified Public Accountants
9220 Sunset Boulevard
Suite 206
Los Angeles, CA 90069

June 17, 1982

Mr. Frank P. Reiche
Chairman
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Reiche:

The undersigned as the Treasurer of the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan Bush Committee and the Reagan Bush Compliance Fund (hereinafter collectively referred to as the "Committees") hereby officially notifies the Commission that the Committees have designated Ronald E. Robertson of the law firm of Musick, Peeler & Garrett, 1200 18th Street, N.W., Suite 1175, Washington, D.C. 20036 as Special Counsel to represent the Committees before the Federal Election Commission with respect to all pending matters and the Committees have designated John J. Duffy of the law firm of Pierson, Ball & Dowd, 1200 18th Street, N.W., Suite 1000, Washington, D.C. 20036 as Associate Special Counsel with respect to all FEC matters.

In addition to myself it is contemplated that Angela M. (Bay) Buchanan and Scott Mackenzie will be conferring with your audit and legal staffs in connection with these pending matters.

All communication from the FEC's General Counsel should now be sent directly to Mr. Robertson with a copy to me at the address shown above.

All other correspondences from the Commission and its staff should be sent directly to me at the above address with copies to Mr. Robertson.

82 JUN 17 P4:06

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No further communications from the Commission or its staff relating to the Committees are to be sent to Mr. Edward L. Wiedenfeld or the law firm of McKenna, Conner & Cuneo.

Thank you for your attention to these matters.

Yours truly,

Arthur J. Dellinger, Sr.
Treasurer
Reagan for President Committee
Reagan Bush Committee
Reagan Bush Compliance Fund

83040423625

ECR# 1180

CURTIS MACK
10769 Ohio Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90024

FEC 31 P4:33

March 30, 1983

Charles N. Steele, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Steele:

For the purpose of clarifying your records, please be advised that Ronald E. Robertson of the law firm of Musick, Peeler & Garrett now serves as the General Counsel and John J. Duffy of the law firm of Pierson, Ball & Dowd now serves as Special Counsel for FEC Matters for the Reagan for President Committee, the Reagan Bush Committee and the Reagan Bush Compliance Fund.

As in the past please direct all communications to Mr. Robertson with copies to me.

Yours truly,

Curtis Mack

Curtis Mack
Treasurer
Reagan for President Committee
Reagan Bush Committee
Reagan Bush Compliance Fund

3304042360

83040423631

LAW OFFICES
McKENNA, CONNER & CUNEO
1575 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

82 JUN 10 A9:03

Mr. Charles Steele
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

BY HAND

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 25, 1982

Edward L. Weidenfeld, Esquire
McKenna, Conner and Cuneo
1575 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Weidenfeld:

This is to confirm the understanding reached between yourself and Anne Weissenborn of this Office concerning the willingness of Franklyn Nofziger to appear for oral deposition with regard to the Commission's investigation of issues involved in MUR 1252/1299. It is agreed that the deposition will take place at 9:00 a.m., on Wednesday, March 31, 1982, at the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The questions to be posed during the deposition will generally cover the allocation of authority within the Reagan for President Committee and the Reagan-Bush Committee; the authority held by Mr. Nofziger and his staff, particularly as regards campaign strategy and the authorization of expenditures; the policies of the above Committees toward the unauthorized committees which made expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan in 1980; and the relationships of the Committees and of Mr. Nofziger to the other named respondents in this matter. Mr. Nofziger's willingness to appear for deposition absent the issuance of a formal subpoena is appreciated.

You have also indicated that Mr. Nofziger may be available to answer a limited number of questions with respect to MUR 950 at the completion of the above-described deposition. We look forward to accomplishing this in our mutual interest of expediting this matter.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

8304042363

Cc#t 5944

LAW OFFICES
McKENNA, CONNER & CUNEO
1575 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 789-7500
CABLE ADDRESS: MCKENCONN WASHDC
TELEX (TWX) 710-822-0149
TELECOPIER (202) 789-7594

LOS ANGELES
TWENTY-EIGHTH FLOOR
3435 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90010
(213) 384-3600 - 388-9321

SAN FRANCISCO
1920 MILLS TOWER
220 BUSH STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104
(415) 433-0640

MAUREEN DUIGNAN

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER
(202) 789- 7566

DEC 17 P4:22

December 16, 1981

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: FEC Subpoena and Interrogatories
dated October 1, 1980

Dear Anne:

I have enclosed a copy of the Loren Smith memorandum which is referred to in the Committee's October 14, 1981 submission in connection with the above-referenced matter.

Sincerely yours,

/Maureen Duignan

Maureen Duignan

MD/sab
Enclosure

3304042365

MEMORANDUM

TO: North Carolina Reagan Bush Committee Leadership

FROM: Loren A. Smith
Chief Counsel L.A.S.

RE: REAGAN BUSH COMMITTEE RELATIONS WITH NORTH CAROLINA GOP.

DATE: September 4, 1980

Per your request I am setting forth the following guidelines for our campaign's relationship with the party. The reason this presents a potential problem, as I understand it, is that the North Carolina GOP has close relations with the North Carolina Congressional Club (NCCC) the group headed by Senator Helms that is making independent expenditures on behalf of the Reagan Bush ticket. These guidelines are designed to comply with the law and allow our campaign to effectively function. Both goals are possible and will be achieved.

1. We may work with any unit of the North Carolina GOP as a unit, as long as that group is not involved in any funding of, control of, or joint office with any independent expenditure effort.

2. We should discourage state and local GOP units or their leadership from working with independent expenditure groups. Federal law considers a political party as incapable of making independent expenditures on behalf of its nominees.

3. In working with a state or local party unit all individuals in that unit who are involved with any independent expenditure should be excluded from participation with the joint party--Reagan-Bush effort or project. While a party unit is not tainted by the involvement of some of the members with an independent expenditure, we should be cautious in dealing with such a party unit to avoid any appearance of coordination between our campaign and the independent expenditure efforts.

4. We may deal with party leaders, as party leaders, who are involved in independent expenditure efforts. However, we should make it clear to them that no discussion of any independent expenditure activity will occur or is such activity encouraged by the Reagan Bush campaign. Further, we should only deal with such individuals on matters where it is necessary to work with them in order to work with the Republican Party. We don't even want to give

8304236

the appearance of coordination with an independent expenditure effort. The same rule should apply to the campaigns of other candidates that have involvement with Reagan-Bush oriented independent expenditure groups.

33042336

LAW OFFICES
McKENNA, CONNER & CUNEO
1575 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

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WASHINGTON DEC 16 '81 D.C.

U.S. POSTAGE 0.20 METER

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

RECEIVED

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 11, 1981

Edward L. Weidenfeld, Esquire
McKenna, Connor and Cuneo
1575 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Weidenfeld:

This is to confirm the understanding reached between yourself and Anne Weissenborn of this Office concerning the willingness of Angela M. (Bay) Buchanan to appear for oral deposition with regard to the Commission's investigation of issues involved in MUR 1252/1299. It is agreed that the deposition will take place at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, January 8, 1982, at the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The questions to be posed during the deposition will generally cover the areas of the structures of the Reagan for President Committee and of the Reagan/Bush Committee; the allocation of authority within those committees, particularly as regards the planning and execution of campaign strategy and the authorization of expenditures; the policies of the Committees with regard to the making of independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan by unauthorized committees; and the relationships between the Committees and the other named respondents in this matter, including, but not limited to, the employment of common vendors.

Ms. Buchanan's willingness to appear for deposition absent the issuance of a formal subpoena is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

8304042367

Edward L. Weidenfeld, Esquire
McKenna, Connor and Cuneo
1575 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 1252/1299

Dear Mr. Weidenfeld:

This is to confirm the understanding reached between yourself and Anne Weissenborn of this Office concerning the willingness of Angela M. (Bay) Buchanan to appear for oral deposition with regard to the Commission's investigation of issues involved in MUR 1252/1299. It is agreed that the deposition will take place at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, January 8, 1982, at the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The questions to be posed during the deposition will generally cover the areas of the structures of the Reagan for President Committee and of the Reagan/Bush Committee; the allocation of authority within those committees, particularly as regards the planning and execution of campaign strategy and the authorization of expenditures; the policies of the Committees with regard to the making of independent expenditures in support of Ronald Reagan by unauthorized committees; and the relationships between the Committees and the other named respondents in this matter, including, but not limited to, the employment of common vendors.

Ms. Buchanan's willingness to appear for deposition absent the issuance of a formal subpoena is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

3304042366

GCC #5641

LAW OFFICES
McKENNA, CONNER & CUNEO
1575 EYE STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
(202) 789-7500

CABLE ADDRESS: MCKENCONN WASHDC
TELEX (TWX) 710-822-0148
TELECOPIER (202) 789-7594

TWENTY-EIGHTH FLOOR
3435 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90010
(213) 384-3600 - 388-9321

1920 MILLS TOWER
220 BUSH STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104
(415) 433-0640

WILSIE H. ADAMS, JR.
JEFFREY P. ALTMAN
ROBERT A. ANTHONY
DANIEL R. BELIN
MICHAEL D. BERN*
STEVEN L. BRIGGERMAN
WILLIAM H. BUTTERFIELD
JOHN D. CONNER
JOHN D. CONNER, JR.
EDMOND M. CONNOR*
ROKDAN DANTLIW
C. STANLEY DEES
RONALD J. DePELICE*
LAWRENCE S. EBNER
AUDRE L. ENGLEMAN*
HERBERT L. FENSTER
RICHARD A. FINN*
PAUL FITTING
D. MICHAEL FITZHUGH
RICHARD A. FLYE
TERRY A. FRALICH*
S. HOWDEN FRASER*
JAMES J. GALLAGHER
ALLEN B. GREEN
MICHAEL R. GRIANNAN*
E. SANDERSON HOE
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JAMES R. WALTHEN*
EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD
KENNETH W. WEINSTEIN
LES J. WEINSTEIN
BUEL WHITE
DANIEL H. WILLICK*
CHARLES E. YORKERS

COUNSEL
EDWARD LASKER*
ALBERT L. REEVES
ALVIN G. SALMANSON*

ALBERT H. COLE
MAX GOLDEN*
JOEL P. SHEDD

ASHLEY SELLERS (1908-1977)
GILBERT A. CUNEO (1913-1978)

THOMAS J. ALLEN*
JED L. BABBIN
ROBERT G. BADAL
RAYMOND B. BIAGINI
JULIE FOX BLACKBURN
JEFFREY A. BOECKER
DAVID B. BROWN*
VICTOR BRUNI*
JAMES A. CHERRY
DAVID A. CHURCHILL
SCOTT P. COOPER*
JOHN A. COURT
JOHN F. DAVIS*
MARY C. DELANEY*
MAUREEN DUIGNAN
LAWRENCE H. FARRELL
JOSEPH GABAI*
CURTIS A. GRAHAM*
DAVID J. GRANT*
ROBERT E. GREGG
RONALD M. GRIFFITHS*
GEORGE F. HENINGWAY*
ROBERT J. HORN*
THOMAS W. HUSSEY
JESSE S. ISHIKAWA*
MICHAEL T. JARIK
MICHAEL T. KANNAUGH
STEPHEN D. KNIGHT
KENNETH E. KOHLER*
MARTIN H. KRESSE*

MICHAEL T. LAMBERT*
CHRISTINE M. LANGENFELD*
DARRYL J. LEE
JOHN F. LEHR, JR.*
ADELE O. LEVITT*
FREDERIC H. LEVY
ROBERT M. LINDQUIST
JOSEPH T. LYNYAK, III*
C. STEVEN McMURRY*
NONA D. MILLER*
RICHARD S. OLIVER
THOMAS C. PAPSON
BARBARA A. POTASHNICK*
DOUGLAS M. RAWLINGS*
MITCHELL H. REGAL
ARTURO SIDAI*
ARTHUR F. SILBERGELD*
SARA J. SMITH*
MARTIN E. STEERE*
JEFFREY E. STEINER*
DEL STILTNER
BONNIE A. SULLIVAN
CURTIS ULLMAN*
CHRISTIAN VOLZ
CHARLES E. WASHBURN, JR.*
ROBERT M. WEXMAN*
BARBARA SHWERTNER
LOUISE P. WISE
RENIE E. YOSHIOKA*
DEAN J. ZIPSER*

*NOT ADMITTED IN D.C.

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER
(202) 789-

October 14, 1981

HAND DELIVERED

Charles N. Steele, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20465

Re: MUR 1252/1299: FEC Subpoena and Interrogatories dated October 1, 1980

Dear Mr. Steele:

In response to the Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") letter dated August 5, 1981, we have undertaken a diligent examination of the Reagan-Bush Committee's ("RBC") records in an effort to locate information responsive to the above-referenced subpoena and interrogatories. The documents attached to this letter represent the product, to date, of this effort.

In the course of conducting our search, we ascertained that there may be additional materials in other document repositories which are relevant to the issues raised in the Commission's subpoena and interrogatories. As a result, we plan to review the Committee's records which are located in its archives in Palo Alto, California. In addition, there are several attachments referred to in some of the enclosed documents which we are attempting to locate. We will advise the Commission of any additional information responsive to the subpoena.

With respect to the instant submission, the following information is provided in response to the Commission's subpoena and interrogatories:

8304042365

SUBPOENA SPECIFICATION NO. 1

Subpoena Specification No. 1 requested all documents and materials concerning meetings, discussions, correspondence or other communications between the Reagan for President Committee and certain specified individuals and organizations which relate to President Reagan's primary and general election campaigns. With respect to this request, a search of the Committee's files has uncovered the following information:

A. Republican National Committee - See Attachment 1 for documents relating to the Republican National Committee.

B. 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee - See Attachment 2 for documents relating to the Unity Committee.

C. Fund For Conservative Majority - Attachment 3 contains two solicitations from the Fund For Conservative Majority. RBC never solocited these mailings nor responded to them. It was the Committee's policy not to communicate with these groups and considerable effort was made to ensure that this policy was followed.

D. Citizens for Reagan in '80 - According to its letterhead, Citizens for Reagan in '80 is a project of the Fund for a Conservative Majority. See Attachment 3 for documents relating to Citizens for Reagan.

E. North Carolina Congressional Club - Attachment 4 contains an unsolicited mailing from the Congressional Club. Also contained in Attachment Number 4 is a memorandum from Loren Smith to the North Carolina Reagan Bush Committee Leadership setting forth the guidelines for the campaign's relationship with independent committees.

F. Americans for Reagan - According to its letterhead, Americans for Reagan is an independent project of the Congressional Club. See Attachment 4 for documents relating to Americans for Reagan.

G. National Conservative Political Action Committee - Attachment 5 contains a copy of an unsolicited mailing from NCPAC.

3304236

H. Ronald Reagan Victory Fund - No documents concerning this group have been located.

I. Americans For Change - No documents concerning this group have been located.

J. Reagan for President in '80 - No documents concerning this group have been located.

K. Americans for an Effective Presidency - No documents concerning this group have been located.

L. Anna Chennault - No documents concerning Anna Chennault have been located.

M. Stuart Spencer - See Attachment 6 for documents relating to Mr. Spencer.

N. Senator Jesse Helms - See Attachment 4 for documents relating to Senator Helms.

O. James Lake - No documents concerning Mr. Lake have been located.

P. Bailey, Deardourff and Associates, Inc. - No documents concerning Bailey, Deardourff have been located.

Q. Ruth Jones Ltd. - See Attachment 7 for documents relating to Ruth Jones Ltd.

8304236411

SUBPOENA SPECIFICATION NO. 2

Subpoena Specification No. 2 requested all documents and materials concerning specified expenditures reported by the Committee in FEC disclosure reports with respect to the following organizations:

A. Wiland and Associates - No documents concerning Wiland and Associates have been located.

B. Telepost - Attachment 8 contains a copy of the Group I RFP - HF mailing requested by the Commission.

C. Tri-State Envelope Corp. - Attachment 9 contains the invoices associated with the April 22, 1980 expenditure to Tri-State along with copies of the relevant mailings.

D. Bedford Printing - Attachment Number 10 contains a copy of the invoice associated with the Committee's May 16, 1980 expenditure.

E. Arthur Finkelstein and Associates - No documents concerning Finkelstein and Associates have been located.

SUBPOENA SPECIFICATION NO. 3

This specification requested all documents and materials relating to the contractual or professional relationship from January 1980 to present between the Committee and certain specified entities. In response to this request, the contract between the Committee and Ruth Jones Ltd. has already been furnished to the Commission. As to the remaining entities, it is our understanding that the contracts between the Committee and the specified organizations were verbal. With respect to Finkelstein and Associates, the Committee agreed to pay this firm a $3,000 per month retainer. Documents relating to this contractual arrangement were previously supplied to the Commission by RBC. With respect to the remaining organizations, the practice of the Committee was to contact the firm and request certain services. When a bill was subsequently received by the Committee, the invoice would be paid after it was confirmed that the services had, in fact, been rendered.

INTERROGATORY A

Interrogatory A requests the identity of all officers, directors, employees, staff members, media time buyers, volunteers, consultants, or other agents of the Reagan Committee from January 1980 to present. In response to this request, the Committee previously supplied an alphabetical listing of the names of staff members of the primary and general election committees, a listing of coordinators and regional directors, a chart of the Committee's overall organization, an organizational chart of the political operations section, and a memorandum listing individuals authorized to obligate the Committee's funds.

3304236

Although the Committees' files contain a few telephone lists (some handwritten, some typewritten) of individuals involved in the campaign, it is our understanding that there was never a comprehensive list of campaign staff and volunteers.

We believe the Commission has been provided with lists of those individuals who served in a policy making capacity during the campaign. Release of any additional lists would unduly chill the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of association and expression of those involved as well as invade their basic right to privacy. Consequently, such information is not being disclosed. In this light, we trust that even those staff lists previously provided to the Commission will be kept in strict confidence pursuant to the privacy safeguards provided in 2 U.S.C. § 437g.

As indicated above, we are continuing our efforts to locate information responsive to the Commission's subpoena and interrogatories. Please be assured that we will notify the Commission if any additional relevant information is discovered.

Sincerely,

Maureen Duignan

Enclosures

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 6 4

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

MEMORANDUM

To: Bill Casey
From: Bay Buchanan Bay
Date: November 1, 1980

RE: Contributors File

The Reagan Master File is maintained in Dallas, Texas by Vought Corporation. It is continually updated with Compliance Committee contributors information.

As for security, a duplicate of the file is kept in a storage center within the Vought computer system. In addition the list is not released to any persons unless personally authorized by me or my designated agent. The list, when released, is always seeded with 8-10 names.

During the general election the following organizations, exclusive of the Reagan Bush Committee, used the file:

RNC

Congressional Committee

Senatorial Committee

Tom Evans PAC

Gordon Humphrey's PAC

Senator Dole (Kansas names only)

Targeted state parties (12 states only - done by Winchell)

8304042361 4

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee, United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Bay Buchanan, Treasurer

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: VERNE ORR
TOM MORAN

Am sending $1 million in invoices from Campaign '80 to RNC this date.

Since disclaimer was changed so as to accomodate us, I do not feel that I could reduce the amount by $500,000 as indicated in budget.

BB:lp

8304042364

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee, United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Bay Buchanan, Treasurer

Reagan Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

September 25, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: VERNE ORR, TOM MORAN
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN Bay

There was a misunderstanding with Drew Lewis that RNC was paying one-half of the Commitment '80 media. Drew said his agreement was one-half of the production only. Result: Commitment '80 for RNC will be $115,000 as originally planned, not $70,000 now on all reports.

I'll change my reports accordingly unless I hear from you.

BB:lp

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee. United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman. Bay Buchanan, Treasurer.

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 686-3400

November 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: KATHERINE ANDERSON
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

Our records indicate that Margie Crawford was hired by us August 4, and terminated August 15 to be picked up by the RNC. Call me as to how you want to handle this.

BB:lp

8304042361 7

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee, United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman, Bay Buchanan, Treasurer.

Dear

This is the employment agency's notice
for Margie Crawford. Margie came
to work for RBC on 8-4 and was
terminated by RBC on 8-15. She was
picked up by RNC effective 8-16-72.

Based on the stated guarantee we are
not technically (legally) liable in this
case — however - we did move out
to RNC because the function she was
involved in was moved to RNC.

Send to Catherine we note
that she was hired by us 8-4
then terminated 8-15 to be
picked up by RNC - she should
call me or Rod she wants to handle

3304042361E

Georgetown Employment Service, Inc.

NOV 1 1980

October 24, 1980

Reagan/Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Attention: Ms. Margaret Haas
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE
Personal

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	$900.00
NAME OF APPLICANT	Ms. Margie Crawford
STARTING DATE	August 11, 1980
STARTING SALARY	$18,000.00

GUARANTEE

100% refund if applicant/employer terminates employment within a 30-day period.

50% refund if applicant/employer terminates employment within a 31 to 90-day period.

If the above applicant/employer terminates employment within a 90-day period, GEORGETOWN EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, INC., will be given a two-week exclusive period in which to refill the position with an acceptable applicant.

*Duplicate bill. Original sent August 18, 1980.

GEORGETOWN EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, INC., is a charter member of THE INDEPENDENT GROUP EMPLOYMENT ASSOCIATION ....a non-profit association to advance ethical employment agency practices.

8304042365 9

GEORGETOWN
2920 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
-7797

DOWNTOWN
1211 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
833-9330

Established 1966

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: DREW LEWIS
FROM: BAY BUCHAN

Proof that Im not totally insensitive to your plight. However, the man became confused as you can see. He asked me to make sure New York knew he gave it. RNC can handle that, can't they?

BB:lp

33040423606

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman Bay Buchanan, Treasurer

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 7, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: DREW LEWIS
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

Please wire $175,000 to SFM Media, City Bank, N.A., 55 Wall Street, for credit of SFM Media Service Corporation, account #0931-0822.

Back up is forthcoming from John Pasquale, Campaign '80.

BB:lp

33042365 1

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 7, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: KATHERINE ANDERSON
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

I think RNC should get this.

Do your people respond for contributions to the Governor. If not send it back here and we'll take care of it.

KA:lp

8304042362

Robert Mann Packaging, Inc.
1150 Elko Drive Sunnyvale, California 94086
Telephone: (408) 734-2566

Sunnyvale Office
UNITED CALIFORNIA BANK
[redacted]
Sunnyvale, California [redacted]

14850

11-57/1210

PAY ONE HUNDRED FIFTY AND NO/100----------DOLLARS

TO THE ORDER OF * REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE DATE 9/25/80 $150.00

ROBERT MANN PACKAGING, INC.

[signature]

"014850" :121000578:6706104346" 11

[redacted]
310 First Street, Southeast
Washington, D. C. 20013

Dear Govenor Reagan:

I'm taking some time out of my busy schedule to write you because we desperately need a change of leadership in this country. Nowdays it takes an unreasonable amount of time to just survive the deplorable mess our leaders have subjected us all to.

I have believed, for some time now, that your campaign has a serious fundamental problem. With reference to the attached "Campaign Task Force" questionnaire, you are addressing too many issues too specifically for the average American voter. The average voter has his hands not only staying even, but trying to understand where he stands in this whole mess. As a consequence, he is confused and this is exactly what Carter wants.

In the top part of your form, too many items (eight plus) are addressed. I know they have to be dealt with, but not as often as you are doing. The average person wants results, not details. By addressing inflation, energy, defense, welfare, government spending, taxation regulations, etc. etc., you are opening yourself up to too much detail, and consequently just what Carter wants so he can attack you and put you on the defense. And that is exactly where he wants you - on the defense so the heat is off his miserable record.

You must keep reminding the voters that Carter is incompetent; that he is not up to the job and that you are. Carter may be a nice guy, but the voters must hear and face the fact that he is not capable of handling the job that he aspires to.

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

September 24, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: DREW LEWIS
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

Enclosed please find the following:

1. William Carruthers Company invoice dated October 1, 1980, in amount $50,000.

2. D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius, Inc., invoice #210029, dated September 26, 1980, in amount $37,500.

3. D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius, Inc., invoice #210030, dated September 26, 1980, in amount $37,500.

These are allocable invoices. Please forward the checks to John Pasquali at Campaign '80.

Thanks.

BB:lp

8304042363

D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius, Inc.
advertising
WOODWARD AT LONG LAKE RD.
P.O. BOX 811
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICH. 48013
D-U-N-S CODE 05-188-0929

Invoice

TO Republican National Committee
c/o Campaign '80, Inc.
135 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

INVOICE DATE 9/16/80
INVOICE NO. 210029
ORDER NO.
CLASSIFICATION Service Fee
DUE DATE 9/26/80

2105-00	GROSS AMOUNT	CASH DISCOUNT
Service Fee for the Month of October, 1980	$37,500.00	

8304236

TERMS

PLEASE REMIT FINAL AMOUNT IN AMOUNT COLUMN. INVOICE IS PAYABLE ON DUE DATE SHOWN ABOVE. CASH DISCOUNT, AS INDICATED, WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF PAYMENT IS MADE AFTER DUE DATE.

FORM NO 29 15M 2 80

D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius, Inc.
advertising
WOODWARD AT LONG LAKE RD.
P.O. BOX 811
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICH. 48013
D-U-N-S CODE 05-185-0929

Invoice

TO Republican National Committee
c/o Campaign '80, Inc.
135 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

INVOICE DATE 9/16/80
INVOICE NO. 210029
ORDER NO.
CLASSIFICATION Service Fee
DUE DATE 9/26/80

2105-00	GROSS AMOUNT	CASH DISCOUNT
Service Fee for the Month of October, 1980	$37,500.00	

8304042363

TERMS

PLEASE REMIT FINAL AMOUNT IN AMOUNT COLUMN. INVOICE IS PAYABLE ON DUE DATE SHOWN ABOVE. CASH DISCOUNT, AS INDICATED, WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF PAYMENT IS MADE AFTER DUE DATE.

FORM NO 23154 C 80

D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius, Inc.
advertising
WOODWARD AT LONG LAKE RD.
P.O. BOX 811
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICH. 48013
D-U-N-S CODE 05-155-0929

Invoice

TO Republican National Committee
c/o Campaign '80, Inc.
135 West 50th Street
New York, N.Y. 10020

INVOICE DATE 9/16/80
INVOICE NO. 210030
ORDER NO.
CLASSIFICATION Service Fee
DUE DATE 9/26/80

2105-00	GROSS AMOUNT	CASH DISCOUNT
Service Fee for the Month of September,1980	$37,500.00	

8304023637

TERMS

PLEASE REMIT FINAL AMOUNT IN AMOUNT COLUMN. INVOICE IS PAYABLE ON DUE DATE SHOWN ABOVE. CASH DISCOUNT, AS INDICATED, WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF PAYMENT IS MADE AFTER DUE DATE.

FORM NO 29 15M 2-80

D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius, Inc.
advertising
WOODWARD AT LONG LAKE RD.
P.O. BOX 811
BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICH. 48013
D-U-N-S CODE 05-155-0929

Invoice

TO Republican National Committee
c/o Campaign '80, Inc.
135 West 50th Street
New York, N.Y. 10020

INVOICE DATE 9/16/80
INVOICE NO. 210030
ORDER NO.
CLASSIFICATION Service Fee
DUE DATE 9/26/80

2105-00	GROSS AMOUNT	CASH DISCOUNT
Service Fee for the Month of September,1980	$37,500.00	

8304023635

TERMS

PLEASE REMIT FINAL AMOUNT IN AMOUNT COLUMN. INVOICE IS PAYABLE ON DUE DATE SHOWN ABOVE. CASH DISCOUNT, AS INDICATED, WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF PAYMENT IS MADE AFTER DUE DATE.

FORM NO 29 15M 2 80

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

September 24, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: DREW LEWIS
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

We have now expended $63,141 on Commitment '80 media as is indicated on attached memo.

Also enclosed are bills amounting to $6,505.20 for additional Commitment '80 media expenses. These should be paid by RNC and go against RNC's portion of this program.

BB:lp

8304042363

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee | United States Senator Paul Laxalt (Chairman) Ray Buchanan (Treasurer)

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

September 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: DREW LEWIS
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

Drew, the attached memorandum from Bill Casey is going out today to Reagan Bush State Chairmen, Primary State Finance Chairmen, Regional Political Directors, and State Executive Directors.

Please feel free to send it to any other persons.

BB:lp

cc: Bill Casey

8304042360

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee. United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman. Ray Buchanan, Treasurer

Reagan Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

September 3, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: DREW LEWIS
KATHERINE ANDERSON
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

Please pay as soon as possible against our budget. Call me if you need anything.

Thanks.

BB:lp

8304042366 1

Paid for by Reagan Bush Committee United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman Bay Buchanan, Treasurer

August 8, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: DREW LEWIS
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

Per our conversation, please find enclosed invoices totalling $82,193.67 representing expenses incurred by advertising people on behalf of the Republican National Committee. The total sum of $82,193.67 should be made payable to:

CCI, Inc.
Division of Dailey and Associates
3055 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90010
Attnetion: Ms. Helen Canard

If you have any question please let me know.

BB:lp

cc: Helen Canard
John Pasquali

33040423653

MEMO TO: Drew Lewis
FROM: Bay Buchanan
RE: Katherine Anderson
DATE: July 2, 1980

As your assistant at the Republican National Committee and considering her knowledge and previous experience, Katherine Anderson can be a valuable asset to me in the following capacities:

1. Advising and coordinating the processing of the RFP payroll through the RNC.

2. Advising on the initial planning and design of the work flow with respect to accounting, computer, and control needs.

3. Controlling the $4.7 million the RNC may legally spend on behalf of the campaign.

The only time she would be required to spend away from the RNC will be the week following the convention, for one-half day each day, which she would spend at the RFP campaign headquarters.

In addition, it may be valuable to both the RNC and to RFP to involve Katherine in a number of my analysis and review meetings.

Let me know if such an arrangement is agreeable to both you and Katherine.

Thank you.

8304042365

July 30, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: BILL CASEY
FROM: BAY BUCHANAN

Bill, we have people standing in line to use our mailing list. With the commitments the Governor has made to RNC, the Senatorial Campaign Committee, and the Unity Committee,in addition to our Compliance Fund,the list will be used to its maximum through the month of October. As you know, it is not appropriate to mail to a list or part of a list within two weeks on either side of a mailing, so scheduling becomes a problem.

With that in mind, I recommend that the list not be made available until after November, except to fulfill existing commitments.

If promises have been made to Guy Hunt (letter attached) and the New York Committee, let me know and I'll fit them into the schedule.

BB:lp

33042365

ORIGINAL

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

310 FIRST STREET, S.E. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
(202) 484-6756

NO. 2128

DEPT. 041000-51311

MAKE CHECK PAYABLE TO REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

DATE August 15, 19 80

SOLD TO
Mike Heinrich
Campaign 80
135 W. 50th Street
Room 1111
New York, NY 10020

SHIP TO

CHECK #	PARTICULARS	DATE	AMOUNT	APPROVAL
5020	Tape Rental Expenses	8/26	40.00	

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO.	DATE SHIPPED	SHIPPED VIA	SALESMAN	OUR ORDER NO.

QTY. ORD'D	QTY. B.O.	DESCRIPTION	QTY. SHIP'D	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
3304042335		Video tape			$21 00
		Federal Express			19 00
			TOTAL		$40 00

Acceptance Speech
for J. Oliniaker

AT-047

"Seller represents that with respect to the production of the articles covered by this invoice, it has fully complied with the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended."

CAMPAIGN 80

135 WEST 50TH STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10020, TELEPHONE (212) 664-0700
901 SOUTH HIGHLAND STREET, ARLINGTON, VA 22204, TELEPHONE (703) 685-3400

November 25, 1980

Ms. Katherine Anderson
Deputy Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Ms. Anderson:

Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., 1990 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, are making an examination of our financial statements, and we shall be obliged, therefore, if you would confirm directly to them the following information concerning payments made by the Republican National Committee on behalf of Campaign '80, Inc.

	Amount	Invoice #	Invoice Date
William Carruthers Co.			
	$ 50,000.	006	10/1/80
Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc.			
	$ 500,000.	6018	10/9/80
	250,000.	6019	10/9/80
	150,000.	6020	10/9/80
	100,000.	6021	10/9/80
Total	$1,000,000.		
SFM Media Service Corporation			
	$ 175,000.		10/6/80
D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius, Inc.			
	$ 37,500.	210030	10/1/80
	37,500.	210029	10/10/80
Total	$ 75,000.		

Sincerely,

John Pasquali
Controller

The above information is correct except as noted on the reverse side of this letter.

Signed: _____ Title: _____ Date: _____

ADVERTISING AGENCY FOR REAGAN BUSH COMMITTEE

8304042366377

R. Bay Buchanan

RONALD REAGAN
P.O. BOX 2702
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

8304042363E

8304042365

You are Cordially Invited
to join
Governor Ronald Reagan
at any of the four fundraising events
to be held across the country by the
Republican Presidential Unity Committee

8304042367O

Please complete the enclosed card
and return it with your contribution.

This card includes important
information required by the
Federal Election Commission.
Please complete in full.

The Republican Presidential Unity Committee has been
established under the Federal Election Commission.
Individuals may contribute as much as $5,000.

R.S.V.P.

8304042367 1

☐ I will be attending the events checked below.

☐ June 13—7 P.M.—Los Angeles—Dinner—Beverly Hilton

☐ June 16—4:45 P.M.—New York—Reception—Pierre Hotel

☐ June 20—5 P.M.—Chicago—Reception—Palmer House

*☐ June 27—1 P.M.—Houston—Luncheon—Hyatt Regency

*Admission $250 per person for this event only.

Number in your party _____

Amount of check enclosed payable to Republican Presidential Unity Committee
$_____($500 per person $250 per person for Houston event only)

☐ I cannot attend an event, but here is my _____ contribution to the Republican Presidential Unity Committee.

The Republican Presidential Unity Committee has been established in accordance with the Federal Election Campaign act and is registered with the Federal Election Commission. Individuals may contribute as much as $5,000.

830404236728

Please complete the information below:

Name _____

Address _____

Occupation _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Name of employer _____

Paid for by the 1988 Republican Presidential Unity Committee. Overall proceeds will be divided as follows: 48% to the Connally Committee, 48% to the Baker Committee, 4.5% to the Dole Committee, 4.5% to the Crane Committee, 4% to the Fernandez Committee and 1% to the Reagan Committee. Specific contributions may be allocated differently in order to: 1) insure that an individual contributor violates the Federal Election Campaign Act giving limitations; 2) reflect the fact that a particular candidate has retired his campaign debt; or 3) maximize the amount of funds available from Federal matching grants. Contributors will be informed of the allocation of their contribution by follow-up letter.

M E M O R A N D U M
9/26/80

TO: Stan Huckaby, Treasurer, The Baker Committee
Chip Werlin, Treasurer, Connally Committee
Vicki Tigwell, Treasurer, Crane Committee
Jo-Anne Coe, Treasurer, Dole Committee
Bay Buchanan, Treasurer, Reagan Committee
Benjamin Fernandez, Fernandez Committee

FROM: 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
Stan Huckaby, Treasurer SH

RE: Meeting of September 25, 1980

In the meeting of 9/25/80, the following three points were agreed upon by the participants. Each Committee was represented with the exception of the Reagan Committee.

1. The treasurer of the Unity Committee, Stan Huckaby, or his designee, will discuss with the Federal Election Commission the issue of eligibility of matching funds in regards to earned but unreceived matching funds.

2. Stan Huckaby and Vicki Tigwell will represent all treasurers in a discussion with the Federal Election Commission, the purpose of which will be to establish a date from which all outstanding debts and obligations can be calculated. This date will be used in determining the maximum funds to be disbursed to each committee.

   Repayments to the Federal Election Commission may be included in the debt figure, if the legal counsel does not advise otherwise. The cut off date for the inclusion of repayment amounts is the date on which the statement of debt is requested. Exact amounts are required. Estimates will not be acceptable.

3. It is incumbent upon each individual treasurer to seek and obtain a consensus of agreement on every issue he or she endorses, if that issue is contrary to or inconsistent with the original agreement.

8304042367 3

1980 UNITY DINNER

CASH RECEIPTS PROCEDURES

1. All contributions will be forwarded to and processed by the Washington office of the 1980 Unity Dinner.

2. All checks should be made payable to "1980 Presidential Unity Drive Dinners."

3. All dinner chairmen will receive an adequate supply of standardized cash receipts transmittal forms. This form (sample attached) will be the basic document for processing checks and must be utilized as follows:

   A. Transmittals should be typed.

   B. The form asks only for information required by the Federal Election Law. Title, name, address, city, state, zip code, and amount contributed. The FEC requires you to make a "concerted effort" to obtain this information.

   C. Federal Law requires that all contributions be deposited within 5 days after receipt. Accordingly, all contributions must be forwarded to Washington immediately after receipt. Checks should be sent to "Box 2702, Washington, D.C. 20013.

   D. Be sure to keep a copy of the transmittal for your files.

   E. No contributions can be accepted unless accompanied by a transmittal form.

   F. Any questions and/or problems about processing and/or handling the transmittal forms should be directed to "1980 Presidential Unity Drive Dinners," in Washington at (202) 789-7917 attention Jody Boyce.

4. For all contributions received, the Washington Unity Dinner Committee will send out a thank-you letter and tax receipt and make any and all public disclosures required by Federal Law.

5. Contributions which have to be returned or refunded will be handled by the Washington office.

33040423636

Reg. 100.1 101.1 Let 432e(1)

8 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 6 7

RESPONSIBILITY CHART

	PRESIDENTIAL UNITY DINNER P.U.D.	DINNER, CHAIRMAN & COMMITTEE
Dinner Committee	Provide guidelines and assistance.	Assign committee leaders, designate responsibility, Kickoff meetings
Lists	Provide Major Donor List from participating campaigns.	Coordinate additional prospect lists with Major Donor List
Invitations	Suggest format, assist in printing	Designed, printed, addressed, stamped, mailed
Accounting	Full responsibility filing FEC Reports, paying invoices	Type transmittal forms for corresponding ticket sales. forward with bills
Programs	Provide suggested format	Designed, printed and produced
Tickets	Design, print, distribute prenumbered tickets	Determine number of tickets needed and distribute
Publicity	Provide items of National interest. Co-ordinate with state news events	
Hotels	Provide National Arrangements Chairman	Co-ordinate with consultant on menu, decorations, receptions, reservations
Letters of Appreciation	Receipt of and thanks to all contributors as well as special requests	Thank you's to co-chairmen, staff and all other necessary
Follow-up	Provide maximum assistance	Co-ordinate with PUD for maximum use of mail, phone, and personal follow-up

STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY

(see reverse side for instructions)

1. (a) Name of Candidate (in Full)

Ronald Reagan

(b) Address (Number and Street)

9841 Airport boulevard, Suite #1430

(c) City, State and ZIP Code

Los Angeles, California 90045

2. Identification No.

P60000668

3. Party Affiliation

Republican

4. Office Sought

President

5. District & State of Candidate

Los Angeles, California

DESIGNATION OF PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

6. I hereby designate the following named political committee as my Principal Campaign Committee for the 1980 (Year of Election) election(s).

NOTE: This designation must be filed with the appropriate office listed below.

(a) Name of Committee (in Full)

Reagan for President General Election Committee

(b) Address (Number and Street)

9841 Airport Boulevard, Suite #1430

(c) City, State and ZIP Code

Los Angeles, California 90045

DESIGNATION OF OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES

7. I hereby authorize the following named committee, which is NOT my principal campaign committee, to receive and expend funds on behalf of my candidacy.

NOTE: This designation should be filed with the principal campaign committee.

(a) Name of Committee (in Full)

(1) 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee (2) Reagan for President Compliance Fund

(b) Address (Number and Street)

25 "K" Street, N.E. 9841 Airport Boulevard, #1430

(c) City, State and ZIP Code

Washington, D.C. 20002 Los Angeles, California 90045

I certify that I have examined this Statement and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

[signature] 6/26/80

(Signature of Candidate) (Date)

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g.

CANDIDATES FOR –

President mail to:
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

U.S. Senate mail to:
Secretary of the Senate
119 D Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20510

U.S. House of Representatives mail to:
Clerk of the House
1036 Longworth Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

For further information contact:
Federal Election Commission
Toll Free 800-424-9530
Local 202-523-4068

FEC FORM 2 (3/80)

TO : Bob Perkins
c/o Baker Committee
25 K Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
202/789-7915

Date: June 18, 1980

FROM: ✓ REAGAN, Treasurer
Committee

My signature on this form indicates that I have received the Agreement concerning the operation of the Republican Presidential Unity Committee and the United Republican Committee. My campaign agrees to comply with the procedures outlined in the memo.

I have filed the appropriate authorization forms for each committee with the Federal Election Commission. Copies will be sent to Stan Huckaby, c/o Political Financial Services, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Enclosed are ~~two~~ the checks in the amounts specified in the agreement; one made payable to the Republican Presidential Unity Committee ~~and one made payable to the United Republican Committee~~.

Jay Buchanan
Treasurer

83042367

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Account Number

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

____	(1) Classified Information	____	(6) Personal privacy
____	(2) Internal rules and practices	____	(7) Investigatory files
____	(3) Exempted by other statute	X	(8) Banking Information
____	(4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information	____	(9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical)
____	(5) Internal Documents		

Signed Anne A. Weissenborn

Date 6/8/83

FEC 9-21-77

8304042367

DATE	AMOUNT
Contribution	

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT
0841 AIRPORT BLVD., STE. 1430
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90045

5737

June 18 19 80 80-1281/1222

PAY TO THE ORDER OF 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee — $ 100.00

One Hundred DOLS 00 CTS DOLLARS

Santa Monica Bank
Santa Monica, Calif. 90401

Roy Buchanan

:330404:33 5 6

BAKER & HOSTETLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 861-1500

In Cleveland, Ohio
1956 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
(216) 621-0200
TWX 810 421 8375

In Columbus, Ohio
100 East Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 228-1541

In Orlando, Florida
250 CNA Tower
Orlando, Florida 32801
(305) 841-1111

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NO.:
(202) 861-1572

April 17, 1980

Mr. Robert Perkins
The Baker Committee
25 K Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Bob:

You have requested this letter in order to guide you and The Baker Committee with respect to certain fundraising activity. The Baker Committee ("BC") and the Connolly for President Committee ("CPC") wish to sponsor jointly a fundraising dinner to be held in Nashville, Tennessee. The proceeds of the dinner will be used to help extinguish outstanding debts which are owed by the respective committees. Both Senator Howard H. Baker and Governor John B. Connolly have ceased being active candidates for the 1980 Republican presidential nomination. Senator Baker has been certified as a candidate eligible for federal funds pursuant to the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act, Chapter 95, Title 26 United States Code. Governor Connolly is not such a candidate, and unlike Senator Baker has not received any federal funds during his campaign. Under these conditions you wish to know the general procedure under the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended ("Act"), which must be followed by the two committees in order to raise funds jointly.

A. Joint Fundraising

The Act permits candidates and committees to raise funds through joint fundraising efforts, the proceeds of which may be transferred to the sponsoring committees without limit. 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(5)(A); 11 C.F.R. §110.3(a)(2)(i). The Federal Election Commission ("FEC")

RECEIVED MAY 16 1980

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has specifically approved joint fundraising activity by presidential campaign committees for purposes of retiring outstanding campaign debts. Advisory Opinion 1977-14. The most common vehicle for conducting such activity is the joint fundraising committee. The following preliminary steps must be taken to establish such a joint committee ("JC") for the proposed Nashville event:

1. The JC must register with the FEC as a political committee under the Act by filing FEC Form 1. The JC must thereafter comply with the Act's reporting and recordkeeping requirements, including the preservation of committee records for three years. 2 U.S.C. §432(d); Advisory Opinion 1977-14. Since Senator Baker is the recipient of federal funds, the JC will be audited by the FEC. 2 U.S.C. §9038(a).

2. Governor Connolly and Senator Baker must authorize the JC by each filing FEC Form 2. The JC must be designated by these individuals as an authorized committee on line 7, FEC Form 2 (3/80).

3. BC and CPC must amend their respective Statements of Organization, FEC Form 1. The two committees must separately disclose the JC as an "affiliated" committee by amending line 6 of FEC Form 1 (3/80).

B. Sharing of Proceeds and Expenses

The participating committees may ultimately share in the proceeds of a joint fundraising event. The participants must agree in advance on the percentage amount which each will receive. They may establish any percentage. You have informed me that the proceeds of the Nashville dinner will be divided equally between BC and CPC.

Once the shares are established, the sponsors must share all expenses relating to the joint fundraising activity in the identical proportion in which they share

8304042369 1

in the proceeds. Therefore, the expenses of the Nashville dinner must be borne equally between BC and CPC. Advisory Opinion 1977-14; Advisory Opinion 1977-61.

C. Limitations

1. Contribution Limits

All persons making contributions to the JC will be regarded as making contributions to the participating presidential campaigns. Advisory Opinion 1977-14. The applicable limit on contributions to the JC is the sum of the maximum amount which may be contributed directly to each candidate. Therefore, the contribution limit on individual contributions to the JC would be $2,000 ($1,000 maximum for Baker and $1,000 maximum for Connolly). This figure is valid only if the contributor has not made any prior contributions to the JC or to either presidential campaign. If the individual has made prior contributions, the JC must adjust the amount accordingly, and refund any excess. All individual contributions to the JC are subject to the $25,000 limit on total campaign gifts in a calendar year. 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(3).

The same procedure must be used with respect to donations from multi-candidate committees ("PACs"). If the PAC is not qualified under the Act, the limit would be the same as that for individuals, i.e., $2,000. If the PAC is qualified, the limit would be $10,000. Both figures are applicable only to a donating committee which has made no previous contribution to the JC nor to BC or CPC.

2. Expenditure Limits

The expenses of the Nashville dinner may be subject to limitations. This is true with regards to The Baker Committee which receives federal matching funds on behalf of Senator Baker. Unless these expenses fall within the so-called fundraising exemption, they may be allocable to a particular state limit (e.g., Tennessee). See 11 C.F.R. §100.8(21), §110.8. The reporting of these expenditures is discussed below.

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D. Notice to Potential Contributors

Solicitation materials used by the JC must contain several notices. Any solicitation through any type of general public political advertising, such as direct mail, must contain a notice that the communication has been paid for by the joint fundraising committee. 2 U.S.C. §441d. In addition, persons who are solicited must be informed of the following:

1. That contributions to the JC are subject to limits.

2. That a contribution to JC will be divided equally between The Baker Committee and The Connolly for President Committee.

3. That a contributor may allocate his contribution differently than as agreed to between the presidential campaign committees.

You have indicated that the JC will also utilize contributions in a fashion to maximize the amount eligible for matching funds for Senator Baker. Contributors should also be notified of JC's intentions in this regard at the time of solicitation. Furthermore, each contributor should be notified how his contribution was allocated for limits purposes at the time a thank you or confirmation letter is sent by the JC.

E. Matchability of Contributions

Qualified presidential candidates who are eligible for federal matching funds under 26 U.S.C. §9033 may submit for matching any contribution received by the candidate "or by his authorized committees" up to $250 per individual contributor. 26 U.S.C. §9034. A matchable contribution is "a gift of money made by a written instrument which identifies the person making the contribution by full name and mailing address." 26 U.S.C. §9034. Under FEC regulation "a written instrument means a check written on a personal, escrow or trust account; a money order; or any other negotiable instrument." 11 C.F.R. §9034.2(b). Furthermore, in order to qualify for matching contributions, the written instrument "must be: payable on demand; and to the order of, or specifically endorsed without qualification to, the

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presidential candidate, his or her principal campaign committee, or his or her authorized committee." 11 C.F.R. §9034.2(c).

The FEC has not ruled specifically whether contributions to a joint fundraising committee are matchable. Under the above-cited statutes and regulations it appears that certain contributions are matchable. With respect to the JC, an authorized committee of Senator Baker, those contributions which are allocable to Senator Baker in whole or in part, may be submitted for matching funds up to the allocable portion (not to exceed $250), provided that the contribution is from an individual, made by written strument payable to the order of the JC, and otherwise eligible for matching. See generally 11 C.F.R. §9034.2, §9034.3. Such contributions must be aggregated with any previously matched contributions from the same individual to The Baker Committee.

F. Reporting and Recordkeeping

1. The Joint Fundraising Committee

The JC must report and maintain records just like any committee subject to the Act. As an authorized committee of 1980 presidential candidates, it is subject to the disclosure requirements of the Act as in existence prior to the enactment of the 1979 Amendments. Pub. L. No. 96-187, §301(b).

The distribution of the net proceeds to BC and CPC must be disclosed on Schedule B of the appropriate JC report. The disclosure must contain a notation that the transfer is a distribution of joint fundraising proceeds. At the time of distribution the JC must provide to the other committees a listing of the contributors to the event and the amount allocable to each candidate with respect to each contribution.

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2. The Baker Committee and The Connolly for President Committee.

While the JC is in existence, both presidential campaign committees must include in their respective reports FEC Form 3Z, "Consolidated Report of Receipts and Disbursements." This form requires disclosure of summary financial data with respect to all authorized committees of the same candidate.

At the time net proceeds are distributed, the funds become reportable on the next report of the two presidential committees. Schedule A of the BC report and the CPC report, must reflect the total amount received by the committee. These proceeds constitute net proceeds after expenses have been paid. Consequently, each committee must further disclose on a memo Schedule A its respective gross share of each contribution originally received by JC. This disclosure must be made for all individuals who in the aggregate have contributed over $100 to the candidate. All committee (PAC) donations must be disclosed regardless of amount.

Expenditures by JC need not be reported by either BC or CPC. Advisory Opinion 1977-61. However, The Baker Committee may have to monitor these expenses if they are subject to state limitations. Overall expenditures must be reflected in each committee's consolidated report on Form 3Z as noted above.

* * *

I hope this letter provides you with the guidance which you are seeking. Naturally, I would be glad to discuss with you any specific questions which you may have.

Very truly yours,

Jan W. Baran

8304042368

Stephen Vinchell & Associates, Inc.
1990 M Street, N.W. • Suite 310 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 466-4242

June 25, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: BOB PERKINS, THE BAKER COMMITTEE

FROM: MEG WALKER, SWA MW

SUBJECT: PRINTOUTS FROM REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL UNITY COMMITTEE MAILING

7/1
Unity People
FYI
Bob P.

This is to confirm our conversation regarding Baker, Connally, Crane and Reagan printouts used in the Republican Presidential Unity Committee "invitation" mailing.

Per your instructions, I have asked Clyde Sisk to destroy all lists. They will be shredded on Thursday, June 26, 1980.

Please give me a call if you have any questions, Bob.

SENT

JUN 25 1980

33040423633

TO: BAKER COMMITTEE

May 23, 1980

Senator Howard Baker
Ted Welch
Stan Huckaby, Treasurer
Jim Cannon
Wyatt Stewart
A. B. Culvahouse
Jan Baran

CONNALLY COMMITTEE
Governor John C. Connally
John C. Connally, III
Ben Barnes
Chip Werlin, Treasurer
Michael Gaidner
Anton Reel

CRANE COMMITTEE
Congressman Phil Crane
Jerry Harkins
Vicki Tigwell, Treasurer

DOLE COMMITTEE
Senator Bob Dole
Jo-Anne Coe, Treasurer

REAGAN COMMITTEE
Governor Ronald Reagan
Dan Terra
Pat Buchanan, Treasurer
Bill Casey
Ed Meese
Loren Smith
Charles Wick

8304042363 7

FM: Bob Perkins, 25 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20003, 202/789-7915

RE: Joint Fundraising Efforts

CC: President Gerald Ford
Bob Barrett

Due to a scheduling difficulty, the event in Detroit for June 20, has been cancelled.

An alternate site has not been arranged at this time.

BP/zh

RECEIVED MAY 27 1980

The Baker Committee, P.O. Box 2702, Washington, D.C. 20013, 202/789-7900

BAKER

May 20, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : Stan Huckaby
Chip Werlin
Vicki Tigwell
Jo-Anne Coe
Pat Buchanan

FROM: Bob Perkins

Through an oversight, my secretary neglected to enclose a copy Federal Election Commission authorizations and a copy of the Statement of Organization of both the United Republican Committee and the Republican Presidential Unity Committee.

You will find the above enclosed. Please forgive the oversight.

Thank you.

8304042363

RECEIVED MAY 23 1980

Tough. Ho Right for the 80's.

Paid for by The Baker Committee. 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.

July 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : Addressees (See Below)

FROM: Bob Perkins BP

RE : Distribution of Unity Dinner Proceeds

As of July 15, the following is a summary of the status of the Unity Dinners.

The principle barrier to a quick distribution of the proceeds is the tardiness of some campaigns in providing contributor history information.

I am continuing to follow-up on the pledges to the television program. However, I would be surprised to see the total TV revenue exceed $160,000.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Addressees:
Senator Howard Baker
Ted Welch
Stan Huckaby, Treasurer
Jim Cannon
Wyatt Stewart
A. B. Culvahouse
Jan Baren
Governor John C. Connally
John C. Connally, III
Ben Barnes
Chip Werlin, Treasurer
Michael Gardner
Anton Reel
Congressman Phil Crane
Jerry Harkins
Vicki Tigwell, Treasurer
Senator Bob Dole
Jo-Anne Coe, Treasurer
Governor Ronald Reagan
Dan Terra
Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
Bill Casey
Ed Meese
Loren Smith
Charles Wick

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Accounting of Unity Events

(In Dollars)

Event	Income	Expenses	Net
New York	132,052	25,264	106,788
Los Angeles	471,710	52,342	419,368
Chicago	54,000	5,125	48,875
Houston	175,925	15,866	160,059
Invitation Mailing	193,100	45,704	147,396
Sub-total	1,026,787	144,301	882,486
TV Event	121,698	442,084	-320,387
TOTAL	1,148,485	586,385	562,100

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 6 9 0

MPC
P O BOX 1037
MCLEAN VA 22102

western union Mailgram

1-096654U197 07/15/80 ICS WA16614 FCHB
01741 MLTN VA 07/15/80

MR RAY BUCHANAN
REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT
901 S HIGHLAND ST
ARLINGTON VA 22204

I NEED YOUR IMMEDIATE HELP. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISTRIBUTE FUNDS FROM UNITY COMMITTEE UNTIL WE HAVE RECONCILED CONTRIBUTORS TO UNITY COMMITTEE AND YOUR CAMPAIGN. YOU SHOULD HAVE BEEN FORWARDED A LIST OF TNITY COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTORS. IF I CAN HELP YOU IN ANY WAY, PLEASE CONTACT ME. YOUR IMMEDIATE HELP IS DEEPLY APPRECIATED.

THANKS.

BOB PERKINS

9900
0219 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

8241 (R1/78)

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

MEMO TO: Bay Buchanan

FROM: Jody Boyce, Republican Unity Committee

DATE: July 15, 1980

Enclosed are the contributor lists for the Unity Committee thru July 1. These were originally sent to Los Angeles. Per the mailgram from Bob Perkins, we must have these totals back as soon as possible so we can begin the allocation process. We will be sending more lists within the next week.

Thank you for your help.

8304042367?

July 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : Addressees (See Below)

FROM: Bob Perkins BP

RE : Distribution of Unity Dinner Proceeds

As of July 15, the following is a summary of the status of the Unity Dinners.

The principle barrier to a quick distribution of the proceeds is the tardiness of some campaigns in providing contributor history information.

I am continuing to follow-up on the pledges to the television program. However, I would be surprised to see the total TV revenue exceed $160,000.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Addressees:
Senator Howard Baker
Ted Welch
Stan Huckaby, Treasurer
Jim Cannon
Wyatt Stewart
A. B. Culvahouse
Jan Baren
Governor John C. Connally
John C. Connally, III
Ben Barnes
Chip Werlin, Treasurer
Michael Gardner
Anton Reel
Congressman Phil Crane
Jerry Harkins
Vicki Tigwell, Treasurer
Senator Bob Dole
Jo-Anne Coe, Treasurer
Governor Ronald Reagan
Dan Terra
Pat Buchanan, Treasurer
Bill Casey
Ed Meese
Loren Smith
Charles Wick

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Accounting of Unity Events

(In Dollars)

Event	Income	Expenses	Net
New York	132,052	25,264	106,788
Los Angeles	471,710	52,342	419,368
Chicago	54,000	5,125	48,875
Houston	175,925	15,866	160,059
Invitation Mailing	193,100	45,704	147,396
Sub-total	1,026,787	144,301	882,486
TV Event	121,698	442,084	-320,387
TOTAL	1,148,485	586,385	562,100

3304042369

UNITY '80

July 8, 1980

Mr. Bill Casey
Reagan for President
901 South Highland Road
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Dear Bill:

Just a note to confirm our brief telephone conversation of Friday, June 27 that the Presidential Unity Committee will be able to mail the Reagan contributor file one time.

This commitment is very important and will help guarantee that we eliminate the debts of the various participating candidates. While the Connally debt is so large that we may not be able to eradicate it, we can make certain that the Crane, Dole, Fernandez and Baker debts are substantially reduced, if not eliminated.

I have already coordinated our mailing date with Bay Buchanan but I wanted to touch base with you.

Thank you very much for your help.

Very truly yours,

Robert Perkins

RP/zh
cc: Bay Buchanan
Drew Lewis

[redacted]

33040423697

BAKER

June 20, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : Participants of the Joint Presidential Fundraising Efforts

FROM: Robert Perkins RP

RE : Additional Unity Dinner Participant

The Republican National Committee will be participating in the funds raised from the CBS television program aired on Saturday, June 21.

To meet a requirement of the CBS Television network the RNC will be receiving 1% of the proceeds of the televised appeal. The RNC will not benefit from any of the funds raised at the Unity events held in New York, Houston, Los Angeles or Chicago. The RNC's 1% came equally from Senator Baker and Governor Connally's percentages.

If you have any questions on this, please don't hesitate to contact me.

RP/zh

8304042360

RECEIVED JUN 26 1980

Tough. Honest. Right for the 80's.

Paid for by The Baker Committee. 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.

8304042367

UNITY '80

August 11, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO : The Baker Committee
The Connally Committee
The Fernandez Committee
The Crane Committee
The Dole Committee
The Reagan Committee

FROM: Lolly Esham, Accounting
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee

Enclosed please find an accounting of the Unity dinners as of August 5, 1980. This is not to be considered a final accounting as contributions and bills are still being received.

As you know, the splits to each Committee will be different as each Committee has paid all their outstanding campaign obligations. It will be necessary for you to inform this office immediately if this should occur.

Please feel free to contact me at 202/789-7900 if you have any problems or concerns.

Enclosure

Overall proceeds will be divided as follows: 42% to the Howard Baker Committee, 42% to the John Connally Committee, 4.5% to the Phillip Crane Committee, 4.5% to the Robert Dole Committee, 4% to the Benjamin Fernandez Committee, 1% to the Ronald Reagan Committee. Specific contributions may be allocated differently in order to: 1) ensure no contributor violates the Federal Election Campaign Act giving limitation, 2) reflect the fact that a candidate has retired his outstanding campaign debt, or 3) maximize the amount of Federal Funds available from Federal matching grants. Contributors will be informed of the actual allocation of their donation. The above allocation structure has been filed with the Federal Election Commission.

UNITY '80

Unity Dinner Cash Flow Projections - 8/5/80

Income	%	Match	Expenses	Net	Balance held
New York Dinner					
$128,505.00					
	Baker-$50,908.95		$ 8,996.38	$41,912.57	$2000.00
	Connally-$45,995.55		8,469.11	37,526.44	1996.50
	Crane-$15,693.95		2,926.77	12,926.77	250.00
	Dole-$15,906.55		3,416.04	12,490.51	250.00

Presidential Unity Dinners

INCOME		EXPENSES	PAYABLES
LA	$503.254.02	$550,307.29	$10,421.33
Chicago	64,350.00		
Houston	197,425.00		
Mail	297,095.00		
Mailgram	43,740.00		
TV	179,673.10		
TOTAL	$1,235,537.12		

Income	$1,235,537.12
Expenses	560,728.62
	$ 674,808.50

930404236978

Overall proceeds will be divided as follows: 43% to the Howard Baker Committee, 42% to the John Connally Committee, 4.5% to the Philip Crane Committee, 4.5% to the Robert Dole Committee, 4% to the Benjamin Fernandez Committee, 1% to the Ronald Reagan Committee. Specific contributions may be allocated differently in order to: 1) ensure no contributor violates the Federal Election Campaign Act giving limitation, 2) reflect the fact that a candidate has retired his outstanding campaign debt, or 3) maximize the amount of Federal Funds available from Federal matching grants. Contributors will be informed of the actual allocation of their donation. The above allocation structure has been filed with the Federal Election Commission.

July 22, 1980

TO: ADDRESSESS

FM: BOB PERKINS

RE: UNITY COMMITTEE ACTIVITY

The Unity Committee is in the process of winding down its activities. While the accounting process is moving slowly ahead, there are a few outstanding items.

1) Governor Reagan's staff has agreed to make their $50-$250 contributors available for a mailing sometime in late September.

2) Governor Reagan agreed to sign a letter for the Unity Committee. This letter has not been mailed. However, Meg Walker of Steven Winchell and Associates has the blue lines.

3) I am leaving for an extended vacation on August 7, 1980. Mary Dreape will be able to answer any questions. She can be reached at 202/789-7915.

4) As soon as the accounting process is complete, final letters to each contributor will be generated. The "Certificate of Participation" mentioned in the TV broadcast will be mailed at that time.

Thank you all very much for your help. If I can be of further assistance, please contact me.

33042369

RECEIVED JUL 2 5 1980

UNITY '80

July 2, 1980

Ms. Bay Buchanan
Reagan for President
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Dear Bay:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation yesterday.

I fully understand the importance of Governor Reagan raising the $2 million necessary to comply with the Federal Election Campaign Act. And, as former Finance Director of the Republican National Committee, I applaud your commitment to let the RNC mail the Reagan contributor list.

As we agreed yesterday, the Unity Committee will be permitted to mail your contributor list after these two obligations have been fulfilled. Hopefully, this will be in early September. I will be in touch later to confirm an exact date.

Governor Reagan's help with the Unity Committee has been absolutely fantastic.

Very truly yours,

Robert Perkins

RP/zh

8304042370

[redacted]

TO: BAKER COMMITTEE

May 19, 15

Senator Howard [illegible]er
Ted Welch
Stan Huckaby, Treasurer
Jim Cannon
Wyatt Stewart
A. B. Culvahouse
Jan Baran

CONNALLY COMMITTEE
Governor John C. Connally
John C. Connally, III
Ben Barnes
Chip Werlin, Treasurer
Michael Gardner
Anton Reel

CRANE COMMITTEE
Congressman Phil Crane
Jerry Harkins
Vicki Tigwell, Treasurer

DOLE COMMITTEE
Senator Bob Dole
Jo-Anne Coe, Treasurer

REAGAN COMMITTEE
Governor Ronald Reagan
Dan Terra
Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
Bill Casey
Ed Meese
Loren Smith
Charles Wick

8304042370 1

FM: Bob Perkins, 25 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20003, 202/789-7915

RE: Joint Fundraising Efforts

CC: President Gerald Ford
Bob Barrett

The attached document outlines in some detail the procedures to be followed for the joint fundraising efforts of the five Presidential campaigns.

Two joint fundraising committees are being formed: The Republican Presidential Unity Committee to undertake four events and purchase television time and collect the proceeds of a 30 minute televised request for funds and the United Republican Committee to hold a fundraising event in New York City.

The treasurer of each Presidential campaign has been forwarded a form for his or her signature. The form recognizes the receipt of the agreement and the willingness of the Committee to comply with the procedures outlines therein. I have also enclosed the necessary Federal Election Commission authorization forms with each treasurer's copy.

If you have any questions, please contact me. Thank you for your assistance.

RECEIVED [illegible] 1976

TO : Bob Perkins
c/o Baker Committee
25 K Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
202/789-7915

Date: June 18 1980

FROM: [illegible], Treasurer
REAGAN Committee

My signature on this form indicates that I have received the Agreement concerning the operation of the Republican Presidential Unity Committee and the United Republican Committee. My campaign agrees to comply with the procedures outlined in the memo.

I have filed the appropriate authorization forms for each committee with the Federal Election Commission. Copies will be sent to Stan Huckaby, c/o Political Financial Services, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Enclosed are ~~two~~ one checks in the amounts specified in the agreement; one made payable to the Republican Presidential Unity Committee ~~and one made payable to the United Republican Committee~~.

Jay Buckaroo
Treasurer

8304042370

Agreement between: Baker Committee
Connally Committee
Dole Committee
Crane Committee
Reagan Committee

May 19, 198

Subject : Joint Fundraising Efforts
A. 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee
B. 1980 United Republican Committee

A. 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee

1. The 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee (the Committee) will be a joint fundraising committee authorized by the Baker, Connally, Dole, Crane and Reagan campaigns. The treasurer will be Stan Huckaby, and Paul Laxalt will be the chairman. President Gerald Ford will be the Honorary Chairman. Each participating campaign must file a written authorization with the Federal Election Commission.

The Committee will undertake two fundraising projects. First, it will hold at least four fundraising events throughout the United States. The dates are now:

June 13	Los Angeles	Dinner	·rly Hilton)
June 20	Detroit	Lunch	(… dillac)
June 20	Chicago	Reception	(Pala… louse)
June 27	Houston	Lunch	(Houston Oaks)

Second, the Committee will undertake to videotape a joint appearance of the five participating candidates and President Ford. The tape will be edited into a 30 minute television program to be aired at a later date. The program will contain a specific request for funds for the Committee.

2. The proceeds from all activities will be allocated on the following predetermined formula:

Connally	45% to a maximum of _____
Baker	45% to a maximum of _____
Dole	4.5% to a maximum of _____
Crane	4.5% to a maximum of _____
Reagan	1% to no maximum

The maximum figure will be based on the May 20 report filed by each participating candidate with the Federal Election Commission for the first four months of 1980. The maximum received will be Total Obligations owed by his Committee less total obligations owed to his Committe, cash on hand, earned but unreceived federal matching funds, and the net proceeds of any additional fundraising efforts undertaken separately by a candidate or his Committee.

3. Start up funds required will be $10,000. Each campaign will deposit a pro-rata share of this amount with the Committee, i.e., Baker $4500, Connally $4500, Dole $450, Crane $450, and Reagan $100.

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All costs will be prorated in the same ratio as the final division of the proceeds of all activities of the Committee.

4. While the general allocation formula in #2 will be used, any specific contribution may be allocated differently in order to:

a. Prevent an individual contributor from violating the Federal Election Campaign Act Contribution limitations.

b. Maximize the amount of federal matching funds the participants are able to receive.

c. Recognize that a candidate has retired his debt and therefore is eligible for no more funds.

5. All expenses incurred on behalf of the Committee must be approved by a designated agent. The designed agent now is Bob Perkins. All accounting and reporting requirements of the Committee will be handled by Stan Huckaby, with the concurrence of Chip Werlin and Bay Buchanan.

The Committee will file reports with the Federal Election Commission. Each campaign will have to file additional reports when the funds are disbursed.

The Committee be billed for all work it requests a third party to perform on its behalf

6. The Committee will pay first class travel for each candidate and one aide to each event. One hotel room suite and one single hotel room will also be covered. No meal costs or other costs will be paid.

7. All funds raised will be held by the Committee until the conclusion of all fundraising activities. After the final activity is held, there will be a disbursement of the bulk of the proceeds as soon as possible. However, it is recognized that this could be as long as six to eight weeks.

The final disbursement will occur when all obligations have been paid.

8. Each participating committee agrees to make available a list of its $250 and over contributors from throughout the United States. The only purpose of this list will be:

a. To send a letter of announcement from Governor Reagan to all contributors.

b. To conduct a telephone solicitation to those individuals who live outside of the four metropolitan areas where events are scheduled.

c. To undertake personal solicitation within the four event cities.

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9. Each committee will designate one staff person as a contact point for determining contributor history. This person will be available during working hours with a complete listing of the giving history of each donor of $100 or more to their respective committee. Alternative arrangements must be approved by Stan Huckaby.

10. The disclaimer is to read as follows: Paid for by the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee. Overall proceeds will be divided as follows: 45% to the Connally Committee; 45% to the Baker Committee; 4.5% to the Dole Committee; 4.5% to the Crane Committee and 1% to the Reagan Committee. Specific contributions may be allocated differently in order to: 1) insure that no individual contributor violates the Federal Election Campaign Act giving limitations; 2) reflect the fact that a particular candidate has retired his campaign debt; or 3) maximize the amount of funds available from Federal matching grants. Contributors will be informed of the allocation of their contribution by follow-up letter.

B. The 1980 United Republican Committee

1. The 1980 United Republican Committee will be a joint fundraising committee authorized by the Baker, Connally, Dole, and Crane campaigns. Each participating campaign must file an authorization with the Federal Election Commission. The Treasurer of this committee will be Stan Huckaby. Jerry Milbank will be the Chairman.

n/a

The Committee will undertake at least one fundraising event on Monday, June 16, beginning with a Reception at the Pierre Hotel and a Dinner at "21".

2. The proceeds of the activities of the Committee will be allocated on the following predetermined formula:

Connally	45%
Baker	45%
Dole	5%
Crane	5%

3. Start up funds necessary for this committee will be $4500. Each campaign will be responsible to deposit a prorata share of the start up funds for the joint committee. That is, Baker $2000, Connally $2000, Crane $250 and Dole $250.

The total cost of the committee will be prorated in the same ratio as the <u>final</u> division of the proceeds of the event.

4. While the general allocation formula above will be used, any specific contribution may be allocated differently in order to:

a. Prevent the individual contributor from violating the Federal Election Campaign Act Contribution limitation.

b. Maximize the amount of federal matching funds the participants are able to receive.

c. Recognize that a candidate has retired his debt and therefore is eligible for no more funds.

5. All accounting and reporting requirements of the Committee will be handled by Stan Huckaby, with the concurrence of Chip Werlin. The Committee will file reports with the Federal Election Commission. Each campaign will have to file additional reports when the funds are disbursed.

The Committee will be billed for all work it requests a third party to perform on its behalf.

All expenses incurred on behalf of the Committee must be approved by a designated agent. The designated agent now is Bob Perkins.

6. All funds raised will be held by the Committee. After the event, there will be a disbursement of the bulk of the proceeds as soon as possible. However, it is recognized that this will probably be six to eight weeks after the event.

The final disbursement will occur when all obligations have been paid.

7. Each Committee will designate one staff person as a contact point for determining contributor history. This person will be available during working hours with a complete listing of the giving history of each donor of $100 or more to their respective committee.

8. The disclaimer is to read as follows: Paid for by the 1980 United Republican Committee. Overall proceeds will be divided as follows: 45% to the Connally Committee; 45% to the Baker Committee; 5% to the Dole Committee; and 5% to the Crane Committee. Specific contributions may be allocated differently in order to: 1) insure that no individual contributor violates the Federal Election Campaign Act giving limitations; 2) reflect the fact that a particular candidate has retired his campaign debt; or 3) maximize the amount of funds available from Federal matching grants. Contributors will be informed of the allocation of their contribution by follow-up letter.

0 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 7 0 5

STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION

(See reverse side for instructions)

1. (a) Name of Committee (in Full) ☐ Check if name or address is changed.
1980 Republican Presidential Unity Cmte.

2. Date
May 16, 1980

(b) Address (Number and Street)
25 K Street, N.E.

3. FEC Identification Number

(c) City, State and ZIP Code
Washington, D.C. 20002

4. Is this an amended Statement? ☐ YES ☒ NO

5. TYPE OF COMMITTEE (check one):

☐ (a) This committee is a principal campaign committee. (Complete the candidate information below.)

☒ (b) This committee is an authorized committee, and is NOT a principal campaign committee. (Complete the candidate information below.)

See 6 below	This is a joint fundraising committee.		
Name of Candidate	Candidate Party Affiliation	Office Sought	State/District

☐ (c) This committee supports/opposes only one candidate _____ and is NOT an authorized committee.
(name of candidate)

☐ (d) This committee is a _____ committee of the _____ Party.
(National, State or subordinate) (Democratic, Republican, etc.)

☐ (e) This committee is a separate segregated fund.

☐ (f) This committee supports/opposes more than one Federal candidate and is NOT a separate segregated fund nor a party committee.

6. Name of Any Connected Organization or Affiliated Committee	Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Relationship
The Baker Committee	25 K St., Washington, D.C. 20002	Affiliated
Connally for President Cmte.	3110 Arlington Pk., Arlington Virginia 22204	Affiliated
Reagan for President Committee	9841 Airport Blvd., Los Angeles 90045	Affiliate
Crane for President Committee	4416 Woodson Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63134	Affiliate
Dole for President Committee	103 N. St. Asaph St. Alexandria, Va. 22314	Aff

If the registering political committee has identified a connected organization above, please indicate type of organization:

☐ Corporation ☐ Corporation w/o Capital Stock ☐ Labor Organization ☐ Membership Organization ☐ Trade Association ☐ Cooperative

7. Custodian of Records: Identify by name, address (phone number — optional) and position, the person in possession of committee books and records.

Full Name	Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Title or Position
Stan Huckaby	25 K St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002	Treasurer

8. Treasurer: List the name and address (phone number — optional) of the treasurer of the committee; and the name and address of any designated agent (e.g., assistant treasurer).

Full Name	Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Title or Position
Stan Huckaby	310 1st St.S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003	Treasurer

9. Banks or Other Depositories: List all banks or other depositories in which the committee deposits funds, holds accounts, rents safety deposit boxes or maintains funds.

Name of Bank, Depository, etc.	Mailing Address and ZIP Code
1st American Bank	412 1st St., SE., Washington, D.C. 20003

I certify that I have examined this Statement and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Stan Huckaby — SIGNATURE OF TREASURER — May 16, 1980
Type or Print Name of Treasurer — Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437g.

For further information contact: Federal Election Commission, Toll Free 800-424-9530, Local 202-523-4068

FEC FORM 1 (5-80)

MEMORANDUM

From: Loren A. Smith, General Counsel

To: Charles Z. Wick

Re: 1980 Ronald Reagan Unity Committee

Date: May 13, 1980

Based upon Bob Perkins' memorandum of May 8, 1980, the Unity Committee's activities and system fully comply with the proper federal rules.

The name of the committee is legally proper and in no way detracts from the committee's purpose and function as a joint fundraising committee. Further, the whole Unity Committee effort is proper and the only expenses attributable to RFP will be that same proportion as RFP received of the event proceeds.

There is no legal problem with having the contributions physically sent to the California RFP office for logging in and pre-processing before sending them physically to the Unity Committee Treasurer. This logging-in period should not exceed ten days. If the logging-in period needs to be longer, then some California RFP person should be designated as an Assistant Treasurer to exercise control over the process.

cc: Bay Buchanan ✓

LS*in

8304042370E

REAGAN for PRESIDENT

[redacted]
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 549-9805

May 16, 1980

Mr. Charles Z. Wick
Reagan for President
9841 Airport Boulevard, Suite 1430
Los Angeles, CA 90045

Dear Charlie:

Please accept this as a formal opinion of counsel. You indicated that some contributors have questions about the legal rules governing joint fundraisers, as this is an unfamiliar area for most people.

First, it should be noted that joint fundraisers are legal and specifically recognized as so by the Federal Election Commission and its regulations. Second, the Commission recognizes the absolute right of the joint fundraising committee and the candidates to allocate the proceeds of the event on any percentage basis the candidates choose. Third, the joint fundraising event may legally receive contributions in excess of $1,000. A joint committee of five federal candidates, like the 1980 Republican Presidential Unity Committee, can legally receive contributions of up to $5,000. Fourth, if an individaul who has given to one or more of the candidates were to give $5,000 they would not be violating the law. This would be so because the joint fundraising committee will insure that no more than $1,000 aggregate ends up from any individaul contributor going to any candidate. Under FEC regulations a committee has a reasonable time to determine whether the receipt of any contribution would produce a potential excess. As long as a refund of any such potential excess occurs within a reasonable time then no violation can occur. I am of the legal opinion that the system set out for the committee is a reasonable good faith effort that would insure no excessive contributions. It will insure that the various committees' FEC computer records will be checked to refund any amounts in excess of the contributor's aggregate limits. It is understood by me that you may distribute this letter to anyone who has concerns about this somewhat complex area. It should almost go without saying that under our current structure the individual contributor runs no legal risk in making a contribution to the joint committee.

I hope this answers your questions. If any contributors have any further questions, I would be happy to answer them.

Sincerely,

Loren A Smith, Gen'l Coun

Reagan for President – United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman; Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463

3 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 7 0 9

J. C. Lowry Electric, Inc.
P.O. BOX 847
TROY, MICHIGAN 48099
689-4893 - 524-9459

YE MAY KNOW THAT YE HAVE
ETERNAL LIFE - FIRST JOHN 5:13

April 9, 1980

Reagan for President
9841 Airport Blvd.
Suite 1430
Los Angeles, Calif. 90045

Attn: Bay Buchanan

Dear Bay:

Thanks again for your call. Our conversation was very helpful with reference to fund raising especially.

Please find enclosed a copy of the fund raising letter we received from the "Fund For A Conservative Majority".

May the Lord bless you.

Very truly yours,

Julius C. Lowry
Campaign Director,
Troy, Michigan

JCL/kl
Enc.

P.S. We'll be getting some Reagan for President stationary in soon.

RECEIVED APR 15 1980

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Citizens for Reagan in 80!

A project of FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

Thursday

Dear Friend:

Ronald Reagan is well on his way to winning the Republican nomination for President.

But there are still problems and obstacles standing between us and final victory. George Bush's victory in Connecticut clearly shows that this race is not over -- and won't be until the final primaries on June 3.

Ronald Reagan has clearly said:

> "I don't see how you can say anyone is unstoppable, especially when you consider all that has happened so far this year."

It's very easy for us to get over-confident. But we simply can't. Connecticut proved this beyond a doubt.

Look at these critical facts:

- Ronald Reagan's official campaign is literally running out of available cash. It has already spent $13 million dollars. The federal campaign spending limits allow him to spend only about $4 million more. Yet, the majority of primaries and state conventions, as well as the Republican National Convention itself, still lie ahead.

- George Bush may be running a distant second at the moment, but as we have seen this year, that could change over night. And Bush can spend at least twice the amount of money as is available to the official Reagan campaign.

- John Anderson is getting huge numbers of liberal Democrats to vote for him, and his campaign is bringing in over $150,000 each day in individual contributions. These donations are coming from liberals and Democrats who want to undermine the Republican Party.

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- And we simply can't forecast what may happen in the near future to change once again the Republican picture.

As I mentioned earlier, Ronald Reagan's campaign is running out of money. Federal law will not allow him to spend what his campaign directors would like in the key industrial states like Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas and California. And we must not take victories in any of these states for granted.

In Pennsylvania (primary date April 22), Reagan's campaign cannot spend what it needs to spend in order to win Republican, Independent and Democrat votes in this key eastern state. Bush could regain his momentum here.

In Texas (primary date May 3), George Bush will be strong -- this is his home state. But again, the official Reagan campaign will not have the necessary funds. And Reagan needs to win BIG in Texas -- a state he carried in 1976 with 100% of the delegate votes and a state which he can carry in November against Jimmy Carter.

In Ohio (primary date June 3), budget constraints again will limit the official Reagan campaign, and John Anderson is planning to outspend Reagan by as much as three to one -- maybe more! And should Kennedy be out of the Democrat picture the liberal Democrats in Ohio will be able to "cross over" and vote for John Anderson.

And California (also a June 3 Primary) is not a shoo-in either. The liberal "Stop Reagan" forces hope to successfully challenge in court the "winner take all" California primary. They are fighting to deny Reagan the 168 delegates from his own home state. If these liberals fail in court, they are preparing a convention challenge. Such a delegate challenge will mean that the Reagan delegates from California will not be able to vote to confirm their own status as delegates. Thus Reagan must have a majority of the delegates -- a majority of strong, committed delegates -- on the convention floor without California in order to officially seat the full 168 California Reagan delegates.

But "Citizens for Reagan in '80" can and will spend as much money as possible to make sure Ronald Reagan has more than enough delegates at the Detroit Republican convention to secure a first ballot victory.

This campaign will continue to be successful only if you and your friends support it.

'Citizens for Reagan in '80" is an independent campaign project sponsored by the highly respected Fund for a Conservative Majority, a national, multi-candidate political action committee. FCM is also concentrating time and money on securing "Conservative Control of the Senate' in 1980.

C 3 0 4 0 4 2 3 7 1 2

Just imagine -- Ronald Reagan as President and a Senate controlled by conservatives! It's possible this year with your help.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" has already had an important impact on the Reagan victories to date.

In New Hampshire, FCM spent over $60,000 for voter mailings, newspaper ads, radio spots and voter canvassing. This expenditure was very beneficial to Reagan's important victory in this state.

In the South, FCM spent tens of thousands of dollars for radio and newspaper ads.

In Illinois, over $40,000 was spent to support Reagan and the winning conservative GOP Senate candidate, Lt. Governor David O'Neill -- a strong Reagan supporter.

In Connecticut, well over $20,000 was spent and in Wisconsin over $40,000 was budgeted to challenge John Anderson's effort to subvert the Republican Party with liberal Democrats.

Your help is needed today!

FCM has budgeted a large part of its resources over the next 60 days to help secure a first ballot victory for Ronald Reagan at the Republican convention in Detroit.

FCM's minimum budgets in upcoming key primary states include:

Pennsylvania	$ 25,000
Texas	$100,000
California	$150,000
Ohio	$ 25,000

And FCM has also budgeted for these smaller but very significant states:

Maryland	$ 3,000
Kentucky	$ 5,000
Tennessee	$ 10,000
Indiana	$ 10,000
New Jersey	$ 25,000

The total budget for these key primaries totals $353,000 -- quite a large amount of money, but a very necessary budget if Ronald Reagan is to be nominated and elected President this year.

We'd like to spend even more than this, but that depends on the response from concerned Americans like you, who receive this letter.

And once Ronald Reagan is nominated, FCM's "Citizens for Reagan

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in '80" will continue its independent campaign. After the convention, Reagan's financial situation will be limited again by federal law. And Carter will have the White House, the Big Union Bosses and the news media on his side.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" is truly putting your money to work to help nominate and elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

Please send your contribution today to the Fund for a Conservative Majority. If you've contributed before you know how successful we have been. We simply can't get over-confident. Big challenges are still ahead of us.

Your contribution will help secure the nomination for Reagan. And once he is nominated, "Citizens for Reagan in '80" will continue its innovative program to elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States.

FCM, as a multi-candidate PAC, can accept contributions of up to $5,000 per person each year.

Please do America a favor today -- support Ronald Reagan for President.

Send your maximum contribution to FCM -- $25 or $5,000, whatever you can afford.

Ronald Reagan can be nominated in Detroit in only three months. But to secure this nomination, you must send your contribution today.

Sincerely,

Robert Heckman
Chairman

P.S. As I write you this letter, 50 American citizens continue to be held hostage by Iranian terrorists.

So that your neighbors and associates won't forget this tragic event, I have enclosed a bumper sticker for you to put on your car.

I firmly believe that had Ronald Reagan been President our nation would not have acted in "Carter-like weakness" when our citizens were taken hostage. That's why we need your help -- because Ronald Reagan must be our President in January of 1981!

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Reagan's Running Mate Survey

(A project of Fund for a Conservative Majority)

R W STEINMILBER
1728 CAPISTRANO CT
GLENDALE CA 91208

5R-F

Please show your 1st and 2nd choices for the Vice Presidential candidate to run on Ronald Reagan's Ticket.



John CONNALLY ____



Cong. Phil CRANE ____



Cong. Jack KEMP ____



Sen. Jesse HELMS ____



George BUSH ____



Sen. Bob DOLE ____



Sen. John TOWER ____

other ____

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YES, I want to join Citizens For Reagan In '80!

Enclosed is my contribution in the amount of:

____ $15 ____ $25 ____ $50 ____ $100 ____ $250
____ $500 ____ $1,000 ____ $2,500 ____ $5,000 ____ Other

(Make Check to: Fund for a Conservative Majority or FCM)

The Federal law requires that we ask the following questions:

Occupation _____ Self employed? _____

Place of Business _____

Corporate contributions can be accepted. They should be issued to the order of The Fund for a Conservative Majority — State Fund. These contributions will be utilized only in connection with state and local races where corporate contributions are permitted.

Political Funds of a Conservative Majority are not authorized by any candidate. 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.

FCM has helped these Conservative Leaders: (partial listing)


Gov. Ronald Reagan


Sen. Roger Jepsen


Sen. Jesse Helms


Sen. Bill Armstrong


Sen. John Tower


Sen. Gordon Humphrey


Sen. Strom Thurmond


Cong. Jack Kemp


Sen. Orrin Hatch


Cong. Robert Bauman


Cong. Robert Dornan


Cong. John Ashbrook

"Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate. 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 in '80!

Senate Control in '80!



Projects Sponsored F

THE FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

FCM

Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority; not authorized by any candidate.

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Citizens for Reagan in 80!

A project of **FUND FOR A CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY**

8304042377

Dear Friend:

Reagan as President and a Conservative Majority in the Senate is within our grasp!

National columnist Jack Anderson has referred to this possibility when he recently wrote:

> "... if a conservative Republican should win the presidency next year, his allies in the Senate could help him change the political direction of the country dramatically."

With your help we can nominate and elect Ronald Reagan as President! And we can control the Senate as well!

"Citizens for Reagan in 80" is a special project of the prominent multi-candidate political action committee -- Fund for a Conservative Majority. FCM is one of the oldest PAC's in the country and it's efforts have helped elect many of today's conservative leaders.

FCM is working to elect conservative candidates to federal office who will actively work to limit the size, price and control of government.

"Citizens for Reagan in '80" can be the deciding factor in nominating Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

Please join "Citizens for Reagan in '80" today.

Thousands of dollars in "early money" must be raised if Reagan's campaign for President is to succeed.

Already the Eastern Establishment Liberals within the Republican Party are pouring tens of thousands of dollars into a "STOP Reagan Campaign."

Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

Already, many Republican candidates have entered the Presidential sweepstakes. Many more may join in the next several months.

Why? Because Jimmy Carter can be defeated in 1980.

But the best man to challenge Jimmy Carter is Ronald Reagan. You and I both know this.

For instance, just imagine the Presidential Debates in the fall of 1980 between Reagan and Carter! Or against Ted Kennedy if he should take the nomination from President Carter. Ronald Reagan will so out-class and out-debate Carter or Kennedy that the American people will simply have to vote for our man!

Send your maximum contribution today to the Fund for a Conservative Majority and join "Citizens for Reagan in '80". Already the campaigns are gearing up and we need operational money to help nominate and elect Conservatives to the United States Senate and Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

And with your participation we can also help decide who Reagan's Vice President will be.

Please join in the national "Reagan's Running Mate Survey" which is enclosed.

Who should Reagan ask to run with him? You can help make this decision by sending us the enclosed survey as soon as you complete it.

The results of this survey will be periodically released to the news media right up to the Republican National Convention.

Please take these three important steps to help insure Ronald Reagan's nomination and election as President of the United States:

(1) Be sure you and your Reagan friends are registered to vote.

(2) Fill out the enclosed "Reagan's Running Mate Survey" and send it to us today.

(3) Please enclose a maximum contribution with your survey. Make your check payable to Fund for a Conservative Majority.

Don't let the liberal news media and the Eastern Establishment Republicans keep us from nominating and electing Ronald Reagan!

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U S NEWS & WORLD REPORT, July 23, 1979

Governors' Forecast: Carter vs. Reagan In '80

California Is Reagan Country

Human Events / JUNE 16, 1979

By MORRIE RYSKIND

A-7

Analysts though tl the Presidc he is rate South, an the most In the strong c Wyomin

That's the ... ciation meet- ution prefer-

Sunday, June 24, 1979

Republican Leaders Rate Reagan Party's Strongest Candidate

... is reserved for Ronnie, ... hamping at the bit wait- ... ay, when he will officially ... ito the ring. They have a ... for him, a compound of ... aderie with a touch of ... scheduled to ... ne in droves.

Nick Thimmesch time in Added Wave ...

Reagan: Yearning to 'Take a Crack'

Early Poll Shows Reagan Far in Lead

... an's 1976 doesn't seem like likely country ... him and took Reagan's state cha...

Sunday, June 17, 1979 THE WASHINGTON POST

By Harry Sawman

... the 1980 presidential ... appears to ...

... governor Judgin: from participant- ... in The Post poll. the sharp and bitter divisions of the 1976 campaign, when the insurgent Reagan nearly took the nomination from incumbent Gerald Ford, remain

... has not picked up ... ers activists who ... vote in ...

... nominated and she not appear to be losing ... up behind one or even two other ... didates. Furthermore, traditional ... nals are here, emitted by party activ- ... ists on one hand and rank and file Re- ... publicans on the other.

For example, Democratic liberals ... flaked the Senate nomination [illegible] and ... highest ranking Republican either ... ing on the list, but not yet ... ... [illegible] but place ... ... [illegible] voters ... ... [illegible] person ...

A9

Moderate governors edging toward Reagan

EL PASO—The R... speech was the single ... and women at the P... men's convention ... their earlier mee... and sports outin... polyesters, plaid ... even boots. But ... they came in blare ... and long dresses ... simply a product of the change in the issues and the way they are regarded. Post- tions that used to be seen o... outrageously right- ... regarded ...

Petroleum ... Sunday, August 19, 1979

... even lace up to doing it with ... Ronald Reagan. ... "The ground rules have ... inged," says ... Reys and ... feat- ... cut, and the ...

2 New York GOP Leaders Vow to Support Reagan

New York Times News Service

Wednesday, June 20, 1979

... viewed by some as another signal of the diffusion of leadership in the ... to coordinate his ... he Nat ... man ... al Rep ... pred ... te fro ... sorily ... ...

FOR REAGAN IN '80
of Fund for a Conservative Majority
rth Street, NW
n, D.C. 20005

Send copy to Nelson
K. Nelson
Copy sent - 11/28/79





Citizens for Reagan in '80
A project of:
Fund for a Conservative Majority
927 Fifteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Thanks for helping us pay postage

Paid for by Fund for a Conservative Majority and not authorized by any candidate.

Jesse Helms
United States Senator

Unofficial
Business



The Capitol Building
Capitol Hill
Washington, D.C. 20510

June 17, 1980

Mr. Scott B. Mackenzie
2703 Rockefeller La #3
Redondo Beach, California 90277

Dear Mr. Mackenzie:

When I began writing this letter, one of my associates commented that this may very well be the most important letter I have ever written about Ronald Reagan.

It now appears certain that Ronald Reagan will be the Republican nominee for President. I rejoice in that prospect and I know you do also. I am also totally convinced that if our nation is to be rescued from the very brink of disaster on which it now hangs, then we must elect Ronald Reagan President.

But recent events lead me to believe that perhaps this last opportunity may slip through our fingers.

If the election were held today, the polls show that Governor Reagan could defeat Jimmy Carter. But the election is not until November 4th. In the meantime, some of the most powerful forces in the country will be working to destroy Ronald Reagan's candidacy.

What are those forces?

They are the liberal news media, union bosses, liberal and left-wing politicians, institution leaders and organizations devoted to forcing socialistic programs and doctrines upon the American people.

Remember the devastating campaign that was waged by these same forces against Barry Goldwater in 1964?

They employed the most scurrilous sort of slander, libel, innuendo and falsehood to defeat Senator Goldwater. I can never forget the ruthless, brutal and unscrupulous tactics employed by those powerful forces during the 1964 campaign.

And now the liberal establishment wants to do the same thing to Ronald Reagan.

If I could choose a beginning of this effort, I would pinpoint the recent evening news broadcast by one of the major networks which ended with an incredibly

NOT PREPARED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

Americans for Reagan, 3825 Barrett Drive, Suite 308, Dept. 24, Raleigh, NC 27609, is an independent project of the Congressional Club, and is not authorized by any presidential candidate. The foregoing material and enclosures, are authorized and paid for by the Congressional Club, Thomas F. Ellis, Chairman; Carter Wrenn, Treasurer.

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tasteless and vicious attack on Ronald Reagan.

And even Governor Reagan's lovely wife, Nancy, has been the target of a scurrilous attack by one of the major daily newspapers.

These are just two of the opening shots in the all-out war against the candidacy of Ronald Reagan.

I will be frank with you. I am frightened. I fear very much that the awesome power of the liberal press and the broadcast kingmakers will once again succeed in deceiving the American people. But this time they must not succeed.

How are we going to fight back--those of us who are convinced that Ronald Reagan represents perhaps the last hope of saving our nation from a long, dark night of economic and military collapse?

How do we end interest rates which have soared past 20% and inflation which exceeds 18%?

How do we end the world's ridicule of our nation and elect leaders who will not just stand by while the Communist war machine advances?

There are ways we can fight back. There are ways we can keep alive the truth about Ronald Reagan and the conservative cause.

That is why I have agreed to lead a national independent effort for Governor Reagan.

As Honorary Chairman of Americans for Reagan, I will give you an opportunity to even the odds for Governor Reagan.

Although Ronald Reagan will be limited in spending this fall by federal law, you and I can help him overcome the odds by waging an independent effort through Americans for Reagan.

As an independent campaign, Americans for Reagan can spend an unlimited amount of money on behalf of Ronald Reagan. Americans for Reagan's first goal is to purchase over $500,000 of T.V. time this fall in the Presidential election.

Because the liberals control the news media, paid air time is the only way to reach the American people with the truth.

Will you help us do this?

Will you do two things today?

First, will you send Americans for Reagan, in the enclosed envelope, your maximum pledge and support of our fall campaign to buy T.V. time for Governor Ronald Reagan?

Second, will you match the pledge with an immediate contribution to this

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vital effort?

Mr. Mackenzie, I hope you can send $150 now and promise $300 later.

Or perhaps you can send $300 now and pledge $600 later.

Whether you can send $300 or $150 right now, please let me know your decision.

This time, because our cause is so important, I am asking you to dig down deep.

Americans for Reagan must have $26,800 in the next 30 days for the television campaign--to purchase air time for T.V. ads.

Think of the future. Think of the consequences.

What kind of future will our children and grandchildren have if 20% interest rates and 18% inflation continue?

Or even more frightening, think of the consequences if our nation continues to be ridiculed and our leaders continue to stand by as the Communist war machine advances.

I believe that by working through this independent effort we can give Ronald Reagan a real chance at winning this fall.

His official campaign cannot take one contribution from you or from me once he has won the Republican Presidential nomination. He will have to rely on a completely independent effort. So please, ~~send your contribution~~ to Americans for Reagan. Do it today.

I ~~am anxiously~~ waiting to hear from you. God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse Helms

Jesse Helms
United States Senator

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NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

First Class Permit No. 439 Raleigh, N.C.

Postage Will Be Paid By:

Senator Jesse Helms
Americans for Reagan
3825 Barrett Drive, Suite 300, Dept. 24
Raleigh, North Carolina 27609

P2998

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U.S. Senator Jesse Helms, Honorary Chairman, AMERICANS FOR REAGAN
3825 Barrett Drive, Suite 300, Dept. 24, Raleigh, North Carolina 27609

Dear Senator Helms:

☐ YES, I'VE joins your emergency effort to rescue the Reagan for President Campaign from a financial disaster that could topple America's last great hope. To help finance your independent advertising campaign for Ronald Reagan, I enclose my contribution for:

☐ $1,000 ☐ $250 ☐ $500 ☐ $300 ☐ $250 ☐ $200 ☐ $100 ☐ $75
☐ $50 ☐ $25 ☐ $15 ☐ $_____ OTHER AMOUNT

☐ I pledge to send you $_____ to help Governor Reagan in the fall, in addition to the contribution I have enclosed.

☐ NO, I won't help you elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States. I understand that Ronald Reagan could lose the Presidency without my support but I can not help you.

(Please make check payable to AMERICANS FOR REAGAN, and type or handwrite below clearly.)

NAME_____ PHONE_____ AREA CODE_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

The Federal Election Commission requires that we ask the following...

OCCUPATION_____

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT_____

NOT PREPARED OR MAILED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

Americans for Reagan, 3825 Barrett Drive, Suite 300, Dept. 24, Raleigh, NC 27609, is an independent project of the Congressional Club, and is not authorized by any presidential candidate. The foregoing material was authorized and paid for by the Congressional Club, Thomas F. Ellis, Chairman, Connie Wrenn, Treasurer.

TWO PRO-REGAN ADS YOU CAN HELP PUT ON THE AIR

These are two ads NCPAC will run in support of Governor Reagan if we get the help we need from conservatives like you.
Please send your maximum contribution to NCPAC today to help us get these ads on the air in remaining crucial primary states.

30 Sec.

PRO-REAGAN RADIO SPOT

DO YOU REALLY THINK IRANIAN TERRORISTS WOULD HAVE TAKEN AMERICANS HOSTAGE . . . IF RONALD REAGAN WERE PRESIDENT?
DO YOU REALLY THINK THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE INVADED AFGANISTAN . . . IF RONALD REAGAN WERE PRESIDENT?
DO YOU REALLY THINK THIRD-RATE MILITARY DICTATORS WOULD LAUGH AT AMERICA AND BURN OUR FLAGS IN CONTEMPT . . . IF RONALD REAGAN WERE PRESIDENT?
WELL WE DON'T. IT'S ABOUT TIME WE HAD THE TOUGH NEW LEADERSHIP RONALD REAGAN WOULD BRING AMERICA AS PRESIDENT.
RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT. HE'LL MAKE AMERICA STRONG AGAIN.
PAID FOR BY THE RONALD REAGAN VICTORY FUND, A PROJECT OF THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE AND NOT BY ANY CANDIDATE OR CANDIDATE'S COMMITTEE.

60 SEC.

REAGAN-CARTER RADIO SPOT

IN 1976, JIMMY CARTER SAID "WHY NOT THE BEST?" WELL, THAT'S WHAT HE SAID. LET'S LOOK AT WHAT HE GAVE US.
BERT LANCE—FORCED TO RESIGN FROM THE CARTER CABINET. PRESENTLY UNDER INDICTMENT.
DR. PETER BOURNE—THE CARTER DRUG EXPERT. FORCED TO RESIGN FROM THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF AFTER SUPPLYING DRUGS TO EMPLOYEES.
G. WILLIAM MILLER—CARTER'S TREASURY SECRETARY. PRESENTLY UNDER INVESTIGATION FOR PERMITTING HIS CORPORATION TO BRIBE FOREIGN LEADERS.
ANDREW YOUNG—CARTER'S U.N. AMBASSADOR. FORCED TO RESIGN FROM OFFICE AFTER LYING TO THE PRESIDENT.
HAMILTON JORDON—CARTER'S CHIEF OF STAFF. PRESENTLY UNDER INVESTIGATION FOR USING COCAINE.
IN 1976 JIMMY CARTER SAID, "WHY NOT THE BEST?" WE AGREE. THAT'S WHY THIS MESSAGE IS SPONSORED BY THE RONALD REAGAN VICTORY FUND. IF YOU WANT TO HAVE A PRESIDENT WHOSE JUDGEMENT YOU CAN TRUST, WHO WILL MAKE AMERICA STRONG AGAIN, THEN VOTE FOR RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT THIS TUESDAY.
PAID FOR THE RONALD REAGAN VICTORY FUND, A PROJECT OF THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMMITTEE AND NOT BY ANY CANDIDATE OR CANDIDATE'S COMMITTEE.

National Conservative Political Action Committee
1500 wilson blvd. • arlington, va. • 22209

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