**Ronald Reagan**

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# Reagan: Crusader for the disaffected

Continued from page one

what Republicans should do, calling for a crusade.

"THE PEOPLE OF this country," he said, "hunger to feel once again a sense of mission, a pride in our capacity to perform great deeds. And we as Republicans can do something about this, but not if we try to be all things to all people.

"No one quarrels with the idea that we should always attract a wider following," he added. "But we should not attempt to do this by foresaking our basic beliefs, blurring our image so as to be indistinguishable from the opposing party."

"The mandate of 1972 still stands [apparently meaning Richard Nixon's landslide victory over George McGovern]," he said. "The people have not changed philosophically."

"FOR TOO LONG," Reagan went on, "you and I have gone out to organize the same old minority every couple of years. This time it's time for a crusade, time to tell disaffected Independents and disenchanted Democrats that what happened in New York City is happening to this nation, and time to tell the people of this nation who is responsible for that."

There was a feeling of deja vu, of having been there before in 1964, with Barry Goldwater denouncing Washington, extolling ideological purity, decrying bureaucrats and Democratic programs.

"Sometimes I wonder whether we can even talk about preserving freedom," he told a convention in Houston," or whether we more properly should discuss restoring it, for already it's bound in by government regulations and regimented to such an extent that one can wonder whether the word 'free' still applies."

THE HOUSTON SPEECH was not a partisan one, but it obviously was political in that it was steeped with his philosophy.

"We have arrived at our present point on the verge of economic ruin and disaster simply because we have listened for too long to political demagogs who have appealed to the selfishness in us, the cupidity that's part of human nature . . . and they go around telling each one he can have something at the expense of someone else, telling someone . . . he can have a bigger slice of the pie if he'll help the demagog take it away from someone else."

Riding in a private plane through a dark [illegible] from Tulsa to Oklahoma City, Reagan [illegible] a reporter for the campaign by attacking [illegible]. He intends to lay out his program and hope that Ford suffers by comparison. He also, apparently, hopes to label Ford, who spent a quarter century in Congress, as part of the Washington establishment, and thus a compromise like Goldwater, to be a "if-you-don't-like-it, stick-it-in-your-ear" campaigner.

He gave a speech before the convention of Associated Builders and Contractors, whose president he noted, has been accused of being antiunion. He attended several closed affairs, including a cocktail reception for 100 contributors of $500 each. In what is called "the post-Watergate morality" political candidates, including Ford, usually go out of their way to get the press in at least briefly to such big money affairs to show there is nothing dark or secret going on like the sale of the Washington monument.

And while many candidates will turn hand-springs for publicity, Reagan preferred to eat dinner alone in his Houston Hotel suite rather than be interviewed by a harried news magazine reporter for a cover story.

ALONG WITH THE smoothness of Reagan's public performances, there is a diamond-like coldness that may come with too much polish.

There is little of the excitement or electricity that a Hubert Humphrey, at his best, can develop with an audience, building improvisation on improvisation, like a jazz soloist.

In the first class section of an airplane flying from Houston to Tulsa, Reagan sat with his attache case on his knees, custom-making a speech from scores of note cards that can be worked in here or there, like adding leather and chrome to a basic model.

He is a warmer, friendlier man in private than he seems in his speeches. He is telling anecdotes to reporters. Across the aisle a general manager of a Tulsa oil tank repair company, reading the pocketbook "Then Came Jesus," says he likes Reagan. And he likes Ford, too. He wants "a Christian" for President. He wants to know if Reagan is a "moral man."

Later he goes over and shakes hands."

A REPORTER POINTS out to Reagan that the Tulsa schedule calls for him to dance with the four women [30 seconds each] holding lucky tickets.

And the ex-movie star, 64, with a sense of changing times, jokes back that he hopes they are not all so young he won't know how to dance with them.

He needn't have worried. The band played "String of Pearls," a Glenn Miller hit from the early Forties.

# Reaga : A conservative on crusade

## He enters 'stage-Right' for joust with President

By Harry Kelly

Chicago Tribune Press Service

HOUSTON — You can see the speaker's twinkling eye from the back row. He has the smile and looks of the most popular boy in his class who has returned for the 40th reunion, and everyone says he looks exactly the same, or almost. He is as American as apple pie, and a Saturday Evening Post cover. His delivery is as smooth as Bob Hope's . . .

"You know, politics has been called the second oldest profession," he says. Sometimes there is a similarity to the first." [Applause, laughter].

"I sometimes think Adam and Eve were Russians. They didn't have a roof over their head, nothing to wear, but they had one apple between them and they thought that was Paradise." [Cheers, laughter].

"I ALWAYS GREW up believing that if you build a better mousetrap, the world will beat a path to your door. Now if you build a better mousetrap the government comes along with a better mouse." [Laughter, applause].



Ronald Reagan: "Politics has been called the second oldest profession. Sometimes there is a similarity to the first."

The gravy circuit boffos are not Mark Twain's or Will Rogers'.

It is Ronald Reagan, the Illinois boy who found greater glory in the film studios and the state house of California. And the ex-actor, ex-governor, and cheerleader for free enterprise is trying to build a better mousetrap with great expectations President Ford will be unable to come along with a better mouse. Or even a better cheese.

Reagan is scheduled to announce in Washington Thursday that he will test tradition and odds by challenging Gerald Ford, the unelected but incumbent President, and a member of his own party, for the Republican nomination.

AND FORD IS worried enough that at times he sounds more like the challenger than the President, promising "to stick it out" and declaring "I never got in a ball game we didn't play until the last minute of the last quarter."

[illegible] sparkling, self-assuring Reagan is a professional actor who turned himself into a politician. And as a double-blessing, he was almost always the good guy in the white hat.

How much shadowy ambiguity can there be about someone so cleancut Hollywood producers cast him as Shirley Temple's first grown up boy friend?

BUT ONLY THE months of primaries ahead will tell whether Reagan's seeming advantages — his polished style and his admitted appeal to party conservatives — will have a backlash.

The other night Reagan was the main speaker at an Oklahoma Republican dinner at Tulsa in what is billed as the

Reagan

# READY TO TAKE ON FORD?

**Ronald Reagan's big decision is near. His aim, if he runs for the Republican nomination: provide a conservative alternative to Ford policies.**



WIDE WORLD

A friendly Ford-Reagan encounter. Though personal relations are cordial, the former California Governor has criticized Ford's stands on amnesty, détente, other issues.

For Ronald Reagan, it's either a try for the White House in 1976—or back to the ranch.

The former Governor of California will make up his mind sometime this summer which way he wants to go, according to associates.

If Reagan decides to run for President, they insist, it will be as a Republican, not as a third-party candidate.

"If he thinks he has a 50-50 chance of getting the nomination," a Reagan adviser forecasts, "then he will challenge President Ford and anyone else in the Republican primaries."

The idea of leading an independent conservative movement does not appeal to Reagan strategists—although, as politicians, they do not absolutely reject the option at this stage.

***Casing the field.*** It's Governor George Wallace of Alabama—a Democrat—who is viewed as the only prospect with a third-party campaign organization capable of getting on the ballot in enough States in time to make a significant showing in the next presidential election.

What is ruled out by Reagan is any effort to "dump" Nelson Rockefeller, in order to replace him as Gerald Ford's vice-presidential running mate.

"If Reagan develops enough strength to sidetrack Rockefeller," a strategist explains, "then he might as well go for top spot on the ticket."

In the background is this: As an appointive President under the 25th Amendment, Ford can run for one more four-year term. By election time next year, Reagan will be 65 years old, and Rockefeller, 68—both older than Ford, who will be 63.

For both Rockefeller and Reagan, then, 1976 may be their last shot at the Presidency.

Whether Ford will be approved by his party if he seeks the nomination and whether Reagan can defeat Ford if he tries are matters of speculation.

After earlier statements casting doubt on his candidacy, Ford more recently has repeatedly emphasized that he intends to run. He reportedly was preparing to announce the formation of an election-campaign committee to help counter the recurrent talk that he will not be a candidate.

The President's top political aide, Robert T. Hartmann, recently sized up Ford's prospects this way:

"At the 1976 Republican National Convention, Gerald R. Ford will be nominated for President by acclamation or by default."

***The tradition.*** Hartmann pointed out that the party has never turned down an incumbent President for nomination. Even in the Great Depression, Republicans stuck with Herbert Hoover in 1932.

Also, Hartmann views it as a foregone conclusion that Vice President Rockefeller will be Ford's running mate, and that economic conditions will largely determine the outcome of the 1976 presidential contest.

The way Hartmann sees it: "If the economy is in good shape, and the President wants to run, there is no way anyone else is going to take the nomination away from him."

*One of a series that will appear in coming months on presidential prospects in both major parties.*

Reagan backers see the political situation in a different perspective.

A Reagan consultant said this: "Everything is unique this year. Ford's basic problem is that he is not perceived as an incumbent President.

"People are tolerant of him, because of the unusual circumstances under which he took office. But no one in the country ever voted for him either for President or Vice President. Thus, his support is loose in the country and in the party. The reason that an incumbent President has strength is because he has been through a national campaign, and shown that he can win.

"That is not true of either Ford or Rockefeller. Ford has never run for anything outside of his congressional district in Michigan. Rockefeller has never won an election outside of his home State of New York, with the sole exception of the 1964 Oregon primary.

"The country is anxious to pick a leader in 1976. People are tired of drifting. The Republican Party has got to search its ranks for talent, and nominate the man who is best qualified. There will be a strong demand for an open convention next year."

Representative John B. Anderson, of Illinois, chairman of House Republicans, said on American Broadcasting Company's "Issues and Answers" television program that he could see "a very re

# A PRESIDENT UNDER PRESSURE

FROM A POSTMIDNIGHT conference on Vietnam to an apple-blossom festival in the nearby Virginia countryside, it was a week that told much about the Presidency of Gerald Ford.

All of the intense pressures were there, the kind that pound relentlessly on the man in the Oval Office—the crumbling U.S. position in Indo-China, a sputtering economy, an uneasy peace in the Middle East, energy problems, a contentious Congress.

Yet there were the lighter moments, too—for example, a visit with Miss National Teen-ager, a social session with former Congressmen.

The frenetic pace, the need to make quick decisions, the shift from the momentous to what some would consider trivial—all are things to which every President must adjust.

Few Presidents, however, seem to have managed as well as Mr. Ford in maintaining poise and in displaying a calm public demeanor in the midst of crisis.

In part, that is the nature of the man. Even more important: Mr. Ford's determination to convince an uneasy nation that he is in complete control of things.

***Back to dignity.*** That determination stems from what the President's closest associates describe as his overriding goal: Mr. Ford is resolved, if he accomplishes nothing else, to restore dignity and stature to the office of the Presidency, severely tarnished by Watergate.

"However history judges his policies," a close friend comments, "he wants to be remembered for raising the presidential seal from the dust."

The last week in April began as the previous one had ended—in an atmosphere of deepening crisis over the takeover of South Vietnam by Communist forces. Yet the Monday on which the President was to issue the climactic order to evacuate Saigon and "close a chapter" in U.S. history was not a one-issue day.

In the morning, Mr. Ford spoke to the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. about curtailing the power of regulatory agencies. He saw two old friends from back home in Grand Rapids, met with Governor James Holshouser of North Carolina on the natural-gas shortage, and with the teen-age contest winner.

The surface calm was broken while Mr. Ford was huddled in the early evening with 14 economic and energy advisers on whether to impose higher tariffs on oil imports. The bad news came in a whispered interruption by Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, security adviser: The Communists were shelling Saigon's Tan Son Nhut Airport, and two Marines had been killed.



DAVID H. KENNERLY

A somber Ford meets with Secretary of State Kissinger before ordering evacuation of all Americans from Saigon.

An emergency meeting of the National Security Council was called—but would not start until the energy session was over. There were views to be heard from all sides, and a series of later meetings with Secretary of State Kissinger as reports from Vietnam came in thick and fast.

By 10:45 p.m. a somber President had made the decision to evacuate all Americans from Saigon and officially end U.S. involvement in Indo-China. It was a decision made—as most in the field of foreign policy—with heavy dependence on Mr. Kissinger.

***After four hours' sleep—.*** Not until 1:30 a.m. did Mr. Ford retire—to rise at 5:30 that morning.

On Tuesday came a meeting with congressional leaders on the evacuation, a picture-taking session with heads of civic groups helping on the Vietnam refugee problem, a working dinner with Jordan's King Hussein, a meeting with Western ranchers on the problem of coyotes that prey on livestock.

Later that week there would be meetings with Egyptian parliamentary leaders and the Prime Minister of Tunisia—persistent reminders of crisis in another area of the world.

The decision was made to avoid one confrontation with Congress by postponing any increase in the tariff on oil imports. There were phone calls to be made to the families of the Marines who were killed during the evacuation.

Rarely was the grimness of the situation in Vietnam reflected in Mr. Ford's public demeanor. Only rarely in private, too, White House aides said, did the President display impatience or other outward signs of the tensions within.

"The President focuses on the issues at hand," one said. "He doesn't romanticize the job."

Even in the midst of crisis, associates say the President was determined to maintain an "open Presidency," to "give and take" with the public, to avoid the image of an isolated President, surrounded by a palace guard.

From Detroit, for example, came a group on Wednesday to talk with the President about the rebuilding of that city's downtown.

To date, there have been more than 200 speeches in less than nine months, a dozen news conferences, a flow of more than half a million "official" words. Mr. Ford has met with nearly every State Governor, shaken hands with almost everyone who got close to him.

***"Sense of relief."*** Even critics—while questioning his competence—have commented with approval on the change in the White House. As Robert Strauss, the Democratic National Chairman, put it: "There is a sense of relief that he is in office. There is a sense of decency and conscientious effort."

The historic week ended in typical fashion. Between meetings on major issues on Friday, Mr. Ford flew to Winchester, Va., to crown daughter Susan apple-blossom queen. On Saturday, there was a trip scheduled to Norfolk to commission the nation's second nuclear aircraft carrier, then a return to Washington for the annual banquet of the White House Correspondents Association, traditionally a light-hearted affair.

"A President's days and weeks are structured with the important and the ceremonial," says Philip Buchen, Mr. Ford's counsel and long-time friend. "And Gerald Ford is a master at moving from one to the other."

***The foregoing was written by John Mashek, chief of the magazine's staff regularly covering the White House.***

possibility" that Reagan or someone else may contest the party's nomination.

In that event, Anderson added, "I would still put my money on the nomination of Gerald Ford."

But another Republican congressional leader said: "Ford's nomination is by no means a foregone conclusion."

In fact, at a recent meeting in Washington, D.C., Republican chairmen of 13 Southern and Border States agreed that Reagan could beat President Ford in presidential primaries and convention-delegate strength in all 13 States.

***Potomac fever.*** Most party leaders believe that Ronald Reagan does not have a consuming desire to be President, as do some other aspirants. A few disagree. For example, a Southern State chairman claims: "Reagan is dying to run for President."

Reagan's associates insist that if he felt the country were in good hands, pursuing the right policies, Reagan would be content to retire to the 630-acre ranch which he bought last year in the coastal hills near Santa Barbara, Calif.

However, he is concerned about current trends, including the huge federal deficits, an "antibusiness" attitude in America, lack of public safety, détente with the Communist powers and what he regards as a decline in the U.S. national-defense posture.

Admirers are pressing him to enter the fray as a conservative alternative to Ford-Rockefeller policies. Insiders acknowledge that Reagan is encouraged by his standing in public-opinion polls, and the response he gets as he travels around the country.

Latest Gallup Polls show:

- While nearly half of all Republican voters—49 per cent—would like to see Ford run for President, the rest either oppose his candidacy—25 per cent—or express uncertainty—26 per cent.
- In a list of possible candidates, Ford runs ahead of Reagan—34 to 22 per cent—as first choice of Republicans. But Reagan tops Ford—20 to 17 per cent—among independent voters, who constitute a larger bloc of the electorate now than do Republican Party members.
- A new conservative party would have strong grass-roots support in 1976, attracting 25 per cent of all voters. The prospect has as much appeal to Democrats and independents as it does to Republicans. Most politicians feel that any such move would doom Republican chances, and result in election of the Democratic nominee.

If Reagan decides to run for President, according to associates, he will carefully select the Republican primaries in which he will compete next year.

The first two primaries come up in New Hampshire and Florida. A Reagan strategist says that "both of them ought to be good for Reagan."

In New Hampshire, Governor Meldrim Thomson, Jr., has promised to support Reagan against President Ford.

In Florida, a party leader expressed the view that if the primary were held now, Reagan would win by a 2-to-1 margin over the President.

A strong Reagan vote in the first two primaries could be damaging to Ford's prospects, both at the Republican Convention and in the general election.

Politicians recall that after the McCarthy uprising in the 1968 New Hampshire primary, Lyndon B. Johnson—the incumbent Democratic President—decided not to seek re-election.

***Reagan's strength.*** A Reagan strategist analyzed the primary outlook in the other key States this way: "Reagan should do well in Nebraska, Indiana and his home State of California.

"Wisconsin is a problem for Reagan—and Ford, too. There is a mandatory primary, with all names listed on the ballot. But the party has disintegrated. It could not deliver an organization vote for Ford.

"Oregon also has a mandatory primary. The vote there is influenced by whoever has momentum going for him at the time.



N.J. NEWSPHOTOS

A news conference in New Jersey—part of a busy traveling schedule that keeps Reagan on view.




CULVER

Reagan was sports announcer in 1930s, now has radio show over 200 stations.

"Reagan should be popular in Illinois. Reagan has Midwestern roots. He was born in Illinois and worked in Iowa.

"Texas is planning a primary in 1976. Reagan is popular there. Whether he enters depends on just how binding the primary vote will be on delegates.

"New York is a lot looser than when Rockefeller was Governor. Now there are a lot of local warlords. Reagan could win some congressional districts."

Putting the Reagan strategy in broader perspective:

"The base of Reagan support is in the South and West, and whatever else he could pick up in other primaries. In the Midwest, party people are pragmatic. The test there is who can win an election. In the Northeast, Reagan would have to depend on anti-Rockefeller Republicans, Buckley conservatives, independents and disaffected Democrats."

The Reagan strategist concluded:

"Ronald Reagan presents a very good image on television. So far, much of the public is not aware of the impression he is making on scattered, local audiences. Once he gets into a national campaign, with full media exposure, it could be a different story."

The White House reaction, as expressed by a top presidential adviser, boiled down to this:

"Gerald Ford won't get scared off by a threat in the primaries. It might make him even more determined. A non-elected President might want to prove that he can win a national election."

Meanwhile, Reagan is traveling 10,000 to 20,000 miles a month, speak-

*(continued on next page)*

## REAGAN vs. FORD?

[continued from preceding page]

ing at home and abroad for "the philosophy I believe in."

His schedule calls for 10 or 12 major speeches a month to political, business and civic groups.

Other activities include:

- A daily five-minute radio program called "Viewpoint," which is broadcast five days a week over more than 200 stations, half of them in major markets.
- A syndicated weekly newspaper column published in about 130 daily newspapers, most of them located in metropolitan areas.

Publishers are trying to interest him in writing one or more books, and he is considering offers to be a visiting professor at some universities.

Associates say Reagan stands to gross around a million dollars a year from these endeavors. For speeches, he collects $2,500 to $5,000 each, plus travel expenses.

Ronald Reagan calls himself a "citizen-politician." He never ran for public office before he was elected Governor of California by a million-vote majority in 1966. A former Democrat who switched to the Republican Party, he had been a radio sports announcer, motion-picture and television actor, union leader as head of the Screen Actors Guild, and public-affairs official for General Electric.

As Governor, he presided over a turbulent era in California, during which it drew ahead of New York as the most-populous State.

***Paring welfare rolls.*** During eight years in office, Reagan overhauled welfare and medicaid programs, saving millions of dollars. At the end of his term, there were 400,000 fewer persons on welfare, despite a big gain in the State's population.

In his first year, he raised taxes by a billion dollars to cover an inherited budget deficit. Later, tax cuts provided more than 5 billion dollars in property and general tax relief.

State spending increased from 4.6 to 10.2 billion dollars. Despite that, the number of State employes remained the same—about 100,000—as when he took office in 1966.

Reagan vetoed hundreds of spending and social programs voted by the State legislature. For the first time in 20 years, an outgoing Governor left a budget surplus—about 400 million dollars—to his successor. His budget-trimming efforts drew praise from many, criticism from others.

Reagan's greatest disappointment was when voters in a 1973 referendum rejected a proposal to fix a constitutional limit on the amount of personal income that the State could collect in taxes.

After serving a self-imposed limit of two terms, Reagan retired last January. He established a business office in Los Angeles as a base for future activities.

Reagan considers it his "mission" to help revitalize the Republican Party, presenting a conservative alternative to Democratic liberalism.

In an interview with a staff member of *U.S. News & World Report*, he declared: "The danger to the free-enterprise system in this country is the greatest in our history. We need a lot more basic education about the role of business in our economy."

Reagan contends: "The public is fed up with taxes and government spending. There is no such thing as a business tax—business just collects it for the government. The tax really comes from consumers and working people."

At a luncheon in London, England, on April 7, he claimed that the stability of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been undermined by the "Communist take-over in Portugal."

In a British Broadcasting Corporation interview, he charged that congressional failure to support South Vietnam is "the most irresponsible action of the Congress of the United States in the last 100 years of our history."

Reagan has opposed such Government programs as amnesty for Vietnam War draft evaders, a "guaranteed annual income" for welfare recipients and the "working poor," national health insurance, "excessive regulation" of industry, a land-use-control program, and a consumer-protection agency.

The former Governor has called on the Ford Administration to carry out "the conservative mandate of the voters in 1972." He has criticized the Ford Administration for huge budget deficits, the arms-limitation agreement with the Soviet Union at Vladivostok, and for appointing too many liberals.

However, if Ronald Reagan runs for President, an aide said, "he will not be hitting Jerry Ford over the head all the time—that's not his style. Reagan will have to demonstrate that he can do a better job, and win against the Democratic ticket."

Now a fateful decision is coming up: Is it on to the White House, or back to the ranch?

## REAGAN ON KEY ISSUES

From speeches and statements by Ronald Reagan—

**The economy.** "Government-engineered expansion and preemption of the nation's money" is the main cause of the economic "mess."

**Inflation.** Fighting recession instead of inflation will lead "right back into the inflationary spiral, and eventual destruction of our system." "A balanced budget" is the answer to inflation.

**Energy.** Relaxing Government controls on "natural gas, nuclear plants, oil shale and offshore drilling" will enable the U.S. "to surpass the Middle East as the world's chief exporter of energy."

**Taxes.** "We need a permanent limit on the percentage of earnings that the Government can take in taxes." . . . Tax reform should involve "indexing tax brackets to the cost of living so that a pay increase to keep pace with inflation does not move the taxpayer into a higher bracket."

**Regulation.** "Government regulations and red tape have perpetuated higher costs . . . stifling competition they were designed to encourage. It is time to start eliminating agencies that hurt the consumer and the businesses they regulate."

**Crime.** "The greatest single need is a change in attitude from the permissiveness of the 1960s to a realistic approach in the 1970s. . . . Constitutional protections should not become a shield for the guilty."

**Social welfare.** Neither a guaranteed annual income for welfare recipients and the working poor nor comprehensive national health insurance is needed or desirable.

**Vietnam.** Congressional failure to support South Vietnam is "the most irresponsible action of Congress in the last 100 years." . . . American troops should have been "turned loose" to win the war.

**Détente.** Our adversaries should not get what they want—"recognition, trade, technical help—without making modifications in their domestic and foreign policies."

**Arms limitations.** "The SALT II agreement guarantees the Soviets a clear missile superiority, sufficient to make a first strike on the U.S. with little fear of reprisal."

# Tax Plan Pushed by Reagan

By Doug Willis

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (AP)—California Gov. Ronald Reagan is on the campaign trail again, preaching his personal philosophy of economy in government.

The theme is the same as his successful 1966 and 1970 campaigns for governor: "cut, squeeze and trim." But this time the Republican governor's name won't be on the ballot.

The issue is a statewide referendum Nov. 6 on Reagan-proposed amendments to the state constitution which could imprint his philosophy of fiscal conservatism permanently on the government of the nation's most populous state.

Reagan sees the plan as a blueprint which other states and the federal government could follow. His critics have seized that statement as proof of their claim that the real reason for the voting is to boost a potential Reagan campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976.

Reagan denies that and says his plan is only an attempt to place some restraints on an ever-growing tax burden which he says could ultimately destroy America.

Chief elements of the plan would place a constitutional ceiling on state spending and order an across-the-board permanent 7.5 per cent cut in state personal income taxes.

The spending ceiling would be tied to a declining percentage of the gross personal income of Californians. The goal is to reduce the state's share of that income, estimated by Reagan at 8.75 per cent, over a 15-year period to 7.1 per cent.

Any tax money collected above that ceiling would be placed in a special fund to be used only in emergencies declared by the governor or to reduce taxes. Which state programs would be cut would be determined by future governors and legislatures.

gered a full-scale statewide political campaign in which total spending is headed toward the $2 million figure.

Opposition is led by the League of Women Voters and Democratic leaders of the state legislature. Statewide teacher and public employee unions are providing most of the opposition campaign funds.

The Reagan funds are coming from both big business contributors and a lengthy list of small individual contributors. The State Chamber of Commerce and statewide real estate organizations also back Reagan.

"The taxpayers are for it, and the tax spenders are against it," Reagan says.

Foes say the plan is unworkable and misleading. If state government cuts back on its services, it will only force local governments to increase local property taxes to pay for services dropped by the state, they say.

Reagan unveiled the plan eight months ago in a proposal to the state legislature. But even before the Democrat-controlled legislature had time to reject it, Reagan launched a petition campaign to bypass the legislature and amend the state constitution by voter initiative. The ballot proposal is called the Tax and Expenditure Limitation Initiative.

Last April 6, Reagan trooped door-to-door to more than a dozen residences near his Pacific Palisades home to kick off the petition campaign.

Six months and nearly 600,000 signatures later, Reagan now is in the midst of a full-scale campaign, averaging 1,000 to 2,000 miles of air travel a week and dozens of speeches, press statements and radio and television appearances.

Foes have no single spokesman, although they have banded together to hire a professional advertising agency to handle their campaign. The state Democratic Party is in opposition and almost every major Democratic leader is opposed.

The critics say no governor can live under the proposed restraints, and they cite the fact that even Reagan's economy-minded administration has doubled spending in its six and one-half years.

Reagan says the example of his own administration is proof of the need for constitutional restraints

Without restraint, Reagan says, California's current $9.3 billion annual budget will skyrocket to $47.1 billion a year within 15 years. He says his limitation formula will give generous room for inflation and population growth—enough to allow a $27-billion budget in 15 years—and will only curb needless growth

# Reagan pushes tax, budget cuts

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Does the United States have too much government? And if so, can bureaucracy by pared down by clamping a constitutional lid on public spending?

California Gov. Ronald Reagan says the answer to both these questions is emphatically "yes." Almost single-handedly, he's qualified a measure for the November ballot here which, if passed, would put a meter on the state pocketbook and vastly overhaul taxing procedures.

The conservative Republican makes no secret that he aims to make his "stop spending, brake taxes" program a showcase for the nation. He says it also could work at the federal level. And those close to Mr. Reagan believe he'll ride into GOP presidential primaries in 1976 carrying this cost-cutting lance.

But before that, Governor Reagan faces a hot battle at home — one which already shows signs of thrusting an off-year California election into the national spotlight. Some top state and legislative leaders say the so-called tax limitation amendment could put California's economy in a tailspin. They charge the Governor with fiscal folly.

## Two principal elements

The ballot issue has two core elements. It provides:

1. A strict limit on annual state expenditures based on estimates of personal income;

2. A sharp slash in state income taxes — including a whopping 20 percent credit immediately and an on going 7.5 percent credit starting in 1974.

Lewis K Uhler, who heads the Governor's tax-reduction task force, says drastic means are needed to curb state spending and the spiraling increase in taxes.

Mr. Uhler points out that Californians now pay 44 cents of every dollar in taxes — to state, local, and federal treasuries. If left unchecked, public revenue sources will exact 55 cents of every dollar earned by 1990, he estimates.

## Fourfold increase seen

Further, Mr. Uhler holds that if present taxing trends continue, state levies here will quintuple from $9.3 billion in 1973-74 to $47 billion within 15 years.

So far, leading critics of the Governor's plan include California's longtime legislative analyst A. Alan Post, former Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown, and Unicersity of California economist Neil H. Jacoby.

Backers include Claremont College economics professor, William C. Stubblebine — a principal architect of the proposal — and a number of conservative scholars and businessmen. Proponents also say the measure embodies the thinking of noted national economists, such as Milton Friedman of Chicago, C. Lowell Harris of New York, and James Buchanan of Virginia.

## Likely pitfalls noted

Perhaps the most outspoken opponent is Mr. Post, who sees these pitfalls should the proposal become law:

- State spending would be curtailed at the expense of increasing local property taxes;
- Certain social programs would lose state support — such as those which now aid the aged, poor, and minorities;
- There could be drastic reductions in support for public schools and colleges;
- The Legislature would be stripped of its "ultimate power of the purse strings." And the real control over state spending would be held by the Governor.
- A decrease in income-tax collections would result in a substantial loss of federal revenue-sharing funds. (Mr. Post estimates that proposed tax cuts at the state level might cost local California communities $49 million in revenue-sharing subsidies in the next three years).

## Defenders dispute claims

Defenders of the Reagan tax-limitation plan dispute these claims.

Mr. Uhler says the proposed law is so written to protect local governments from bearing the fiscal burden of expanded services. And he adds that there is enough flexibility in the amendment to allow the Governor and Legislature to raise spending limits under extraordinary circumstances. Also a vote of the people can adjust the state's taxing capacity, proponents say.

"We're in desperate need of an economic bill of rights which would limit the power of government to invade private pocketbooks," Mr. Uhler explains.

Some of the plan's critics say they agree that curbs on public spending are necessary.

## Rational curbs urged

"But we need rational restraints," adds Professor Jacoby — a former member of President Nixon's Pay Board.

The UCLA economist suggests as alternatives longer-range (perhaps five-year) budgetary planning for state projects and better fiscal analysis of proposed expenditures. "We need to weigh such things as the cost of rapid transit vs. highway building over the long run," Professor Jacoby explains.

As the campaign for the tax-limitation measure heats up, opponents say they will challenge any effort by Governor Reagan to use his official office — and those on the public payroll — to push passage. There already have been charges along these lines. Also some legal critics say a court test of the constitutionality of limiting state spending is almost certain at some point.

life." Reagan did win—and won again in 1970—but as he gives up the office next week, he leaves an eight-year record that has matched neither Brown's fears nor his own conservative promises.

Reagan's declared intent was to pull the state's government to the right ideologically, and his success in that was limited and probably temporary. Still, he did make significant changes, notably in the areas of welfare and tax reform. And throughout the controversy of his Statehouse years—highlighted by his attacks on the University of California and the "weirdos and misfits" during the Berkeley uprising in 1969—the onetime movie star retained his public appeal. He will become a radio and newspaper columnist, an elder statesman for the GOP—and, should Gerald Ford decide not to run, one of the party's leading Presidential candidates for 1976.



Erhardt Krause

Reagan: Next, a Presidential horse?

**Novice:** His first Statehouse term was mainly an exercise in futility. Faced with a whopping deficit from the Brown years, Reagan asked state employees to work voluntarily on Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays; only 2 per cent showed up, and the idea was scrapped. Then, in his zeal to lop 10 per cent off the state budget, he unwittingly tried to cut the uncuttable—interest on the state's debt, for instance. "We weren't just amateurs," recalls former aide Lyn Nofziger. "We were novice amateurs. Damn few of the people we brought in had any experience in government or politics." In addition, Reagan was saddled with a hostile legislature. Finally, despite his campaign pledge to "cut, squeeze and trim" the budget, he was forced to raise taxes by a record $1 billion in his first year alone—and the budget has more than doubled since.

Reagan's ideological conservatism was often more bark than bite. In his first weeks in office, for instance, he chided the state university system for permissiveness, had its president Clark Kerr fired and began slashing faculty salaries; during the bloody uprising at Berkeley's People's Park in 1969, his posture was unabashedly belligerent. "If it's a blood bath they want," he declared, "let it be now." For all of his blustering, however, aid to the University of California actually doubled during the Reagan years, and the faculty turnover rate declined significantly.

**Deal:** In his second term, Reagan learned to deal effectively with a heavily Democratic legislature, but again at the expense of conservative programs. His compromise welfare-reform bill allowed higher-income recipients to be put off the rolls so that benefits to the most impoverished could be increased and the over-all budget held in check. His proposal for an absolute ceiling on the state budget was defeated overwhelmingly; the compromise shifted the state's dependence from property taxes to state income taxes. Still, he held down administrative costs, vetoed hundreds of bills to save more than $1.5 billion, rebated more than $5 billion to taxpayers and amassed a budget surplus of almost $400 million. "He was obviously not a totally bad governor," concedes a longtime critic, black Assemblyman Willie Brown. "He made better judicial appointments than any governor we've had, especially from the standpoint of women and minorities."

Reagan, 63, turns over his job to liberal Democrat Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., the son of Reagan's predecessor. More than 100 radio stations have already signed up to run his daily, five-minute show called "Viewpoint," which guarantees him a six-figure income, and the Copley News Service will begin syndicating a weekly Reagan column next week, as he begins the first of a series of monthly nationwide speaking tours.

And he hopes to be heard within the GOP. Rumors of a third-party Presidential bid by Reagan in 1976 have been firmly scotched, and his staffers insist his activities are for the cause, not the candidate. "No one has worked harder for the party than Ronald Reagan," millionaire Reagan confidant Holmes Tuttle told NEWSWEEK's Gerald Lubenow. "It would be ridiculous to run against an incumbent." But if Ford doesn't run, Tuttle quickly added, that would be "a horse of a different color." It would be a horse that Reagan would clearly love to ride.

Don

**POLITICIANS:**

## Citizen Reagan

"If Ronald Reagan ever becomes governor of California," warned then-Gov. Pat Brown during his re-election campaign in 1966, "the extremist movement in America would have a new lease on

*270 pages. Harper & Row. $8.95.

# Reagan, in Direct Attack, Assails Ford on Defense

By JON NORDHEIMER
Special to The New York Times

ORLANDO, Fla., March 4—
ld Reagan charged today,
s most direct attack on
dent Ford, that the Presi-
had failed to provide the
d States with "vision and
rship" and that under his
e the nation had fallen
arily behind the Soviet

ressing a "deep concern"
national security that went
nd politics," the former
nor of California said that
President and Secretary of
Henry A. Kissinger "must
ld accountable to history"
ermitting the United States
n behind the Russians in
ry power.

explicit attack on the
dent marked a departure
Mr. Reagan's often-stated
on that the Republican
y was an opportunity for
scussion of issues, but not
alities.

remarks, made in a pre-
statement given out at
s conference held on Mr.
n's return to Florida to
a final four-day push for
in Tuesday's primary, in-
that the hawks among the challenger's advisers, who have argued for sharper references to the President, had won out.

In Washington, President Ford, through two aides, dismissed Mr. Reagan's attack.

"There's nothing fundamentally new in it," Howard H. Callaway, the chairman of the President Ford Committee, said.

Ron Nessen, the Presidential press secretary, said that Mr. Ford's record was so well known that "I really don't think any response is necessary."

Under questioning in Orlando, Mr. Reagan said that he was only discussing issues and had not attacked Mr. Ford personally.

His choice of words, however, seemed to refute that.

"Despite Mr. Ford's evident decency, honor and patriotism, he has shown neither the vision nor the leadership necessary to halt and reverse the diplomatic and military decline of the United States," Mr. Reagan asserted.

"That is the truth, and even those of us who like Gerald Ford as a person know it is the truth. I believe in the peace of which Mr. Ford speaks, as much as any man. But in places such as Angola, Cambodia and Vietnam, the peace they have come to know is the peace of the grave.

"All I can see is what other nations the world over see: collapse of the American will and the retreat of American power. There is little doubt in my mind that the Soviet Union will not stop taking advantage of détente until it sees that the American people have elected a new President and appointed a new Secretary of State."

### Concessions Decried

He said that the framework of detente, as pursued by the Administration, was one of making 'pre-emptive concessions" while the Soviet Union was engaged in military and diplomatic adventures around the world.

"Last year and this, the Soviet Union, using Castro's mercenaries, intervened decisively in the Angola civil war and routed the pro-Western forces," he said. "Yet, Messrs. Ford and Kissinger continue to tell us that we must not let this interfere with detente."

The time has come, he said, for the President to tell the country what benefits are derived from detente.

"We have given the Soviets our trade and our technology," he went on. "At Kissinger's insistence, Mr. Ford snubbed Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, one of the great moral heroes of our time.

"What has the United States gotten in return, other than Soviet belligerence in the Middle East, Soviet duplicity in Southeast Asia and Soviet imperialism in South Central Africa?

"Mr. Ford and Dr. Kissinger ask us to trust their leadership. I confess I find that nore and more difficult to do. Henry Kissinger's stewardshlp of United States foreign policy has coincided precisely with the loss of United States military supremacy."

He indicated that his own policy, if he was elected President, would be to deal with the Soviet Union from a position of power.

"The truth is that this nation must trust less in the pre-emptive concessions we are granting the Soviet Union and more in the re-establishment of American military superiority,' he said.

The candidate, who has lost three primaries to the President —New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont—said that his campaign had reached the point where he thought it was now necessary to "draw a line of fundamental differences" with Mr. Ford. His aides said that the response was needed because Mr. Ford's political lieutenants had attempted to obscure the differences between the two candidates.

However, the change of tactics from Mr. Reagan's previously embraced 11th commandment—"Thou shall not speak of a fellow Republican" —appeared more closely connected with evidence that Mr. Reagan's early lead in Florida withered in recent weeks.

The challenger, therefore, now seems convinced that the danger he faces in a possible loss of Florida next week exceeds the danger inherent in attacking the President frontally and inviting a backlash from those in the Republican Party who feel that such a tactic is divisive and uncalled for in a party primary.

### Ford's Reaaction

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 4—President Ford and his campaign chairman, Howard H. Callaway, dismissed today as unfit for reply Mr.ags'neR a unfit for reply Mr. Reagan's sharp attack on the President's foreign policy.

"There's nothing fundamentally new in it," Mr. Callaway said of Mr. Reagan's criticism of detente with the Soviet Union.

"It's the kind of thing you could read in every right-wing magazine in the last five years," he added.

Ron Nessen, the President's spokesman, indicated indifference to the blunt attack by Mr. Ford's rival for the Republican nomination.

"The President's record and leadership in keeping the national defense second to none is so well known that I really don't think any response is necessary," he said. Mr. Nessen added that the President had made a similar remark after being advised of Mr. Reagan's statements in Orlando, Fla.

NY Times
3/5/76

# Voters reject gan conservatism

Taylor

ans in Massachusetts de- jected the conservative, ngton campaign of for- rnia Gov. Ronald Reagan bringing Gerald Ford loser to the 1976 Republi- ential nomination.

Iassachusetts victory, cou- h an uncontested win in and last week's plurality in ampshire, makes the score ree to nothing in favor of it Ford.

primary in Florida on Mon- arks the next crucial test for o Republicans. Another victo- Mr. Ford, particularly in a ong considered a conservative lican stronghold, would seri- impair Reagan's chances of curing the 1976 Republican nom- ion.

The vote in Massachusetts was so sided that the two major televi- n networks, NBC and CBS, were e to project Mr. Ford the victor an almost 2 to 1 margin at 8:40 ., just 40 minutes after most ls closed in the Bay State.

With 996 of the state's 2187 pre- cts reporting, Mr. Ford led by a 34 percent margin.

Neither Mr. Ford nor Reagan mented on the Massachusetts re- s. Mr. Ford watched the returns television at the White House le Reagan rested at his home in ific Palisades, Calif. and pre- ed for his next campaign trip to ida tomorrow.

oward Callaway, Mr. Ford's nal campaign manager, said results far exceeded our ex- tions. We would have been happy just to win."

hen asked about what impact vin might have on the Florida ry Callaway said: "Three has got to help as far as mo- um is concerned, but Florida is to be very tough for us. We'd e happy with 50 percent plus Florida."

n Noziger, Reagan's press ary, in a telephone interview Los Angeles, downplayed the s, saying: "We did no cam- ng in Massachusetts. The out- on't have any effect on the

The 43 delegates from Massachusetts will be chosen later this spring by the Republican State Committee and the number pledged to each candidate should approximate the percentage of the vote each received in yesterday's primary.

Bad weather led most observers to conclude that the turnout would be less than the 134,000 who voted in the 1972 Republican primary.

Early returns indicated the President was running strong across the state, leading Reagan in such diverse communities as Salem on the North Shore, Waltham on Rte. 128 and Holyoke in western Massachusetts.

Unlike the New Hampshire primary, the Republican race in Massachusetts was a strangely quiet affair. Neither candidate campaigned here and neither side expended the organizational resources that were brought into play in New Hampshire.

When their candidate first announced last November that he would make a run for the Presidency, the Reagan forces said they would not make a major effort in Massachusetts.

They planned to concentrate instead on New Hampshire, Florida and Illinois, contending that Massachusetts, with its liberal reputation, is not representative of mainstream Republican thought.

But Mr. Ford's forces felt their opponent was trying to sneak in the back door in Massachusetts, and hoped for a psychological victory by running a close second in a state where the most influential Republicans — people such as Sen. Edward Brooke and former governor Francis Sargent — are much more liberal than the conservative philosophy espoused by Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Ford's aides said Reagan spent at least $58,000 in the Massachusetts media, and while this was ostensibly for the New Hampshire primary, it obviously had some impact on Republicans in Massachusetts.

Furthermore, the Ford camp argued that the liberal image of Massachusetts is more illusion than reality as far as Republican politics is concerned.

The party registration ... drastically in the last decade as Republicans of moderate and liberal persuasion switched to the Democratic party or became Independents. The Republican Party registration in the last four years dropped to 460,000 from 520,000.

As a result, the conservatives who stayed in the Republican fold grew relatively more powerful, to the point where Carroll Sheehan, a little known conservative Republican, was able to capture 37 percent of the vote against the incumbent Sargent, in the 1974 gubernatorial primary.

Mr. Ford's forces were also quick to point out that conservatives in Massachusetts — people such as former Republican State Committee Chairman William Barnstead, Gordon Nelson and Ed King — put up candidates to contest more than half of the 80 slots on the Republican State Committee, a fact they said would improve the turnout of Reagan supporters.

"We felt that Reagan had 40 percent of the vote here without even trying," said David Sparks, Mr. Ford's 25-year-old Massachusetts campaign director.

But the Reagan camp remained true to its word, when his supporters said they would not establish a get-out-the-vote operation in Massachusetts.

Barnstead and some of the other conservatives did some work on their own but they got no help from the national organization. Barnstead estimated that, through volunteer efforts, Reagan supporters were able to call about 15,000 Republican households.

The President had a much larger organizational effort in Massachusetts. His supporters established six telephone banks from which volunteers called almost 100,000 Republican households to identify support for Mr. Ford.

Volunteers using their home telephones, and Ford campaign officials estimated they contained almost 150,000 households in all.

Mr. Ford's camp concentrated most of its efforts in the Rte. 128 belt because it was believed that area contains the single largest chunk of support for the President in the state.

As in New Hampshire on election day, Mr. Ford's workers recalled most of those who had been identified as supporters of the President, urging them to go to the polls. Mr. Ford spent nearly $175,000 in all on his Massachusetts effort.

Globe 3/5/76

# REAGAN TO PRESS ATTACKS ON FORD

## He Will Stress 'Failures' of U.S. Policies as He Enters Critical Phase of Drive

By JON NORDHEIMER
Special to The New York Times

PACIFIC PALISADES, Calif., March 3—Ronald Reagan will return to the Florida campaign trail tomorrow, prepared to intensify his attacks on the Ford Administration as he enters what his strategists agree is the most critical phase of his challenge to President Ford.

He plans a new round of attacks on the "failures" of United States foreign and domestic policy under Mr. Ford's 18-month stewardship.

The President's victories yesterday in the Massachusetts and Vermont primaries have increased the pressure on Mr. Reagan to abandon his so-called "11th Commandment"—his stated policy of not directly attacking the President to preserve Republican harmony.

According to sources close to the candidate, Mr. Reagan will assail Mr. Ford's leadership at a news conference tomorrow afternoon in Orlando, the first stop of Mr. Reagan's final four-day swing through a state whose primary, it is believed, he must win if he is to succeed in his campaign.

"His Orlando steatment should be the strongest thing he's ever said about the President," said one top Reagan adviser. "It's in language the the Governor has wrestled with in his own mind since the campaign started, and which he has now decided needs to be said."

John Sears, Mr. Reagan's national campaign manager, said in a telephone interview today from his Washington office that the Californian's "restraint and discipline" over the early months of the campaign had established his concern about allegations that his insurgency would split the Republican Party and insure its defeat in November.

"We are at the point now," Mr. Sears said, "because of the way we've conducted ourselves, that people are not screaming at us about being divisive. We now feel that if we want to poke [Mr. Ford] over something substantial, we can do it without someone accusing us of taking the party down the same road as 1964."

In that year, when Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona was the Republican nominee for President, the right and left wings of the Republican Party were fractured badly by ideological disputes, and Mr. Goldwater lost by a landslide margin to President Johnson.

Whatever the official rationale within the Reagan camp for stepping up attacks on Mr. Ford, it would appear that the most significant argument has been supplied by supporters who feel that the candidate must now carry Florida to sustain his challenge against the President.

Mr. Reagan claimed today another moral victory in the outcome of balloting in the Massachusetts and Vermont primaries yesterday. But his advisers, who had dreamed of dealing Mr. Ford early crushing blows, are now convinced that Mr. Reagan cannot retain his 11th Commandment position and still hope to defeat an incumbent they believe is vulnerable on fundamental issues.

### Reagan 'Most Pleased'

In a statement released today, Mr. Reagan said that he was "most pleased" with the results of yesterday's primaries.

"In Massachusetts, we appear to have garnered more than 30 percent of the Republican vote, although we spent no money and made no appearances there," he said. "In contrast, the President Ford Committee is said to have spent in the neighborhood of $200,000. In addition, I am delighted that we picked up 15 delegates, three more than we expected."

He said that the results in Vermont were equally gratifying. "Even though I did not enter that primary, a fifth of the state's Republican voters braved a blizzard to write in my name," he said.

According to Reagan insiders, the original campaign strategy based on the belief that Mr. Reagan could bring about a collapse of the Ford effort by putting together knockout blows in the early primaries has not been entirely abandoned.

As they see it, there is still a possibility, despite signs of erosion in recent weeks, that Mr. Reagan retains enough of his big early lead in Florida to trounce the President there in next Tuesday's primary and will then move on to another big victory in Illinois the following week on the momentum provided by Florida.

But more and more the Reagan camp is turning to "scenario No. 2," which envisions Mr. Reagan's establishing the "viability of his challenge" in the first round of contests by "not losing badly anywhere he makes an effort," and by holding on until the May primaries in Southern and Western states where he has a "natural constituency," in the words of one strategist.

"If we don't win the big ones before May, we know we'll start whipping the President then, and then the whole thing will be decided in California," Mr. Sears said. He sai that Mr. reagan would be very strong in Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Nebraska, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Montana, Nevada and Idaho.

He also expects the candidate to pick up delegates in Michigan, Mr. Ford's home state.

"All of us would have been much happier, of course, if we would have gotten a coule more thousand votes in New Hampshire last week," he said.

It has become increasingly apparent that Mr. Ford's victory in New Hampshire, even though narrow, has been of enormous significance in keeping his prestige intact and in giving him measurable momentum in the Florida race. It is also forcing Mr. Reagan nto a new aggressive posture that may ultimately be the deciding factor in this campaign.

NY Times
3/4/76

He also scored the administration for allowing Russia to intervene in the Angola civil war and for the Helsinki agreement "which placed the American seal of approval on the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe."

"Despite Mr. Ford's evident decency, honor and patriotism he has shown neither the vision nor the leadership necessary to halt and reverse the diplomatic and military decline of the United States."

"Tommy" Thomas, a tall, burly ex-Marine and a highly successful Panama City auto dealer, watched Reagan and smiled his approval. "I want more tomorrow and more the next day," Thomas said afterward. "I want him to hit Ford tomorrow on the $95 billion deficit."

page 2

# Reagan Blast at Ford Policy

# ...actic or Survival

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

ORLANDO, Fla. — Ronald Reagan says his strongly worded attack on President Ford's foreign policy is a matter of grave concern for the nation's survival, but it is also a tactic to keep Reagan's presidential hopes alive if — as it appears now — his hope of knocking Ford out in the early primaries fails.

This hope suffered a profound setback with Ford's razor-thin victory in the New Hampshire primary 10 days ago and will be put to permanent rest if Ford beats Reagan in the Florida primary Tuesday.

Reagan's criticism of the administration's defense and foreign policy is intended to demonstrate to his faithful that there is a choice, not an echo to Ford, so that they will be motivated to support him through March and April into the May primaries.

REAGAN'S advisers argue that foreign policy is an area where he can disagree with Ford without risking voter backlash for attacking the incumbent President and without violating the so-called Republican 11th Commandment: "Thou Shalt Not Speak Ill of Another Republican."

Reagan's assault was couched in apocalyptic language, but he delivered it in his genteel fashion, with assurances that he likes Gerald Ford as a person of "evident decency, honor and patriotism."

In Reagan's view this won't prevent Ford from being "held accountable to history" because the peace that he and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger "have come to know is the peace of the grave."

"Under Messrs. Kissinger and Ford this nation has become No. 2 in military power in a world where it is dangerous — if not fatal — to be second best. . . . If Mr. Ford and Dr. Kissinger are incorrect in their belief that Soviet ambitions have moderated so much that we no longer need to maintain military superiority, there will be no future opportunity to rectify their error," Reagan said.

HIS ADVISERS are convinced that because of the aerospace and defense installations in the state, Florida Republicans are more receptive to this issue than those in New Hampshire. Ford's campaign managers disagree.

A large percentage of Florida Republicans are elderly and primarily concerned with economic survival, Ford's people say. "About 43 percent are 60 (or older) and on Social Security," said one. "Seventy percent are over 50. They're concerned about inflation and those Social Security checks on the third of the month."

He also points out that 70 percent of Florida's Republicans are from the Midwest or the industrial Northeast and are not as receptive to Reagan's brand of conservatism as the other 30 percent, half of whom are native Floridians and the other half who are from traditional Deep South states.

Ford's major thrust is economics. His advertisements emphasize support of cost-of-living increases in Social Security, medical insurance for catastrophic illness, vetoes of spending bills that would aggravate inflation, and reduction of unemployment.

FORD'S CLAIMS were bolstered yesterday by government statistics indicating the rate of increase in prices has been greatly slowed. He is also using the power of his incumbency to dip into the pork barrel on Florida's behalf.

Transportation Secretary William Coleman is scheduled to announce in Miami a $62 million highway program, there will be a Veterans Hospital in St. Petersburg and a solar energy center in Brevard County, and the Martin Marietta Corp. plant in Orlando was awarded a $33 million Air Force missile contract yesterday.

Ford has invited representatives of Florida radio stations to interview him in the White House on Sunday. A similar interview several days ago got considerable play in Miami.

In addition, a Harris poll indicates Reagan's lead over Jimmy Carter in a hypothetical general election has slipped from a ratio of 50 percent to 33 percent a month ago to 45 percent to 38 percent now. In the same poll, Ford has a bigger lead over Carter, 48 percent to 37 percent, down slightly from 49-to-36 a month ago.

MORE DISTURBING for Reagan is his slippage among suburban, college educated, young and professional voters, which suggests his support is concentrated in an ultraconservative minority.

Republicans in Florida are cool to both candidates, many are still reluctant to turn out an incumbent.

"They see the progress he's made on inflation and unemployement and they are accepting him as the President," says a Ford strategist.

Reagan's attack on Ford's foreign policy is a gamble that he has established himself as sufficiently credible a challenger to attack Ford and get away with it.

"We'd hoped for a better showing in New Hampshire but we came close enough to do what we wanted, which was to establish him as a bona fide challenger," says a top Reagan strategists.

REAGAN STRATEGISTS say they began his campaign with two scenarios. The first was to knock Ford out in the early primaries, which they still see as an outside possibility if he can beat Ford in Florida, Illinois and North Carolina in quick succession.

"The second scenario is to stay close so he can't throw us off his back," the Reagan man says. "Then we get into May where we're on better ground — Texas, where they're still unhappy about the energy bill, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Nebraska, Indiana, Michigan and the Northwest mountain states such as Idaho, Montana and Oregon. Then into California."

Reagan's advisers deny that his taking the gloves off yesterday was a result of panic over Ford's surge in Florida and the warning of state chairman L.E. Thomas that Reagan had to get tough with Ford or lose.

"AFTER WE established our credibility we still had to open up space between him and us on this issue to protect our second scenario even if the first one of winning early appeared to be working," Reagan strategists say.

"If we win in Florida, for example, then get killed in Illinois, the first scenarios is out the window. If we lose Florida, of course, it's going to be a long haul."

victory while Reagan backers concede that they have an uphill struggle. Reagan denied that he would drop out if he loses in Florida despite assertions by Ford supporters that if he can't win here, he can't win anywhere.

"I never had any illusions about winning," Reagan said. "If I finish with more than 40 percent, that's a good campaign and I will continue.

"FORD WON in New Hampshire but he was the first incumbent President ever to get less than 50 percent there. I got 35 percent in Massachusetts without lifting a finger and 16 percent in Vermont from people who battled their way through a snow storm to write my name on the ballot."

Reagan said his attack on Ford's foreign policy was not a violation of the "11th commandment" because it was not a personal attack. "This is a matter of the record. I'm drawing a fundamental difference between us."

In his understated way, Reagan accused Kissinger and Ford of negotiating away America's security in the name of detente with the Soviet Union. "In my view, the policy of detente as pursued by the administration is one of making 'pre-emptive concessions' to the Soviets," he said.

"ALL I CAN SEE is what other nations the world over see: Collapse of the American will and the retreat of American power. There is little doubt in my mind that the Soviet Union will not stop taking advantage of detente until it sees that the American people have elected a new president and appointed a new secretary of state."

He said that the United States must establish military superiority and criticized Ford for allowing Russia to provide weapons for the 1973 Arab attack on Israel, allowing the Arab states to "strangle the Western industrial democracies with the oil boycott," and to inflict on the United States "the worst humiliation in its history" in South Vietnam.

Star 3/5/76 page 1

# Reagan grilled on Social Security, abortion in Florida

By Richard Bergholz
*Los Angeles Times Special*

DAYTONA, Fla. — The twin issues of Social Security and abortion laws gave Ronald Reagan trouble Saturday when he brought his Republican presidential campaign back to Florida.

The former California governor conceded he once had suggested that participation in the federal Social Security system be made voluntary, a move that his critics, including President Ford's campaigners, contended really was designed to destroy Social Security.

Reagan also talked publicly about the fact that although he currently depicts himself as a strong foe of liberalized abortion laws, as governor he once signed such a bill, but now feels he was misled by the medical profession and made a mistake.

The candidate, at his only press conference in more than a week, clearly was on the defensive in the 35-minute session.

Earlier, he had dismissed as "absolutely false and without foundation" a charge by Ford's campaign staff that he (Reagan) had repeatedly suggested voluntarism for the Social Security program during and following the days he was campaigning actively for Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential campaign.

Goldwater himself had suggested that Social Security participation be made voluntary and his critics in both the Republican and Democratic parties hit hard at him for this

Now Reagan is particularly sensitive to similar criticism of him in this state, where retirees make up an important segment of the GOP.

When first asked about his former views, Reagan told the press conference his quotes had been taken "somewhat out of context." Then he added that, among other improvements in the system, he had believed the Social Security program "could have made provision for those who could do better on their own, but they should be able to do so providing they gave evidence to the government that they had made provisions for their own nonearning years."

Because such a choice might be made, but with the result being some form of retirement protection, Reagan said he did not consider that his proposal was "totally voluntary."

But now, Reagan said, the system has a projected deficit of $2.25 trillion and "today, if we are going to straighten out-

that (deficit), it obviously is going to involve all of us.

"There can't be any lessening of these features until you get this program on a sound and actuarial basis where everyone is going to be guaranteed that they are going to get what they have been promised."

On the abortion issue, Reagan invariably has responded that he considers abortion "the taking of a human life" and that he is unalterably opposed to it — even to the point of supporting a proposed constitutional amendment if necessary to stop "abortions on demand."

But Saturday, for the first time, Reagan discussed with newsmen reasons why he signed a liberalized abortion bill as governor of California.

He said he did not view the measure put on his desk as an "abortion of demand" bill because it provided that abortions could be performed only when a medical doctor concluded that a woman's health, including her mental health, was jeopardized by the continued pregnancy.

"I had permanent health danger in mind," Reagan said, and in the case of mental illness, "derangement for the rest of her life."

But since signing the bill, he discovered that some doctors, particularly psychiatrists, were certifying dangers of dubious magnitude simply to satisfy the woman's desire for the abortion, Reagan said.

"I did not foresee the mental health section of the law would be used this way," he said.

# REAGAN SUGGESTS POOR CAN MIGRATE

NYTimes 1/17

## Says Needy and Minorities Might Have to Flee States Resistant to Social Aid

By JON NORDHEIMER
Special to The New York Times

DUBLIN, N.H., Jan. 16—Ronald Reagan said today that the poor and minorities living in states resistant to social action might have to migrate elsewhere if these states failed to substitute adequate welfare programs for the Federal ones he would like to eliminate.

"You can vote with your feet in this country," he declared in a campaign swing through the countryside of southern New Hampshire. "If a state is mismanaged, you can move elsewhere."

In Washington, meanwhile, President Ford's campaign organization began today an attempt to link Mr. Reagan's position on Social Security to the stand that proved costly to Barry Goldwater in the 1974 Presidential race. Mr. Goldwater suggested that wage earners be permitted the choice of Social Security or private retirement plans. [Page 31.]

Mr. Reagan, responding to a question about the South and the region's history of racial discrimination, said it was possible that some blacks would be forced to leave states that refused to provide social welfare programs abandoned by the Federal Government under his plan.

However, the former California Governor said he be-

Continued on Page 31, Column 1

# Reagan Suggests Poor Can Leave States Cool to Aid

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

lieved that Southern states no longer held an animosity toward black citizens, and that the South had surpassed the North in its relations between the races.

"I have confidence that all the compassion is not located on the banks of the Potomac," he said.

Mr. Reagan, who is vying with Mr. Ford in New Hampshire's Feb. 24 Presidental primary, suggested at a gathering of voters in Dublin that Republicans, not Democrats, had made the breakthrough in dismantling the barriers of racial discrimination in the South. President Eisenhower, in the school integration crisis in the Little Rock, Ark. schools in 1957, he said, upheld the rights of black citizens "at the point of a bayonet" when he ordered troops to protect black children trying to enter public schools there under a court order.

He said it was the Federal Government's responsibility to uphold the constitutional rights of every citizen if these rights were denied by the state.

In an interview, however, he said that if elected President, he would not order troops into a city like Boston to implement a court desegregation order that involved "forced busing."

"No, I would not," he said in response to a question. "I think the judge's orders [in Boston] werew rong." He made a distinction between court-ordered pupil busing in Little Rock, Ark., in the 1950's and the situation in Boston, saying that in Arkansas, the Federal Government had helped children attend the schools of their choice, whereas in Boston, he said, the courts were forcing children into schools they did not want to attend.

Seated in the rear of a campaign bus that carried the candidate along back roads through the snowy countryside, Mr. Reagan also acknowledged that he had not formulated a plan to meet the challenge of a crisis in Social Security, although he has repeatedly remarked in the villages of New Hampshire this wek that, as President, he would reform the $2.25 trillion imbalance that he said exists in the system.

Questions about Social Security from elderly voters, warmly bundled against the cold, regularly come up in the question-and-answer sessions Mr. Reagan conducts as part of his campaign.

In his standard reply, he makes a point of stressing that his reform would not involve a reduction in payments to the elderly, an assertion that up to now has satisfied his listeners.

In the interview today, the candidate, wearing a California-styled checked sport coat, said that details of the reform would have to be worked out after his election.

"I have no plan," he said, his gaze drifting outside the window of the bus toward the darkened forests of evergreens and birch trees slipping by. He said the nation had many years before the "roof falls in" on the Social Security System, and that during his Administration he would assign a panel to devise a way out of the crisis.

### Return to Coast

Mr. Reagan is scheduled to return to Los Angeles tomorrow for a week's rest before resuming his campaigning. While his chartered jet refuels at Des Moines, Iowa, in the afternoon, he will make a brief airport appearance in an effort to influence Monday's caucusing of Republican delegates in that state.

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

Wash Post JAN 29

# Reagan Says Ford Budget Disguises Real Deficits

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

CONCORD, N.H., Jan. 28 — Ronald Reagan said today that President Ford's budget disguises the real deficits facing the federal government and threatens the country with "re-inflation."

In a news conference launching his third campaign swing through New Hampshire, the former California governor said the real deficit in the Ford budget may be $60 billion or $70 billion, rather than the $43 billion the President forecast for fiscal 1977.

He said there was "no real thrust" in Mr. Ford's spending blueprint "toward a long-range plan for a balanced budget," and said that if the deficit proves to be as high as he suspects the price will be another round of inflation.

Preparing for his first showdown in the Republican nomination battle with Mr. Ford here on Feb. 24, Reagan said the Ford budget "does not take into account $10 to $12 billion of deficits in items that are off-budget but are still government spending items."

He did not specify what those excluded items are, but aide Martin Anderson said they included the Post Office deficit and the deficit for the Export-Import Bank.

He also said the budget does not take into account the potential deficits from the $100 billion federal energy corporation Mr. Ford has proposed.

While criticizing Mr. Ford's budget figures, Reagan also repudiated the specifics of his own controversial plan for a $90 billion reduction in federal programs and spending.

He confirmed at the news conference that the specific list of program cutbacks issued at the time he made the $90 billion proposal last September did not necessarily reflect his thinking.

Reagan said, "I didn't pay any attention" to the breakdown of the $90 billion in cutbacks, which he said was prepared by some of his economic advisers. "I myself saw some items that I disagreed with" on the list, he September. I made no pretense of fleshing it out."

The $90 billion plan has been under constant attack by spokesmen for the Ford campaign. Reagan said today that he was "tired of questions that tend to confuse" people about that plan, but insisted it was a political asset to him. "The audiences seem to approve of it, and they don't seem confused," he said.

The conservative challenger said he had detected elements of his proposal in Mr. Ford's State of the Union speech, particularly in the President's references to the ability of states and localities to manage their own affairs. He said, "It makes me wonder if his campaign aides have been talking to him lately."

Reagan's return to New Hampshire was greeted by the local Ford committee with a press conference at which state Rep. Elizabeth Hager accused Reagan of switching from support to opposition of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"It is becoming more and more evident that Ronald Reagan is a political chameleon who will take whatever side he thinks is expedient on any given issue at any given time," Hager said.

Reagan readily acknowledged that he had changed his mind since endorsing ERA in 1972, because "the simple solution it seemed to be is not that simple — it opens Pandora's Box."

Referring to the Ford group's press conference, he said it was "a shame they (the Ford supporters) wasted campaign money on that. All they had to do was call me on the phone."

Reagan - Dom.

# Reagan Has a Ready Answer, B

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

CLAREMONT, N.H. — A pretty blond high school coed stood up and aimed a question that was intended to hit Ronald Reagan right between the eyes.

"Why do you favor New Hampshire's having a sales and income tax," she asked. This was a reference to Reagan's plan to turn $90 billion in federal programs back to the state, which his opponents contend would force New Hampshire to enact a straight sales or income tax or both. The state now has neither tax.

Reagan, who has worked mightily to neutralize this claim, jumped like a man who had been jabbed with a cattle prod. "I'm delighted you asked that," he responded. "That grew out of a distortion that I don't believe was accidental. I have no intention of forcing those taxes on you. You have escaped them, and I bless you for it."

HE WENT ON to explain that his proposal was intended to make the programs more efficient and therefore result in a net decrease of everyone's taxes.

He gets hit with a variation of this question at nearly every one of the "citizens' press conferences" that are his campaign format, and if many people perceive the issue as that girl did he has serious troubles indeed.

There is a growing feeling, however, that he has turned the issue around and that it is about dead. Some of President Ford's supporters, such as Mayor Charles Pukstra of Claremont, still view it as a damaging blunder. Another Ford supporter, former Sen. Norris Cotton, disagrees.

"The $90 billion issue has losts its significance," Cotton, who introduced Reagan in his home town of Lebanon, said yesterday. "Our people tried to keep it alive too long, but more and more people understand it now. I don't think any man can cut the federal budget by $90 billion in three years, but it's good that he wants to."

COTTON THINKS Ford will beat Reagan in a Feb. 24 primary election but that it will be close. "If I wake up the next morning and Reagan has won, I won't be surprised," he said.

Reagan is working hard at it. He will spend 15 days campaigning here compared to two by Ford, who enters the state this weekend.

Reagan's citizens' press conferences are a variation of the citizens' roundtables that Richard Nixon developed here in 1968. They give Reagan a chance to make a short statement and



# ut Do the Folks Understand It?

then take questions from the audience.

Many are held during the day at high schools and draw adults as well as students. At Claremont the audience included seniors of voting age who were bused in from neighboring high schools. The questions vary little, and the answers varied not at all. He also is asked regularly about Angola, welfare, nuclear power plants and defense spending, all of which give him the opportunity to run the litany of sins of big government and to declare his faith in private enterprise and the free market.

HE ADMITS to no doubts on any issue except Angola. A student at Sunapee High School asked him about it, and Reagan began, "You and I don't know what to do in Angola because. . . ."

"I do," the youth retorted.

"The trouble is," Reagan continued, "we're in the dark because the government hasn't told us about it."

As a result, he continued, he can "neither agree or disagree" with the Ford administration on Angola. "If the President is right that the Soviet activity there, which is their most intensive in the world, is a threat towards national security we should provide aid and material to the anti-Soviet forces. If it is not a threat, then Congress is right and we should get out."

He is armed with a wealth of statistics to bolster his other postions. Nuclear power plants are an issue with many people up here because of possible thermal pollution and radiation leaks, but according to Reagan they are safer than riding a tricycle.

"THE CHANCE OF a fatality resulting from a nuclear power plant accident is 1 in 300 million," he contends. "The chance of being struck by lightning is 1 in 2 million, of dying in a hurricane is 1 in 3 million. The chance of your being killed in an auto accident is 1 in 4,000."

He gets caught up occasionally on small matters. One questioner, a youth at Reagan's Dartmouth University rally last night, noted that he opposed government's forcing motorcycle riders to wear protective helmets but that he opopoosed marijuana on the grounds that it caused brain damage.

Reagan admitted that not every case can be judged sharply and that there are sometimes gray areas of disagreement and inconsistencies.

For Ronald Reagan that is an unusual concession.

(1)

Reagan - D

# Reagan

By LOYE MILLER JR.
*Inquirer Washington Bureau*

MANCHESTER, N. H. — Jimmy Carter is on the move, and Ronald Reagan is in trouble.

These are the most interesting developments here, as campaigning for the Feb. 24 New Hampshire presidential primary heats up.

With only 10 days gone in this election year, Democrats Carter, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris, Terry Sanford, Sargent Shriver and Morris Udall and Republican Ronald Reagan have been trudging through the heavy snow in search of supporters.

There are only about 380,000 registered voters here, and many of them will not bother to vote.

This miniscule part of the American electorate, however, will have a disproportionate effect on the presidential sweepstakes, simply because everyone will by watching this first electoral showdown.

The race became particularly noteworthy as Reagan's challenge to President Ford grew into a serious threat. But Reagan's formidable campaign is suddenly on the defensive — a problem that even his own campaign leaders admit could be fatal.

## *Reagan's Difficulty*

The former California governor's proposal to turn over $90 billion worth of federal programs to state and local governments is causing the difficulty.

In advancing the plan, Reagan envisioned that it would lower the average American's tax burden because:

- State and local governments would decide that some of the discontinued federal programs were not worth picking up.
- Higher state and local taxes to finance those programs that were picked up would be more than offset by a 23 percent federal income tax cut made possible by the $90-billion federal budget reduction.

New Hampshire voters, however, have demonstrated repeatedly that they would not tolerate a raise in state taxes of any kind, for any reason.

This is the only state that has neither a sales tax nor an income tax, and proposals to levy either one are always defeated by landslide margins.

Ford campaign leaders here argue that there is no way that the state can take over the federal programs Reagan wants to turn back without passing either a sales or an income tax.

In 48 hours of stumping here last week, Reagan declared at every stop that he did not favor either a sales tax or an income tax in New Hampshire.

By refusing to hold a press conference, he managed to duck the question of how he proposed that New Hampshire should finance up to $100 million in federal programs that his plan would transfer back to the state.

But that question will not go away, and the Ford team is already debating how best to exploit Reagan's attempt to dance around it.

The controversy has provided some badly needed relief for the Ford campaign, which got off to a late and shaky start here.

The President's backers are still left at a considerable disadvantage, however, by Ford's decision to do very little personal campaigning in

# '76 HOPES REVIVE FOR GOV. REAGAN

## He Is Said to Indicate That a Campaign Is Probable

By R. W. APPLE JR.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12—Gov. Ronald Regan of California, who leaves office at the end of this year, is actively pursuing the possibility of a 1976 campaign for the Republican nomination for President.

Officially, the word from Sacramento is that Mr. Regan "won't make up his mind for several more months."

But Washington and California politicians with whom the 63-year-old Governor has spoken privately said that he was discussing a national campaign two years from now as a probability.

Some of the conservative former movie actor's stanchest supporters want him to try to form a third party on the right, possibly in concert with George C. Wallace, the conservative Democratic Governor of Alabama.

Mr. Regean is reported however, to consider that option unlikely to succeed.

According to his associates, Mr. Regan felt in the days immediately following President Ford's accession that his chances of winning the Presidency had probably ended.

### Think Ford May Not Run

But since then, a series of events has combined to persuade him that his hopes are still alive—including Mr. Ford's difficulties in grappling with inflation, Mrs. Ford's illness and disclosures about Vice President-designate Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Like many other Republican politicians, some of Mr. Reagan's closest aides are beginning to conclude that Mr. Ford may not run in 1976. That would leave the Republican field open to Mr. Rockefeller, if he is confirmed, and to a conservative challenger such as Governor Reagan.

In a telephone interview, Peter D. Hannaford, Mr. Reagan's director of public affairs, said of the President:

"I would think that he would put concern for his wife's health above the Presidency. And if he isn't able to turn the economy around and do something about inflation, he may find himself a little bit in the position of Lyndon Johnson in 1968, and decide it would be wisest not to run."

A Washington associate of Mr. Reagan said much the same thing. He said it was conceiivble, though not likely that Mr. Reagan would challenge Mr. Ford regardless of the President's decision.

### Job Offer Reported

One Capitol Hill source reported that John Sears, a Washington lawyer who helped organize former President Richard M. Nixon's campaign in 1968, had been asked to play a key role in a Reagan campaign, along with at least two other former Nixon aides.

Mr. Sears conceded that he was in frequent contact with Reagan aides but said he had not been offered a job.

Mr. Reagan has been campaigning heavily for Republican candidates this fall. He made one swing through the Midwest, stopping in Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Indiana and South Dakota; and another trip included stops in New Mexico, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Texas, Arkansas, Alabama and Louisiana.

Later this month he will be in Florida, Georgia and North Carolina, collecting more political I.O.U.'s.

### 'Reagan for President'

Mr. Reagan has drawn big crowds, including a turnout of 5,000 at a ranch barbecue for Representative Robert D. Price in Pampa, Tex, which ended with chants of "Reagan for President." At every stop, as in past years, voters crowded around the platform and urged him to run for President.

The Governor's standard theme is that the mandate of 1972, which he interprets as a call for fiscal responsibility and conservation, should be adhered to by Mr. Ford. When asked in Albuquerque whether the President was adhering to it, he replied, "It is not fair to make a judgment yet."

But on Tuesday, following the President's economic speech, Mr. Regan praised some of its arguments but openly disassociated himself from others.

He described himself as "greatly concerned over the proposal to increase taxes and the fact that the President failed to call for a substantial reduction in Federal spending." Such a reduction, he said, is the indispensable beginning for any effective assault on inflation.

Mr. Reagan has also subtly kept his distance from Mr. Nixon. He reportedly declined an invitation to travel to San Clemente for a talk with the former President.

Washington Post

*George F. Will*

# Ronald Reagan, the GOP and '76

Even while humming Cardinal Newman's hymn for their Party ("Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom"), Republicans can hear a distant roll of thunder out of California. Gov. Ronald Reagan wants to be President.

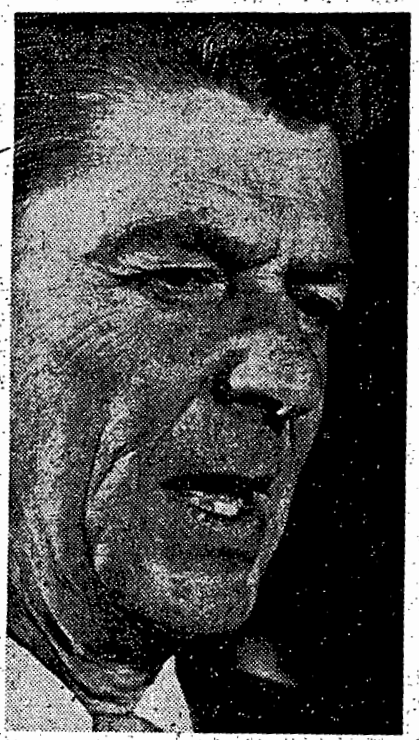
Of course, Reagan's breezy frankness stops well short of a confession of ambition. But he says the 1972 presidential election produced a conservative mandate and, if the two major parties fail to represent the real will of the American people, well, he might feel duty-bound to lead a third party in 1976.

Like religious mystics hearing voices from the ether, politicians hear the "real" will (as distinguished from the merely expressed will) of the people. And now, while other Republicans are busy picking the fallen plaster out of their hair, Reaganites are thinking: Why settle for a third party? Perhaps Gerald Ford is such a lackluster campaigner that Reagan could beat him in the Republican primaries and state conventions?

What matters in politics often is not what is true but what politicians find is comforting or convenient to say is true. Today Reaganites find it both comforting and convenient to say that the election results indicate not only a dissatisfaction with Mr. Ford but a broad and deep yearning for someone like, oh, say, Reagan.

Perhaps. Strange ideas have been plucked from the ether. But Reagan is 63, and looks it. His hair is still remarkably free of gray, but around the mouth and neck he looks like an old man.

He has never demonstrated substantial national appeal. His hard-core support today consists primarily of the kamikaze conservatives who thought the 1964 Goldwater campaign was jolly fun. And there is reason to doubt that Reagan is well suited to appeal to the electorate that just produced a Democratic landslide.



The electorate recently has shown a certain impatience with wealthy politicians who, like Reagan, have managed, however legally, to avoid paying income taxes. The electorate also has dealt urgently with politicians (like House Judiciary Committee Republicans David Dennis of Indiana and Charles Sandman of New Jersey—both defeated) who, like Reagan, supported Richard Nixon until Nixon confessed.

During the slow-motion collapse of the [illegible] presidency, [illegible] seemed to [illegible] Nixon [illegible] enough [illegible] yield the [illegible] presidency [illegible] would [illegible] district [illegible] the 1976 Republican [illegible] an's [illegible] pronouncements [illegible] gate was a [illegible] reconstruction of [illegible] cardinals: [illegible] said the Watergate [illegible] glars should [illegible] not be [illegible] nals because [illegible] they are not [illegible] heart."

When [illegible] was pelted [illegible] pital [illegible] said, Reagan's [illegible] was: "Maybe [illegible] mob." That [illegible] signed to further endear Reagan [illegible] Nixon bitter [illegible] who believe [illegible] was lynched.

Theirs is a [illegible] perhaps, as [illegible] Hruska said of [illegible] representation. If so, a [illegible] headed by Reagan might be the [illegible] priate vehicle for [illegible] representing [illegible]

If a Reagan third party would lead the "Nixon [illegible] away from the Republican Party into outer darkness, where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth, it would be, at worst, a mixed curse for the Republican Party. It would cost the Party some support, but it would make the party seem cleansed.

But when a party rips apart, wound is not surgically neat and [illegible] to heal. The hemorrhaging is hard to stanch. A brisk, forthright fight in the party's primaries and state conventions is less damaging to the party's morale and the party's standing in the eyes of the electorate.

A party that has splinted internal fights can appear vigorous and interesting. A party that [illegible] cially a party as emaciated as the Republican Party currently is—just looks fragile.

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Christian Science Monitor 7/8/74 1-17-3-1

# Ronald Reagan eyes the presidency

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Sacramento

Nine years ago we were riding with Ronald Reagan in the Los Angeles area as he "tested the waters" — as he put it — for a possible run for the governorship. At one point we asked the actor whether in view of his inexperience in government he wouldn't be frightened at the idea of running the big state of California with all its terribly complex and enormously difficult problems. "Who wouldn't be frightened," he said, flashing his boyish grin. But he said he thought he had "something to give" as governor and that this feeling that he could provide an important service to the people would outweigh any anxieties he might have about being propelled into such a position of power and prestige and tremendous responsibility. It was past time, he said, for someone to cut back on the bureaucracy of state government — particularly its outrageous spending — and to bring the people closer to the actual running of their state. Mr. Reagan said he had not decided yet on running. But he sounded very much like a man who had already pretty much resolved the question in his own mind. And we wrote that Mr. Reagan was already a candidate.

* * *

Now, once again, we were in the back seat of a Reagan vehicle — this time the Governor's official, black limousine — and this time we were probing the Governor's thoughts about running for president. Once again, too, we fashioned our questions along the lines of those used nine years ago. Would the Governor really like to be president? Wouldn't he be in awe of being president? "Anyone would be in awe of that very awesome position," he said. But, he said, he felt he had a special mission — something special he could give — that would override all other considerations. He said the "distortions" of "over-government" were much worse in the federal government than even at the state level. He believed, he said, that it was time to bring back "people participation" in government all across the nation — and that he thought a president could do much to bring this about. To achieve such an end, he said, was his chief passion in public life — "what motivates me, what makes me tick."

* * *

The Governor — still trim, handsome, and looking much younger than his 63 years — is also putting some distance between himself and the President these days. This is another and almost certain sign of political aspirations in a day when most Republican office seekers are going out of their way to indicate they are not hanging too close to Mr. Nixon. Of his relationship with the President the Governor says: "I would call it cordial, but not intimate. For that matter, I guess no one has an intimate relationship with Richard Nixon. I guess he doesn't have the capacity for getting that close to others."

The Governor then compared his own style of governing with that of the President: "Mr. Nixon gets a lot of input from those around him — and then goes out by himself and makes his decisions," he said. "My style," he said, "is a much more informal, family approach to governing. I sit down with my staff, members of the Cabinet, and department heads, and we all discuss the problem, whatever it may be. More often than not the decision will be made right there — coming out of the input that is given and the discussion that follows."

What the Governor seemed to be saying was this: "If I'm president, I will always be working closely with all of my subordinates. I will not keep power to myself. I will share it with those around me. And, more than anything else, I will be keeping a close eye on everything that goes on in government — and on what my immediate subordinates are doing."

* * *

At one point Mr. Reagan said: "As we sit together working out our problems in this state, we are operating much like a board of directors." He feels he has, as Governor, borrowed much from the best practices in the business world. And he seemed to be saying that he would be leaning heavily on business know-how should he become president.

Was the Governor then already a

Chicago Tribune
Wednesday Sept. 10, 1975



Mary McGrory

# Reagan's big advantage

ANTRIM, N.H.—Ronald Reagan has one staggering advantage if he decides to take on President Ford in the March Presidential primary here.

He doesn't come from Washington.

Ronald Reagan has no ties to the loathed city where "shady deals" are made: wheat deals, oil deals, congressional pay raises, the place where they welcome Vietnamese refugees, locally known as "those people."

THE PRESIDENT can expect the usual roaring Presidential welcome when he comes here Thursday, maybe even more because of his recent peril. But they are talking about him behind his back in southern New Hampshire. And they say nice things about Reagan, who will play the Manchester armory the night before in a related effort to pull a limping Louis Wyman over the finish line in a special Senate election.

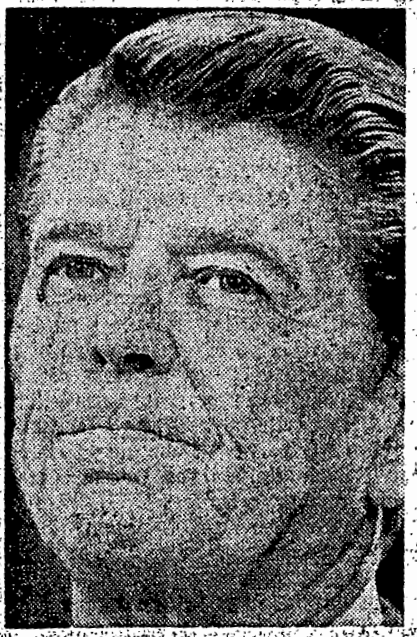
Ford will waste his breath on this clear air if he assures the inhabitants of his solicitude for big corporation—industry here is light and family-owned. Nor will it do him much good to swear that in his heart he is to the right of New Hampshire's Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr., who wants the National Guard to be equipped with nuclear weapons.

The complaints about the President are not ideological. They are specific.

"I have no use for him," fumes a Keene High School teacher, "when he keeps reaching into my pocket. I have to commute, and do you know what I'm paying for gas?"

"I hate to turn my back on him," says a Petersburg factory worker, "but he doesn't seem to have our interests at heart. Why is he selling wheat to the Russians? It's costing us wicked."

The weather is lovely here, but the maples already are garnished with crimson, and the nights are cold. The Northeast's chronic fears of winter fuel-oil shortages are intensified by



Ronald Reagan

threatened new price rises and scarcities, and Ford is blamed, altho one town moderator said he thought Congress was "just as bad."

And then there is Mrs. Ford and her liberated views.

An 80-year-old Antrim resident, Mrs. Mary Murdough, said she didn't "go too deep into politics" but definitely thinks Mrs. Ford has hurt the President.

Howard Humphrey Sr., a venerable state representative, says he is "just beginning to hear talk about Mrs. Ford—and they don't like it too much."

Humphrey is planning to catch Reagan's act at the armory and he said, "Don't ask me that question," when he saw it forming on a visitor's lips. "If the election were held today, I just don't know."

The universal, high-octane contempt for all politicians somehow stops short of California's former governor. He is perceived as a man of common sense who understands common people, especially New Hampshire retirees who turn purple as they talk of "all the money Congress voted itself before they sneaked off on vacation."

"He ran that state pretty good, didn't he?" asked a white-haired Republican woman. "He got those people off welfare, didn't he?"

Just how such sentiments would translate in a primary is not known. Some people think Republicans are just trying to scare Ford into lowering gas prices and filling fuel tanks.

But, if the reluctant Reagan decides to take on Ford, New Hampshire's primary, which is first, might be best. Besides his freedom from Washington taint, he has the vociferous backing of Gov. Thomson. The state's largest newspaper, the Manchester Union Leader, could be expected to operate as a daily campaign brochure. The paper's hard-breathing publisher, William Loeb, is champing at the bit and has taken to prodding Reagan into the race by printing front page editorials in praise of another conservative, George Wallace.

SOME LOCALS caution that Barry Goldwater, the Tory idol, was lured into the state under comparable circumstances in 1964 and was promptly tripped up. But that was because a Yankee neighbor, Henry Cabot Lodge, offered the perfect opportunity to indulge in the favorite native sport of cutting front-runners down to size.

New Hampshire is feeling pretty crabby these days. It still misses Richard Nixon, its lost prince. Ford is no substitute for Nixon, who never pretended to be a nice guy.

There are people who tell you that the exile at San Clemente could beat both Ford and Reagan in a primary here next March.

Washington Star

Washington Post 9/9/75

# Reagan to Air '76 Plans in November

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 8—Ronald Reagan bounds athletically out the front door of his Pacific Palisades home, off for a day's work.

The former movie star who became a two-term governor of California, climbs into the back seat of his red Lincoln Continental and heads for a recording studio at, ironically, Hollywood and Vine.

There, he is to tape about 10 scripts for the daily radio commentary he sells to some 300 stations around the country.

Reagan needs to build up a good backlog of the tapes because he will depart Wednesday on another swing that he says he requires in deciding whether to challenge President Ford for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination. He will be in New Hampshire Wednesday to speak for Republican Louis C. Wyman, running in a special Senate election, and then will go on to Washington, D.C. Texas and North Carolina.

Reagan acknowledges increased pressure from conservatives to declare his candidacy. But he insists he will wait at least until mid-November, when he has concluded this latest round of speaking engagements, before finally saying yes or no.

But as the car winds through the Los Angeles hills, Reagan—casual in a sports shirt, slacks and white loafers—issues no word to suggest the answer will be negative. He disposes of the thought that he must hurry up before Mr. Ford has all the leading Republicans signed on by repeating that if he runs, he will make his case directly to voters in the primaries.

"The old-fashioned system was to go out buttonholing delegates," the 64-year-old Reagan said. "The emphasis now on the primaries, more than 30 of them, makes it different. That has to affect your thinking. You can wait longer to take your case to the people."

Reagan says he has already been satisfied by his agents of the citizens-for-Reagan planning and organiizng committee that sufficient Republicans believe his entry would not be divisive in the party, in fact he says many tell him it will help rejuvenate the GOP after Watergate and the Nixon downfall.

Ronald Reagan is, in fact, a most conciliatory dragon as he contemplates what it will be like if he does run against the President. In recalling his 1966 bubernatorial campaign, he dusts off what he calls his "11th commandment—thou shalt not speak ill of another Republican"—and says it will be his guidepost in 1976 as it was a decadeago. "I wouldn't know any other way to go," he says, with that look of modesty that make him a matinee idol in his earlier career.

Though he says that if he runs he will do so to give the party and the country a choice, Reagan cannot bring himself to disown the President as a conservative. "It's rather hard to tell," he says, "with this Congress, which I consider the most irresponsible I've ever seen"—a view that certainly does not provide any sharp contrast with the incumbent's.

But, he says without direct reference to the FordNPUN deficit of $65 million "the federal budget has to be balanced. I don't say it has to be done at once. We have to be careful of economic dislocation. But you can set a date and move toward it."

He will not be deterred in making a challenge by Mr. Ford's incumbency, he says. The President is, after all, the first unelected chief executive, Reagan notes, and the party was preparing to select the 1976 nominee itself before ixon's resignation elevated Mr. Ford. A challenge, Reagan says, can generate interest in the party and attract independents at a time when their ranks are growing and Republicans declining.

And one further thing he emphasizes: the attempt on President Ford's life in Sacramento last Friday will not deter him in any way in his own decision on running. As governor in 1968, an attempt to bomb his home while he and his wife were sleeping was foiled. "It's just one of those things you have to accept in public life," he said. "You have to recognize it can happen, and then put it out of your mind."

When Reagan's car arrives in Hollywood, he steps out briskly, despite a sore back, and walks jauntily over the pavement in which the names of many of his old colleagues are embossed in pink-pointed stars: Ann Sothern, Louis Hayward, Audrey Hepburn, Ezra Stone, Jackie Coogan.

In the recording studio, he sits behind an overhanging mike, and professionally offers a sound level of his voice without being asked. Then he launches into reading nine radio commentaries to be sold on contract to about 300 stations around the country.

His oice is raspy, and he stops periodically to take a glass of water, or occasionally to go back when he fluffs a word. But it is the polished performance of a pro. The subjects offer a preview of what a 1976 Reagan campaign would be like under the 11th commandment: Not the slightest dig at President Ford, hrdly a reference to Democrats even, as befits a candidate seeking independent support.

Barely pausing between tapes, Reagan spins off commentaries—written by himself and an aide—on congressional versus CIA secrecy: the perils of national economic planning ("piecemeal socialism"); public employee srikes; the professional education and anti-nuclear power lobbies; the growth of federal regulations; the fiscal dilemma of New York City; the federal boondoggle epidemic.

He notes, with a wry grin, that the President is sounding more like Ronald Reagan on these and other subjects since Reagan indicated he might run. But the former governor insists that moving Mr. Ford further to the right is not his objective, anymore than it is to pressure him to remove the bane of GOP conservatives, Vice President Rockefeller, from the ticket.

Reagan says he is not himself interested in the vice presidential nomination and doesn't approve of "balancing the ticket" as a way of getting votes. A running mate "should be someone close to the philosophy of the presidential candidate so he could be an aid to him in implementing his policies," he says. The clear implication is that Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford are too far apart for that, though most of what Reagan has said enroute to the studio and in his radio commentaries suggests otherise.

In any event, when asked pointblank what he would do if the convention voted for him to be Mr. Ford's runningmate, Reagan says: "That would depend on, could you be convinced it was the best thing for the country?" As of now, he makes clear, he is not so convinced.

Candidate file

# Reagan 13, Ford 0

✓ Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Washington Post 4/20

President Ford's top political advisers were issued a private warning last week calculated to shatter the Pollyanna climate at the White House: Under today's conditions, Ronald Reagan would sweep delegates from the 13 southern and border states against Gerald R. Ford in a race for the Republican nomination.

That assessment came from the Republican chairmen of those 13 states, meeting secretly at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel April 14. Three Ford aides, who came to the hotel from the White House, were informed the President's prospects in the South were irretrievable unless plans for 1976 were started *now* — and not one day later.

The upshot: The state chairmen perceived a sympathetic ear from political counselor Robert Hartmann and his deputy, Jack Calkins. But their consensus was that the third and most important Ford adviser attending the meeting, White House Chief of Staff Donald Rumsfeld, went away unmoved and unimpressed.

When the state chairmen compared notes before the presidential aides arrived, they were amazed by the unanimous report of Reagan strength —even in the border states of Oklahoma and Kentucky. Florida State Chairman Bill Taylor reported a big Reagan lead in his state's early presidential primary that could knock President Ford out of the race.

These results were presented to the Ford aides by Clarke Reed of Mississippi, leader of the southern chairmen, who stressed this was no anti-Ford conspiracy but a sincere effort to help the President. Richard M. Nixon started running for re-election the day he entered the White House, Reed said, but Mr. Ford has done nothing. Since better than half the southern delegates in 1976 will be picked in primaries rather than conventions, he warned, the President cannot pull together backroom support at the eleventh hour but must build state organizations which require time to perfect.

The only uupleasant moment came when Reed, analyzing the President's southern problems, criticized him for not duplicating what Nixon did about the Voting Rights Act (now limited to the Deep South): propose that it either be repealed or extended to all 50 states.

Mr. Ford "didn't have the guts" to make that proposal, said Reed. Rumsfeld flared up at that as casting aspersions on the President's courage. Reed then corrected himself to say he really meant the President's staff, not the President, lacked guts. Hartmann somewhat cryptically responded he could agree with Reed about that.

A footnote: Reagan's political advisers are not interested in Gov. Meldrim Thompson of New Hampshire as a stand-in against Mr. Ford in the state's first-in-the-nation primary, immediately preceding Florida's. But if Thompson has a good chance to beat the President in New Hampshire, Reagan has an even better one and ought to get the credit himself, his advisers believe.

●

Despite harsh attacks on him by the American-Jewish community, a forthcoming report by Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.) on his recent Mideast tour courageously calls on Israel to establish speedy contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in Israel's own interest and long-run security.

The Percy report, to be submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee soon, also warns Israel — in carefully temperate language — that it must exhibit more flexibility in negotiating with the Arabs or risk losing some U.S. support. American aid is essential to Israel's military strength and economy.

When Perry returned from a Mideast trip earlier this year, his demand that both Israel and the Arab states show more flexibility, coupled with his warning that Israel risks the loss of U.S. political backing, resulted in what one Percy aide called a "firestorm" of criticism from American Jews. Percy's official report on his trip, while striking a critical balance between Israel and the Arabs, holds to that line.

The most controversial portion of the senator's findings is his appeal for Israel to deal openly with the Palestinians. His thesis: Until the West Bank is returned to the Palestinians, there is no chance for an overall political settlement and no hope for real Israeli security.

Percy's demands on the Arabs include an end to the anti-Israel boycott, the start of trade, assurances of non-belligerency and the free passage of both Israeli cargoes and Israeli-flag ships through the Suez Canal.

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# Reagan Says U.S. Must Act to Halt Communist Gains

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., May 31—Ronald Reagan, contending that the United States should profit from its "no-win mistakes of the last 30 years," today called upon the Ford administration to draw a line against Communist advances.

In his first speech devoted entirely to foreign policy, the former California governor said the United States should strengthen its defenses and put Communist nations on notice that this country intends to keep its treaty commitments.

"Our friends and our adversaries must be convinced that American treaties and other commitments are not only binding but are backed by hardware and hard-nosed determination," Reagan said in remarks for a journalism awards dinner of the National Headliners Club.

Earlier, in an interview with The Washington Post, Reagan said that the United States should provide an unspecified form of aid to non-Communist elements in Portugal. And he said that North Korea and China must be convinced that the United States intends to meet its treaty commitments to South Korea and Taiwan.

"These countries must know that they risk involvement and confrontation with the United States if they start any adventuring," Reagan said.

Referring to North Korean statements that the United States' presence should be removed from Korea, Reagan declared: "I think this is the time for us to just tell them they're damn well not telling us where we're going to be . . . It's none of their business what we're doing in South Korea."

"Can anyone think for one moment that North Vietnam would have moved to the attack had its leaders believed we would respond wih B-52's," Regan said.

Despite his call for American firmness, Reagan has insisted that this does not mean deployment of U.S. troops in new foreign wars. Usually he has maintained, as he did at a Boston press conference Friday, that U.S. commitments can be met through generous military aid supplemented where needed by American air power.

However, Reagan also said it would be a mistake to withdraw U.S. troops from Korea. He said that these troops have a "symbolic" value and that their withdrawal would be interpreted as yet another sign of weakness.

In the interview and his speech tonight Reagan made these proposals:

- A sharp increase in U.S. defense spending, including production of the advanced B-1 bomber and the Trident submarine.
- Some sort of financial aid to non-Communist parties in Portugal to match the assistance given the Communists by the Soviet Union.
- Less emphasis on detente and more emphasis on strengthening ties with traditional allies. Reagan said he agreed with a recent suggestion by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) that Mr. Ford should visit Taiwan if he carries through with his plan to visit mainland China this fall.

Reagan's speech here climaxed a four-day speaking trip that closely resembled a presidential candidate's campaign swing.

This morning, he was greeted in Atlanta by tumultuous applause from 1,100 delegates to the Georgia State Republican Convention. Many of them waved black-and-yellow banners reading, "Reagan for President."

Georgia GOP Chairman Robert Shaw predicted that Reagan would be a candidate and that he would defeat President Ford if the two were matched in the Georgia primary.

Reagan also was treated as if he were an undeclared presidential candidate by Republicans who heard him speak during the last four days at GOP fund-raisers in Houston, Huntington, W.Va., and Waltham, Mass., a suburb of Boston.

However, Reagan's stock answer every time he is asked about his supposed candidacy is that he has not yet decided whether he will oppose Mr. Ford.

Reagan's speech tonight was itself an expression of his continuing interest in raising what he calls "the bold banners" of a alternative Republican policy. His speech was carefully timed to coincide with the President's visit to Europe, and a text was distributed several days in advance, an unusual practice for Reagan.

"The free world indeed, the entire non-Communist world is crying out for strong American leadership, and we are not providing it," Reagan said. "Neither are we providing a strong, lasting, consistent foreign policy."

"Detente works—for now—at the whim of Red Russia and Red China,' he continued. 'It will not work as we intended it should unless we maintain our strength."

Much of Reagan's speech tonight was based on the premise that American withdrawal from Vietnam was the logical result of tree "decades of "weakness and indecision" that began during the Korean conflict when "our country decided for the first time that victory was not necessary."

"In between we were conditioned by indecision at the Bay of Pigs, indecision while the East Germans built the Berlin Wall (and by) failure to act when the North Koreans hijacked the Pueblo . . ." Reagan said.

All this, as Reagan sees it, conditioned the American people and its government to

Reagan avoided references to the President in his speech, expected to commend him once more for ordering the recovering of the Mayaguez and its crew after the American freighter was captured by a Cambodian gunboat.

There is some dispute among Reagan advisers about the impact of the Mayaguez incident on he prospective Reagan candiacy. The tone of tonight's speech, for instance was softened by Reagan's praise for Mr. Ford's handling of this incident.

However, Reagan tends to take a far more pessimistic view than the President about the state of U.S. credibility in the world. In the interview he insisted repeatedly that the United States could not afford to retreat any longer.

"If you keep on retreating, you eventually find yourself with your back to a wall where there's no room to retreat," Reagan said.

## *Reagan Sees Kennedy As Democrats' Pick*

ATLANTA, May 31 (AP)—Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California predicted today that Democrats will turn to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts as their presidential nominee in 1976 in order to keep the nomination from Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

Reagan said in a news conference that Wallace is the leader among Democrats who have announced, "but I also believe that will be some of the fun and games at the Democratic convention because I don't believe that the leadership of the Democratic Party . . . is going to give him that nomination."

"I have a hunch that the young senator from Massachusetts will suddenly emerge from the smoke-filled rooms at the convention in order to pour oil on the troubled waters and become the reluctant savior of the party," said Reagan.

ridden, the first time this had happened to a California governor in 28 years.

Despite these difficulties, some of them occasioned by Regan's increasing political absences from California, the governor plans a stepped-up speaking schedule in the fall.

"He's going to stand by the Republican Party and Republican candidates," explains a supporter. "And he'll be prepared to carry the party banner in 1976."

# Reagan Set for 1976

## He's Seen as Nominee If Ford Isn't

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ronald Reagan has completed another Republican fund-raising tour with his closest supporters confident that he is well positioned for a prospective 1976 presidential candidacy.

In speeches in four states the California governor urged Republicans not to be intimidated by the "pall" of Watergate. Instead, he said, the wrongdoings of Watergate should be weighed against the accomplishments of the Nixon administration and the past political excesses of Democratic big-city political machines.

Reagan's backers are convinced that he has done all he can do to solidify his position for 1976.

In his home state Reagan has abandoned the gubernatorial candidacy of Lt Gov. Ed Reinecke, once his hand-picked choice to succeed him. Reagan's leading financial backers have instead enlisted in the primary campaign of a GOP moderate, state Controller Houston I. Flournoy.

Out of state the governor has stepped up his speaking schedule, concentrating on those Southern and Western states where he has strong ties with party leaders. The strategy calls for heavy Reagan campaigning for GOP candidates this fall, a move calculated to show that Reagan will stand by his party when political prospects are dimmest.

During the last three months Reagan has spoken in Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, the District of Columbia, Vermont and New Hampshire, where Gov. Meldrim Thompson endorsed him for President. This week he visited Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Utah, advising Republican campaigners to go on the offensive.

"We in our party have too often been the victims of big-city political machines voting tombstones, warehouses and empty lots against us in every election," Reagan said.

His supporters are most pleased by the peace he has made at home with Flournoy.

Flournoy actively supported Nelson A. Rockefeller for President in 1964, when Reagan was backing Barry Goldwater, and Flournoy also remained aloof from Reagan's own belated presidential bid in 1968. As a Republican state legislator in the 1960s, Flournoy compiled a relatively progressive voting record that made him an object of suspicion to party conservatives.

Flournoy was re-districted out of office in 1966 and was ready to retire when he was talked into running for state controller at a poker game by two old friend and frequent Reagan adversaries, Assemblymen John G. Veneman and William Bagley.

Reagan won by a million-vote landslide, and Flournoy was elected controller by a narrow margin over incumbent Democrat Alan Cranston.

In Reagan's first term Flournoy was openly critical of the governor's budget estimates during his efforts to "cut, squeeze and trim" state government.

But Flournoy, who won re-election by a landslide in 1970, has made an effort to get along with the governor during Reagan's second term. He even supported Reagan's pet proposal, a tax-limitation plan, that was overwhelmingly rejected by the voters last November.

Reagan's supporters nonetheless remained aloof from Flournoy until it became apparent that Reinecke was unable to extricate himself from a tangled scandal resulting from the city of San Diego's efforts to land the 1972 Republican National Convention with the help of a subsidy from ITT.

The first sign of Reinecke's abandonment came last December, when Lyn Nofziger, a former top Reagan aide who remains close to the governor, stepped down as Reinecke's chief strategist. Then, amid reports that Reinecke faced a possible indictment for perjury, Flournoy announced formation of a "citizens for Flournoy" committee that included the names of prominent Reagan backers.

Among the Reagan supporters on the Flournoy list were Leonard Firestone, Shirley Temple Black and David Packard, the former under secretary of defense.

They were soon joined by Holmes Tuttle, Reagan's premier fund-raiser and the man who first approached the former actor and asked him to seek the governorship.

Tuttle's enlistment in the Reagan camp was announced by the governor at a press conference. Nonetheless, Reagan continues to insist that he is "staying neutral" in the primary campaign.

Flournoy has not made a commitment to support Reagan in the 1976 presidential campaign, and has not been asked to, according to Reagan intimates.

"But we're convinced that Flournoy won't be hostile to us and that his neutrality is all Reagan will need," one supporter said.

Like other prospective Republican candidates in other states, both Reagan and Flournoy are described as believing that the party's presidential prospects for 1976 are inextricably linked with the fate of Vice President Gerald R. Ford.

Reagan's supporters are convinced that the 63-year-old governor will be nominated at the Republican presidential candiate if Ford is not the incumbent President in 1976. They expect that Ford would be re-nonimated if he were President and wanted to run again.

"Ford is the basic reason that the governor can't do anything more than position himself in 1974, but that hasn't changed his strategy," one Reagan supporter says. "You have to rembember that Vice President Agnew also stood to get the nomination and that he appeals even more to Reagan's basic constituency than Ford does. So it's a waiting game, but one which the governor is prepared to play."

In this context, the governor's political strategy of minimizing Watergate coincides with his personal proclivity to defend Mr. Nixon.

In this respect his position is similar to that of Rockefeller, whose own candidacy also is dependent upon Mr. Nixon remaining in the White House and Ford remaining as Vice President.

While Reagan has been flourishing politically out of state, he has run into some difficulties in the governorship.

First, he lost the tax-limitation initiative in November. Then he was beaten in the courts on a welfare issue which cost the state $15 million because Reagan refused to accept a legally permissible plan offered by Democrats in the legislature. Recently he had a veto over-

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Sen

# Reagan Sees GOP Surviving Scandal

By Sanford J. Ungar
Special to The Washington Post

CHICAGO, Jan. 19—California Gov. Ronald Reagan said here today he is confident that "the American people are fair enough not to blame millions of Republicans for the illegal and immoral acts of a few."

At the moment, Reagan insisted, the Watergate scandal "seems to be hurting the whole body politic, not just the Republican Party."

Republican National Chairman George Bush, here to reside over a conference of GOP state chairmen and executive directors, echoed those sentiments and claimed that Watergate will not necessarily make this a disastrous year for his party.

"Elections are going to be won or lost in 1974 on the same basis as in 1972, 1968 and other years," Bush said.

Reagan, who was in Chicago for a birthday dinner in honor of his father-in-law, a prominent physican, dropped in on the Republican conference with only a half-hour's notice.

He was en route to the airport for a flight to Washington, where he was to address the Touchdown Club tonight and to be interviewed on NBC's "Meet the Press" Sunday. Early next week, he is to be a featured speaker at Republican fund-raising dinners in Vermont and New Hampshire.

Reagaon's arrival gave a boost to party officials, who had been bombarded with discouraging developments on the Watergate affair since they convened here Thursday night. As Bush put it in introducing Reagan to the gathering, "We're just tickled to death to see him."

One piece of bad news the chairmen heard this morning during a nuts-and-bolts discussion was that major contributions to the party of $1,000 or more had dropped by about 65 per cent during 1973, as compared with other recent non-election years.

Robert P. Odell, executive director of the Republican National Finance Committee, acknowledged to newsmen that the most important reason for the decline was the repercussion of Watergate.

Contributors have been interviewed repeatedly, some by the FBI," Odell said. "These are people who take pride in their integrity, prominent citizens . . . they find they have become suspect just for giving a political contribution."

Odell added, however, that contributions of less than $100, which he said provide 74 per cent of the Republican National Committee's income, were only "a little off" from 1971.

After Reagan gave a short pep talk contending that the GOP is "a majority party in terms of philosophy" and that the Democratic Party is controlled by a faction that advocates "almost a form of counter-revolution," he repeatedly won applause and laughter with his answers to partisan questions from the audience.

He said, for example, that the federal bureaucracy is overwhelmingly loyal to the Democrats who "created it" and urged that Republicans "run against the permanent structure of government as it has grown up over the last four decades."

Asked whether he would be a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, Reagan replied, "Ask me again around this time in 1975."

Bush, talking with reporters, acknowledged that the party officials were "shook up" by the latest court developments concerning unexplained gaps in President Nixon's White House tapes. But he insisted that "on the Middle East, they thought (the news) was great."

The GOP chairman said he disagreed with Rep. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who suggested Friday that Mr. Nixon should resign rather than subject the nation to a bitter impeachment struggle in the House of Representatives.

Resignation, Bush said, is the "most offensive" alternative available to the President and the country. He suggested that such a development, because it would amount to "hounding the President out of office without any proof of guilt," might "make the system less stable than it is" and create a precedent that would require future Presidents to resign if their policies became unpopular.

Bush acknowledged that with Mr. Nixon's popularity at a low ebb, very few of the 39 state Republican chairmen attending the conference here were requesting presidential campaigning visits in their states at this time. He said, however, that there are significant regional differences and that the President still seems to be very popular in the South.

Asked if any of the state mer Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, who resigned last fall after pleading no contest to income tax evasion charges, Bush said, "The name Agnew didn't come up once. He's gone. We have a new Vice President now."

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

8-29-74
Washington Post

# Reagan's Anti-Ford Tactics

The principal source of the Republican right's noisy mini-rebellion against President Ford is exposed by this backroom political fact: California Gov. Ronald Reagan's aides were telephoning conservative Republican leaders with remarks critical of the President within days after he took office.

Indeed, much anti-Ford talk by conservatives is traceable, directly or indirectly, to Sacramento. The sharpest critics want not only to shove Mr. Ford rightward but are desperate to breathe life into Reagan's expiring presidential hopes for 1976. Anti-Ford sentiment comes less from the party's mainstream conservative majority than from a fringe of hardcore Reaganites.

President Ford recognizes it as such. Resisting pressure for gestures to the right, he is confident of long-term conservative Republican support if he achieves his major goal: significant budget reduction.

Mr. Ford's difficulties with Reagan began after he became President and, thereby, a menace to the governor's 1976 last hurrah for President. Reagan was unaccountably absent during nearly all of Mr Ford's many vice presidential campaign trips to California. Although Ford aides claim Reagan was among the six finalists for Vice President, the reality that the governor never had a chance is appreciated —and resented—in Sacramento.

Thus, once Nelson Rockefeller was designated as Vice President, Reagan's operatives were telephoning to commiserate with fellow conservatives about the new President's leftward drift. That was quickly followed by Reagan's remarkable performance during his speaking engagement last Saturday on Maryland's Eastern shore for Rep Robert Bauman, a tough young conservative who is most unhappy with the Ford presidency so far.

Although Bauman's rally was held only an hour's auto ride from the White House, Reagan paid no courtesy call on the highly accessible new President. "I don't understand him being this close and not even saying hello," one top Ford aide told us.

In contrast to his steadfast defense of President Nixon, Reagan in Maryland was short on explicit praise for President Ford and long on implicit criticism (attacking Ford-endorsed health insurance, for exampe). When Reagan talked about the "conservative mandate" in the 1972 election, he echoed the theme stressed by the right-wing weekly, Human Events, in its relentless anti-Ford editorials.

Simultaneously, conservative theoretician Kevin Phillips, in his political newsletter, suggested a third party nominating Reagan in 1976—a threat muttered by several conservatives in the House Republican cloakroom before the summer recess.

Such scare talk is not entirely a bluff intended to pressure Mr. Ford. The most dedicated House conservatives, such as Bauman and Rep. John Ashbrook of Ohio believe that prestigious senators—Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, John Tower of Texas—abdicated conservative leadership by not pressing to block the Rockefeller nomination. The House conservatives now look to Reagan and have not abandoned 1976 presidential hopes for him, either as a Republican or an independent.

This sentiment is largely limited to Ashbrook-Bauman type conservatives —who long ago grew disenchanted with Nixon—rather than the much larger Nixon hardcore.

Even among overwhelmingly conservative Southern Republican state chairmen, anti-Ford sentiment is noisier than it is broad. Nor is it faintly comparable to 1969 anti-Nixon passion there caused by school desegregation activity.

Mr. Ford has been sniped at by Florida's volatile state chairman, L. E. (Tommy) Thomas. But the real power among the Southerners remains Clarke Reed of Mississippi, who feels Rockefeller's nomination breaks the vice-presidential succession and makes it possible to nominate the best conservative for President in 1980.

Mr. Ford's congressional liaison staff similarly has advised him that the right-wing rebellion is narrowly based. Consequently, the President is not inclined to conservative appeasement gimmicks being suggested (such as moving up the date for permitting personal gold purchases) and intends to stick to basics: overall budget cuts and strong national defense.

Mr. Ford, therefore, could reverse the performance of his predecessor. Whereas President Nixon made cosmetic concessions to the right while failing to control federal spending, President Ford intends to move leftward cosmetically while truly cutting the budget. If he succeeds, the Reagan rebellion will soon be forgotten.

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# Reagan Is Weighing Presidential Candidacy

ity on his recent trip where the success of Reagan's speeches and informal appearances was marred by a woeful lack of briefing preparation on some issues.

In West Virginia, for instance, Reagan ducked a question about the strip-mining bill. When the issue was explained to him after the press conference, he told his hosts that he favored President Ford's veto.

And in Atlanta, Reagan said, "You've got me there," when he was asked a question about the Voting Rights Act. Again, as a Reagan aide explained later, it was a question of the ex-governor's not having been briefed on the issue.

This potentially embarrassing lack of information on important national issues reflects a specific event: the present illness of former Young Americans for Freedom official Jeff Bell, who usually prepares Reagan briefing papers. But it also demonstrates how thinly spread is Reagan, as he makes so many speeches, radio broadcasts and other appearances that he has been called a one-man communi- day-a-week "Viewpoint" is cations conglomerate.

Presently, Reagan's five- heard on 320 radio stations including WAVA in the Washington area. His column appears in 280 newspapers. In the last two months alone he has spoken in 14 states and addressed the Pilgrim's Club in Britain.

This month he will address a prisoners-of-war convention in San Antonio, the national Republican Women's Convention in Dallas and the Indiana state GOP fund-raiser in Indianapolis.

Reagan's appearances are planned for their political impact. They also are carefully calculated for the income they will produce for Reagan, who firmly refuses to disclose it on grounds that it is his private business.

Estimates of how much he will take in this year range from $100,000 to $750,000.

Reagan is managed by two former staff members, Michael Deaver and Peter Hannaford. They have formed their own public relations firm in Westwood, in Los Angeles County, and have parttime offices in two other California cities.

They receive an undisclosed monthly fee from Reagan, whose income also pays for six additional aides plus travel expenses.

The importance of the radio programs to Reagan's considerable income was underscored last week after some Texas supporters visited him and prodded him to declare his candidacy. After they had left Reagan said they didn't understand that announcing a presidential candidacy also would mean that he would have to give up the radio programs and the column.

Reagan must decide soon if he is to launch a presidential candidacy. While he publicly says he must decide before the end of the year, some of Reagan's advisers believe the decision must be made by September.

The timing of any prospective announcement was one of the issues discussed in Washington last weekend when Reagan held private strategy sessions with Deaver, Hannaford, Washington attorney John Sears, former executive Secretary Ed Meese and former communications director Franklyn Nofziger.

All these men stressed that Reagan has made no firm decision to run. But most of Reagan's advisers think he will come to this decision, and some of them see the possibility of a committee being formed to "explore" a presidential candidacy late this summer.

The uncertain factor in the equation is the popularity and policies of President Ford. Reagan, not without reason, believes that his own speeches are having their impact on the direction of the Ford administration.

While he continues to disapprove of the administration's deficit budget, of the tax bill signed by Mr. Ford and of the nuclear arms agreement reached at Valdivostok, Reagan has been encouraged by the President's recent tough talk on foreign policy and by his vetoes of spending bills.

In one sense, the more successful Reagan becomes at influencing the Ford administration the less likely he is to be a candidate.

Nevertheless, the former governor's advisers believe that the enthusiastic conservative response to Reagan's speeches has created a condition in which he will be unable to resist running for President.

"The governor has put himself into the position where people are looking at him to save the party," says one adviser. "He has created an expectation he must fulfill."

For all of Reagan's present indecision, his own advisers now believe that he will decide to fulfill the expectation he has formed.

THE WASHINGTON POST Tuesday, June 3, 1975

1

Reagan

## 'Still Genuinely Undecided,' He Says

# Reagan Weighs Candidacy

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ronald Reagan, buoyed by the support of Republican conservatives who have never forgiven President Ford for choosing Vice President Rockefeller, appears to be drifting toward an undeclared presidential candidacy.

Reagan says he is "genuinely undecided" about seeking the presidency and his closest advisers agree that he has not made up his mind. But during his most recent national speaking trip last week the former California governor seemed to be gradually becoming the captive of events he has set in motion.

And though he is clearly sympathetic to Mr. Ford over the problems he has inherited and the hostile Congress the President faces, Reagan said emphatically in an interview that this sympathy will not govern his ultimate decision.

"I'd have to believe in my heart I was supporting somebody who would turn this thing around," he said.

In his most recent trip Reagan behaved as if he himself were the "somebody" he had in mind. During a tour of five states Reagan:

• Set off a thunderous demonstration by delegates to the Georgia state Republican convention, many of whom waved "Reagan for President" signs and repeatedly applauded his stock speech favoring limited government and strong defense. Afterward, party officials predicted that Reagan could sweep the state against Mr. Ford in a primary.

• Drew more than 400 splinter-group Republicans to a $100-a-plate fund-raiser in Middlesex County, Mass., that was boycotted by most moderate state GOP officials.

• Attracted 450 Republicans to another $100-a-plate fund-raiser in Huntington, W.Va., described by local GOP officials as by far the largest such event ever held in the region.

• Was urged by Texas GOP officials following a fund-raiser in Houston to openly and quickly declare his candidacy.

"I told him he better get on his white horse and start charging," said Nancy Palm, the Harris County (Houston) GOP chairman.

Most of the Republican conservatives who favored Reagan expressed no particular dissatisfaction with the President, whom they usually referred to as "Ford." Many of them, however, are bitter about Rockefeller—citing, especially, his Senate rulings making it easier to shut off a filibuster—and they tend to see the Vice President as symbolizing a leftward direction of the administration.

Reagan, while attempting to avoid any direct criticism of Rockefeller, showed every awareness of this sentiment.

At an Atlanta press conference he observed that Rockefeller had three times failed to win support from a majority of Republican delegates for his presidential candidacies.

And on a post-midnight plane ride from Boston to Atlanta, Reagan was asked by a conservative columnist whether he would consent to replace Rockefeller if the opportunity arose.

"If I were absolutely convinced that it was a service to the country and that only I could fulfill that service, it would be something to consider," he replied.

Most of the time on his latest swing, however, Reagan was considering neither Rockefeller nor his own prospective candidacy but the state of the nation.

Freed for the past five months from the realities of governing the state of California, Reagan has returned to his original conservative perspectives of 1964, when he first burst on the national political scene with a dramatic television speech in behalf of Barry Goldwater.

Addressing Republicans, independents and "Democrats who aspire to a better life," Reagan preaches a simple and dedicated gospel of reduced government domestic spending and increasing armaments to meet what he regards as a growing and ever-dangerous Soviet military threat.

In Reagan's view businessmen should be freed of burdensome restrictions, labor union members of the "domination" of their leadership and the entire country of a Congress he has called "the most irresponsible" of this century.

At the heart of his appeal is a conviction that American's economic troubles are the result of government regulation and government spending, which have brought inflation and an inflation-fueled recession.

"Inflation has one cause, and one cause alone: government spending more than it takes in," Reagan says to invariable applause. "And the cure to inflation is a balanced budget."

Reagan brushes aside comments from reporters and political followers that he has been giving the same speech for a long time.

"If you've got a message that you think is telling the story you want to get over, you use it until you have to start going back to the same place twice," Reagan explained last week in brisk show-business terms. "Obviously, if you put it on national television that would be the end of that."

The heart of the Reagan message is neither policy nor programs but an appeal for "a rebirth of faith and pride and of the American spirit that had made America and the Americans the light—and the envy—of the world."

Tears come to his eyes sometimes when he uses a favorite closing line: "Never again should we ask young Americans to die for this country unless it be for a cause that we believe in enough to win."

Asked by an interviewer last week why he considered the question of American credibility in the world to be so important, Reagan replied in the words of Winston Churchill, "If you will not fight when you can win without bloodshed . . . you may come to the moment when you have to fight with all the odds against you. But there may be a worse case. You may have to fight when there's no chance of victory because it's better to perish then to live a slave."

Reagan's stern message is softened in his speeches by a flood of practiced one-liners.

Describing the huge deficit his state administration inherited in 1967 from Democratic predecessors, Reagan says, "I didn't know whether I had been elected governor or appointed receiver."

And when he was asked at a Huntington press conference whether he had any plans to go back into the movies, Reagan replied: "I'm too old to take my clothes off."

He does not, however, regard his 64 years of age as making him too old for the White House. At the same press conference Reagan said he was in good health and would produce a medical report if he became a candidate. He said all presidential candidates should do likewise.

Eight years in the California governorship have made Reagan an adroit dodger of questions that he is unable or unwilling to answer. This proved a useful abil-

The Christian Science Monitor
Thursday - Nov. 20, 1975

# Poll: Reagan leads Ford in Florida

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan probably would defeat President Ford in the early important Florida primary if that election were held today.

This finding comes from a Monitor poll of 26 of Florida's 42 Republican county chairmen in all parts of the state.

The poll, taken within the last week, found growing support throughout the state for Mr. Reagan, who is scheduled to launch his presidential campaign Nov. 20.

Republican chairmen say Mr. Reagan could defeat the President today in most of north Florida and in several important heavily Republican counties in central and southeast Florida.

Mr. Ford showed up best in the poll along the southwestern phalanx of counties from Tampa Bay south to the Everglades. But even there Mr. Reagan is strong, the poll found, and Mr. Ford's lead is slight.

Thirteen of the chairmen said that Mr. Reagan could carry the state, nine said Mr. Ford would win, and four said the race was too close to call.

Those indicating a Reagan victory, however, mostly said he could win by at least 5, and possibly 10 or more percentage points.

Most of those indicating a Ford victory said it would be extremely close, perhaps by as little as a single percentage point.

Chairmen also said that current trends favor Mr. Reagan. Thirteen of the chairmen say his strength is growing steadily in the state, while one felt his support is declining.

Only seven of the 26 felt Mr. Ford's strength increasing, while nine saw the President's standing with Florida voters as having slipped in recent months.

The Florida primary March 9 will be the first major Reagan-Ford clash in the South. It would be a serious blow to the President's prestige to lose in the state, which has voted Republican in five of the past six presidential elections.

A loss in Florida and New Hampshire (Feb. 24), analysts say, would make it far more difficult for the President to move strongly into key primaries that follow in the Midwest.

★Please turn to Page 9

## ★Poll finds Reagan leading Ford in Florida

Continued from Page 1

The key to Mr. Reagan's popularity in Florida this year is discontent with Washington politicians — and a shift toward more conservatism among Republican voters, chairmen indicate.

"People are more conservative now in Florida than they have been in years," says the chairman of one central Florida county. "New York's experience has shown that you just can't keep on spending. Reagan has taken a strong line against federal spending. Ford is softer."

The chairman added: "If Ford finally approves aid to New York, it is really going to hurt him down here."

Another central Florida chairman said: "Ford is coming across as indecisive. People are in a mood to keep changing until they get a leader who can do the job."

The strongest "plus" for Mr. Ford is his incumbency, chairmen say. Republicans are traditionally very protective of the men they have in office, says one chairman. That quality probably stems, in part, from the party's minority status.

But other chairmen say Florida Republicans are far less traditional than most. Many of the Republicans in Florida are retirees who have moved to new cities, new activities, new friends. They are highly independent.

"There's something about a person who pulls up stakes and moves his home to try new things," said one chairman from a major Republican county. "These people are independent by nature. They won't vote for Ford just because he's in office."

"One other thing," the chairman added, "these people feel no personal disdain for the President. But they are waiting for lightning to strike — they're looking for a political messiah."

There was one note of encouragement in the poll for Mr. Ford. Although most chairmen thought Mr. Reagan would win in Florida, they also said by a margin of 15 to 7 that President Ford would probably go on to the Republican nomination. Four of the chairmen said it was a toss-up.

CAMPAIGN

HE WASHINGTON POST, FRIDAY, AUGUST

P 2

# nating Reagan



United Press International

ing a stalking horse for the anti-Kefauver Democratic establishment.

In 1968 Lyndon Johnson lost in Wisconsin to Eugene McCarthy. Johnson had announced his withdrawal from the race two days before the primary, moved by the narrowness of his victory in New Hampshire, and the certainty of defeat in Wisconsin.

Mr. Ford is not apt to lose primaries and win the nomination. And the new $10 million pre-convention spending limit—which is low, considering the proliferation of primaries—will favor Reagan.

The expenditure limit in each state is 16 cents per voting-age resident. But to stay under the overall $10 million limit, a candidate must spend an average of only 43 per cent of each state's permitted total.

Because of the $10 million limit, if a candidate spends up to the legal limit in the first dozen primaries, he will have less than $500,000 left for the next 18 primaries (including Michigan, California, Ohio) and all the states that select delegates in caucuses. This means no candidate can make the maximum legal effort in all primaries.

Selectivity will be necessary, and will favor Reagan: he can transform the 1976 political landscape just by winning—or even nearly winning—a few early primaries of his choosing.

In New Hampshire Reagan will have the support of the governor and the largest newspaper. Another significant early primary will be in Florida, where the Republican Party is not a lagoon of liberalism.

No President, and least of all an accidental President, can lose primaries without losing his major asset, his aura of command. By mid-March next year Mr. Ford's aura could be a thing of shreds and patches.

Meanwhile, thanks to Reagan, Republicans should not be haunted by the specter of ennui.

William F. Buckley Jr. WASH STAR 10-8

# Some points Reagan could raise in primaries

LOS ANGELES — Dropping the name of Ronald Reagan as presidential contender against Gerald Ford in the primaries here and there in California produces less than electric results, even at congested gatherings of Republican conservatives. These folks are natural enthusiasts for Reagan, and, along with all Californians, beneficiaries of eight years of his governorship.

Their enthusiasm is in a sense geared to his own slow-gaitedness. Why — they are already asking themselves — should *they* be more enthusiastic about his running than he is himself? Could it be, they wonder, that Reagan, the party loyalist, senses the dangers of division within Republican ranks? Oughtn't they under the circumstances, to hold back their own feelings until the concert master himself sounds the tuning fork?

It is even becoming fashionable to suggest that Reagan's apparent indecisiveness is an expression of his internal doubts about winning against Gerald Ford in the primaries. That, after all, was the reason for the unusual ambivalence of Senator Robert Kennedy during the fall of 1967, when the pressure was on him to challenge President Johnson.

There is this difference between 1967 and 1976. Then there was the one burning issue of Vietnam that divided the Democratic camp. Among Republicans there is no single issue of equal magnitude. The economy is slouching its way towards a recovery of sorts, and from the White House we are getting a reasonably palatable blend of orthodox economic rhetoric, and confessions of various sorts from the freespenders. In foreign policy, the success of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in the Sinai appears to hold up, like the star on top of the Christmas tree, the intricate and glittering ball gown of detente; and although it could all come crashing down at any moment, that and the temporary reversals in Portugal give us a measure of international tranquility, and President Ford is the beneficiary.

What is it that separates President Ford from his right-wing constituency? What is it that Ronald Reagan, entering the primaries, might do to suggest an altered approach to government?

1. He might propose instant action on a constitutional amendment barring busing for the sake of racial balance.

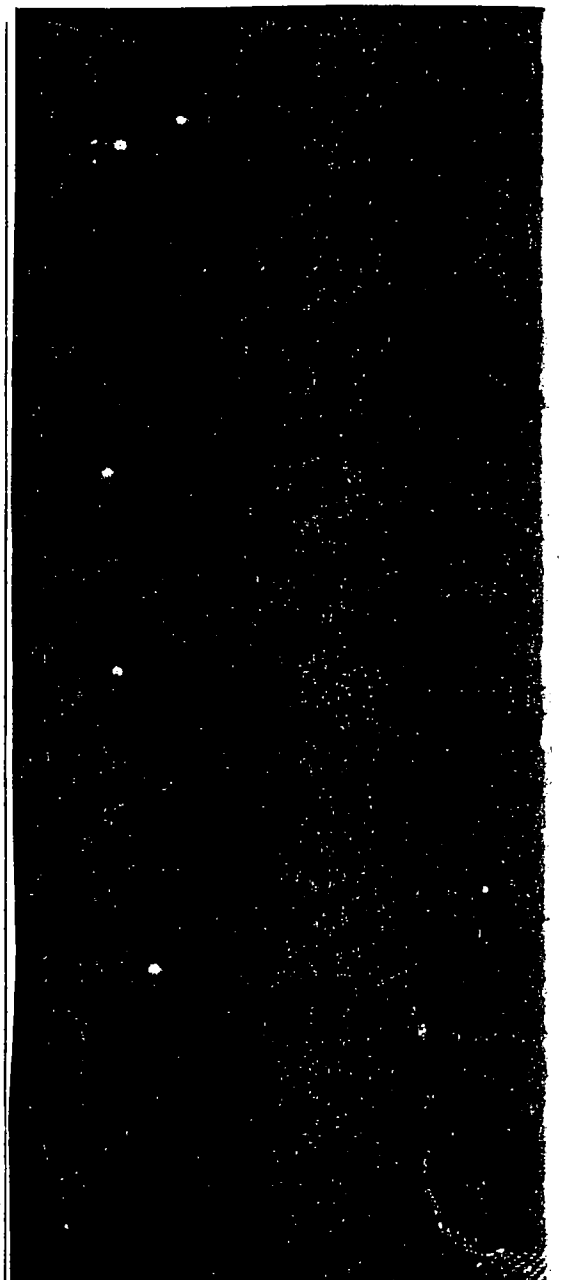
2. He might mobilize the people against any weakness (they are beginning to streak up from the horizon, and are summed up in talk of a 90 billion dollar deficit) in executive opposition to bailing out New York City. No one is better equipped than Reagan to expose the funny-money nature of all the schemes thus far devised for the purpose of making non-New Yorkers pay the bills of New Yorkers.

3. He might propose an audacious and radical approach to welfare reform. Let the federal government lay its hands off any state able to take care of itself: i.e., those states (approximately 33) which, as things now stand, are engaged in sending money to Washington for the purpose of readdressing it back to the originating state. There are reasons in philanthropy for taking money from New York to help out the people of Arkansas, but none for taking money from New York for the purpose of sending it back to New York. The problems of New York City ought to be a family affair between Mayor Beame and Gov. Carey.

4. Beginning on January 1, the West should launch an intelligent program designed to weaken the political power of the OPEC cartel. No better plan has been proposed than a flexible tariff rate aimed at discouraging the flow of oil from those OPEC countries that profiteer the most from the cartel. It is easily reckoned how much higher than the market rate, freely arrived at, Saudi Arabia, for instance, is charging for its oil. Take the artificial hike, and clap on it a tariff of corresponding size. It would not be long before competition would be restored. Revenues collected could be used, in the short term, to subsidize the price of gas and fuel oil to the American consumer.

5. The grand energy program devised by Nelson Rockefeller should be reexamined with the view to debureaucratizing it. If there is enough money in the private sector to come forward under its own steam to capitalize the program, coax it out by declaring a moratorium on taxes on profits earned from the production of energy; provided 75 percent of them are reinvested in the search for new energy s

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Los Angeles Times 9/3

# Reagan Hints He'll Enter All State Primaries

BY WILLIAM ENDICOTT
Times Staff Writer

SACRAMENTO—Former Gov. Ronald Reagan, inching closer to a formal declaration that he will be a Republican candidate for President in 1976, hinted broadly Tuesday that he will run next year in all 30 state presidential primaries.

And he professed not to be concerned over the defections to President Ford of former Reaganites, including state GOP Chairman Paul Haerle and advisers who served in his administration.

"We have to recognize the power of the Presidency," Reagan told reporters. "If I become a candidate, they have to recognize that this is a new situation. There are 30 state primaries.

"No one is going to match an incumbent President in endorsements from the party hierarchy. You take your case to the people and the people will make the decision in the primaries in those 30 states."

The former governor was in Sacramento for a luncheon meeting with Republican members of the Legislature. He said he had been invited to "discuss the political situation" with them.

After the luncheon, several lawmakers told reporters they felt more than ever that Reagan will be a candidate.

"I'm more convinced that he is going to run than I was before," said Sen. Clare Berryhill (R-Modesto).

"And he was trying to convince us that if he did run it would be good for the party and not harmful to the party."

Assemblyman Dixon Arnett (R-Redwood City) said Reagan made "no specific request" for legislators to re-

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Continued from Third Page

main uncommitted until he decides, "but that, in effect, was what he was saying."

A Citizens for Reagan Committee, with at least his tacit approval, already is laying the groundwork for his national campaign.

Reagan said he reiterated to the legislators his intention of making a decision whether to run "by late fall or early winter."

In response to a question, he said the pivotal factor in his decision will be "what I honestly believe will be the best thing for this country."

But when a reporter asked him how he would determine that, he replied, "It ain't easy."

He also criticized Haerle's endorsement of Mr. Ford by saying party officials should remain neutral and suggesting that Haerle, who once served as his appointments secretary in the governor's office, resign as state chairman.

Mr. Ford is scheduled to arrive in Sacramento late Thursday and on Friday will address a joint session of the Legislature and the State Fair Host Breakfast.

decline of the Republican Party, the party has tended to bore people. I like primaries. I should think Gov. Reagan would have an uphill at the moment."

Roger Woodworth, assistant to Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.) in Boston, said: "We think it would be the best thing to happen to the Massachusetts Republican Party. We need a fight to generate some interest. If Ford can't beat Reagan here in a Republican primary, it's all over."

In Florida, another March primary that could be Reagan's best early chance to beat the President, Bill Taylor, the GOP state chairman, said he would rate a Ford-Reagan primary a toss-up.

He cited a recent poll of 85 state committee members by the Florida Times Union (Jacksonville) in which Reagan led by about 2 to 1 over the President. While the committee is more conservative than the state generally, Taylor said, "my judgment is Reagan will fare well" among rank-and-file voters.

Former Rep. William C. Cramer, Florida's GOP national committeeman and old Ford ally and friend, said the President "is very strong and getting stronger.

"It's a little hard to foresee what will happen before next March, but I don't think the voters of Florida would turn down an incumbent President when he's doing a job, as Ford is."

But state Sen. Jerry Thomas, unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor in 1974, said of Reagan's chances: "With a timely decision, and some reasonable effort, he would carry Florida. But in delaying, he's his own biggest problem. I'm getting letters from people who say if Ronald Reagan runs, let me know, I want to work for him. I don't get those letters for President Ford."

Mike Thompson, the losing GOP candidate for lieutenant governor in 1974, and also a leading conservative, said he thought the President would carry Florida. "In recent months he has indicated a more decisive turn, with his series of vetoes, the Mayaguez decision and his hands-off approach on Rockefeller's nomination," he said.

The Times Union poll, Thompson said, "was really a warning shot over the President's bow. The party leadership was telling the President, 'We're expecting a conservative administration.' We were trying to get his attention." If Reagan ran close to Mr. Ford in Florida, he said, "It would be a clear signal to the President that Rockefeller would have to go."

In Wisconsin, Republican National Committeeman Ody Fish said that while there is some strength for Reagan wherever he runs, there is nowhere near enough for him to be a formidable candidate, with the President's image positive in the party

In New York, which has scheduled its major primary on the same day as Wisconsin's in the first week of April, state Chairman Richard Rosenbaum, a Rockefeller ally, noted the committee's early endorsement of Mr. Ford and said Reagan would have "a very difficult time" making serious inroads.

Reagan would have a natural ally, however, in New York's strong Conservative Party, which sent James L. Buckley to the U.S. Senate in 1970.

In Illinois, Sen. Charles H. Percy, once exploring a possible candidacy, along with most other GOP leaders, has pledged support to the President. Rep. Philip M. Crane calls himself "the single Illinois Republican who has not indicated his probable support of President Ford. That makes a difficult hurdle to surmount, but I think Reagan has strong grassroots support in Illinois," he said.

In Ohio, state Chairman Kent McCough said the state committee's endorsement of the President "would be pretty hard to beat here." Former National Chairman Ray Bliss, on Mr. Ford's Ohio steering committee, said the President "is much stronger than he was six months ago. You don't hear all that beefing you used to hear."

Even a conservative like Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio), indicated reservations about Reagan, especially if he dilly dallies.

"Most conservatives have been burned so much in the past," said Ashbrook, who briefly challenged Nixon in 1972, "I would not support anyone until I have a chance to sit down and talk with him . . . I want to be a lot surer (of his positions)... I don't know why he'd have to wait that long (until year's end to declare). It's not fair to get his conservative friends out on a limb and then chop it off."

In Texas, conservative Sen. John G. Tower is backing the President and saying he doubts Reagan will get in the race. Texas GOP sources say Reagan backers recently polled the state and found Reagan to have a substantial lead over Mr. Ford, and the state committee may favor Reagan by as much as 12 to 1.

In Reagan's California, defections of old Reagan friends have given the President a psychological and publicity boost, and Calla-way is in the state now trying to round up even more support.

Among those endorsing the President is state Chairman Haerle, formerly Reagan's appointments secretary. Haerle said he thinks that as of now Mr. Ford would win by 55 to 45 per cent or perhaps 60 to 40 "because the incumbent is doing a good job. It's nothing negative about Gov. Reagan. But you don't just say Ronald Reagan for President. The necessary other part of the sentence is, 'Dump Ford,' and when people start contemplating that, it gives them pause." (A poll by the Mervin Field organization in May, however, showed Reagan leading Mr. Ford by 39 to 30 per cent, but this was not a straight two-candidate survey.)

Reagan strategist Sears says Reagan can overcome this organizational support for the President because Mr. Ford is not an elected incumbent, because Reagan is the better campaigner, and because there is no anti-Reagan sentiment in the party.

"If Ford were still Vice President, Reagan would be the leading candidate for the nomination," he said. "It's just a matter of us making it unsinful for Republicans to go the way they'd normally be inclined to go."

But other professionals remain unconvinced. John Deardourff, of the Washington-based, liberal-to-moderate Republican political consulting firm Bailey and Deardourff, said: "It's the most idle threat possible. I can't conceive how he might mount any kind of credible threat to Ford. In every significant state, the entire Republican leadership structure is prepared to line up for Ford immediately and work in his behalf . . .

"What worries me more than the Regan challenge is whether the White House in its concern may give conservatives a very strong voice in the choice of a running mate. That's a more real threat to his election than the possibility of Reagan upsetting him in the primaries . . . There's no possibility of denying Ford the nomination, but the conservative muscle could be used to embarrass him on the choice of a running mate or the platform."

Special Candidate File
Reagan 1 of 2

THE WASHINGTON POST Sunday, July 20, 1975

# GOP Leaders Call Reagan Underdog



RONALD REAGAN
. . . an uphill fight

By David S. Broder
and Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writers

In key presidential primary states where former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California would have to do well to beat out President Ford for the 1976 Republican nomination, GOP leaders generally say Reagan faces a distinctly uphill fight against an increasingly strong incumbent.

Telephone interviews with prominent Republicans in a dozen of the more than 30 states that will hold primaries next year indicate state party organizations are not in a mood to challenge the President, though some leaders say a fight would be a desirable stimulant for the GOP's tired blood.

Four Republican state committees—in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York—already have endorsed Mr. Ford's candidacy and the Ford campaign has been diligently at work in other states, notably Reagan's own. There, the state party chairman, Paul R. Haerle, has personally come out for the President and with several old Reagan allies.

Party organization support for the incumbent, of course, is to be expected. It is for this very reason that strategists for the Reagan effort have stressed the former governor "will take his case to the people" in the primaries—a not unprecedented or always hopeless approach against an incumbent, as Democratic Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy proved against President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1968.

Sen. Paul D. Laxalt (R-Nev.), chairman of the "Citizens for Reagan" committee announced here Tuesday and organized by Reagan to plan and raise money, said the former California governor will enter "as many primaries as possible" in 1976.

See REAGAN, A8, Col. 1

Reagan, in consenting to formation of the committee, said he still has not decided whether he will run, but the committee is assuming he will.

A first matter of priority for the Reagan committee, beyond raising money, is a determination whether he should challenge Mr. Ford in the first 1976 primary, in New Hampshire.

John P. Sears, 35, a Washinton lawyer and 1968 delegate-hunter for Richard M. Nixon who is running the Reagan committee, says he plans to go to New Hampshire in the next two weeks to take a reading on the political situation.

New Hampshire is one of the few states where, at this early stage, Reagan has a good chance to run with the backing of the governor and the state's largest newspaper.

Republican Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr., a conservative critic of the President, has said he may oppose Mr. Ford in the primary. But he would be expected to step aside for Reagan.

Also in Reagan's corner would be William Loeb, the right-wing publisher of The Manchester Union Leader, whose always outspoken, sometimes brutal editorials have been a feature of the New Hampshire political landscape for years.

Former Sen. Norris Cotton, a conservative and until recently the Republican state chairman in New Hampshire, expressed reservations about the value to Reagan of an alliance with Thomson and Loeb.

"The governor has organized the extreme conservatives in the state, and I suppose Reagan would have the benefit of the governor's organization," Cotton said. "But Reagan would inherit the governor's friends and the governor's enemies. The governor is a very controversial figure. If Reagan was just coming in on his own without that complication, that would be one thing."

Cotton, who said he will support Mr. Ford, volunteered that "if I were advising Reagan, I'd advise him to stay out of New Hampshire and get in subsequent primaries, because the situation here is at sixes and sevens over the governor. The seeds are here for a very bitter contest. I think it would be much better for the party nationally if we din't have that confrontation" . . . I don't see how the President could stay out, and I would say frankly the President would prevail. But he might get scarred up in the process."

Thomson's hand-picked state chairman, Jerry Carmen, was in Washington last Tuesday, where he met with Republican National Chairman Mary Louise Smith and Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, Mr. Ford's campaign manager. But Carmen denied a report that he had urged that the President stay out of New Hampshire.

In neighboring Massachusetts, which could share first-in-the-nation billing with New Hampshire's primary or conduct its own a week later if a bill before the state legislature passes, Republican leaders say Mr. Ford would win, and they welcome the confrontation.

"I think there'd be a reputable fight," said GOP state Chairman John W. Sears (no relation to the Reagan strategist). "Because of the

THE WASHINGTON POST Monday, May 5, 1975

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# 'Ron the Baptist' and the GOP

CAPE MAY, N.J.—South Jersey Republicans who paid $100 each for a lavish seafood buffet and a handshake with Ronald Reagan at former Rep. Charles W. Sandman's estate here are ready to back Reagan for President, showing why President Ford conceivably could be denied the 1976 nomination by his party.

In New Jersey, as in other states visited on his barnstorming lecture tour, Reagan encountered hardly anyone not ready to abandon Mr. Ford at the drop of Reagan's hat. But in New Jersey, as in most states, other prominent Republicans would have nothing to do with Reagan.

Thus, the widened split in the Republican Party, which was horribly debilitated and demoralized by the 1974 election, provides a ready-made vehicle for Reagan to challenge Mr. Ford. Instead of Reagan weakening and dividing the party by threatening the President, it is the weakened and divided party that makes Reagan's threat viable.

This was experienced by Reagan throughout his recent five-day transcontinental jaunt. Liberal Republican Gov. Robert Ray of Iowa was absent as Reagan addressed cheering Republicans in Des Moines; Reagan had turned down a personal plea from National Chairman Mary Louise Smith to cancel because the affair was outside regular party channels. The next night in Southfield, Mich., a Detroit suburb, Reagan was speaking under more orthodox auspices at a fund-raiser for the Oakland County Republican organization; even so, liberal Republican Gov. William Milliken did not show up.

But splits in those Midwestern states are straightforward compared with the Byzantine divisions of the bedraggled, penniless New Jersey party. Appearing at three fund-raising functions in the state, primarily to reduce the massive debt of Sandman's disastrous 1973 campaign for governor, Reagan was sponsored by the party's right-wing—a coalition of old guard Republicans and a newer element of Italian-American businessmen.

The state's Republican establishment, moderate and patrician, wanted no part of it. Veteran National Committeeman Bern Shanley, a top White House aide in Eisenhower days, led the boycotters. Although solicitations for the Reagan functions claimed part of the take would go to the state party, the New Jersey Republican Finance Committee kept away.

Webster Todd, a 75-year-old party veteran who served as state chairman from 1961-1969 and returned to the post this year, tried to walk the middle road—and was savaged for his pains. When he urged other party leaders to attend the Reagan functions, they spurned Todd as a sell-out. But the conservative wing regards him as a supporter of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. Will Todd back the Ford-Rockefeller ticket? "Who cares?" replied one hard-liner munching shrimp at Sandman's house. "We're going to get rid of him anyway."

Reagan's supporters may not have that much strength. Nor is it certain where Sandman himself will land. But the party split is so pronounced that Reagan, with minimum effort, can win most South Jersey delegates and score impressively in the rest of this liberal, industrialized state.

By contrast, Reaganites run the party in the three Deep South states visited after New Jersey: Mississippi, Florida and Georgia. What's more, they seem close to crossing their Rubicon to deliver entire delegations to Reagan against a sitting President.

In Mississippi particularly, the delegation seems Reagan's for the asking. Dynamic, right-wing Clarke Reed, in his 10th year as state chairman, seems close to a public break with the President. Billy Mounger, the state's veteran Republican finance chairman, introduced Reagan to a party dinner in Jackson as a Moses to lead Republicans from the wilderness.

But even in Mississippi's growing, well-financed and energetic Republican Party, there is factionalism. Some younger party workers grumble that the Reed-Mounger leadership is anchored to conservative cliches and complain about abandoning the President. One of the state's brightest Republican prospects, 28-year-old Jackson City Commissioner Doug Shanks, told us he would support Mr. Ford in a showdown with Reagan.

Reagan, as Ron the Baptist preaching the old-time conservative religion, makes no attempt to smooth over divisions. Asked in a press conference at Newark whether he would welcome Gov. George Wallace into his party, Reagan said he would, paused and then added with superb timing: "I'd like to welcome Cliff Case into the Republican Party." Former Rep. John Hunt, a stalwart conservative foe of liberal Republican Sen. Clifford Case, chortled from the back of the room.

Reagan scorns accommodation with the likes of Case. Arguing the party must paint itself in "bold colors, hot pale pastels," he invariably excites conservative audiences even beyond their elevated expectations. With his hope for the nomination based on a party schism not of his making, his campaign insensibly widens the gap.

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WASH. POST.

*David S. Broder*

# Reagan's 'Sharp-Line' Formula

LOS ANGELES—This weekend finds Ronald Reagan midway through a speaking trip into Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, Mississippi, Florida and Georgia. Last week he was visiting New England colleges. The week before that he was in England, and the week after this he will be making a pair of speeches in Chicago.

A visitor who caught the former California governor in his Wilshire Boulevard office, between stops, could discover no signs that this break-neck pace was taking a toll on Reagan. While his aides clucked in mock sympathy at press reports of Nelson Rockefeller's visible fatigue on his round-trip to Taiwan, the 64-year-old Reagan seems to thrive on the steady diet of travel.

"He's enthused about the reactions," said a longtime political associate of Reagan. "He wasn't sure when he went out on the stump again whether people would think he was old-hat, or whether they'd even want to hear him."

But the former actor, who wound up two terms as governor in January, need not have worried. In three months he has become a highly profitable and politically potent communications conglomerate.

In addition to his banquet speeches, he delivers his message in five-minute daily taped radio spots to over 230 stations and in weekly columns to almost 200 newspapers.

The message is 100-proof patriotic, free-enterprise conservatism, emphasizing, these days, the dangers of the Democratic Congress destroying the free world alliance by undercutting the credibility of America's military commitments and ruining the economy by excessive anti-recession spending that will bring on a worse round of inflation.

In his utterances, Reagan rarely chides President Ford, but he does not hesitate, when asked, to underline his differences with the Republican standard-bearer. He would not have accepted the inevitability of the huge deficit or signed the tax cut as Mr. Ford did, Reagan says. "I sympathize with him, because he is trying to find areas of agreement with a terribly hostile Congress," Reagan says. "But maybe this is the time to challenge them and focus the blame where it belongs."

Sometime this summer Reagan will decide whether it is time for him to challenge Mr. Ford's asserted claim to the 1976 nomination. It is "too soon" for such a decision now, Reagan says. But his advisers believe that anytime after Labor Day will be too late, given the fund-raising and organizational efforts needed to prepare for a challenge to an incumbent President in some 30 primaries.

The White House has made tentative efforts to discourage his candidacy by such steps as enlisting the sole remaining Republican officeholder in California, Atty. Gen. Evelle Younger, as an avowed Ford backer. But Reagan says, "I don't feel at all fenced in," and there is no reason to think he can be bluffed out of the race, if he decides to go.

"We all have to hope and pray that the incumbent President will solve the problems so capably that there will be no question about 1976," he says in Conservative Digest magazine this month.

"But if the situation is such that the administration has failed and the problems are not resolved, well, then I've always believed the people sort of take the lead and make it known that it should be an open nomination procedure."

Associates of Reagan say he is no longer hobbled by two forces that inhibited his candidacy in 1968 and delayed his entry until the last minute, when it was too late to block Richard Nixon. "Eight years ago he wasn't sure he was qualified to be President and thought it might be presumptuous for him to run," one Sacramento ally said. "He also thought Nixon had a legitimate claim to first consideration."

But after two successful terms as head of the most populous state, Reagan feels no embarrassment in comparing his credentials to those of former Rep. Ford. And he is convinced that the salvation of the Republican Party and the country lies in drawing a sharp line against a Democratic Party he believes dangerously soft on defense and on welfare spending.

Mr. Ford has given implicit support to progressive Republicans who accuse Reagan of trying to make the already shrunken Republican Party even more exclusionary, by drawing tight ideological lines. But Reagan insists his is the formula for creating a new majority or at least recreating the Nixon majority of 1972.

"I am not trying to read anyone out of the Republican Party," Reagan says, "but you can't broaden the base of the party by trying to be all things to all people. People respect you only if you stand for something."

In Reagan's case, the visitor concludes, that something might just be the presidency.

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Two Clues About Reagan

ATLANTA—After crossing the continent without once mentioning Gerald R. Ford's name, as though no Republican were in the White House, Ronald Reagan concluded a five-day tour here by disregarding the President's admonitions that very day against recriminations over Vietnam.

Reagan received a standing ovation from a town and gown audience at Georgia Tech with this stock appraisal of Vietnam: Congress lost Vietnam by acting "more irresponsibly than any Congress in our history" and now has "blood on their hands." A reporter here asked Reagan whether there would be recriminations over Vietnam. "I've just been making some, I guess," Reagan replied.

That Reagan is ignoring President Ford's advice not to poke into the Vietnam carcass follows a planned pattern. Without mentioning the President's name, Reagan clearly opposes him on basic domestic and international problems. That suggests Reagan, having repudiated any third party, is moving ever forward in a race for the Republican presidential nomination even if Mr. Ford runs.

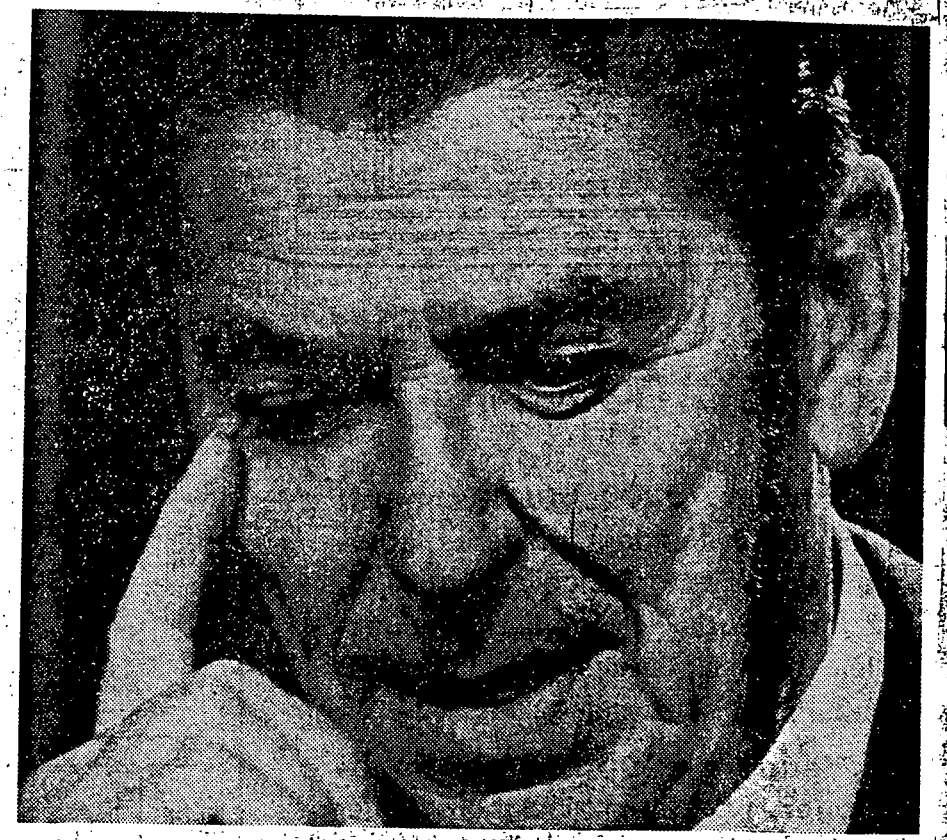
Since any politician as ideological as Reagan must have doctrinal grounds for challenging a President of his own party, this planned pattern is Clue No. 1 to Reagan's presidential intentions. Clue No. 2 is the fact that Reagan, never one to suffer physical hardships in political campaigning, has taken on extraordinarily demanding barnstorming, as if to test himself for 1976.

The conclusion drawn from these two clues: Although he will not decide for some time, chances are considerably better than even that Reagan late this year will abandon his lucrative income (lectures, radio, newspaper columns) to seek the nomination in what would be the Republican Party's most fateful confrontation since 1912.

Reagan has no great admiration for Mr. Ford, either in government or politics. The President's Easter vacation dinner party in Palm Springs for Reagan and his wife was viewed in Reagan circles as a transparently amateurish bid to neutralize a rival. In travelling the country, Reagan has found nothing to contradict his first impression that voters simply do not regard Richard Nixon's appointed successor as a full-fledged President.

Ignoring Mr. Ford's policies except when asked, Reagan last weekend commended the President's persistent call for Vietnam military aid. Otherwise, not a kind word for the administration, but much implicit criticism—Clue No. 1 to Reagan's intentions.

Severe criticism of the Ford budget deficit and the President's approval of the tax cut (accompanied by private praise for Treasury Secretary William Simon, the Ford cabinet's economic dissenter) have been well-applauded standard Reagan fare for weeks. What is new is his public criticism of detente (and private fears that Mr. Ford is controlled by Secretary of State Heny Kissinger).



Associated Press

Reagan, an enthusiastic detentist as long as Nixon was President, broke with detente April 7 in a London speech and followed that course in syndicated radio commentaries ("If the Communists get the prestige and material aid they want without having to change any of their own policies, the seeds of future conflict will be continually nourished, ready to sprout anew with little or no warning"). In the recent trip, Reagan gingerly slipped a little of this into his peroration to Republican audiences. Enthusiastic response suggests there will be much more.

Clue No. 2 to Reagan's presidential intentions is more intriguing for Reagan insiders. A determined eight-hour-a-night sleeper with regular daytime rest periods as governor, Reagan demanded light campaign schedules in California. What he agreed to put himself through this week would have stunned old Reagan operatives.

Reagan steadily lost sleep through interminable days of speaking and handshaking, aggravated by slow, small private planes (stretching Monday's schedule to over 20 hours). Looking every day of his 64 years, an unprecedentedly tousled and wrinkled Reagan piled out of a cramped four-seater after a four-hour flight around rainstorms from Boca Raton, Fla., to Atlanta—then headed straight to a press conference. Most startling to longtime Reagan watchers, he did not even complain.

Why punish himself so? He could do much less to earn his $5,000 fee plus expenses per speech. The answer from Reaganites: Having convinced himself Mr. Ford is not up to the presidency, Reagan must also convince himself he could stand a frantic national campaign.

The third factor determining Reagan's decision is whether he would have any chance to wrest his party's nomination from an incumbent President, a feat that defied even Teddy Roosevelt. What might give Reagan a chance is the muscular pro-Reagan, anti-Ford sentiment he is finding among hard-core conservative Republicans who have dominated presidential conventions since 1964.

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presidential candidate? He said, "no," but that he had every intention of running "if the same cast of candidates" were still in the limelight after the 1974 elections. But quite possibly, he said, some new, bright lights might emerge in the upcoming elections and become the "leading candidates" in the eyes of the public. Perhaps, he said, he no longer would be "viewed" as a strong presidential possibility.

But if the Governor remains as one of those who are widely regarded as "the top contenders" after the November elections are over, he says he definitely will run for president. Would he go all out, giving full time to his effort including wide participation in the presidential primaries? "I will go all out," he said.

*Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.*

Christian Science Monitor 7/8/74
(Reagan - cont.)

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# Ronald Reagan eyes the presidency

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Sacramento

Nine years ago we were riding with Ronald Reagan in the Los Angeles area as he "tested the waters" — as he put it — for a possible run for the governorship. At one point we asked the actor whether in view of his inexperience in government he wouldn't be frightened at the idea of running the big state of California with all its terribly complex and enormously difficult problems. "Who wouldn't be frightened," he said, flashing his boyish grin. But he said he thought he had "something to give" as governor and that this feeling that he could provide an important service to the people would outweigh any anxieties he might have about being propelled into such a position of power and prestige and tremendous responsibility. It was past time, he said, for someone to cut back on the bureaucracy of state government — particularly its outrageous spending — and to bring the people closer to the actual running of their state. Mr. Reagan said he had not decided yet on running. But he sounded very much like a man who had already pretty much resolved the question in his own mind. And we wrote that Mr. Reagan was already a candidate.

* * *

Now, once again, we were in the back seat of a Reagan vehicle — this time the Governor's official, black limousine — and this time we were probing the Governor's thoughts about running for president. Once again, too, we fashioned our questions along the lines of those used nine years ago. Would the Governor really like to be president? Wouldn't he be in awe of being president? "Anyone would be in awe of that very awesome position," he said. But, he said, he felt he had a special mission — something special he could give — that would override all other considerations. He said the "distortions" of "over-government" were much worse in the federal government than even at the state level. He believed, he said, that it was time to bring back "people participation" in government all across the nation — and that he thought a president could do much to bring this about. To achieve such an end, he said, was his chief passion in public life — "what motivates me, what makes me tick."

* * *

The Governor — still trim, handsome, and looking much younger than his 63 years — is also putting some distance between himself and the President these days. This is another and almost certain sign of political aspirations in a day when most Republican office seekers are going out of their way to indicate they are not hanging too close to Mr. Nixon. Of his relationship with the President the Governor says: "I would call it cordial, but not intimate. For that matter, I guess no one has an intimate relationship with Richard Nixon. I guess he doesn't have the capacity for getting that close to others."

The Governor then compared his own style of governing with that of the President: "Mr. Nixon gets a lot of input from those around him — and then goes out by himself and makes his decisions," he said. "My style," he said, "is a much more informal, family approach to governing. I sit down with my staff, members of the Cabinet, and department heads, and we all discuss the problem, whatever it may be. More often than not the decision will be made right there — coming out of the input that is given and the discussion that follows."

What the Governor seemed to be saying was this: "If I'm president, I will always be working closely with all of my subordinates. I will not keep power to myself. I will share it with those around me. And, more than anything else, I will be keeping a close eye on everything that goes on in government — and on what my immediate subordinates are doing."

* * *

At one point Mr. Reagan said: "As we sit together working out our problems in this state, we are operating much like a board of directors." He feels he has, as Governor, borrowed much from the best practices in the business world. And he seemed to be saying that he would be leaning heavily on business know-how should he become president.

Was the Governor then already a

# REAGAN IS FIRST IN CHAIRMEN POLL

## Republican County Leaders Make Ford 2d Choice

Republican county chairmen now prefer Gov. Ronald Reagan of California over Vice President Ford and former Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York for their party's Presidential nomination in 1976, according to a recent nationwide Gallup survey.

Thirty-nine per cent of the 2,384 chairmen who participated in the poll named Mr. Reagan as their first choice. Mr. Ford was picked by 24 per cent. Mr. Rockefeller followed with 12 per cent.

Questionnaires to test early sentiment on the party's nominee in 1976 were mailed in late January and early February, to 3,725 county Republican leaders. Sixty four per cent of them, or 2,384, responded.

The Gallup organization listed the names of several leading Republican Presidential possibilities and asked the county chairmen:

"As of today, which one of these men do you personally prefer as the Republican candidate for President in 1976?"

Following is the order of their choices.

| | per cent |
|---|---|
| Ronald Reagan | 39 |
| Gerald R. Ford | 24 |
| Nelson A. Rockefeller | 12 |
| John B. Connally, former Treasury Secretary | 7 |
| Sen. Barry M. Goldwater, Ariz. | 6 |
| Elliot L. Richardson, former Attorney General | 4 |
| Sen. Charles H. Percy, Ill. | 3 |
| Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., Tenn. | 2 |
| Sen. James L. Buckley, N.Y. | 1 |
| Sen. Mark Hatfield, Ore. | 1 |
| Sen. Edward W. Brooke, Mass. | * |
| No preference | 1 |

(*—less than ½ of 1 per cent)

### Regional Top Choice

A regional breakdown of the county chairmen's sentiments disclosed that Mr. Reagan was the top choice or a leading contender for the nomination in four main sections of the country.

In the East he had 27 per cent, as against 27 per cent for Mr. Rockefeller and 20 per cent for Mr. Ford. In the Middle West the California Governor got 36 per cent, Mr. Ford 32 per cent and Mr. Rockefeller 10 per cent. In the South, Mr. Reagan chalked up 46 per cent to 21 per cent for Mr. Ford and 14 per cent for Mr. Connally. In the West, Mr. Reagan got 47 per cent to 23 per cent for Mr. Ford and 10 per cent for Mr. Goldwater.

Mr. Ford's backers in the questionnaire were asked to list a second choice for the nomination if the Vice President refused to seek it. Two-thirds of the 24 per cent Mr. Ford received in the nationwide survey swung to Mr. Reagan, giving him 55 per cent. Without Mr. Ford running, Mr. Rockefeller's support rose to 15 per cent and Mr. Connally's to 12.

In reporting the results of the survey, George Gallup, the pollster, noted that the preconvention choices of the Republican chairmen had won three of the four contested Republi[illegible] nations since 1952. The [illegible] favorite to lose was [illegible] Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who was defeated by Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952.

THE WASHINGTON POST Tue. October 9, 1973

# Veto by Reagan Could Cost GOP Two Seats in Congress

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By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

A veto by California Gov. Ronald Reagan that was intended to protect Republican state legislative seats may wind up costing the GOP two seats in Congress instead.

After Reagan's veto of a California reapportionment plan — the problem went to the state's courts for resolution. Ironically, the result might be detrimental to the re-election hopes of several Republican congressmen.

Ironically, the veto has failed materailly to assist the Republicans in the lower house of the state legislature, which is now overwhelmingly Democratic.

And an analysis by the nonpartisan California Journal shows that at least two Republican congressmen, and possibly as many as four, may lose their seats in the House because of a court-ordered reapportionment.

The Republican who almost certainly will be eliminated by the reapportionment is Rep. Victor V. Veysey of Brawley, who in 1970 took over the House seat held by John V. Tunney when Tunney displaced Republican George Murphy in the U.S. Senate.

Veysey's district has been redistributed into three parts, two of which were incorporated into districts held by Republican incumbents. The other became part of a district held by Democrat George Brown, Tunney's primary opponent in the 1970 Senate race.

Talking about his prosepcts last week at the convention of the National Federation of Republican Women in Los Angeles, Veysey candidly conceded that he would have no chance in the Republican districts and probably would fare little better against Brown in an overwhelmingly Democratic district.

Other Republicans who are potential victims of the reapportionment include Rep. William M. Ketchum of Paso Robles, who may move to a vacant district, and Rep. William S. Mailliard of San Francisco. Two other Southern California Republicans, Rep. Delwin M. Clawson of Downey and Rep. Charles E. Wiggins of West Covina, are thrown into the same district but one of them is likely to move to a nearby vacant district.

Two Southern California Democrats, Rep. Chet Holifield of Montebello and George E. Danielson of Los Angeles, are also thrown into the same district. There is talk that Holifield, the dean of the delegation, may retire.

The many moves and the probable loss for incumbent Republicans is what the state's congressional delegation sought to avoid in 1971 when the House members agreed to a plan that was widely termed an "incumbents' reapportionment."

Reagan was annoyed that Republican congressmen had agreed to the plan, and he kept several House members off the delegation to the national convention in 1972. He also vetoed the bill, which was tied to a state legislative reapportionment plan.

The governor's primary target was not the congressional delegation but the state assembly, then narrowly controlled by Democrats who had blocked his legislative programs. However, the Democrats gained nine seats in the 1972 election and now hold a 49-to-31 majority in the assembly that the California Journal analysis forecast would be reduced "only a seat or two" under the court plan.

The state senate is evidently divided 20 to 20, but the reapportionment gives the Democrats the better chance of picking up the tie-breaking seat. And Democrats are also given the edge in the U.S. House, where they presently hold a 23-to-20 margin.

California's congressional delegation is the largest in the nation, and Republican success is important there if the GOP is to buck the historic trend in which the party out of power in the White House gains congresssional seats.

Republicans have been doing well this year in special state legislative elections, and the GOP was optimistic before disclosure of the reapportionment plan.

A slight chance remains that the reapportionment will be altered. At present it is the recommendation of three court-appointed masters, two of whom are Democrats.

But the masters called on expert assistance from professors of law and political science and a computer specialist and came up with congressional districts that vary from the average by only 0.21 per cent and state legislative districts in which the largest variation is 1.94 per cent.

"Most redistricting specialists in the legislature are predicting that the master's plan will be accepted with little or no change, because it is virtually unassailable from a statistical or gerrymandering standpoint," said the California Journal analysis.

There is some indication that the masters achieved their result by ignoring both partisan considerations and the custom of protecting incumbents regardless of party.

"While protection of incumbents may be desirable to assure a core of experienced legislators, the objective or reapportionment should not be the political survival or the comfort of those already in office," their report said. "It is best if an incumbent's continuation in office depends upon effectiveness and responsiveness to constituents rather than upon the design of district boundaries."

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1-15-74

# Reagan: Republican, 'clean'—and available

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

California Gov. Ronald Reagan — who never turned down a good part in his years as a Hollywood actor — may now have an important edge on getting the lead role in the 1976 drama entitled "1976 Republican nomination."

Although the conservative Republican usually shies away from direct discussion of his future political aspirations, many of those close to him insist he now must be considered a "leader" for the Republican nod.

Why? Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew's fortunes, Watergate, the philosophical mood of America, and the man himself are the reasons political sources tick off.

Few believe that Vice-President Agnew's present problems, subjecting him to a probe for possible violation of Maryland's bribery, conspiracy, and tax laws, will not seriously impede his quest for the presidency in 1976.

## Agnew's decline

Up to now, Mr. Agnew had to be considered a leading contender. Many believed the top standard bearer would likely be a conservative — and one totally free of the taint of Watergate or any other governmental scandal.

But Mr. Agnew no longer seems to fill the bill. Even if he is cleared of all charges, many believe, he is no longer a viable presidential contender. If this is the case, that leaves Mr. Reagan and former Texas Gov. John B. Connally Jr. as the top Republican aspirants to the "right" of center. The moderate push will likely come from New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, U.S. Sen. Charles H. Percy of Illinois, and perhaps U.S. Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee.

## Why Reagan?

Why Governor Reagan and not Mr. Connally? Some analysts here say the former Democrat recently turned Republican is still to be considered a "Johnny-come-lately" by many Republican regulars. They concede Mr. Connally has proved himself as a Nixon loyalist. But they also insist he has not yet earned his medal as a "party" loyalist.

Also Mr. Connally, as other Republican hopefuls, will likely have to face rugged intraparty primary tests in order to emerge as a serious presidential contender.

When New York Mayor John V. Lindsay switched from the Republican Party to the Democratic ranks last year, he failed to gain substantial support from either party regulars or primary voters, some point out.

## Movie image lingers

But why Ronald Reagan? Many contend his liabilities are numerous. Mr. Reagan has never really shaken the somewhat derisive image of a movieland - personality - turned - politician.

Many liberals view him as an "unbending reactionary." They charge his "trim, cut, and squeeze" approach to government has not worked in California — and in fact has resulted in even higher budgets and bigger personal taxes.

Others strongly disagree. Mr. Reagan's assets are many, they say. Among them:

- He will be viewed by the voters as "Mr. Clean." There have been no serious scandals during Ronald Reagan's almost seven years as California Governor. And the Governor presents an image as a clean-living family man shocked by public corruption and personal vice.
- Mr. Reagan is a growing asset to the national Republican Party. He has apparently bridged his differences with the more moderate Nixon administration. He has remained quietly loyal to the President during the Watergate furor. Moreover, the articulate and personable California Governor is a popular banquet speaker and an effective fund-raiser for the party.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Fri. Nov. 9, '73

# Reagan's presidential aspirations dimmed by vote?

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

The stunning defeat of a highly controversial tax-limitation initiative by California voters could be a serious blow to the presidential aspirations of Ronald Reagan.

This state's conservative Republican Governor was the principal backer of a plan which would have clamped legal limits on state spending, curbed legislative authority to impose new taxes, and shifted certain state costs to local government.

Mr. Reagan openly admitted that he felt his revolutionary proposal to curtail public spending could work not only on the state level but in the federal bureaucracy.

## Showcase planned

He had planned to showcase it during his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination, which he likely will launch after he leaves the governor's mansion here at the end of next year.

However, even Mr. Reagan's sharpest critics say he still will be a formidable bidder for the top Republican spot in 1976. Some polls show him out ahead now. But without a California mandate for his "trim, cut, and squeeze" programs, many insist he will have a tougher road ahead of him in presidential primaries across the United States.

Over an oft-times stormy political career, Mr. Reagan almost always has been able to hurdle legislative and partisan opposition by laying his programs squarely before the people. He was handily elected governor twice — each time advocating massive spending cuts, tax reform, curbs on welfare and social services, and strong law-and-order government.

And when the courts here recently outlawed capital punishment and the Legislature rebuffed the pleas of the Governor and other conservatives to restore it, he backed a ballot measure to reinstate the death penalty. Voters ratified it. And state lawmakers were ultimately forced to frame new laws to implement it.

## Spending, taxes spiral

However, spiraling state spending and rising taxes have continued to plague the Reagan administration — despite the Governor's philosophical abhorrence of "runaway" public spending.

Unsuccessful in his campaigns to get meaningful legislation to curb state costs and hold the line on taxes, the California Governor decided to take this crusade to the people.

For months — almost to the exclusion of other gubernatorial activities — he campaigned for the passage of the tax-limitation initiative. And in the final days before the election, he barnstormed the state urging a "yes" vote. Almost $2 million was spent by the Governor's handpicked committee to lower taxes. Opponents raised less than one-fourth of this amount.

What does defeat of the Reagan tax-limitation measure mean?

## Competition for support

As aforementioned, it strongly hints a rougher road to the Republican presidential nomination for Mr. Reagan. Likely, other conservatives — perhaps former Texas Gov. John B. Connally and U.S. Rep. vice-presidential designate Gerald R. Ford — now will vie with Mr. Reagan for right-of-center support.

Also the outcome here could be a strong boost for the gubernatorial aspirations of Democratic Assembly Speaker Robert Moretti. Mr. Moretti turned out to be Governor Reagan's principal opponent during the height of the campaign — with the two dueling heatedly in radio and television debates.

Polls recently showed the youthful legislative leader trailing fellow Democrat Edmund G. Brown Jr. in early jockeying for position in the 1974 California governor's race. However, many believe Mr. Moretti now could forge ahead as a result of his strong showing against Mr. Reagan over the tax initiative.

## Mass public apathy?

But despite these implications, some here say the results of this election indicate no more than mass public apathy over the initiative — and perhaps more importantly disenchantment with the whole electoral process.

A disappointing 45 percent of eligible voters cast ballots. And many admittedly stayed away from the polls because they were confused about the real implications of the measure.

Some also say that events surrounding Watergate could have at least indirectly kept potential voters from the ballot box — particularly those who now are taking a "wait and see" stance about governmental operations at all levels.

WASHINGTON POST Sun. Oct.21,'73

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**The Gallup Poll**

# Reagan Favored For '76

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J. — Gov. Ronald Reagan of California now has a clear lead over the field of men who have been discussed as possible Republican Presidential nominees.

The list does not include Rep. Gerald Ford of Michigan since the survey was completed prior to Spiro Agnew's resignation as Vice President and President Nixon's nomination of Ford for Vice President on Oct. 12.

Although the survey was conducted prior to Agnew's resignation, it is possible to assess the impact of his removal from the race because Republicans reached in the survey were asked to indicate a second choice. The new line-up, therefore, includes the redistribution of the Agnew support among the other men on the list.

The results show Reagan winning the support of about three Republicans in 10 (29 per cent). He is followed by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York with 19 per cent and former Treasury Secretary John Connally with 16 per cent.

The following table shows the choices of Republicans for the 1976 nomination based on a nationwide survey conducted Oct. 6-8, with the vote of those who chose Agnew redistributed among the other men on the list:

CHOICES OF REPUBLICAN VOTERS FOR '76 NOMINATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Ronald Reagan | 29% |
| Nelson Rockefeller | 19 |
| John Connally | 16 |
| Charles Percy | 14 |
| Howard Baker | 8 |
| James Buckley | 3 |
| William Brock | 2 |
| Edward Brooke | 1 |
| Daniel Evans | * |
| No preference/no answer | 8 |

* Less than one per cent.

In April, Agnew was easily the top choice for the nomination, winning the support of 35 per cent of Republican voters to 20 per cent for the next highest vote-getter, Reagan.

By August, Agnew's support had fallen to 22 per cent, putting him in a tie with Reagan. The latest (early October) survey showed Agnew tied for fourth place with Percy, winning 13 per cent, behind Connally (15 per cent), Rockefeller (16 per cent) and Reagan (the top choice with 24 per cent).

The latest findings are based on in-person interviews with the 356 survey respondents who classify themselves as Republicans out of a total sample of 1,576 adults, 18 and older. The survey was conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected localities in the nation during the period Oct. 6-8.

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Christian Science Monitor Fri., Nov. 23, '7

# Setback for Reagan

By Steve Slade

Despite the inevitable disclaimers, the decisive defeat of Proposition One here is a sharp blow to California Gov. Ronald Reagan. The constitutional amendment, which would have limited state taxation, was to have been the centerpiece of Reagan's expected bid for the presidency. While denying any such political ambitions, Governor Reagan has declined to seek a third term for the governorship here in 1974 and has planned a nationwide speaking tour in 1975.

Proposition One was to have constitutionally limited future state spending to a reduced and fixed percentage of state personal income. Initially, the proposition, promising both immediate and long-term tax relief, appeared virtually certain of passage. After all, few issues are as popular among voters as tax relief.

But while taxes are never popular, government spending generally is. The fivefold increase in state spending over the past 15 years, the source of Reagan's concern, was in response to public demands. Governor Reagan, after seven years in the state house with extensive line item veto and reduction powers, has been unable to produce the substantial cuts in spending the proposition called for. The largely Democratic Legislature never overrode a Reagan veto, but the Governor has not reduced spending to the levels future governors would have been forced to had the proposition been passed. The weakness of the proposition and of Reagan's policies lies in the attempt to set tax policy while ignoring spending needs.

This failure to face the popularity of government spending hurt Reagan and the proposition badly in the campaign here. Reagan claimed the proposal would "save" taxpayers $18 billion a year by reducing the expected 1988 budget from $47 billion to $28 billion. Ronald Reagan insisted that such savings would not constitute budget cuts since the state budget would still triple over the next 15 years. But Reagan was unwilling to discuss what programs would not be funded.

Due to the fixed and automatically increasing nature of many state expenditures, likely targets for budget cuts include tax relief for renters and senior citizens, public school support, state scholarship programs which heavily subsidize private institutions, and the state supported college system. The fear of these and other reductions prompted most local governing bodies and government employee associations to oppose the proposition. Reagan continued to insist that such politically popular programs would not have to be cut, but would give the voters no alternatives.

In the aftermath of defeat Reagan charged that the voters had been confused and their fears exploited. Perhaps, but their common sense was violated by a governor who claimed to "save" them $18 billion without reducing government programs. He attempted to make and sell tax policy without discussing spending needs.

The election reveals a deeper weakness which will plague Reagan's race for the presidency. Contrary to the image most of the nation holds, he has never sold a majority of Californians on his philosophy of government. He has certainly sold himself, his personality — but not his politics. The continued Democratic dominance of the state Legislature reflects his inability to translate his good looks and winning manner into votes for his budget cutting policies.

The very presence of Proposition One on the ballot was an implicit admission that Californians were unwilling to support through normal legislative means the Reagan philosophy on government spending. The proposition was the one statewide ballot measure at a time when many local elections were dull, routine ventures. It was supposed that the older, more conservative, and wealthier Republican vote would turn out in larger percentages to swamp the more numerous Democratic vote. Polls just before the election suggested that the tactic might just work.

The special election tactic was designed to cash in on Reagan's personal appeal for one brief moment and then enshrine that success in the state Constitution. But presidential elections are not rare, special events subject to the peculiarities of selective voter turnout likely to heavily aid the conservative candidate. Nor are the Democrats likely to field the dull, tired candidates that have faced Reagan here. Pitted against equally charismatic opponents, Reagan will be forced to do battle on the merits of his policies. The defeat of Proposition One is fresh evidence that those policies do not now command the support of the nation's largest state.

*Steve Slade is a graduate student and member of the teaching staff at the University of the Pacific at Stockton, Calif.*

WASHINGTON POST Wed. Nov. 28, '73

# Reagan Seen '76 Nominee

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic leader of the California legislature predicted yesterday that Ronald Reagan will be the Republican presidential nominee in 1976.

State Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti, a candidate for the governorship that Reagan will vacate in 1974, warned against considering Reagon "another Goldwater" who will be a pushover for the Democrats.

Moretti, who led the opposition that recently defeated a Reagan-sponsored state initiative to place a ceiling on state and local taxes, said that the California governor remained nationally formidable despite his defeat.

"I don't think it hurts his presidential campaign much at all," Moretti said. "He would have been a hero to the conservatives who control the Republican convention if he'd won. Now he's a martyr to them."

Reagan, who is the No. 1 choice of Republican voters for the nomination in a recent Gallup poll, was applauded in Mississippi on Nov. 16 when he talked about the tax intiative defeat and pledged to continue trying to lower the cost of government.

Moretti said that he doubted whether Watergate would have much of a direct effect on the 1974 gubernatorial election but said that one result this year had been to reduce the turnout at special elections and actually help Republican candidates.

Moretti said that voters were now distrustful of all politicians and that only 30 per cent had turned out in two special elections where Republicans won state assembly seats previously held by democrats.

"We offered to carry them piggyback to get them to the polls," Moretti said. "They said, 'Go away and leave us alone — I'm not voting for any of you goddamned thieves.'"

Moretti said he thought that one effect of Watergate would be to harm Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's chances in 1976, although he said that Kennedy was clearly the Democratic favorite for the presidential nomination.

Moretti's comments came at a breakfast meeting of Washington reporters, where many of the questions concerned Reagan.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Wed. Dec. 12, '73

# Reagan favorite of South GOP

## *Connally 'second' as '76 race choice*

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

"That's my man — Ronald Reagan for '76," cheered a Southern Republican.

Ovation after ovation swept over the California Governor at the Southern Republican conference — echoing what top politician leaders are saying privately: Ronald Reagan already has a strong head start in Southern support for the 1976 presidential nomination.

Three of the party's top contenders for 1976 — Mr. Reagan, John B. Connally of Texas, and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York — were politicking hard at this past weekend's regional party meeting here.

Leaders from more than three-quarters of the Southern states agreed that Mr. Reagan is presently well in front. "He could walk over all the opposition" if the choice were made today, said one Deep South official.

Mr. Connally, on the other hand, "is everybody's second choice," says state party chairman L. E. Thomas of Florida, and in a few states, such as South Carolina, Mr. Connally is judged to be a very strong second and gaining.

Governor Rockefeller, too, has made gains in the South since his abortive 1968 bid for the presidency. He took a hard line against crime in his speech here and evoked sturdy applause even from strong conservatives.

"God bless you. All you need now is a Southern accent," Mr. Rockefeller was told afterward by former White House strategist Harry Dent. Mr. Dent is from South Carolina and was an architect of the Republicans' "Southern strategy" in 1968.

The Southern foray by Messrs. Connally, Reagan, and Rockefeller follows by five months a journey to Decatur, Ala., by U.S. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts. Mr. Kennedy shared a platform with Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and lauded Southern virtues.

### 'New political facts'

The new attention being lavished on this region by both parties reflects what officials here feel are the new facts of national political life:

- The South is "up for grabs" by either Democrats or Republicans. The region wants to be wooed.
- Winning most of the South probably will be essential to victory in the next presidential election.
- Control of Congress in the next decade could hinge on the South's growing preference for Republicans.
- Among Republicans, the South's influence is expected to be decisive in picking the next presidential nominee.

Competition between Governor Reagan and former Texas Governor Connally for Southern affection is expected to grow as a result of visits to Dixie by national political figures. Presently, it is felt, Governor Reagan is dearest to Southerners for both sentimental reasons as well as political ones.

### Popularity continues

"In 1968 North Carolina cast almost half its votes at the national convention for Reagan," says state party chairman Thomas S. Bennett. "His popularity in North Carolina has continued," Mr. Bennett added.

Mr. Reagan was rejected, however, by most Southern delegates in 1968, even though he was their sentimental favorite, because Richard M. Nixon seemed the more likely "winner" for the party in the general election.

Mr. Connally evokes support along somewhat similar lines. He is conservative like Mr. Reagan, officials say.

State leaders here offered these additional judgments of the former Texas governor:

"He just looks the part of the president." "Here is a leader." "Very capable. Very able. He'll really get the job done." "Not tied to scandals. A rising new face."

Some party leaders caution that if Vice-President Ford gets into the race, or if he ascends to the presidency before 1976, the political outlook could be drastically changed.

1-15-58-1

Washington Post
6/2/74

Ken

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Ronald Regan: A Threadbare Legacy

*"After Tuesday's primary, Reagan's last hurrah attempt for the presidency will have a shaky political home base."*

LOS ANGELES—An intense backstage dispute over California Republican fund-raising points up an unpleasant fact of life for Gov. Ronald Reagan of California: after Tuesday's primary election, his last hurrah attempt for the presidency will have a shaky political home base.

David Packard, the millionaire industrialist from San Francisco and former deputy secretary of defense, privately complains that Reagan's fund-raising is undercutting the Republican campaign for governor by State Comptroller Houston I. Flournoy. That means Packard, an increasingly important Republican figure here, is by no means solidly in the Reagan-for-President group or is Flournoy, a moderate liberal who will point up ideological differences with Reagan conservatism once he wins Tuesday's primary.

Thus, the political and ideological legacy of Reagan's two terms as governor is threadbare. Not only will the preponderant substance and tone of the Flournoy-led state Republican ticket be to Reagan's left but the emerging new political state Republican power structure is not locked into his 1976 presidential ambitions.

Packard has been atop that new power structure since returning from the Pentagon to the Hewlett-Packard Co. in 1972 and becoming deeply involved in Republican politics for the first time. Reagan insiders have expected Packard's towering reputation, sage counsel and luxuriant bankroll in their 1976 presidential campaign. Indeed, presidential politics was involved when Packard convinced Republican money men to back Flournoy for governor against erratic Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke, darling of the right-wing precinct workers and now under federal indictment for perjury; a Republican governor would help Reagan's presidential campaign, and independent, scandal-proof Flournoy was the best bet.

But Packard has become committed to Flounroy in his own right, as witness his reaction when the Reagan-controlled Republican state committee scheduled a $250-a-plate dinner for June 26. The purpose was to reassert Reagan's political authority and enrich his own political war chest with the usual 20 per cent off the top. Packard was bitter that, with Republican money so scarce in post-Watergate California, Reagan was siphoning money from the campaign for governor.

Packard's unpublicized criticism buttresses belief that he may have thought himself committed to Reagan last fall but is not now. If Packard is uncommitted, that is one less reason for Flournoy as governor to back Reagan. Contrary to rumors, Flournoy made no commitment about the 1976 presidential nomination in return for getting his fat cats.

To win the Republican primary, Flournoy has papered over old ideological differences with Reagan and flinches when Eastern columnists correctly identify him with the Hiram Johnson-Earl Warren tradition of progressive California Republicanism. Over television recently, Flournoy shed away from such identification and embraced Reagan. A Flournoy adviser standing nearby grimaced and whispered: "Wait until June 4."

After June 4, his advisers confide, Flournoy must point up past disagreements with Reagan over such matters as mental health and educational policy to woo independent and Democratic voters and organized labor support.

Those plans show that Flournoy has not converted to Reaganism. He now praises Reagan to escape the fate of former Sen. Thomas Kuchel, who lost the 1968 Republican primary for failing to make peace with Reagan. In fact, Reagan and Flournoy have not conferred personally in nine months.

Nor is the rest of the ticket clearly Reaganite. Packard recently raised money for the state comptroller campaign of assemblyman William Bagley, who years ago buried the feud with Reagan but still takes civil rights and civil liberties positions far more liberal than the governor's.

The Reagan inner circle can live with Flournoy and Bagley but cannot accept the possibility that John Veneman—a sharp critic of Reagan both as a liberal state assemblyman and as the hard-charging Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington—could win the nomination as lieutenant-governor against heavily favored conservative State Sen. John Harmer.

Flournoy promised the money men not to support his old friend Veneman (after having decided on neutrality anyway). Packard recently turned down the hard-pressed Veneman's plea for funds because of a similar commitment. Although Reagan is officially neutral, Harmer's friends say the governor has personally assured Harmer of his private support.

Even if Veneman does not score an upset, Tuesday's primary will end eight years of a California Republican Party monolithically devoted to Ronald Reagan's interests. But a far greater obstacle facing Reagan's higher ambitions is the presidential crisis of Richard M. Nixon.

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But Reagan said very little about Mr. Nixon himself. When the Governor was asked at a Sacramento press conference last Tuesday whether he supported Mr. Nixon on Watergate, he replied, "No comment." On Friday, in Jackson, Reagan praised the President for achieving a cease-fire in the Mideast and said he didn't think it was "in the cards" for Mr. Nixon to resign.

"... I think the man is entitled to be believed and certainly he has the right that any of us have to be presumed innocent until someone proves him guilty," Reagan said.

When the Watergate scandal first broke, Reagan said that those people in the Nixon administration who had been involved were not "criminals at heart."

It was Reagan's first visit to Mississippi and his first visit anywhere since California voters earlier this month rejected a Reagan-conceived ballot proposal that would have imposed a state constitutional limit on the taxes that could be collected by state and local governments.

Reagan attempted Friday to convert the liability of his defeat into a political asset. He blamed rejection of the proposal on the "the big lie" by opponents and on the desire of government agencies such as school boards to perpetuate themselves in power. "It's not going to hurt Gov. Reagan because he tried to lower the cost of government," said Reed. "He tried."

What is going to hurt Reagan, in the view of some Southern politicians, is his apparent lack of any political organization. Reagan's present "Southern solicitation" is being directed by 51-year-old former advertising director Bob Walker, Reagan's chief political operative.

Walker is relatively inexperienced, and has little in the way of professional assistance. "People here are sophisticated enough to look at a man's organization as well as the man himself," said one veteran Mississippi politician. "This is particularly true after Watergate."

There are reports in California that Reagan may seek a third term as governor, despite repeated promises to the contrary, because of the difficulties encountered by Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke, a conservative once considered the heir apparent to Reagan.

Whatever happens to Reinecke, Reagan insists that he will never change his mind about running again.

"I gave my word and I'm not going back on it," he said today. "I'm not running for a third term."

Instead, it was the estimation of most Mississippi politicians who heard him that Reagan is running very hard for President.

# Support for Reagan Grows in Sou

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Sen

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 17—Ronald Reagan today moved to begin filling the conservative political vacuum created by the departure of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

As his political supporters in the Deep South openly acclaimed him as the next Republican presidential nominee, Reagan declared to reporters, "If there's a Southern strategy, I'm a part of it."

After addressing an overflow fund-raising dinner of the Mississippi Republican Party, where Reagan was introduced by 1972 Senate nominee Gil Carmichael as the next GOP presidential nominee, the California governor flew on to Greenville for a closed-door meeting with 10 Southern Republican Party State chairmen.

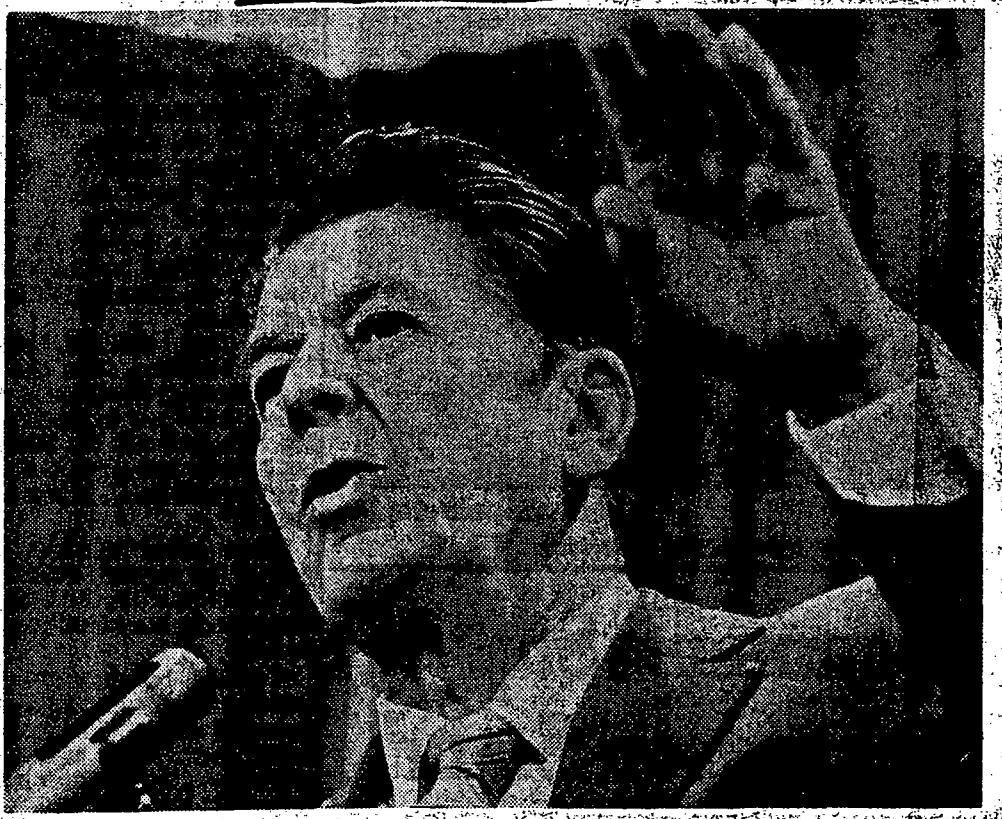
Although Reagan has disavowed any formal presidential candidacy at this time, his visit here at the invitation of Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed foreshadowed an approach to the 1976 presidential nomination different from the one he used in his abortive efforts in 1968.

Then, Reagan was struggling to reconcile an undeclared candidacy with a promise to Californians that he would not seek the presidency. His campaign effort was so belated and halting that when he embarked on a delegate search through the South late in July one of his aides described it as "more of a Southern solicitation than a Southern strategy."

On that 1968 Southern swing, Reagan declined even to enter Mississippi, where the Republican Party was then considered a national embodiment of white racism.

Now, says Reed, "We're out of the race business in the South," and the patriotic, conservative speech that Reagan gave Friday night was almost identical to the talk he might have made to a gathering of Republicans anywhere. Forty blacks, most of them professionals and businessmen, were among the 1,300 attending the dinner.

Instead of flaunting an attitude of white supremacy, Reed and other Republican leaders here now say they desire to attract more blacks to the GOP.



Associated Press

California Gov. Ronald Reagan, seen by Southern backers as President in 1976.

"It's now an economic issue, not a racial one," says Reed. "The economic level of the average black guy leads him to vote Democrat, but that, too, will change as the black guy does better. And it will change if the Democrats take the black voter down here for granted—as they used to take the South for granted."

This changing climate has freed Republicans from outside the south to campaign in Dixie on the basis of a shared "conservative philosophy" without discussing race issues as such.

Reagan took full advantage of this opportunity in his Friday speech. He spoke of limited government, welfare reform, and patriotic values, and talked about America having a "rendezvous with destiny"—a phrase coined by his first political idol, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

His speech also paid homage to the South as the national repository of conservative values.

"It sounds strange to say that a Republican came down here form California to get his morale lifted," Reagan said on a Jackson television program. "This certainly is the wave of the future."

Mississippi Republicans left no doubt that Reagan is their preferred candidate at this point, although Reed believes that Southern Republicans must "stay loose" and ultimately be prepared to support "the conservative who has the best chance of winning the election."

But Reed also said that Reagan is presently the clear favorite in the South and Victor Maver, the GOP State committeeman, was even more enthusiastic.

"I haven't applauded so much since a Goldwater rally," Maver said. "At this point Reagan is head over heels in front."

"You're one of the key people that we need—we've loved you for a long time," Carmichael said in his introduction of Reagan. "Nowhere else in this country are you better understood and respected because these people want you to be the next President of the United States."

Mississippi gave President Nixon his best percentage margin of victory in the 1972 election. The Jackson Daily News ran a reader poll the day of Reagan's arrival showing that 97.9 per cent want Mr. Nixon to stay in office and not resign.

But while this is clearly majority sentiment in Mississippi, even here some of Mr. Nixon's supporters appear to be disillusioned by Watergate.

"Should he turn out to be a skunk, he'll be better than the other skunks," was the way the Jackson Daily News quoted one reader's support of Mr. Nixon.

Privately, party leaders say that the President can now do little or nothing to help the standing of the Republican Party in the South, and GOP officials in the region are concentrating their efforts on holding their own in 1974.

Reagan made a strong defense of the Republican Party's conduct in office, and spoke out strongly against the "mob" that he said is "trying to reverse the mandate that people gave this country in 1972."

*Marquis Childs*

# Gov. Reagan: Eyes on the Oval Office

SAN FRANCISCO — The Ronald Reagan phenomenon is the perfect example of what has happened to American politics. California's governor, Ronnie Boy to his ardent admirers, combines big money and mastery of television with a success that few can rival.

His multimillion-dollar backers believe that with their money and his skill he will go on to be the next President of the United States. Reagan is currently seeking support for his amendment to the state constitution that would put a ceiling on taxes, and after this issue is decided by voters in November, he will hit the road, speaking to Republican audiences around the country. He knows how to charm them.

Looking ahead to 1976 Henry Salvatore and his other principals see only one rival. The big Texan, John B. Connally, is the challenger they respect. Asked to appear at a recent Republican rally in San Diego, Connally drew a rousing response with the kind of straight from the shoulder, tough talking speech he has been making everywhere.

Should Connally be named Vice President following the resignation of Spiro Agnew, widely reported as a possibility or even a probability, the former Democrat would have a formidable advantage for the nomination. While conceding this, the Reagan backers are reluctant to believe that their fellow Californian, Richard Nixon, would do this to them.

**"Reagan has said he will not seek another term. The theory is that he wants to hang loose in pursuit of the larger goal."**

Reagan's operation is carefully geared to the repeated private polls taken by his financial backers. His stand against what he calls welfare chiseling and for a tax ceiling is attuned to the polls reflecting a tax payers revolt.

One slight problem stands in the way of Reagan's onward and upward march. That is the pressure being put on him to run for a third term as governor next year. The argument is that he alone can insure continuing Republican control of the most populous state. By running again he will also shut out the five who are now pushing toward the primary next June with the likelihood of a bruising contest damaging to the party and to Reagan's prospects in 1976.

The governor has said he will not seek another term. The theory is that he wants to hang loose in pursuit of the larger goal. Also he is said to be bored by the demands of the office even though much of the responsibility rests with an efficient staff.

One of the gubernatorial candidates, Attorney General Evelle J. Younger, blasted what he said was an attempt of a few wealthy men to decide on a winner and eliminate the rivals. This was a reference to a reported smoke-filled motel room in which some of the biggest money backers agreed on Caspar Weinberger, currently in Washington as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. But the Weinberger boomlet seems to have blown up on the launching pad as his standing in the polls stays near ground zero.

Whether Reagan's arm can be twisted for another term is an open question. A lot depends on the outcome of the constitutional amendment to set a fixed tax limit which would also, it is charged, be a fixed spending limit. Powerful groups in public service, teachers and others are campaigning hard to defeat the initiative that will be on the November ballot.

Regan demagogues the economy issue with glib skill. He drew loud applause from a luncheon audience of conservative Republican women when he proposed an amendment to the United States Constitution requiring any member of Congress introducing a spending bill to offer a revenue measure to cover it.

"It's so simple," said the governor, "that I don't understand why it wasn't put into the Constitution 180 years ago."

This would astonish the Founding Fathers who showed in creating the Constitution their far-reaching knowledge of the powers of government and the division of responsibility between executive and legislature. But then a great many things about politics in 1973 would astonish the founders and not least the Reagan syndrome of money and television. Reagan's ability, his crowd skill, is undeniable. Yet that a former actor who has held only one public office should be a serious contender for the presidency is marvel enough.

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Christian Science Monitor Thursday January 17, 1974

Sen

# Conservative Reagan shifts to neutral for political road ahead

## His decision on whether to seek the presidency not due until 1975

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
the Christian Science Monitor

Sacramento, California

California Gov. Ronald Reagan is ing into political "neutral" for could be a major thrust for the dency in 1976.

expectedly, the conservative Re- can is taking a bystander role in OP skirmish over who should be statehouse successor when his rnatorial term expires at the end year.

d at the national level, despite rations of support for President n, Mr. Reagan prefers to empha- he need for "more public partici- n in government" than to stress san support as he has in the past.

a broad-based interview the rnor talked about Watergate and c attitudes toward government, onservative philosophy, and his e political role.

### sports figure

ong other things, Governor an says:

He does not think President n will be impeached. And he is the President will be not resign. ver, Mr. Reagan perhaps opens door to some uncertainty about "As an old sports figure, I'm times superstitious about mak- predictions," Governor Reagan however I don't think he d resign."

He thinks a main lesson of rgate should be to teach people ticipate more in the electoral s and be willing to serve gov- nt.

Reagan laments the low per- e of eligible voters who turn out polls to elect state and national s and decide other ballot is-

adds that he thinks it is a y tendency to mistrust gov- This is a basis of our Constitution," he explains. But the Governor insists that skeptics can only be good citizens if they inform themselves and vote.

Mr. Reagan says many so-called sophisticated citizens are influenced by "distorted campaign propaganda."

He also thinks private citizens should be willing to share their professional expertise with government on a part-time or temporary basis.

California's chief executive contends that much of his effectiveness in grappling with problems of state government financing, taxation, and welfare reform lay in his ability to attract so-called "dollar a year" men into government to head special task forces.

● When he leaves office next January, after serving two terms, Mr. Reagan will make the decision whether he will be a candidate for the presidency. However, the actor-turned-politician leaves little doubt with an interviewer that he strongly leans in this direction already.

### Telling signs

Among the telling signs are his eagerness to "hit the road," accepting speaking engagements across the nation as soon as he leaves office. "And not only do I plan to go out on the mashed potato circuit, but I want to go to the campuses to expose this mythology," he says.

The "mythology" Governor Reagan refers to involves what he terms gross misconceptions about the role of government, which he says are particularly prevalent among youth.

In previous bids for office Mr. Reagan scrupulously avoided campus appearances. College students and personnel have been sharp critics of his attacks on student radicals and attempts to pare down university budgets.

"The atmosphere is different now," the Governor says. And he already has started to try to woo youth to his conservative philosophy through televised forums and other regularly scheduled meetings with students.

Despite his Sacramento duties, Mr. Reagan already is fully launched on the "mashed potato" circuit. His fund-raising speeches and other appearances across the U.S., he says, are an effort to "bring Republicans together." However, those closest to the Governor say he is trying to get as much national exposure as possible among Republicans of various philosophical leanings to build primary as well as convention support for 1976.

Mr. Reagan is reluctant to talk about his leading position among Republican presidential potentials in some national public opinion polls. "It's too early," he says, almost modestly. "Other names will come up in three years. And new issues may dictate who the candidate will be."

However, as he has tried to do in the past, the conservative Californian is more than eager to demonstrate how his "cut, squeeze, and trim" approach to state government is fully applicable on the national level.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Friday, June 22, 1973

7-15-3T Sen

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Ronald Reagan: Laying the Groundwork for '76

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—While Gov. Ronald Reagan has publicly downgraded the Watergate scandal and unreservedly defended President Nixon, his top advisers are privately urging cool detachment from the White House as part of their grand strategy for the 1976 Republican Presidential nomination.

The strategy: To present Reagan to the nation as the successful architect of clean, frugal government, free of scandal and geared to lower taxes. Reagan's proposed state constitutional amendment to limit state spending and force tax reductions is the keystone of that strategy. But less overtly, Reagan's battle plan intends to make the point that a Watergate scandal could never happen with Ronald Reagan in the White House.

The strategy seems feasible. Friends and foes agree that Reagan's more vigorous than at any time in years. With Mr. Nixon's popularity falling sharply because of Watergate, polls show Reagan has recovered spectacularly from his 1971-72 slump—thanks significantly to his tax cut scheme. Indeed, Reagan is now facing, and unequivocally rejecting, pleas by conservative money men to seek a third term for governor next year.

Thus, the relationship between President Nixon and Gov. Reagan has gone full cycle since last year, when Nixon operatives viewed Reagan's declining popularity as a handicap for the President's re-election campaign and tried to keep Reagan from campaigning in California. Now, eyeing Mr. Nixon's problems with the barest sympathy, Reagan insiders want to minimize links with the White House.

That's why Reagan's early statements this spring about Watergate disturbed his key advisers. To avoid disloyalty to the Republican President, Reagan defended White House aides implicated in the scandal as no worse than double-parkers. Since then, however, Reagan has followed advice to say as little as possible about Watergate.

In private, a great deal is said here about Watergate. "Nothing like Watergate conceivably could have happened in California," a top Reagan lieutenant told us. In contrast to the President, say the governor's aides, Reagan conducts regular cabinet meetings and press conferences and provides easy access to state officials, legislators and reporters. Whereas Reaganites used to claim great intimacy with the White House, they now say Reagan could never penetrate the Haldeman-Ehrlichman Berlin Wall.

Disengagement from the White House is only the necessary backdrop to Reagan's main thrust today: his constitutional amendment permanently limiting spending from tax revenues and forcing an immediate 20 per cent tax rebate, expected to appear on the November California ballot.

Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti, seeking the Democratic nomination for governor, believes pressure from local governments, teachers and other lobbies will kill the Reagan plan. But almost all other politicians feel Reagan has a sure winner. Some Democrats grumble that the Democratic-controlled legislature played into Reagan's hands by not passing their own tax rebate.

So intense is public resentment against big government that few Democrats challenge the Reagan plan frontally and no significant Republican has publicly opposed it, even though many privately consider it an abomination. State Controller Houston Flournoy, a liberal Republican, has been cautiously critical of the Reagan plan but stops short of opposition that could ruin his hopes for governor next year.

Nor was the Reagan camp discouraged by the icy reception given his tax plan at the recent national governors' conference. Once California adopts the scheme, Reagan plans to peddle it nationwide. He correctly believes the appeal of lower taxes, limited spending and reduced government is universal.

When Reagan finishes eight years as governor in January 1975, his nationwide travels to preach Reaganism and seek the presidential nomination will accelerate. Therefore, Reagan's aides are unanimously opposed to pleas by Republican big-money men—especially oil millionaire Henry Salvatori—that Reagan prevent a Democrat or, worse yet, a liberal Republican as governor by running himself.

Unable to convince Reagan to run, some money men are urging him to persuade all Republican hopefuls for governor to withdraw in favor of Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Reagan has shown no interest whatever in this scheme. Nor does he seem enthusiastic about the campaign for governor by mistake-prone Lt. Gov. Edward Reinecke, once Reagan's heir-apparent.

Future occupancy of the governor's chair simply does not interest Reagan much these days. He is instead preoccupied with his tax limit plan. Having revived his fortunes here, the plan now makes Reagan—free of the Watergate taint—an increasingly formidable challenger for national party leadership.

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Candidate file

THE WASHINGTON POST *Thursday, Feb. 20, 1975*

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Ford-Reagan Wrestle for '76?

The increasing possibility that Ronald Reagan, vigorously backed by conservatives, will challenge President Ford for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination was inadvertently enhanced by the unfortunate timing of two White House decisions.

Within days of last weekend's conservative conference at Washington's Mayflower Hotel, the White House let it be known:

First, that two close aides of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, James Cannon and Richard Dunham, would become top staffers of the domestic council in the White House—in effect, a cession by Mr. Ford of that territory to his Vice President.

Second, that Carla A. Hills, now assistant attorney general for civil rights, would be nominated as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

These two events, seemingly unrelated to 1976 presidential politics, helped harden the consensus of the conservative conference: With Mr. Ford beyond redemption in their view, influential conservatives are now thinking less of forming a new party and more of seeking the Republican nomination with an increasingly available Reagan even if the incumbent President seeks a full term.

Appointing the Rockefeller aides gave the conservatives more evidence to justify their Ford-must-go theme. Since Rockefeller is indelibly, if irrationally, the devil incarnate to the Republican right, handing domestic policymaking to the Vice President puts the President in league with evil. The corridors at the Mayflower were buzzing over this outrage.

The nomination of Mrs. Hills, in contrast, went virtually unnoticed by the conservative meeting. But Reagan noticed. He views Mrs. Hills, a Los Angeles lawyer, as a liberal Republican. While still serving as governor of California last year, he quietly protested then-President Nixon's nomination of her to the Justice Department. As an ex-governor today, he was not pleased that Mr. Ford failed to consult him on naming her to the Cabinet.

According to Reagan's inner circle, the appointment of Mrs. Hills further accelerated his interest, which has been rising since he left office six weeks ago, in seeking the presidential nomination—against Mr. Ford, if necessary.

The catalyst moving both the conservatives and Reagan toward a point of no-return is Mr. Ford's $52 billion budget deficit. Thus, the nominations of Mrs. Hills and the Rockefeller aides merely confirmed and solidified a trend.

The mood of the Republican right was typified at the conference by the frigid reception given Clarke Reed, the veteran and tenaciously conservative Republican State Chairman of Mississippi, on his two-pronged mission to stop third-party talk and stir up support for President Ford.

Actually, about two-thirds of the 500 conservatives at the conference favored forming a new conservative party. But the remaining one-third, opposing it, had the power. Reed was supported by Sen. James Buckley of New York, Reps. Philip Crane of Illinois and Robert Bauman of Maryland and Reagan himself in his Saturday night address.

But Reed was all alone when he urged conservatives to say something good about Mr. Ford. There was stony silence when Reed begged them to back the President in fighting a liberal Democratic Congress and particularly to praise his efforts for strong national defense.

Reed, accustomed to leading the party's conservatives, was ill-prepared for his reception last weekend. In the lobby of the Mayflower, a Florida woman who has been a longtime conservative activist asked Reed: "When you gonna git some backbone, Clarke Reed?" When the conference ended, Reed commented sadly: "Now I know why Whittaker Chambers wouldn't call himself a conservative."

Although many conservatives attending the conference were cause-oriented zealots (anti-equal rights amendment, anti-abortion, etc.) on the right fringe, the meeting cannot be dismissed as a convention of crazies. Besides several members of Congress, the conference was attended by Republican Party officers from California, Texas, Washington State, Maine and perhaps other states.

In fact, despite disastrous performances by conservative candidates in the 1974 election, the right has been quietly gaining since then in taking control of the party machinery. Most recent was the coup two weeks ago at the California Republican state convention by right-wing insurgents who defeated the slate, conservative itself, selected by the Republican establishment.

President Ford has no easy response to this phenomenon. He obviously has no intention of reversing careful decisions, such as the nomination of Mrs. Hills and the Rockefeller aides, which probably would not appease the right anyway. All he can do is hope against hope that the economy is revived more quickly than forecasters believe, putting him in the normal, invulnerable position within his party of past incumbent Presidents. Otherwise, if he really intends to run, the Republican Party may be be in for its worst internal struggle since 1912, with consequences incomparably worse.

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Reagan

Will Challenge GOP Candidate

# Reagan to Run in N.H. Primary

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California will enter the New Hampshire presidential primary in March, Reagan campaign advisers have informed Republican Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr. of New Hampshire.

Thomson, who has said he will challenge President Ford in the nation's first presidential primary if no other conservative does, in turn has agreed to stay out and back Reagan, according to informed Republican sources.

Although Reagan still publicly says he has not decided if he will run, word of his entry in the New Hampshire primary was conveyed to Thomson earlier this week by John Sears, director of the Citizens-for-Reagan Committee.

As a first concrete step to generate interest and support in the Reagan candidacy, Thomson announced yesterday that Reagan will campaign in New Hampshire on Sept. 10 in the special Senate election in behalf of the GOP candidate former Rep. Louis C. Wyman.

Reagan's visit, Thomson said, "would probably enhance the possibility" of the President coming into the state to aid Wyman, facing Democrat John A. Durkin in a rerun of their contested election last November.

"Let's say it very clearly," Thomson said. "There is an excellent chance the two of them (Ford and Reagan) may be campaigning for Republican votes next winter."

The governor said he told Sears to advise Reagan to "hurry up and make his announcement and get going," and he predicted Reagan would do so "in late September or early October."

See REAGAN, A5, Col. 1

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Sears also called on William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester Union Leader and a critic of Mr. Ford, and other prominent GOP leaders in the state. In 1968, Sears was active in launching Richard M. Nixon's campaign in New Hampshirt, which culminated in the withdrawal of then-Gov. George M. Romney of Michigan.

In a related matter, former Sen. Norris H. Cotton, appointed this week by Thomson to fill the senatorial vacancy, was sworn back into the Senate from which he retired last year after 20 years.

Cotton, 75, is to serve until a winner is declared in the Sept. 16 Senate election. As he was being sworn in, Cotton asked the secretary of the Senate whether his name was back on the payroll and as soon as the ritual was over he cracked, "Hand me my check."

The returned senator said as a New Englander he would vote to override an expected veto by President Ford of legislation to extend price controls on oil for six months.

"If I stood by the President with the New England winter coming on, I wouldn't dare go home," he said.

Fishy Demonstration

7/28 Journal

Reagan

# Mr. Reagan in the Wings

Ronald Reagan, footloose and fancy free, is getting as much attention in the national press corps these days as he did during his eight years as governor of California. The political writers, bored by the Democrats and having nothing much else to do, are trying to kill time by promoting a Ford-Reagan contest, encouraging Mr. Reagan to announce now that he will be a candidate for the GOP presidential nomination in 1976.

The National Review, which has eyes for Mr. Reagan, intimates that the reason he is not formally announcing is so he "can continue his radio broadcasts on 310 stations around the country, and his TV appearances, without coming under equal time provision of the law." But even if there were not this consideration, there's no reason we can see why Mr. Reagan should jump in now with both feet.

While he has his fans who would like to see him make the run just for the fun of it, whatever his chances, Mr. Reagan is now more in the position of an understudy than a competitor. If Mr. Ford develops laryngitis or breaks a leg between here and New Hampshire, Mr. Reagan is well-placed to come in and sing and dance. But he does not really want to get on stage by directly contributing to President Ford's potential political collapse.

Besides, if and when he does formally announce, by the very nature of political competition he will be trying his best seven days a week to carve up Jerry Ford. As long as he remains in the wings, he has the luxury of being able to mix frowns, withering sarcasm and light applause as he observes Mr. Ford's performance. This keeps open the option of supporting Mr. Ford vigorously if by year's end it's clear that a race against him would just be a silly exercise.

The theory that he has to start now rests on the idea that Mr. Reagan can somehow talk the nomination away from Mr. Ford, that by showing himself to be a more skillful stump speaker, a more exciting campaigner, and an angrier conservative to boot, he will cause the GOP rank and file—what's left of it—to kick their incumbent into early retirement.

It's extremely doubtful that the nomination can be pried from Mr. Ford in this fashion. By next summer Mr. Ford will have been on the job two years and his record will speak for itself. If it's a solid record, he'll be able to mumble his way to the nomination. But if by, say, November, Mr. Ford is again in trouble in the polls, with unemployment, renewed inflation and crumbling detente darkening his prospects, Mr. Reagan will have plenty of time to ramble through the primaries with a genuine chance of winning the nomination.

Probably the greater danger to Mr. Ford, though, is the current trend toward complacency at the White House. When the economy and Mr. Ford's popularity were in a tailspin, Mr. Ford had nothing to lose by following his instincts and being bold and presidential, and even the conservative purists were impressed with his handling of Mayaguez and successful vetoes of spending bills.

But once the White House saw Mr. Ford's popularity climb and the conventional wisdom took hold that the economy was turning up and inflation beaten down, the political people began worrying about rocking the boat. The policy advisers would love a bold stroke ending oil price controls, but the politicos worry about the President being tagged as a friend of Big Oil and counsel a deal with the Democrats. All that springtime talk about capital formation and business tax cuts withers on the vine as Mr. Ford is advised against moving "too far right." Foreign policy is based on detente; let's not make Mr. Brezhnev mad by meeting with Mr. Solzhenitsyn, or we'll have to think up a new foreign policy.

This is not to suggest that Mr. Ford must devote himself to attaining the degree of theological purity demanded by the GOP's far right. He couldn't do it if he tried, not having the right emotional endowments. (Who is it that said, "Reaganism is extremism in defense of Fordism"?) But the more he conducts himself in a manner obviously calculated to win re-election, fashioning policy to "political realities," the more likely it will be that Republicans will not stand by him if the fruits of such policy sour.

We know it sounds ivory-towerish to suggest that Mr. Ford should not be thinking about re-election at this point, or worrying about his understudy in the wings. And to be sure, he's seemed less distracted by 1976 than most of his advisers. But there's always the chance that Mr. Ford will succumb to the temptation and try to fit himself to an image, instead of being himself and letting his image take care of itself. If he makes that mistake, and not before, it will be time for Mr. Reagan to make his formal appearance.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Thursday, July 3, 1975 A35

# GOP Youth Boosts Reagan

By Gordon Englehart
Special to The Washington Post

INDIANAPOLIS, July 2—California ex-Gov. Ronald Reagon got a rousing reception at the conservative Young Republican's national convention opening today, but may not wind up with its presidential endorsement.

Phyllis A. McGrath, acting chairman of the Young Republican National Federation (YRNF), said it is possible, but not likely, that resolutions on the 1976 nomination would be offered or adopted.

"He's not a candidate," the 38-year-old real estate agent from Greeley, Colo., explained to reporters before Reagon delivered a 45-minute speech that was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

"It would be rather ridiculous to put the cart before the horse," she added. "And President Ford is not a formally announced candidate."

Mrs. McGrath observed that Reagan is a YR "favorite," but so are Mr. Ford and Tennessee Sens. William E. Brock III and Howard H. Baker Jr.

Roger Stone of Arlington, Va., a YRNF executive committee member who directed demonstrations for Reagan, estimated that 80 per cent of the 1,000 delegates prefer Reagan.

But Stone echoed Mrs McGrath in saying that an endorsement attempt would "most likely not" be made because Reagan is not an announced candidate.

"We just want a flat statement (in a resolution) that Gerald Ford is on the wrong track and that we want an open convention in 1976," Stone added.

Stone said any resolution should enumerate these alleged missteps of Mr. Ford:

The $60-billion federal budget deficit, appointment of "liberal Democrat" Edward H. Levi as Attorney General, Betty Ford's support of the Equl Rights Amendment, Mr. Ford's amnesty program, collective bargaining for federal employees and Mr. Ford's backing or Vice President Rockefeller for nomination in 1976.

Any resolution condemning the President is certain to stir a ruckus in the five-day convention that opened with a flap over a Rockefeller photograph.

The host Indiana delegation last week had printed an ad-filled 26-page convention program with photos of convention speakers, YR officers and candidates, and Mr. Ford and Rockefeller. Neither the President nor the vice president will appear here, although Mr. Ford was invited.

According to Mrs. McGrath, YRNF executive director David Nickels strongly objected when he learned of the Rockefeller picture. But Robert G. Elrod, local convention-committee chairman, told him it was too late to change. Nickels then hurriedly had prepared a simpler, 12-page brochure, and both programs were offered to arriving delegates.

Embarrassingly, the Indiana version had the Vice President's name spelled "Rockafeller."

Before and after Reagan's speech, delegates stood chanting, "We want Reagan," and waving pro-Reagan signs. Stone said 500 had been prepared.

Reagan's speech was almost identical to an address he delivered here June 19 to a $100-a-plate dinner of the GOP State Central Committee. Its basic theme was criticism of excesive government growth and interference with private lives.

In the news conference, Reagan reiterated he would decide by year end on a presidential candidacy.

## Election Panel Meets in Secret

Despite the objections of its chairman, who earlier had pledged to conduct its business in public, the Federal Election Commission yesterday voted to discuss some staff recommendations behind closed doors.

Details on Page A6

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, July 9, 1975

**Chairman's Pledge Is Overridden**

# Election Unit Meets in Secret

By Stan Crock
Washington Post Staff Writer

Despite the objections of its chairman, who earlier had pledged to conduct its business in public, the Federal Election Commisison yesterday voted 4 to 2, to discuss some staff recommendations behind closed doors.

The recommendations included a sharp cutback in free convention services donated by private corporations. The staff also criticized the $2 million limit on convention spending as "unrealistically low."

A commission spokesman said after the closed session that the commission deferred action on the convention recommendation.

Former Rep. Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri, chairman of the commission, which was sworn in April 14, to administer the Federal Campaign Practices Act, said before the vote, "If this commission at this early date were to vote for closed sessions, it would be interpreted, quite correctly, for what it is — that the commission does not want to operate in the sunshine."

Opening up politics is the key to election reform, he added. Vernon W. Thomson, a former congressman from Wisconsin and the only other commissioner to agree with Curtis, said public "probing would benefit the public in understanding the complexity of [the new election reform] law."

But they were outvoted by the other committee members —Thomas E. Harris of Arkansas, Joan D. Aikens of Pennsylvania, Robert O. Tiernan of Rhode Island and Neil Staebler of Michigan.

The staff recommendations were responses to requests from the Republican and Democratic national committees for an advisory opinion on whether the free services parties have received in the past should be applied to the $2 million convention spending limit imposed by the new election law.

The staff report said that such services as the use of a convention center and construction to make it fit for a convention, the providing of buses and cars for transportation and the supplying of security forces violate provisions banning corporate contributions.

State and local governments normally would not be prohibited from offering such services, the report said.

Corporate services that "would be provided for any convention of similar size" are permitted, however, the report said.

These include the use of convention personnel to provide housing and reservations, meeting rooms in hotels and local transportation, accommodations and hospitality for the parties' site selection committees.

The free services that are permissible would not be counted against the $2 million spending limit for each party, the report said. Even so, the staff said, the spending limit is too low when "measured against the costs historically associated with the administration of such conventions."

Josephine Good, the Republican convention director, said the elimination of the free services would "put such a burden on the parties that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to run a convention on the $2 million." Rent alone for some halls costs $50,000 a day, she said.

The Democrats' convention manager, Andrew Shea, would not comment on the staff report until the commission acted on it.

In voting to hold the discussions of the staff report in executive session, which Curtis said would cut off most of the commission's proceedings from public view, the commission apparently accepted Harris' argument that the commissioners would speak more freely if they could talk privately.

Harris said the commission should operate in the same manner as agencies and courts that allow, only the final product of their deliberations to be made public.

The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press said last night it would mail a letter of protest to Curtis over the decision.

# President Declares He'll Run

## Ford Pledges His Campaign Will Be Open

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford, emphasizing his incumbency by speaking from the Oval Office and with the excesses of Watergate clearly in mind, yesterday formally announced his candidacy for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination.

The President, elevated to the White House by the scandals that swept Vice President Agnew and President Nixon from office, pledged to run "an open and above-board campaign."

Mr. Ford said he wanted "every delegate and every vote I can get that can be won to my cause within the spirit and the letter of the law, and without compromising the principles for which I have stood all of my public life."

The President's announcement had been signaled as far back as last November, when White House press secretary Ron Nessen confirmed that Mr. Ford "intends to run in 1976."

In May, the President created a campaign planning committee headed by former White House aide Dean Burch, who on June 20 filed papers for "The President Ford Committee" with the Federal Election Commission.

A letter from Mr. Ford accompanied the filing, saying he authorized the group to raise and spend money "to further my nomination" for President.

The President's announcement yesterday covered his own candidacy only, and said nothing about a 1976 vice presidential candidacy for Vice President Rockefeller. Mr. Ford has said he sees no reason why Rockefeller should not be on his ticket again, but conservatives in the party are hoping to change his mind.

For a man who emphatically had told the congressional committee on his confirmation as Vice President in 1973 that he had no intention of ever running for President, yesterday's formal announcement underscored the unexpected turns that American politics can take.

President Ford announced his candidancy at precisely the time a challenge within his Republican Party, long brewing, began to take shape. Yesterday it was confirmed that a Ronald Reagan-for-President Committee is being formed in Washington, with Reagan's knowledge if not his formal blessing.

The President, speaking before television cameras and a pool of reporters but not on on live TV, renewed his inaugural pledge "to be President of all the people," representing the Republican Party while also trying to unite "the majority of Americans who acknowledge no absolute party loyalty."

As the candidate of a minority party, Mr. Ford of course must attract independent and Democratic votes to be elected.

The President also said he was "determined never to neglect my first duty as President," which he has found, he said, to "require most of the stamina and concentration one human being can muster."

"But," he said, "it is also the duty of all Americans to participate fully in our free elective process, and I will do so enthusiastically.

"In all the 13 election campaigns I have undertaken, my basic conviction has been that the best politics is always to do the best job I can for all the people. I see no reason to change that successful philosophy. I expect to work hard, campaign forthrightly and do the very best I can for America in order to finish the job I have begun."

The President's brief statement was in itself a skeleton of the Ford campaign strategy:

- To maximize the psychological and real political advantages of an incumbent President.
- To emphasize that incumbency by being, above all, a working President, addressing the nation's problems in a nonpartisan manner as much as possible.
- To campaign vigorously, in the knowledge that by virtue of the way he reached the White House he still has to demonstrate popular support within his own party and the country. This will be the first national campaign for Mr. Ford, who ran successfully for Congress 13 times.

The kind of campaign outlined differs sharply from the one waged by Mr. Ford's predecessor, Richard M. Nixon, in 1972. The former President did little overt campaigning until the closing days of the fall campaign, then ran basically from the White House, and as President more than candidate.

Later, when the Watergate scandal burst upon him, Nixon said he had been so occupied with affairs of state, especially foreign policy, that he erred and turned over direction of his campaign to others who permitted excesses to occur. Mr. Ford indicated in his statement that he will attempt to function both as active policy maker in the White House and campaigner on the road.

Four key men in the President's campaign stood behind him in the Oval Office as he made his declaration of candidacy: Burch, who is to continue as head of a campaign advisory committee; former Secretary of the Army Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, who has succeeded Burch as campaign manager; former Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard, finance chairman, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense Robert C. Moot, announced yesterday as treasurer of the campaign.

# Mitchell Disbarred As Lawyer in State

By MORRIS KAPLAN

John N. Mitchell, the former United States Attorney General who was convicted of perjury and conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Watergate scandal, was disbarred yesterday from practicing law in New York State.

His disbarment was believed to be the first in the history of the United States of a lawyer who held such high office. According to Justice Department officials, no other person who held the office was ever disbarred.

The 61-year-old lawyer was suspended from practice in March by the United States Supreme Court and by lower courts in the District of Columbia. He has the right to protest the suspension and respond within a specified period.

He has not yet been disbarred in the Federal courts, and has asked the courts to postpone a decision on disbarment until the resolution of his appeal of his conviction in the Federal District Court.

Mr. Mitchell was one of four Nixon Administration officials who were convicted on Jan. 1, 1975, of all counts in the Watergate cover-up trial. The others were H. R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and Robert C. Mardian. The three-month trial culminated the principal investigation and prosecution of persons responsible for the biggest political scandal in the nation's history.

A Federal grand jury named the then President, Richard M. Nixon, on March 1, 1974, as an unindicted co-conspirator in the case. Recently Mr. Nixon asked the Supreme Court to withdraw his name from the roll of lawyers qualified to practice there.

Mr. Mitchell, once a close friend of Mr. Nixon's, was Attorney General from Jan. 20, 1969 to March 1, 1972, when he resigned to head Mr. Nixon's re-election committee.

In a unanimous decision, the Appellate Division of State Supreme Court struck his name from the roll of lawyers in a disciplinary proceeding instituted by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

The five justices who concurred in yesterday's decision ruled that since Mr. Mitchell had been convicted of a felony, including perjury, that "our inquiry need not go any further."

They took note of Mr. Mitchell's contention that the petition to strike his name from the rolls was premature and should be denied because he was entitled to "an exhaustion of appellate remedies." Through his counsel, Peter Fleming Jr., he argued that to disbar him at this time would constitute a denial of his constitutional guarantee of due process.

"The law in this state is well settled to the contrary," the justices maintained.

The petition to strike Mr. Mitchell's name from the roll was granted by Acting Presiding Justice Arthur Markewich and Associate Justices Vincent A. Lupiano, Louis J. Capozzoli, Myles J. Lane and Emilio Nunez.



John N. Mitchell

At his trial, the prosecutors charged that he had approved the political intelligence plan that led to the Watergate breakin and then had played a central role in the cover-up. Mr. Mitchell, who was born in Detroit, was graduated from Fordham Law School and admitted to practice here on June 19, 1939. He was considered an expert on municipal bonds.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Tuesday, July 8, 1975

*Joseph Kraft*

# The Politics of Apathy

In fairness and in logic, the cities have an almost perfect case for screwing more money out of the federal government. But the funds are almost surely not going to be forthcoming.

The reasons go a long way to explain a central national mystery. That is the mystery of how the country seems to tolerate with so little protest such a high rate of concentrated unemployment.

The case for the cities begins with the enactment of revenue-sharing in 1972. That year state and city governments in the country had a combined budgetary surplus of $4 billion.

In 1973 the budgets of the cities and states were in balance. Last year they yielded a $7.9 billion deficit. This year they will be in deficit again, even though the states and cities are combining reduced services and increased taxes at a rate of about $8 billion.

The reason for this sudden turnabout is not bad management or the greediness of the municipal unions. For better or worse, management performance and union demands have been relatively constant.

The sudden plunge comes chiefly from the impact of national economic performance on a small number of major cities—New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, San Diego. The recession has increased dramatically the services — notably in welfare — these cities are obliged to provide.

The inflation has kept high the cost of goods (especially fuel) and services they buy. Because they depend on sales and property levies, the cities do not get the bigger sums which go to the federal government in taxes on inflated personal incomes.

But it is not as though the big cities and the states they dominate are the only victims. In the past few years, cities and states have become the prime source of new jobs. Since 1967 employment in state and local governments have grown at twice the rate of all other sectors of the economy.

As a result the recent fiscal weakness of the cities damages the whole national economy. Thus even as the federal government is pumping out $24 billion to stimulate the economy, the cities and states are raising taxes and cutting services which loses jobs and reduces purchasing. In effect, the cities up against a budgetary wall are forced to take fiscal action that delays the national recovery.

An almost ideal legislative solution to the problem has emerged in the Senate government operations committee. It is called counter-cyclical revenue-sharing. The basic idea is to remit taxes to localities in dire trouble because of the recession. The proposal now coming up to the committee would cost relatively little, would be targeted sharply on the needy, and would phase out as soon as employment began to improve.

The Democratic mayors have made it a priority item. Such Senate heavyweights as Edmund Muskie, (D-Maine), and Bill Brock (R-Tenn.), support it. Until even these supporters acknowledge the going is very tough, probably the only way the bill can get through is by some bit of trickery such as the House-Senate conference report, or as part of a public works measure.

For the opposition is very strong. For one thing there is basic national sentiment against more government spending. In that spirit the Ford administration opposes special aid to the cities.

Furthermore, there is a strong prejudice against the cities—particularly those with large minority populations and big welfare problems and strong unions. Thus even Democratic governors of the biggest states—Hugh Carey of New York and Jerry Brown of California—have been loath to identify themselves with special help for the big cities. In Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp won a political victory by holding the line for a 3.5 per cent wage increase despite a strike of state employees.

Finally, a large segment of the country is doing fine. Eight primarily agricultural states and a dozen heavy in oil or coal have not suffered so much. They actively oppose any special aid for the cities.

What emerges from all this is the politics of apathy. The United States is prepared to live with very high unemployment because the majority in the country is against special help to the areas of concentrated need. The haves don't want to help the have-nots.

# Mayors Urged to Seek Total Ban on Handguns

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, July 7—The Boston police commissioner urged the nation's mayors today to seek a total federal ban on private ownership of handguns as the only effective means to "get those people-killers off the face of the earth."

Commissioner Robert Di Grazia urged the U.S. Conference of Mayors to reaffirm its 1972 call for a prohibition on possession, manufacture and interstate shipment of handguns, saying anything else would be a half-step.

The conference on Wednesday will debate a resolution urging mandatory minimum sentences for all offenses involving firearms. Mayor Frank Fasi of Honolulu told a panel discussion of weapons control today that he favored a mandatory minimum 20-year prison term without parole, for any crime involving a gun, and a mandatory life sentence for any conspiracy to commit a crime involving guns.

Fasi said he agreed with Di Grazia that a ban on handguns was "the only way to stop people from killing each other," but he said the unlikelihood of congressional approval of that proposal had turned him to the mandatory minimum sentence as an interim measure. Existing law prohibits the importation of "Saturday night specials," a small, cheap form of handgun, and the Ford administration has urged a ban on manufacture and possession of that type of weapon.

But the mayors' conference three years ago adopted a more sweeping call for elimination of all pistols, and it was this stand Di Grazia said should not be compromised. In April, the state of Massachusetts put into effect a law requiring a mandatory one-year prison sentence for any one carrying an unregistered firearm. State Rep. Harry Lehman of Cleveland, the third speaker on the panel, said that mayors could argue that gun control is an economy measure, because the city of Cleveland pays $1,250 on the average for emergency hospital treatment of gun victims.

Earlier today, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), in the keynote address, defended the record of Congress and assailed the Ford administration's response to urban issues.

Jibing at President Ford for declining the mayors' invitation to attend their session, Kennedy said, "This administration seems to understand inflation only when it comes to the defense budget" but lacks "the same understanding when it comes to the cost of providing services in our cities."

The President invited a group of mayors to meet with him in Washington Thursday at the conclusion of this meeting, but his absence from this session was the subject of grumbling by some mayors.

Many of the Democrats in the group have also been critical of Congress for engaging with the President in veto battles, which they said left the cities without vitally needed programs. Kennedy, responding to this complaint, said, "I agree with you that the time has come for Congress to work with the President." But he said it was Congress that passed housing, jobs and other programs to aid the cities and Mr. Ford vetoed them. "We're not back in the days of Harry Truman, where we had an active President and a negative Congress," he added. "The Congress has responded and it will respond."

FARMLAND NEWS

# Washington heats up over export scandal

[illegible] Independent

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[illegible] market, [illegible] (D-Ia.) [illegible] surplu- [illegible] of the [illegible] Politi- [illegible] point of [illegible] clean [illegible] Sub- [illegible] Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) is taking a 2-part approach to the problem.

First off, he wants a "quick fix" — passage of an emergency one-year bill that would expand authority of the Agriculture Secretary over the grain inspection system. Specifically, this legislation would permit the Secretary to (1) require grading of all export grain, (2) station inspectors at foreign ports to check on U. S. grain as it arrives, (3) collect fees to pay the total cost of federal inspection, (4) revoke government licenses of inspection agencies in this country, and (5) hire more people to help with the inspection job.

Beyond that, Humphrey and his colleagues plan to continue "in-depth" investigation of the problem to decide if long-term changes are needed. A basic question is whether the present system of inspection at U. S. ports by private inspection agencies (under government license) should be jettisoned in favor of public inspection by government employees.

**FEDERAL** employees currently supervise inspection, but seldom themselves inspect the grain and ships. "The issue of conflict of interest is particularly germane to the current procedure of issuing federal licenses to private inspection agencies," Senator Clark said.

"Three thousand private inspectors, working for agencies with their income governed in part by how expeditiously the grain companies can move grain, determine the degree of fairness and consequently the success or failure of the system. And that is the problem."

The Grain Standards Act deals with certain conflicts of interest, specifically ruling out federal licenses for individuals who may be "financially interested (directly or otherwise) in any business entity owning or operating any grain elevator or warehouse or engaged in the merchandising of grain."

Trouble is that the agencies for which individual inspectors work do have indirect financial interests in the big international trading companies, said Clark. "To protect individual inspectors from these considerable pressures and to make the system more uniformly applicable, there is need for a completely federalized grain inspection system."

Grand juries in New Orleans and Houston by mid-June had indicted 20 federally-licensed grain inspectors. Five had pleaded guilty to accepting bribes for allowing ships and grain that did not meet federal standards to pass inspection.

Those indictments are described by Clark and others as the tip of the iceberg. Clark the other day added a new dimension to the scandal, charging that major grain-exporting companies may be paying cash kickbacks to grain elevator operators who deliberately shave their shipments.

A "pervasive system" of kickbacks exists, he said on the Senate floor, in the form of annual bonuses given to operators who build up unreported stocks of excess grain by shaving their reported shipments.

Agriculture Secretary Butz has been talking both hard and soft on the inspection issue, and sometimes through his hat — saying at one time, for example, that every man has his price, the only question being how much. He has switched from tough talk about cracking down on wrongdoers to soothing words about how "our inspections of grain exports, overall, are sound and dependable."

**NOTING** that only 7% of the licensed inspectors and samplers at New Orleans and Houston ports had been indicted, the Secretary said, "The vast majority ... are hard-working, honest, dependable people."

The percentage of apparent wrongdoing has risen since the Secretary made that statement. It appears in any case that Congress won't be satisfied, even with a 93-to-7 ratio in favor of honesty, and in time will insist upon handing the inspection job over to government.

Reagan

# Campaign Group Set Up for Reagan

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

A national committee is being formed here to launch a challenge by former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California against President Ford for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination.

Lyn Nofziger, a longtime Reagan aide in California and political adviser in the Nixon White House, confirmed yesterday he and two other Republican political figures, John P. Sears and James Lake, both of Washington, are establishing the committee to raise money and other support for a Reagan candidacy.

Nofziger said Reagan is aware of the effort, and while he has not authorized it, "He didn't try to stop me."

In California, Peter Hannaford, a Reagan aide, said Nofziger and Sears, a key political strategist and delegate-seeker in Nixon's 1968 campaign, had advised Reagan of their plans to create the committee "in the last few days."

"The governor said that if and when they formed it, he would have an appropriate response," Hannaford said, "but it would not include an announcement about a decision." Reagan himself said yesterday he has not decided finally whether to run.

But other Republican sources said the creation of the committee effectively puts Reagan into the race against the President. To clear the way for fund-raising, a filing must be made with the Federal Election Commission, and this will be done by the end of this month, these sources said.

At that time, they said, Reagan likely will come to Washington to say that he is permitting the effort to go forward, but is reserving a final decision on candidacy until sometime later this year.

Those advancing Reagan's cause are said to be especially

See REAGAN, A6, Col. 1

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, July 9, 1975

# Reagan '76 Panel Being Formed

REAGAN, From A1

interested in avoiding any early confrontations on issues with the President, but rather want to allow time for the key issues for 1976 to manifest themselves.

In the meantime, the plan is for Reagan to continue speaking around the country, doing his regular syndicated radio show, and otherwise discussing the need for a revitalization of the Republican Party and long-range national goals.

It is the hope of the Reagan strategists that the circumstances of Mr. Ford's elevation to the Presidency will diminish the usual problem of opposing an incumbent, because Mr. Ford has never been elected by a national constituency. "The party hasn't passed on him and the country hasn't passed on him," a Reagan supporter said.

Nofziger said the Reagan strategy would require him to run in "a goodly number" of the 30-odd presidential primaries scheduled in 1976—a massive organizational challenge in itself, requiring an early start.

He said limitations in campaign fund-raising and spending also dictated an early start, but he said he foresaw no problem raising the money needed. Reagan always has been a prodigious fund-raiser nationally among Republicans.

An open challenge to an incumbent President is rare, but not unprecedented. Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee challenged President Truman in 1952, before Truman bowed out, and Sens. Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota and Robert F. Kennedy of New [illegible] challenged President John[illegible] in 1968, before Johnson announced he would not seek election.

The move to form a Reagan committee in a sense [illegible] an early setback for President Ford and his political lieutenants, who had been hoping to head off a Reagan challenge.

The appointment of former Secretary of the Army Howard H. (Bo) Callaway of Georgia to head Mr. Ford's campaign was viewed among Reaganites as an attempt to undercut their man in the South.

But, one of them said yesterday, Callaway's presence raises the stakes for the President in Southern primaries and increases Reagan's opportunity to administer a political blow to Mr. Ford in them.

New York Times
Oct. 23, 1975 P. 10

## U.S. MATCHING FUNDS CLAIMED BY SANFORD

RALEIGH, N.C., Oct. 21 (AP) —Terry Sanford said Tuesday that he had qualified for more than $200,000 in Federal matching funds in his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The former North Carolina Governor told a news conference that he qualified late last month but did not announce it then because he did not believe it important enough.

An aide said that the campaign report filed with Federal officials Oct. 10 did not show that Mr. Sanford had qualified, but that the next report due in January will.

The aide said that Mr. Sanford had collected at least $5,000 in donations of not more than $250 in each of 21 states. Federal law provides matching funds to Presidential candidates if they raise $5,000 in donations of not more than $250 in 20 states.

The campaign has collected about $300,000 so far and now is about $75,000 in debt. Mr. Sanford said he would use all the credit he can get to keep his campaign running strong before distribution of Federal matching funds begins in January.



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# Reagan, at L.I. Dinner, Urges Minimal U.S. Role in Welfare

By FRANK LYNN
Special to The New York Times

HAUPPAUGE, L.I., Oct. 22—Ronald Reagan, in his first appearance at a New York Republican dinner, declared tonight that he favored state and local assumption of welfare costs rather than the Federal takeover that has been advocated by many politicians, including leading Republican officeholders here.

Speaking at the annual Suffolk Republican organization dinner, the former California Governor, who is expected to announce his candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination next month, told an audience of 3,500 that welfare "shou not be nationalized w8it should be Localized."

"If Joe Doaks is using his welfare money to go down to the pool hall and drink beer and gamble and the people on his block are paying for it, as they are," Mr. Reagan said in his prepared speech, "but if they also have a say in running the program, Joe is apt to undergo a change in his life-style."

Sharing the dais with the Governor was County Executive John V. N. Klein, a Republican who, faced with booming welare rolls in this once rural county, has called for a Federal take-over of welfare.

Mr. Reagan's appearance here as well as his views on welfare were significant. The Republican state chairman, Richard Rosenbaum, a close ally of Vice President Rockefeller, was angered by the invitation to Mr. Reagan to "Rockefeller turf" and did not attend the dinner, [illegible] did.

The invitation to Mr. Reagan was generally viewed here as another indication of the hostility toward Mr. Rockefeller of the Assembly minority leader, Perry B. Duryea of Montauk, who is a major power in the Suffolk Republican organization. Mr. Duryea has blamed and has not forgiven Mr. Rockefeller for his 1973 indictment, later dismissed, on charges of campaign dirty tricks—an indictment that aborted Mr. Duryea's bid for the Republican gubernatorial nomination last year.

Despite the Duryea-Rockefeller split, the Republican organization here would be likely to support a Ford-Rockefeller ticket even if it were challenged by Mr. Reagan, if for no other reason than party regularity. However, the Reagan message of too much big government and too much Federal spending would be well received in this county, one of the most conservative big counties in the state.

Mr. Reagan's principal organized support in New York is still likely to come from the Conservative party, whose leaders endorse him over the President. At the state Conservative party dinner Monday Mr. Regan was introduced as the next President of the United States; that did not happen here tonight.

Although Mr. Reagan did not criticize President Ford by name, his target was often clear as he spoke of the Federal

Los Angeles Times 9/3

D Reagan

# Reagan Hints He'll Enter All State Primaries

BY WILLIAM ENDICOTT
Times Staff Writer

SACRAMENTO—Former Gov. Ronald Reagan, inching closer to a formal declaration that he will be a Republican candidate for President in 1976, hinted broadly Tuesday that he will run next year in all 30 state presidential primaries.

And he professed not to be concerned over the defections to President Ford of former Reaganites, including state GOP Chairman Paul Haerle and advisers who served in his administration.

"We have to recognize the power of the Presidency," Reagan told reporters. "If I become a candidate, they have to recognize that this is a new situation. There are 30 state primaries.

"No one is going to match an incumbent President in endorsements from the party hierarchy. You take your case to the people and the people will make the decision in the primaries in those 30 states."

The former governor was in Sacramento for a luncheon meeting with Republican members of the Legislature. He said he had been invited to "discuss the political situation" with them.

After the luncheon, several lawmakers told reporters they felt more than ever that Reagan will be a candidate.

"I'm more convinced that he is going to run than I was before," said Sen. Clare Berryhill (R-Modesto).

"And he was trying to convince us that if he did run it would be good for the party and not harmful to the party."

Assemblyman Dixon Arnett (R-Redwood City) said Reagan made "no specific request" for legislators to re-

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Continued from Third Page

main uncommitted until he decides, "but that, in effect, was what he was saying."

A Citizens for Reagan Committee, with at least his tacit approval, already is laying the groundwork for his national campaign.

Reagan said he reiterated to the legislators his intention of making a decision whether to run "by late fall or early winter."

In response to a question, he said the pivotal factor in his decision will be "what I honestly believe will be the best thing for this country."

But when a reporter asked him how he would determine that, he replied, "It ain't easy."

He also criticized Haerle's endorsement of Mr. Ford by saying party officials should remain neutral and suggesting that Haerle, who once served as his appointments secretary in the governor's office, resign as state chairman.

Mr. Ford is scheduled to arrive in Sacramento late Thursday and on Friday will address a joint session of the Legislature and the State Fair Host Breakfast.

Christian Science Monitor 9/3

D Brown Reagan

# Two Californians who might seek White House lease

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Now two California politicians, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. as well as former Gov. Ronald Reagan, seem to be running for the presidency — in different ways.

Democrat Brown, up to recently not even considered by politicians to be a "dark horse," is seeking a forum to discuss national issues. But he shuns party caucuses and fund-raisers as well as state and national governors conclaves. "I take a dim view of conferences," he told reporters breakfasting with him.

Republican Reagan, on the other hand, continues his travels on the "rubber chicken" circuit from New England to the Southwest. He writes a syndicated newspaper column. He seeks radio and television exposure.

Mr. Reagan is being prodded toward a challenge of President Ford in the Republican primaries. His strategists say victories early next year in New Hampshire and Florida [where he has key support] could boost his candidacy.

Mr. Brown has no campaign committee, no presidential organization (formal or informal), and virtually no party backing for a presidential bid. Although he now says he wants to debate national issues — among them welfare and educational reform, citizen access to government, land-use planning, and reduced economic growth — he still isn't ready to seek a national platform.

"Now [it's] low priority to run around the country" he explains. "I may change my mind in three or six months."

However, even without backing the youthful California Governor's presidential potential is growing. And some here believe that by the end of this year, his "star" may well outshine Mr. Reagan's.

Governor Brown is looked upon as a "fresh, new face" in politics. National reporters who used to ignore him now clamor for interviews.

The electorate, an overwhelming number of Californians, tell pollsters he is a good Governor. This sample includes a strong base of Republicans.

Like Mr. Reagan, Mr. Brown preaches fiscal restraint. "We're facing certain changes in our nation. And those who expect [increased] contributions from the public sector may be disappointed," he says.

Also similar to his Republican predecessor, the California Democrat scores "unbridled bureaucracy." And he talks about restoring public confidence in government, something he says many politicians are failing to do.

Mr. Brown's quest of the presidency next year, if he makes one, is not likely to be as open as Mr. Reagan's. The latter must decide soon whether to challenge a sitting president in the primaries. If he opts against it, his candidacy is to all intents and purposes shelved.

Will Mr. Brown run in next June's important California primary as a favorite-son Democrat? "I won't rule it out," he says. "But I'm reluctant now." However, he adds quickly: "I let things happen. I don't rule things out. I like to rule things in."

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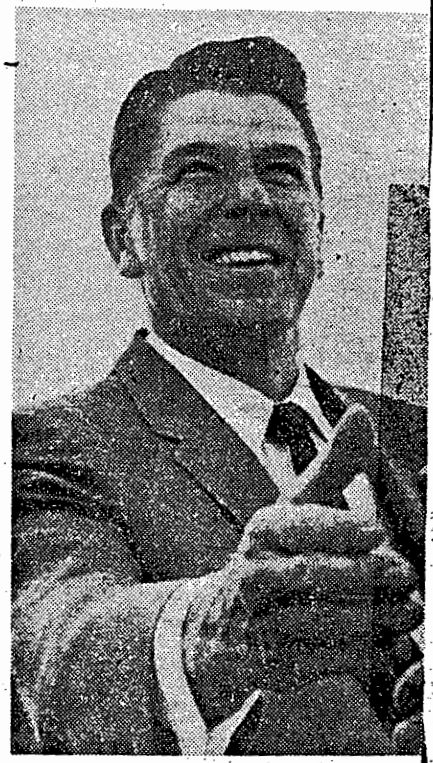
*George F. Will*

# The Danger of Underestim

Those who do not learn from the past, like those who do, are doomed to repeat it. So Mr. Ford's friends should note this: One theme of American politics for a decade has been the underestimation of Ronald Reagan as a political force.

Ten years ago California Democrats were delighted with the thought that California Republicans might nominate "that actor" for governor. But the delight, like the governorship, was Reagan's for eight years.

At the 1968 Republican convention, Reagan came nearer than is generally known—seven or eight votes—to taking the Florida and Mississippi delegations (both were unanimous under unofficial unit rules) away from Nixon. That probably would have produced an unraveling of Nixon strength sufficient to block a first-ballot victory, and would have produced a fluid and passionate situation favorable to a rhetorically gifted conservative like Reagan.



At the 1976 convention, 606 delegates—more than half the total of 1,130 needed to nominate — will be from southern states. Of course Reagan won't have them all, but then, Mr. Ford won't have all the delegates from his home state of Michigan, which distributes delegates proportionally among all candidates who receive at least 5 per cent of the state primary vote.

One of Reagan's assets is a profoundly unconservative streak in his followers: they invest in him far more ardor than any politician deserves. They are true believers with iron in their souls and time on their hands, who show up at precinct caucuses, where Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972 won nominations.

Precinct caucuses will have taken crucial — in many cases, decisive — steps toward selecting more than 10 per cent of the national convention delegates before the first (New Hampshire) primary. Conceivably, Howard Callaway, Mr. Ford's campaign manager, understands the significance of this. Certainly John Sears—Nixon's chief delegate hunter in 1968, now director of Citizens for Reagan—understands it.

Regarding primaries, Mr. Ford can hardly afford to lose any, and Reagan can select the ones he wants to make crucial.

Because he is the most accidental President, never having faced a national constituency, Mr. Ford cannot duck primaries. He has never had to show vote-getting ability outside Michigan's Fifth District (1970 population 467,543). Reagan has won two impressive victories in California, where approximately 20 million people — one tenth of all Americans—live.

Only twice in recent years have incumbent Presidents lost primaries, and neither time was the incumbent renominated.

In 1952 Harry Truman lost in New Hampshire to Tennessee Sen. Estes Kefauver, in part because many people suspected that Truman already had decided not to seek re-election, and Kefauver accused Truman of be-

W. Post 1/13

# Reagan For Right To Work

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Jan. 12—Ronald Reagan said today that he favors "right-to-work" legislation that would outlaw compulsory membership in a labor union.

"I would have to say that right now my leaning is very heavily toward right-to-work, and I think that's the feeling of the rank and file of labor," the Republican presidential candidate said at a press conference here at the Illinois capital.

The issue was brought up a few minutes before the news conference during a question-and-answer session at the opening of Reagan's headquarters here when a supporter asked the former California governor his views on right-to-work.

Reagan replied that he had opposed such legislation when he was president of the Screen Actors Guild in the 1940s and '50s.

"In the years that have come along since, as I have seen more and more power seized by the hierarchy of organized labor I have had second thoughts . . . ," Reagan said.

He went on to explain that as governor of California he had proposed legislation that would give labor union members the right to a secret ballot on all policy questions. He said this proposal had been blocked by union leaders who are "out of step with the rank and file they are supposed to represent."

"If right-to-work were the only way to curb that (union leader) power, I'd certainly have to change my thinking from those earlier years," Reagan said.

He was asked at the news conference if he could clarify this answer, and he responded with the statement that he was "leaning very heavily" toward right-to-work legislation.

Reagan campaigned today in the farm belt of Illinois, a state where he faces a potentially crucial primary contest against President Ford on March 16.

In a speech at a farm near Bloomington, in the center of the state's corn belt, he criticized the Ford administration for yielding to pressure from AFL-CIO President George Meany and imposing a since-lift8ed embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union last summer.

"By placing a sudden embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union last September, Washington changed the rules in the middle of the game," Reagan said. "That is no more fair in a government-to-farmer commitment than it would be in a business commitment or a football game."

His loudest applause came when he said: "I don't think Mr. Meany should be determining foreign policy for the United States."

At a strategy meeting of Reagan campaign leaders in Miami on Sunday it was agreed that Reagan would speak out on a variety of current issues. This decision partly reflects an effort to deflect the continued emphasis of press coverage on a Reagan plan to transfer $90 billion of federal programs to state and local government.

The new campaign strategy may have succeeded today beyond Reagan's expectations. Reagan also declared his opposition to easing penalties on use of marijuana, which he said caused "brain damage and genetic damage." Most researchers say there has been no evidence of birth defects caused by marijuana. Other serious effects have been observed only in heavy, daily users.

Reagan also declared his strong support for the death penalty and said he "had on my desk" the names of 12 convicted California murderers who he said had killed 36 people since being released from prison.

In responding to questions on the plan to transfer social service programs to state and local governments, Reagan complained there had been a press "distortion" based on overemphasis of the $90 billion price tag he had placed on these programs in a Sept. 26 Chicago speech.

Reagan insisted that it was the concept and not the price tag that was important and asked: "Does Ford have a better idea?"

Reagan was then asked what was the matter with Mr. Ford's idea of tying a reduction in federal spending to a reduction in taxes.

"The only problem is that the tax cut is tied to an increase in the budget," Reagan said. "If there's $28 billion in the buddget that can be taken out, what's it doing there in the first place?"

# Reagan's Fla. Forces Push Switch to GOP

Wash Post 1/30/76

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—Lifelong Democrat Bryant Skinner switched to the Republican Party the day the Senate rejected Clement Haynsworth's nomination to the Supreme Court.

"When I pulled my pen out to re-register I was shaking all over," Skinner recalled last week. "But I didn't faint. And no spots broke out on me."

Skinner's 1969 conversion was related last week to a rapt Jacksonville dinner audience which had turned out to cheer for Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan.

Like Skinner, a real estate developer who heads his Duval County (Jacksonville) campaign, Reagan is a former Democrat. The former California governor hopes that droves of disillusioned conservative Democrats who no longer think Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace can win their party's nomination will follow the same path and re-register Republican before the Jan. 24 deadline.

President Ford's campaigners, for their part, are for the first time talking optimistically about stopping Reagan in the Sunshine State, not just slowing him down.

Reagan campaigners in Florida are pushing re-registration with telephone calls and newspaper advertisments. "I'd rather switch than fight," said one ad last week.

L. E. (Tommy) Thomas, the Reagan state chairman, believes that as many as 100,000 can be added to the ranks of the state's 1 million Republicans. Ford campaign strategists find this prediction as inflated as Thomas' forecast that Reagan will carry Florida by 2 to 1, but state GOP chairman William Taylor said his spot checks show that "many thousands of Floridians" are re-registering.

"I believe it would be fair to say that most of these new registrants probably favor Reagan," said Taylor, a professed neutral who is believed to lean toward President Ford.

Even a small addition to the GOP rolls could be important in the March 9 presidential primary here.

Polls show the vote splitting almost evenly three ways among Reagan and Ford supporters and undecided voters.

Reagan leads in the soundings among Democrats and independents, though a majority of them are expected to vote for Wallace, a runaway winner in the Democratic primary four years ago and the heavy favorite this time. The Reagan line is that a vote for Wallace is a vote wasted.

"The Democratic hierarchy would blow up the convention hall before they'd give Wallace the nomination," Reagan told a questioner in Florida last week.

The Reagan re-registration effort is aimed at three groups—rural voters in the Florida panhandle and central Florida, servicemen in such military centers as Jacksonville and Pensacola, and Cubans in Dade County (Miami).

There are 25,000 Cubans among the 110,000 registered Republicans in Dade County, and the Reagan campaigners hope to add 5,000 more. Reagan has bid for the vote of this ethnic group with a tough anti-Castro stand and a promise that he would not negotiate control of the Panama Canal with the "Marxist military dictator" of Panama.

Reagan also is courting Florida's sizable military community.

One of his favorite speech closings, invariably delivered with misty eyes and a trembling voice, describes how he and Nancy Reagan entertained successive groups of U.S. prisoners of war after they were released by the North Vietnamese.

Navy Cdr. John McCain, one of the most famous of these returned POWs, sat by Reagan's side last Wednesday as he spoke in Jacksonville over statewide cable television. McCain's wife, Carol, is heading the Reagan campaign in Clay County, a suburban Jacksonville area where military families predominate.

Despite his special appeals and a philosophy that seems in tune with Florida, Reagan is no longer regarded as any odds-on choice in the primary.

Ford strategists think Reagan may have hurt himself with his proposal to [illegible] billion worth of making movies or writing a syndicated column after the Florida primary," said Oscar Juarez, executive director of Mr. Ford's Florida campaign. "The $90 billion plan has hurt him very much. He has to answer the questions he's raised."

After some hesitation, Reagan has chosen to go on the offensive in behalf of his proposal, which he first made in Chicago last Sept. 22. Reagan compares the "howls of anguish from the carpeted anterooms in Washington" to the criticisms heard when his welfare reform proposals were first undertaken in California.

Repeatedly, he challenges the Ford administration to come up with a better idea for cutting the cost of government. When word leaked out in Washington last week that the President planned to announce a new $10 billion block grant to states for their health programs, some Republicans on both sides here took this as a sign that Mr. Ford wanted to demonstrate that he also favors "local control" of federal revenues.

There is no demonstration yet in Florida that Reagan necessarily has been politically damaged by his transfer proposal.

Some Republicans, like state GOP Committeeman Rogers B. Holmes, think the plan actually may have reinforced the popular impression that Reagan is a foe of government spending.

Other Republicans, such as state GOP Chairman Taylor, believe that the voters have "hard questions" about both Mr. Ford and Reagan and that this accounts for the large undecided vote.

A spot check of voters in a Jacksonville suburban area tended to support the notion that Reagan's transfer proposal could help him. But this same check also demonstrated why the Reagan strategists are pushing a re-registration drive.

In nine households with registered voters, six voters had heard of the Reagan transfer plan and five of them said they approved of it. But only one of the five was registered Republican.

Or as Reaganite Bryant

# REAGAN DISAVOWS $90 BILLION FIGURE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

a growing problem for him in recent days as the Presidential campaign has heated up and President Ford's strategists have criticized the plan. Some things Mr. Reagan and his staff have been saying lately suggest a desire that the issue quietly disappear.

Yesterday, while answering questions in Bloomington, Ill., Mr. Reagan said, according to published accounts, "I guess I made a mistake in my speech in Chicago."

At a news conference in Oshkosh, Wis., today, according to Mr. Nofziger, Mr. Reagan said that he had used the $90 billion figure only to illustrate the magnitude of the programs that should be transferred to the states and localities.

He added that Mr. Reagan had never intended that these programs be stripped from the Federal Government all at once.

In the Chicago speech, the reference to the $90 billion seemed unequivocal. "What I propose," Mr. Reagan said before introducing the figure, "is nothing less than a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states—a program of creative federalism for America's third century."

Then, after listing the kinds of programs that should be transferred he said that "the sums involved and the potential savings to the taxpayer are large."

"Transfer of authority in whole or part in all these areas would reduce the outlay of the Federal Govrenment by more than $90 billion, using the spending levels of 1976," he said.

Later on, in response to questions about his proposal, Mr. Reagan was even more explicit about the proposed transfers. He issued a list of precisely which programs he had in mind and the exact sums involved.

The fact that he is now dissociating himself from the $90 billion figure may well be an indication of the political difficulties the issue s creating for him. Campaigning in New Hampshire, North Carolina, Florida, Illinois and Wisconsin over the last two weeks, Mr. Reagan has been devoting much of his energies to trying to allay concern about his proposal.

President Ford's campaign organization has seized upon the proposal as a political weapon to turn aganst its author. The Ford staff has prepared analyses indicating that Mr. Reagan's plan, if implemented, might result in a massive reduction of services in given states or heavy new state and local taxes.

# REAGAN DISAVOWS $90 BILLION FIGURE

NY Times 1/14

## But He Still Backs Shift of Programs to States and Disputes 'Mistake' Phrase

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13—Ronald Reagan has disavowed the $90 billion figure he used when announcing his plan to transfer Federal programs to state and local governments but said that he would continue to stand on the proposal itself.

Mr. Reagan, campaigning in the Middle West, issued a statement today saying that reports last night quoting him as calling his proposal a "mistake" were "totally incorrect" And added: "I stand behind and will continue to campaign on this issue."

But his spokesman, Lyn Nofziger, in a telephone interview later today from Milwaukee, said that Mr. Reagan now regarded as a mistake his use of the $90 billion figure in his original proposal, but not the concept itself. He said that Mr. Reagan has been "clarifying" his plan over the last few days.

Mr. Reagan first made the proposal in a Chicago speech last September, and it has become

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

# Reagan Gives Tax Plan Specifics

Wash Post 1/16

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

KEENE, N.H., Jan. 15—Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan tonight suggested that $8 billion in federal liquor and cigarette taxes and unspecified other federal excise taxes could be turned over to the states to help pay for his proposal to transfer up to $90 billion in federal programs to states and localities.

Also, Reagan said, a portion of federal personal income taxes "could be earmarked and kept in each state instead of making a round trip to Washington and then coming back minus the 'freight charges.'"

In remarks at a "citizens' press conference" here concluding the first day of his second New Hampshire visit of this year, Reagan for the first time provided specifics on how his controversial plan could be financed without recourse to increased state and local taxes.

With obvious reference to New Hampshire, which has neither a sales nor an income tax, the former California governor assured his audience at Keene Junior High School that "there is nothing in this plan" requiring any state to impose such taxes.

Supporters of President Ford in the state's Feb. 24 presidential primary, first in the nation, have been warning that Reagan's plan, originally outlined in a speech in Chicago last September, inevitably would require imposition of such taxes or increases in existing property taxes.

Peter Kaye, press secretary for the Ford campaign, was in New Hampshire today with data on what the Reagan plan would cost the state.

He was organizing news conferences for prominent Ford supporters in the state to attack the plan and to pressure Reagan on the issue.

In a brief interview in advance of his speech, Reagan said he was "not on the defensive at all and in fact I'm going to do a little attacking. I haven't wavered one iota. I have found that for the most part the people accept it (his plan) very well."

Reagan observed that President Ford has proposed that part of the federal Medicaid program be turned back to the states for administration. "Well, that's exactly what I've proposed," Reagan said, "Medicaid is one of the proposals I've made to be turned back.

"The only different is the President has suggested a block grant, with no strings attached. To me I don't think that goes far enough. I think it has this weakness: it may be an interim step, and if so I have no quarrel with that, but if you have a grant from another level of government and you administer a program with no responsibility as to how much it's going to cost because someone else is picking up the bill, then you have no incentive to make that program more effective and more efficient.

"That's why my proposal was that we use the same (tax) sources we're using now, but that you turn those tax resources back to the level of government that's going to administer the program . . . all I envision is that by getting rid of an unnecessary administrative level, we're going to save money on these programs, and I think they will be more efficiently administered.

"Instead of being defensive, I'm going to be kind of intsrested that the President, after all this hollering, is going to be proposing much the same thing," Reagan said.

Regan file
Sac Bee
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A Reagan administration would increase military spending, both in absolute amounts and as a percentage of the total national budget which he wants to cut in other areas.

To Reagan the cold war concepts which united most Democrats and Republicans from the end of World War II to the intensification of the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s remain as valid today as they were in the era of Josef Stalin.

In a speech last April to the Pilgrim Society in London, Reagan warned:

"There is a confict dividing the world today, a struggle for the hearts and minds of men. The weaponry and tactics range from mere words and philosophical discussion on some fronts to the use on others of the most destructive instruments of war our 'civilization' has been able to produce."

He has called for strengthening the defenses of the North American Treaty Organization and even seemed to suggest intervening in the struggle in Portugal between Communist and non-Communist elements there. He quoted approvingly a New York Times editorial saying events in Portugal were certain to cause a reappraisal of the American policy of detente with the Soviet Union. Reagan added:

"And the major part of that reappraisal must be to answer whether we will stand idly by and watch the Soviet Union obtain, for the first time, a base on the Atlantic Ocean."

It is a mark of Reagan's post-Goldwater caution, however, that he never has provided the answer to his own question about whether the United States would "stand idly by" in Portugal under the circumstances he envisions or whether he thinks it should intervene and, if so, how it should intervene.

Reagan does, however, refer to Europe as "our first line of defense."

Reagan also is strongly pro-Israel on Middle East questions.

He has linked much of America's problems to its failure to act as a great nation unafraid to use its military power in pursuit of its self-interests. He said, in an Atlantic City, N.J., speech in May, that this failure not only has encouraged Communist successes but also may result in loss of American control over the Panama Canal and has resulted in the "harrassment and piracy of American tuna boats off the coast of Ecuador."

Reagan met quietly with Panamanian as well as Cuban exile leaders in Boca Raton, Fla., in November to discuss among other things the issue of the Panama Canal. Reagan opposes the Ford administration's efforts to negotiate a new treaty with Panama over control of the canal.

There were indications that one of the exiles, Dr. Arnulfo Arias, a former president of Panama, promised Reagan that if he is returned to power he would give the United States a "softer" treaty on the canal.

An aide to Reagan said when questioned about the meeting that "he certainly didn't pledge if elected to do anything for Arias...unless you construe a meeting of minds as a kind of pledge. The governor expressed the hope that Panama and Cuba would have their freedom again before too many moons pass. . .They all agreed to do things along the same line and to keep in touch. They are all on the same side of the picture."

The biggest political problem Goldwater had in his 1964 campaign discussions of foreign policy was in being vulnerable to Democratic charges that he might unleash nuclear warfare.

Reagan is acutely aware this could be a major pitfall for his candidacy, especially against the background of his hawkish statements on the Vietnam War during the last two years of Johnson's administration. So Reagan has been cautious in his references to nuclear weapons, but, far from ignoring the subject, he has described U.S. nuclear power as "the linchpin of American and European security."

Over the years, however, Reagan has remained deliberately vague on the circumstances in which he thinks American nuclear might should be used against another nation. He has suggested that if Communist nations were uncertain over whether American nuclear weapons would be used those nations would be less aggressive.

He has deplored some American voices warning that this nation must be careful not to set off a nuclear conflict. In his Atlantic City speech, Reagan declared:

"Somehow, it never occurs to the owners of these voices to wonder why those offering the provocation are never worried that they might start World War III and set loose the missiles."

And he has said, in the same context, that one of the reasons America failed to gain final victories in Korea and Vietnam is that "we fought on the enemies terms."

But he hasn't said, nor is he likely to say, exactly what he thinks those terms are. In military affairs as well as in domestic politics, Reagan thinks there are advantages in at least some degree of vagueness.

Page 1 Reagan file —

Sac Bee 1/11/76

# Reagan Sets To Launch Serious, Delicate Drive

By MARTIN SMITH
McClatchy Newspapers
Political Writer

Ronald Reagan will fly east from California Monday to get down to work in earnest in a presidential campaign which will require him to attempt a delicate balancing act.

He will seek to persuade Republican voters that President Ford is following foreign and military policies which not only fail to meet America's vital interests but even endanger its defenses.

Yet Reagan is keenly aware of how, in the 1964 presidential campaign, another conservative Republican,

## Analysis

Barry Goldwater, was successfully labeled as a trigger-happy extremist. Reagan will try to present his arguments in terms with which the Democrats will not be able to make political hay if he wins the GOP nomination next August.

As a result, Reagan's present plans call for an unusually cautious campaign for a candidate challenging an incumbent president of the same party. Reagan, during his primary campaigning, will try to avoid overly-detailed discussions of sticky policy questions in any area, but especially in defense and foreign affairs.

This strategy is subject to quick change if the early GOP primary results prove disappointing for Reagan. But since Reagan announced Nov. 20 he is running for the GOP presidential nomination, Gerald Ford's campaign has run afoul of Murphy's Law: Just about everything that could go wrong for Ford seems to have done so. A play-it-safe campaign seems made to order for the Reagan race.

In an interview last month with The Bee, Reagan made no secret of his intentions to avoid detailed discussions of program ideas during the primary campaign.

"You have to save something to talk about later," he said.



But voters won't be left in the dark about Reagan's foreign policy and military spending views. He has discussed them in general terms in two major speeches in 1975 and also been questioned on these subjects in press conferences. In addition, Reagan, more than most governors, had something of a foreign policy record during his eight years' as California's chief executive.

He was an angry hawk on Vietnam and a bitter opponent of former Democratic President Lyndon Johnson's war policy. More recently

# Fla. Jaycees Prefer Reagan and Wallace

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla., Feb. 8 — Floridians still like George Wallace, but they love Ronald Reagan, according to a straw vote conducted here today at the Florida Jaycees' statewide winter conference.

In morning-long balloting conducted on voting machines under the supervision of Volusia County elections officials, Reagan beat President Ford by almost three to one. The former California governor got 298 votes, slightly more than 73 per cent of the vote, to 108 votes for Mr. Ford in a mock primary.

In the Democratic voting, which came after a weekend's hoopla of campaign speeches and pamphleteering on behalf of many of the candidates, Gov. Wallace got 227 votes, or 54.6 per cent, to outdistance his closest rival, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, who got 97 votes, or 23.3 per cent.

The Jaycees' vote commanded attention because a similar straw ballot about a month before the hotly contested 1972 Florida Democratic primary proved remarkably prescient.

In the 1972 balloting, Wallace got 41 per cent of the Democratic vote; Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) finished second with 19 per cent; and Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) came in with 12 per cent.

The Florida primary that year gave Wallace 41.6 per cent; Humphrey, 18.5 per cent, and Jackson, 13.4 per cent. The only aberration was in the voting for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine), who got 17 per cent from the Jaycees. Muskie, whose candidacy slipped badly in subsequent weeks, wound up with only 8.8 per cent of the 1972 primary vote.

said he formally switched to the GOP several weeks ago just so he can vote for the former California governor.

"Wallace is going to win in Florida on the Democratic side anyway," said Bankhead, who voted for the Alabama governor in the 1972 scramble. "I figured Reagan is going to have a tougher time against Ford. I felt Reagan needs my vote more than Wallace. And he's maybe a little classier as a candidate."

Carter campaign workers said they were pleased with the distant second and maintained that Carter would have made a much stronger showing if he had found time to campaign here as Wallace did with a speech at the Jaycees' semi-formal banquet here Saturday night.

Carter sent his son, Jack, to prowl the halls and shake as many hands as he could, but the Carter campaign table was rarely manned and always short of campaign paraphernalia. On Saturday afternoon, a genial Wallace volunteer walked up to Jack Carter to offer a souvenir trade — a simulated Wallace gold dollar for a green and white Carter button.

Young Carter put the Wallace memento in his pocket, but said he couldn't reciprocate. "That's the only one I have," he said, fingering the Carter button in his lapel.

Jaycee president Anglickis strongly disagreed with the notion that the balloting was seriously influenced by which candidates turned up and which did not.

Reagan spoke at a Jaycee luncheon Saturday, attacking big government, abortion and welfare spending, and Pennsylvania's Milton Shapp woke up a sleepy-eyed breakfast crowd with a mock strip tease, taking off his blue shirt to address the group in a red, white and blue Jaycees' T-shirt he was wearing underneath.

Professing both surprise and admiration in the same breath, many of the Jaycees said they were impressed by Shapp, who urged the need for a trim, business-like approach to government and proposed a national education trust to pay for college educations. It would be modeled after the federal Highway Trust Fund and paid for by the "users" after graduation.

The Pennsylvania governor came in third in the Democratic straw balloting, with 41, or just under 10 per cent.

Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) also showed up for a news conference and VIP reception; he got four votes.

Jaycees President Richard Anglickis said he felt today's results would prove similarly prophetic. He called them "a clear indication of the grass-roots feeling" among Florida voters.

The straw ballot was conducted as an "open primary" with the Jaycees, their wives and girlfriends allowed to vote either Republican or Democratic — a choice that will not be permitted in the March 9 primary here when Floridians will be required to cast ballots according to their party registration. Of the 1,218 registered for the Jaycee conference, 827, or 67.8 per cent, voted.

Interviews with 26 of those who did vote turned up six Democrats who voted Republican in the mock primary, three for Reagan and three for Ford. Three of these Democrats said they don't intend to vote in the Democratic primary, and the other three said they have yet to make up their mind about a Democratic candidate but were leaning toward Carter.

A Reagan voter, Bill Bankhead of Jacksonville,

# Reagan fears NEA impact on schools

Los Angeles Times

FT. LAUDERDALE, Fla. — The National Education Assn. seeks a "national school system," Ronald Reagan charged yesterday, relating the idea to the German school system under Adolf Hitler.

Answering a question during a rally with Florida supporters, the Republican presidential candidate said the 1.7 million-member NEA "is becoming more a sort of union of educators and I don't believe that is right."

He also charged the organization will have more political power than the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE). The NEA has for years refused affiliation with AFL-CIO.

What the NEA really wants, Reagan said, is "a Federal educational system, a national school system, so that little Willie's mother would not be able to go down and see the principal or even the school board. She'd have to take her case up to Congress in Washington.

"I believe this is the road to disaster and the end to academic freedom."

In Hitler's Germany, "where they had a nationalized school system," the schools became so regimented, Reagan said, that "when he (Hitler) said burn the books, they burned the books.

"They changed their academic system to suit the rule of the dictator who was in charge at that time."

When one of his listeners suggested he should soften his views because he would antagonize "a lot of teachers," Reagan declined, saying he meant just what he had said.

Later, he flew to New Hampshire for his fifth campaign visit since he announced his decision Nov. 20 to fight President Ford for the GOP nomination.

# Ex-Aide: Reagan 'Unqualified'

Post 2B
P.A-6

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

ORLANDO, Fla., Feb. 5—President Ford's embattled Florida campaign is gaining a new lease on life under the direction of a former Ronald Reagan campaign manager who believes that the California ex-governor is "totally unqualified to be President."

"Reagan looks like a President and he looked like a governor, but he is a figurehead," says Bill Roberts, who managed Reagan's successful campaigns in 1966 and 1970. "He is totally incapable of exerting leadership and he is dependent upon people bringing programs to him. He is a reactor, not an actor."

Roberts was brought in from Los Angeles last week by his former campaign partner Stuart Spencer, the No. 2 man in the President's campaign, to help rescue the ailing Ford operation in Florida, where the President will speak next week to senior citizens and campaign workers.

In his first week on the job Roberts has decentralized the management of the Ford campaign and refocused the Ford strategy to concentrate on the nine counties which have 70 per cent of the Republican voters.

Oscar Juarez, the state-wide executive director of the campaign, has claimed that he has organizations in 57 of the state's 67 counties. But many of these organizations exist on paper only and have failed to attract any significant number of volunteers.

Recognizing that time is running out, Roberts is stressing telephone identification of pro-Ford voters in only the nine biggest counties. Undecided GOP voters in these counties will be sent specialized mailings that discuss issues deemed of high importance to them.

Roberts also is banking heavily on Mr. Ford's two scheduled campaign visits to Florida. He said that Mr. Ford will stress "presidential" themes similar to those in his State of the Union message on these trips.

These themes, which also are the subject of a series of television ads that will begin next Tuesday, three days in advance of the President's first Florida trip, primarily concern Mr. Ford's efforts to cut the size of the federal budget and reduce inflation.

This approach is designed to appeal to Florida's over-60 voters, who comprise one-third of the Republican electorate. Published polls show Mr. Ford with a lead among these elderly voters.

At the same time that the President is taking the political high road, presidential supporters in Florida will be whacking away at Reagan. A preview of the anti-Reagan aspect of the campaign was provided earlier this week by three Florida mayors, who issued a statement saying that Reagan's controversial prop osal to transfer federal programs to the states would boost Florida taxes.

The mayors said that it would be "flirting with disaster" to adopt Reagan's plan because it would eliminate federal revenue-sharing funds and force Florida's counties to raise taxes by at least 20 per cent. Revenue sharing is one of a half dozen federal programs that Reagan's plan would eliminate in an effort to reduce federal taxes substantially.

Reagan reacted angrily in New Hampshire last week to what he called the "dirty tricks" of the Ford campaign.

He observed that Mr. Ford's national campaign staff was preparing press releases denouncing his transfer plan and offering them to anyone who was willing to use them.

In an interview here Wednesday morning Roberts left no doubt that such tactics would continue.

"The public should be aware of a candidate's proposals and what they mean," said Roberts. "And if there are any dirty tricks in this, which there are not, it's the same sort of thing we did in the Reagan campaigns in California to point out the records of his opponents."

Roberts comes into the campaign with the assumption that Reagan is ahead but that he can be beaten in Florida by President Ford. His assumption is shared by key members of Reagan's national campaign staff despite persistent predictions by L.E. (Tommy) Thomas, Reagan's Florida campaign manager, that the ex-governor will sweep the state.

"I think it's still up in the air," said David Keene, Reagan's Southern campaign coordinator. "Support is soft on both sides and many people haven't made up their minds."

David Krivan, the Florida state-wide coordinator for Reagan, says that Reagan is ahead but that some of his telephone surveys show that 50 per cent of the Republican voters are undecided.

Recently, there have been some other negative signs in the Reagan campaign.

One is the apparent lack of any significant re-registration of Democrats for the March 9 primary.

While final figures have not been tabulated, overall Republican registration appears to have decreased 5 per cent while Democratic registration was dropping nearly 10 per cent.

Many of the Florida's most conservative voters are Democrats who will be unable to vote for Reagan on March 9. When Thomas asks Democrats at Reagan rallies to stand up, he frequently brings one-third of the audience to its feet.

Another negative sign for Reagan is the lagging ticket sale for a $50-a-plate Lincoln Day Dinner in Orlando on Feb. 14 where Reagan will be the guest speaker.

Rep. Louis Frey, the nominal head of the Ford campaign in Florida, is master of ceremonies at this dinner and this has been an embarrassment to the Ford campaign because it looks as if Frey is trying to keep a foot in both camps.

Now, however, it is the Reagan campaign that is being embarrassed because only 150 of the 800 available tickets have been sold. The county party organization has slashed the cost of some tickets in half in an effort to fill the hall.

Krivan blames Ford supporters for "dogging it on the ticket sales in an attempt to make Reagan look bad."

"Making Reagan look bad," is exactly what Roberts & Co. will be attempting during the next four weeks. The all-out Ford effort here is based on the premise that Reagan can be knocked out of the race by a Florida defeat but that he will be a candidate for a long time if he wins here.

"We aim to stall him in New Hampshire and stop him in Florida," says Norman (Skip) Watts, the Ford coordinator for the primary states. "If we fail, we'll have to stop him in California."

California is the site of the final presidential primary.

Ironically, if Reagan is stopped here, it will be ex-Reaganites who do it. Watts, like Spencer and Roberts, is a former Californian once prominently associated with the Reagan administration. He is now working fulltime to send Reagan back to his

# Round One: Gov. Reagan Is Placed On Defensive in New Hampshire

*Continued From First Page*

create with their attacks on Mr. Reagan's $90 billion transfer plan.

Mr. Ford undoubtedly hopes to plant further doubts during his campaign trip here this weekend. Despite the Ford camp's insistence that the trip is mainly "presidential," rather than political, there are unmistakable signs that Mr. Ford will try to exploit what he perceives to be his opponent's weaknesses.

For example, the President plans to hold a public briefing Saturday on his new federal budget with New Hampshire legislators and local officials. Such an event, mundane in itself, has clear campaign significance. In Washington last month, when the budget was issued, the President displayed an impressive grasp of its particulars during a briefing for newsmen. The Ford people here obviously are banking on a repeat of that performance in the belief that it will contrast starkly with the difficulties Mr. Reagan has been having in explaining the tangled specifics of his proposed $90 billion overhaul of the budget.

Mr. Reagan's transfer proposal was contained in a little-noticed speech he made last fall, before he was a declared candidate. Basically, he recommended that a package of federal socil programs costing $90 billion a year be switched to state and local governments, which then would decide whether to finance and run the programs or drop them. The programs involve such things as education aid, food stamps and housing subsidies.

As soon as Mr. Reagan announced his candidacy, the press began scrutinizing the proposal, asking questions about details that Mr. Reagan was unble to answer. Political opponents, particularly in the Ford campaign, began charging that adoption of the Reagan plan would force tremendous rises in state and local taxes. Mr. Reagan has persistently denied such claims, but his rebuttal has been vague and has failed to silence the critics.

More assaults against Mr. Reagan are on the way. As the Feb. 24 primary date gets nearer, the Ford people plan to sharpen their attack on the Reagan record as governor of California from 1967 to 1975. They will charge that despite his conservative image, the state's spending, taxes and public payrolls soared during his tenure. (State taxes and spending doubled during the Reagan years; the number of state employes rose 5.7%.)

Whatever the result here, of course, it will be far from conclusive. New Hampshire is a tiny state, hardly representative of the rest of the country, and it will supply only 21 of the 2,259 delegates who will select the nominee at the Republican convention in Kansas City, Mo., next August.

Messrs. Reagan and Ford face significant contests in the Florida primary March 9 and in the Illinois primary a week later. The two men also are in a primary in Massachusetts a week after the vote here, but neither of them is paying much attention to that one. The Republican establishment in Massachusetts generally supports President Ford, but some Republicans there believe that the state's hard-core conservative vote is large enough to enable Mr. Reagan to give President Ford a jolt, perhaps by getting as much as 40% of the vote.

The importance of the New Hampshire contest lies mainly in its traditional status as the first primary. Beyond that, it's not only the initial face-off between the President and his challenger but also the first time Mr. Ford has been on a ballot outside of his old congressional district in Grand Rapids, Mich. (Mr. Reagan, an impressive vote getter in California gubernatorial elections, did poorly in a half-dozen primaries during his late-starting presidential bid of 1968.)

Whoever loses here will be under pressure from his backers to attack harder in subsequent primaries. President Ford has sought to maintain an above-the-battle posture, but if he comes in behind Mr. Reagan here, he may get tougher. And a Ford victory here would probably prompt the challenger to become more aggresive. "If we do poorly, and I don't think we will, there probably will be less attention paid to the 11th Commandment," a Reagan backer says, referring to Mr. Reagan's pledge that he won't "speak ill" of other Republicans.

So far, however, Mr. Reagan has had enough to do just fending off the criticisms. Traditionally, a candidate who challenges a President of his own party for the nomination bases his campaign on tough criticisms of the President's record. That was the case, for example, eight years ago in New Hampshire, when Democratic Sen. Eugene McCarthy scored so well with his attacks on President Johnson's Vietnam policy.

**The Transfer Plan**

But even before the Ford-Reagan contest got going, Mr. Reagan had provided the Ford camp with a big opening through his espousal of that $90 billion transfer plan. Ever since, he has faced a barrage of critical questions on the proposal. The Californian's backers admit that initially he was ill-prepared for the criticism and clumsy in responding. Gradually he has been forced to backtrack, continuing to embrace the transfer concept but disowning many of the original specifics.

That process itself has caused problems, creating an impression among some voters here that Mr. Reagan is confused and unsure of himself. In the heat of battle, the candidate sometimes has compounded the impression with minor gaffes. Last week, for instance, he blasted Ford campaign attacks as "dirty tricks"—a term that now has an explosive political meaning because of its use to describe Watergate-style campaign tactics.

Mr. Reagan's statement was heard by one reporter admitted to a meeting as a representative of the press corps. But when the reporter conveyed the statement to his colleagues, Mr. Reagan and his aides denied having made it. The reporter then played a tape recording of the meeting, in which the candidate could distinctly be heard saying "dirty tricks." Thus, Mr. Reagan had to retract his denial.

Ford supporters are doing all they can to heighten the flap over the transfer plan. When it began to develop, C. R. Trowbridge, chairman of the state senate's finance committee, was brought forward to declare that the Reagan proposal would force the imposition in New Hampshire of a big state income tax or a sales tax of 12% or 13%. That set off some fireworks because this is the only state with neither an income nor a sales tax. Newspaper articles and editorials dealing with the issue are distributed by the Ford campaign to all other newspapers and broadcast stations.

The Reagan forces say the warnings about huge new taxes are nonsense because the candidate's proposal envisions a comparable transfer of federal revenue sources to states and localities. They can't provide any details of how that would work, however.

**The Equal-Rights Amendment**

Immediately before each of Mr. Reagan's visits to the state, the Ford campaign holds a news conference to raise a new issue against him. Last week, it was Mr. Reagan's reversal on the Equal-Rights Amendment. (Several years ago he favored it, but in 1974 he switched to opposition.) The Ford people also have widely distributed a five-page "fact sheet" compiling previous Reagan statements indicating that he favors some sort of voluntary Social Security program. (Mr. Reagan himself declares that while something should be done about huge deficits in the Social Security trust fund, he opposes any move to make participation in the program optional.)

As a result of such tactics, the Ford campaign people have stolen some the play from Mr. Reagan—even though the Californain has been campaigning hard here and the President hasn't shown up yet. During some of Mr. Reagan's visits, newspapers are as ful of charges by Ford lieutenants as they are of Mr. Reagan's campaign pronouncements.

Even so, the Reagan strategists say he is in good shape here. On the transfer plan, for instance, Mr. Gregg believes that the Californian is scoring points now by "talking more about the return of control to state and local governments and much less about the financial specifics."

In his campaign appearance, Mr. Reagan promises that as President he would crack down on welfare abuses, curb government payrolls and speedily balance the federal budget. He assails detente and foreign aid, and he knocks the State Department efforts to negotiate a new treaty with Panama that he contends would give that country control of the Panama Canal. "The Panama Canal is U.S. sovereign territory, and we shouldn't turn it back to a Marxist dictator . . .," he says.

Throughout his speeches there are indirect jabs at President Ford. It's time to elect a President, Mr. Reagan says, "who's not part of the buddy system" in Washington.

# Ford's Attack Leaves Reagan on Defensive In New Hampshire

## Race Tightens as President Gains; Reagan's Backers Hit 'Desperation Politics'

## Fate of '11th Commandment'

By ALBERT R. HUNT
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CONCORD, N.H.—Ronald Reagan has become the issue.

With New Hampshire's Republican presidential primary less than three weeks away, the contest between Mr. Reagan and President Ford—which the former California governor had intended to focus mainly on the record of the man in the White House—has turned largely into a debate over Mr. Reagan and his program.

A few weeks ago, President Ford looked as if he might lose this first test with his challenger. Now the President seems to have taken the initiative, and the race has become extremely tight.

"Ronald Reagan was getting a free ride, but we've changed that," asserts John Michels, the Ford campaign director in New Hampshire. "He has been on the defensive almost from the minute he stepped into the state a month ago."

There is still time, of course, for Mr. Reagan to regain that lost momentum. Indeed, the Reagan forces believe that President Ford, who will make a swing through the state this weekend, is bound to furnish their man with an opportunity to return to the attack.

"Once Ford himself says anything about us," a Reagan campaign official explains, "we'll have more to shoot at."

**On the Defensive**

But for now at least, the Californian has been knocked off balance by a heavy barrage from the Ford camp, aided by intense press scrutiny of Mr. Reagan's proposals. Consequently, the challenger is finding it necessary to spend much of his time before audiences here fending off the attacks rather than leading a tough charge against the President's policies. Principally at issue are Mr. Reagan's proposal to transfer $90 billion of federal activities to state and local governments and his alleged vacillation on issues such as Social Security and the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Reagan forces profess to be unworried about the tide of events. Hugh Gregg, who is running Mr. Reagan's New Hampshire drive, dismisses the Ford campaign charges as "desperation politics." The Californian himself uses tougher language, calling the attacks "the cheapest kind of demagoguery."

Furthermore, the Reagan people say, the very positions for which their man is under attack have widespread appeal among the state's predominantly conservative GOP voters. "In our surveys, these flaps never come up in the minds of people to any serious extent," says Jim Lake, a top Reagan aide. And it is true that despite the constant criticism by politicians and the press, the candidate has been drawing enthusiastic responses as he travels to small towns around the state, speaking to so-called citizens' press conferences.

**Reagan's Assets**

Mr. Reagan does have some considerable assets. The former movie actor is a skilled campaigner, probably as effective before audiences as any politician in America. Expertly delivering one-liners woven into his conservative message, he gets big applause railing against national health insurance ("you can't socialize the doctor without socializing the patient"); high taxes ("people want government to get off their backs and out of their pockets"); deficit spending ("balancing the budget is like protecting your virtue: you have to learn to say no"); and government in general ("government is not the solution, it's the problem").

In addition, the Reagan campaign organization here is superior to the President's. The Reagan forces have allotted about 25% of a $200,000 budget for New Hampshire for purchasing and setting up a sophisticated telephone and mailing operation tied to a computer listing of the names, addresses and telephone numbers of every Republican voter in the state.

The Reagan people believe that by election day, they will have made contact with nearly all Mr. Reagan's potential supporters in New Hampshire. Advantages like this will far outweigh the Ford criticisms, the Reagan camp says.

**Breaking His Stride**

Nevertheless, the assaults clearly have broken Mr. Reagan's stride, forcing him to spend far more time than he would prefer in answering the accusations. In the town of Gilford the other night, for example, he was wowing 600 people at the high school with his articulate statements of conservative gospel on budget deficits and the like. But then he broke off for a lengthy denunciation of his critics, who are engaging, he said, in "despicable practices . . . unworthy of a campaign."

There are other signs that the Ford attacks are beginning to tell. The fervently pro-Reagan Manchester Union-Leader, the state's largest newspaper and an often-vicious critic of President Ford, lately has been devoting much of its political coverage to long justifications of Mr. Reagan's controversial stands.

And Wall Street Journal interviews with two dozen Republicans at a Tilton, N.H., shopping center the other day uncovered a notably high awareness of the Ford criticisms of Mr. Reagan. Nearly half of those questioned in this unscientific sampling expressed reservations about Mr. Reagan that seemed to echo the line from the Ford campaign.

"I like Reagan," said a Tilton housewife, "but I'm not sure he knows what he's talking about." That, of course, is exactly the impression the Ford people are trying to

*Please Turn to Page 16, Column 1*

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Reagan's Second Swing

CONCORD, N.H.—After spending over a month freeing himself from a monster of his own creation, Ronald Reagan appears finally to have succeeded on his second fulltime campaign swing—only to face a more difficult though less urgent problem.

The self-destructive monster, Reagan's poorly prepared program for transferring $90 billion in federal spending to state and local government, seems to have been finished off at his news conference Wednesday noon at the New Hampshire Highway Hotel here. The new problem: how to run against an incumbent President in a modest but undeniable resurgence.

That resurgence, helped by Reagan's $90 billion blooper, makes clear that President Ford is not the terminal case he seemed to many two months ago. However, Reagan also is showing he is no Barry Goldwater bent on self-destruction but a disciplined candidate posing a deadly serious challenge to the Presdient.

Wishful thinkers at the White House had come to doubt Reagan's menace partly because of the Reagan campaign's slipshod handling of the $90 billion transfer plan. Stuck with the scheme so blithely lofted by Reagan as a non-candidate last September, Reagan's high command tried to clean it up in pre-campaign strategy sessions at Los Angeles late in December. With Reagan balking at working that hard during the Christmas holidays, they never really came to grips with the puzzle.

The result was near disaster when Reagan's first campaign swing opened in New Hampshire Jan. 5. "We never dreamed it would come at us that heavy," one Reagan insider now admits. Reagan bombed out in Florida and North Carolina press conferences, displaying political rust developed since his last campaign in 1970.

When Reagan began his second swing Jan. 25, the $90 billion monster was a shadow of its former self. Gone were specifically transferred programs; gone were $23 billion in federal tax reductions; gone, indeed, was any talk of $90 billion. All that remained was a politically defensible promise to transfer welfare grants, food stamps and other unnamed programs—plus federal revenues to pay for them—back to state and local authorities.

While radically diminishing the program's pretensions, Reagan decided to switch to the offensive. Flying home Jan. 16 from his first swing, Reagan began drafting a new campaign speech indicting the federal government's incompetency as justification for transferring programs. The finished product was unveiled this week: Reagan's most coherent, best delivered and probably hardest-hitting speech since 1966.

Although Reagan rooters cheered his Florida and North Carolina speeches Jan. 26 and 27, his advisers were uneasy about the press conference here Wednesday Jan. 28—his first since Jan. 12 and the first in New Hampshire as an announced candidate.

Eight questions were asked before anybody mentioned the transfer program, and only seven out of 25 total questions touched on it. Most important, Reagan was no longer providing colorful front page stories by constantly shifting his ground.

With no major unanswered questions remaining, the monster seems dead. But in its wake are enduring effects.

A new bitterness has developed among Reagan insiders against the Ford campaign's orchestration of press attention to the $90 billion scheme. They see—and deeply resent—the fingerprints of Stu Spencer, the 1966 Reagan campaign manager running the 1976 Ford campaign.

That Reagan himself is not immune from this bitterness is suggested by some reflexive responses to this week flirting with violation of his 11th commandment prohibiting criticism of a fellow Republican. Asked at Asheville, N. C., who he would prefer as Democratic presidential nominee, Reagan snapped: "Bo Callaway." Mistakenly addressed as "Gov. Ford" at Charlotte, N.C., Reagan shot back: "I didn't stumble when I came in."

A more meaningful legacy of the past month is the unintended help given Mr. Ford. When Reagan met his backers at Pensacola, Fla., Panama City, Fla., and Asheville, N.C., this week, the first questioner in each place had a worried query about the transfer. This preoccupation has taken Mr. Ford off the defensive and, combined with his new posture of staying home to mind the presidential store has built his resurgence.

What Reagan must do now, many advisers feel, is shift attention to what may be the most vulnerable policy and personality in the Ford administration: detente and Henry Kissinger.

In his basic new speech lasting 35 minutes, Reagan devotes 30 seconds to foreign policy—rejecting detente as "a one-way street" for the Soviet Union. Invariably, it gets more applause than anything else. If the $90 billion monster is truly vanquished, Reagan's focus may soon switch from governmental accounting to global strategy.

Field Enterprises, Inc.

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# ?fuse $90 Billion Issue



Associated Press

o campaign in North Carolina.

state and local government might result in some improvements?" he said to loud applause.

Reagan also attacked other programs he wants to transfer from federal responsibility. He said that federal programs had been responsible for destroying 3 ½ units of housing for every unit that had been built by the federal government.

And he suggested that federal educational aid was somehow responsible for a decline in educational quality.

"We're all concerned that little Willy seems unable to read," said Reagan. "Over the last 10 years, scores of college entrance examinations have been nosediving and last year they reached the lowest point they've ever been at. By some quirk or coincidence the decline in educational quality seems to be in direct proportion to federal funding and the control that goes with that funding."

Reagan maintained that "systematic transfer" of the six programs could be funded by allowing states and local governments to retain a portion of the federal income tax, as they now do with federal estate taxes. He also suggested that revenue from federal excise taxes be transferred to the states.

Reagan's basic technique in his speeches is to provide bizarre or unusual examples of abuses in the federal programs he opposes.

He referred Monday to a Chicago woman who used 80 different names to obtain $150,000 in welfare benefits, a California woman who received food stamps while studying to be a witch, and a Louisiana robbery in which the thieves took $3,700 in jewelry and $500 in food stamps.

One of Reagan's chief political concerns in Florida, which has the highest proportion of over-60 residents in the nation, is that he will be depicted as favoring a voluntary Social Security plan.

In outlining his transfer plan in a Chicago speech last Sept. 26 Reagan pointedly excluded Social Security from his proposal. He did this again Monday at Fort Walton Beach and in a subsequent address to 2,500 persons at the municipal auditorium in Panama City.

At the same time, and without specifying any plan of his own, Reagan indicated that he thought that President Ford's proposal to increase Social Security taxes on both employer and employee by three-tenths of 1 per cent in 1977 might be insufficient to keep the system solvent.

"No one would suggest transferring Social Security to the state or local governments for management, but I think we can demand more than the small increase in the payroll tax to deal with the short-range problem of cash flow," Reagan said.

Reagan's campaign strategists are optimistic about his prospects in western Florida, an Alabama-oriented region where George Wallace is a traditional favorite. However, Reagan declined any predictions. When he was asked by a supporter about his prospects, he replied that they looked good but added: "President Dewey told me once never to get over-confident."

# Reagan: Two-Part Effort to De

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

PANAMA CITY, Fla., Jan. 27 — Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan is responding to persistent criticism of his $90 billion plan to transfer federal programs to state and local government with a two-part strategy aimed at emphasizing what he considers the "horrors" of continued federal administration.

In an effort to convert a supposed political liability into an asset, Reagan is focusing on defects in the six federal programs he wants to transfer — welfare, education, housing, food stamps, Medicaid and community development.

The second and perhaps more important part of the Reagan strategy is to restrict the former California governor's appearances, as much as possible, to friendly audiences.

"If you hold too many press conferences, pretty soon it is the national press that is defining the issues," said Lyn Nofziger, Reagan's press secretary.

Nofziger said that in an effort to keep this from happening and to allow the candidate to define his own issues Reagan will limit press conferences to one a week.

Reagan, appearing tanned and rested, resumed his campaigning in Florida this week after an eight-day layoff in California. A press conference planned Monday morning by local Reagan supporters in Pensacola was canceled on the instructions of Reagan's national campaign staff.

When Reagan arrived at Pensacola airport on Sunday night en route to a closed-door reception of supporters, he declined to go over to a roped-off area to meet local television and newspaper reporters, and his refusal to do so prompted unflattering descriptions of his action in the local press. "Reagan Here, Avoids Press," said the front-page headline in the Pensacola Journal.

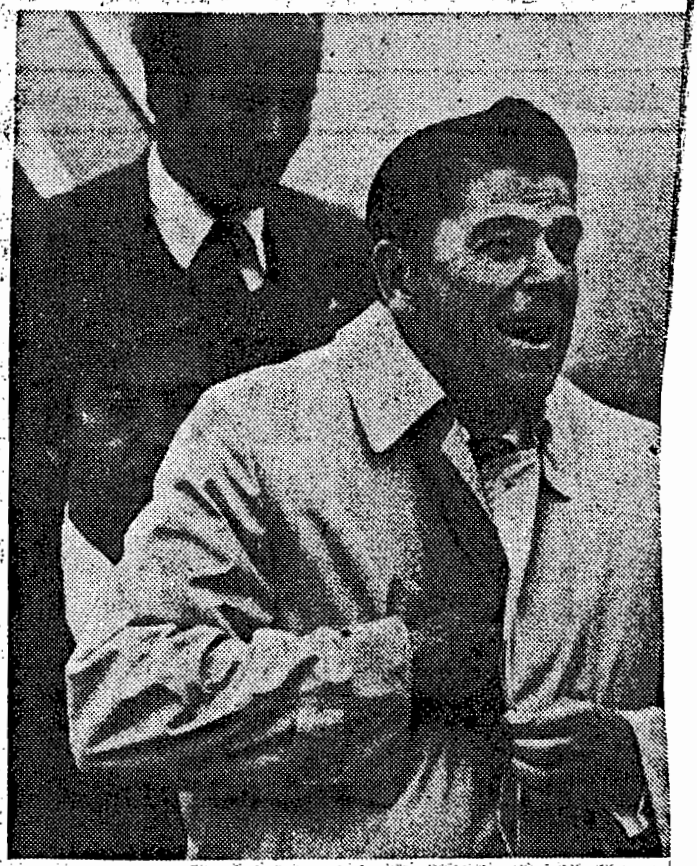
The ex-governor's last press conference was Jan. 12 in Springfield, Ill., a session that produced controversy on the $90 billion plan as well as a Reagan declaration that he leans heavily in favor of right-to-work legislation. This is not an issue that Reagan strategists desire to stress in the campaign.

In nearly two weeks of campaigning in Florida, where a potentially key primary is scheduled March 9, Reagan has held only one press conference. He will hold his first New Hampshire press conference of the campaign in Concord Wednesday.

While Reagan shunned press questioning in Florida, he went into considerable detail about the reasons he wants the federal programs transferred.

Speaking before 375 supporters at a $15-a-plate luncheon in Fort Walton Beach, Reagan assailed the "runaway" food stamp program, which now provides stamps for 19 million persons at an annual cost of $5 billion.

"The truth is that if someone set out to design a welfare program that wouldn't work he couldn't do better than food stamps," Reagan said. "You probably had that same thought when you were standing in a checkout line with your package of hamburger watching some young fellow ahead of you buy T-bone steak with food stamps."



Reagan buttons up against cold on arrival at Asheville airport t

Reagan said that the food stamp program, which also was sharply criticized by President Ford in his State of the Union message last week, had helped "finance strikes" by providing food stamps to strikers.

"Does anyone doubt that transferring this program to

# Balancing a $90 Billion Cut

REAGAN, From A1

terviewer several days ago made no pretense of fleshing out."

Part of the problem "fleshing it out" is that, economic terms, the fede government is not as big Reagan and other politici have portrayed it in th speeches.

The government may be oppressive in o respects. It unquestionab a powerful political symbo this anti-government elec year. It may even be big than it should be.

But take from the bu (which will be about billion next fiscal year money for defense (about billion) and Social Secu and Medicare (about billion more, der separately from the rest budget through the S Security tax), and there left to cut from than people imagine.

Here are three other budget facts that may helpful in sifting through seems likely to be a long year of anti-federal spe speeches:

The first is that, whil federal budget has gr enormously in the la years, the economy meaning the nation's abili pay — has also gr Federal spending, mor has not grown nearly as state and local spend which Reagan now woul his $90 billion. The combined state and local government budget, far less visible, is now two-thirds' the federal total.

The federal budget seemed to snowball in years. It was not until 1962 that the nation first $100 billion budget. only nine years more t at $200 billion in fisca then only four years $300 billion in 1975 — and 1977 seems likely to past $400 billion. spending more than tupled in the 20 years 1955 to 1975.

In those same 20 years, the gross national product has nearly quadrupled (and would have grown more had it not been for the back-to-back recessions of the last six years), while state and local government spending has risen sevenfold.

Federal spending in the Eisenhower years ranged from a low of 17.1 per cent of GNP to a high of 19.5 per cent. This fiscal year, with the economy still shrunken and such parts of the budget as unemployment compensation bloated by the recession, it will be an estimated 23.5 per cent. In fiscal 1975, before the big recession began, it was 19.8 per cent.

The second set of facts has to do with the national tax structure.

The two main federal taxes are income and Social Security. The Social Security tax is regressive, meaning it hits the poor harder than the rich in percentage terms, and it has shot up in the last 20 years to pay for Social Security and Medicare.

The income tax, meanwhile, which is progressive, has been steadily reduced over this period to offset the effects of inflation; the general rise in wages would have moved the whole population into higher income tax brackets if there had been no cuts. The effective federal income tax rate on the first $10,000 of income is now several percentage points lower than it was 10 years ago.

The income tax is the main support of the federal spending programs Reagan would like to stop. It would be cut to the same extent they would; his $90 billion plan would allow the federal income tax to be cut an average of 23 per cent, Reagan told his audience of businessmen last fall in Chicago.

The federal spending program would thus be shifted off the most progressive tax base, and onto the state and local tax structure. In theory, of course, if state and local governments chose to continue the spending programs, they could at the same time set up carbon copies of the federal income tax to pay for them. But the present state and local tax structure is not as progressive as the federal, meaning the poor pay relatively more, the rich relatively less under state and local law.

Some people say this is because the federal government has "pre-empted" the income tax. But whatever the reason, state and local governments together now derive about a fifth of their revenue from sales taxes, which economists generally condemn as regressive. They derive another fifth from the property tax, over which economists are divided, some saying it is regressive, others not.

The third set of facts has to do with where the federal government spends its money.

Among other things, it now gives about $60 billion a year to state and local governments in the form of grants, including revenue sharing.

These grants go for everything from welfare and Medicaid to school lunches and highways, and they currently make up about a fourth of total state and local government revenue.

If the list his aides compiled last fall is to be believed at all, however, about half the cuts Reagan would make in federal spending would be among these grants.

The grant total would be reduced by more than $40 billion, including revenue sharing.

In cutting federal programs, Reagan would simultaneously be cutting state and local programs as well.

State and local governments would have to raise their taxes about a fifth — roughly 20 per cent — just to stay even.

Federal grants to state and local governments have been a trend in the last 20 years — a rising share of both federal expenditures and state and local revenues.

The grants have for the most part had federal strings attached, and thus have increased federal power. Conservatives have tended to resist them. They say decisions about how to spend tax money — and whether to raise it in the first place — can be made most sensitively at the state and local levels.

They have doubtless been strengthened in that philosophy by the fact that the national government has been mainly in liberal hands since World War II; conservatives have had a better chance of success at the state and local level than the federal.

President Nixon's response to the national drift toward federal dominance was revenue sharing together with so-called block grants — keep the money flowing, cut the strings. That is what President Ford also favors.

Reagan would go further, stopping the money and making state and local governments start over if they chose. That way, instead of all programs continuing, some might be dropped. There would be local option. Reagan says that would be healthy.



RONALD REAGAN
... "a systematic transfer"

(1)

WASH POST

# Balancing $90 Billion Cut

## Reagan Plan Would Shift Burden to States

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ronald Reagan has said his plan to strip $90 billion from the federal budget would involve no cuts in defense or Social Security.

His staff has said he would not cut Medicare, either.

Leave these three items out, however, and to cut the budget $90 billion you have to cut the rest of the government completely in half.

That magnitude surprises most people; it is not widely understood that Reagan's shrink-the-government plan would go that far.

Reagan, in fact, has described it almost as if it were a kind of revenue sharing.

"What I propose," he said in introducing the plan in a speech in Chicago last September, "is nothing less than a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states" — and that first description of the proposal as some kind of "transfer plan" has stuck.

Yet as Reagan himself made clear later in that same speech, his plan, unlike revenue sharing, would transfer no "resources" to state and local governments at all.

*News Analysis*

The former California governor, challenging President Ford for the Republican presidential nomination, would simply put a stop to selected federal spending programs, whereupon state and local governments would be free to pick them up or not, as they chose. But they would also have to raise their taxes to pay for them.

The theory is that federal taxes would be cut along with federal spending, leaving state and local taxes room to rise.

Thus, the only thing Reagan would transfer to the state and local sector is a burden. Revenue-sharing is one of the programs he would abolish.

Reagan has begun to back away from the plan in recent days, as it has come under closer examination and sharper attack. He now says he "didn't pay attention" when aides listed $90 billion in specific cuts last year, and he has come close to saying he meant the plan only figuratively. "I simply announced a broad program last September," he told an in-

See REAGAN, A10, Col. 1

Garry Wills

# Reagan's facts just aren't there

Was it a greater mistake to say part of his plan was a mistake, or to say that reports that he had called all of it a mistake were mistaken?

Reagan's dance looks like an attempt to swallow himself. He thinks it is mean of people to pounce on the figure $90 billion just because he happened to use that figure.

Would he be happier if the press used other figures, on the grounds that he had not mentioned them? What figure did he expect them to discuss, once he brought it up?

Reagan thinks he is being unfairly treated by the press, and he is probably right. It is unfair to expect accuracy or depth from him.

Someone told him a soupy fable about the integration of the United States armed forces — that this took place during World War II as a result of comradeship in arms. He draws various morals from that TV show of a tale.

But the story is all wrong — the military was integrated, over howls of protest, by President Truman after the war. I don't know draw from the real facts, if he ever gets the facts straight.

When asked how he might work with a Democratic Congress, Reagan trots out another story made of thin air. He tells us that Franklin Roosevelt had a balky Congress, yet achieved his record "hundred days" of legislation by speaking over the Congress to the people in his fireside chats.

In fact, Roosevelt came into office with a desperate Democratic Congress clamoring for new laws — even more than Roosevelt provided. Congress pressed him for the NRA and National Labor Relations Act.

The fireside chats did not begin as a way of speaking over or around Congress. It is true that Congress later got restive, but only because Roosevelt gave it good cause with things like his court-packing scheme; and then Congress did thwart Roosevelt for a while, fireside chats and all.

It is hard to see how Reagan could have got things more entirely wrong. Yet this is the story Reagan chooses to tell, about his first political hero.

aspect of that story straight, on his own chosen ground, what right have we to expect him to sort out inconsistencies in the big spending cut which he assures us is not quite a slash? The only way to be fair to such a man is not to ask him questions.

Reagan's finest moment, the one that brought him into politics, was his glib hard-line talk delivered for Goldwater in 1964. The talk did nothing at all for the Goldwater campaign — it thrilled the people who already loved Barry, and just confirmed others' suspicion that Goldwater was an extremist.

But the speech did everything for Reagan. It was well-rehearsed, and he could have gone on giving it forever, like James O'Neill playing *The Count of Monte Cristo*. But now he had to speak for himself, and that meant answering some questions — as when he said a "bloodbath" might be the solution to California's campus problem.

Reagan, so wrong on Vietnam, on Nixon, has already shown his political skill by coming out for right-to-work laws — at just

wing hopes to win blue-collar workers away from the union leadership on issues like busing. Reagan seems destined to keep playing second lead, even to a bungler like President Ford.

As for the other candidates — well, Harris offers a more genuine populism; Carter economized more as governor; Bayh has labor; Jackson has money; Shriver dresses better, and Wallace is even more ignorant.

# REAGAN SPENDING MORE THAN FORD

## Financial Reports Provide Insights on Contenders

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12—Ronald Reagan is investing far more money than President Ford in their contest for the Republican Presidential nomination, running up substantial debts in the process while the .. President's campaign is accumulating a large unexpended surplus.

Among the eight active Democratic Presidential candidates still in the field, at least two—Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana and Sargent Shriver—appear to have serious financial problems. A third, Representative Morris K. Udall, has comparably low assets but has demonstrated much stronger fund-raising capacity.

### Strengths and Weaknesses

A fourth Democrat, former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, was virtua-ly insolvent by his own account, even taking into consideration February campaign subsidies received up to this morning. But the Federal Election Commission approved an additional $102,000 for him late this afternoon, bringing him back from the brink, at least temporarily.

Financial reports filed with the commission covering last month cast some light on the strengths and weaknesses of contenders in both parties. At the close of bnsiness today, reports had still not been received from two leading Democrats, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

Of the Democrats reporting, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington had by far the strongest financial position. He closed out the first month of 1976 with $1.5 million in cash on hand, no debts and $16,000 due him from the Government in Federal primary subsidies.

### Outspending Ford

The Jackson campaign raised only about $112,000 in contributions last month, however, compared with $906,000 received in subsidies based on past fund raising. At his current monthly spending rate—about $460,000—Mr. Jackson's impressive cash reserve will last little more than three months without replenishment.

On the Republican side, Mr. Reagan raised slightly more money than President Ford in January, $771,000 to $705,000, but the former California Governor outspent Mr. Ford by $1.25 million to $723,000. As a result, Mr. Reagan's debt exceeded his cash on hand by more than $550,000; so far this month, he has received $208,000 more in subsidies to ease that situation.

By contrast, the President qualified for more subsidies during the month than did Mr. Reagan, so that Mr. Ford's campaign receipts were $1.2 million, compared with $883,000. Mr. Ford ended the month of January with a cash balance of about $685,000 after subtracting negligible debts, with $255,000 in subsidies still due him.

The discrepancy between Reagan and Ford spending was marked in the early primary states. During January, Mr. Reagan outspent the President $49,600 to $40,600 in New Hampshire, $58,700 to $14,600 in Masachusetts, $152,100 to $42,600 in Florida and $66,000 to $47,300 in Illinois.

Some critics of the Ford campaign believe the President should be investing more in the primaries now, lest he find himself a few months from now with plenty of campaign funds but a shortage of convention delegates.

### Harris Is Shaky

Among those reporting, the shakiest appeared to be Mr Hrris, with a deficit of $23,500 in his cash on hand, net indebtedness totaling $94,500 and only $87,500 in subsidy payments scheduled for the first half of February. Among the debts were a $30,000 personal loan by the candidate.

Mr. Shriver's principal problem appear tob e fund-raisingm He only took in $28,500 from private sources last month, compared with $78,400 for Gov. Milton J. Sharp of Pennsylvania, $88,800 for Senator Bayh, $93,800 for Mr. Harri and $112,500 for Senator Jackson. His debts of $115,900 are only $5,000 smaller than the matching funds due him in February, leaving his cash reserve Under $30,000.

Mr. Udall's cash position is similarly weak—between $30,000 and $35,000 with his February subsidies to date applied—but he raised $295,000 in January, which will result in more subsidy income in the months ahead. Mr. Udall also spent $855,000, more than anyne except Mr. Reagan, w h ich will presumably strengthen his future as a candidate and fund-raiser.

# Reagan visits Chicago on Illinois trip

**Politics '76**

By William Braden

After winding up his fifth campaign swing in New Hampshire, GOP candidate Ronald Reagan arrived Thursday night in Chicago to start a third campaign visit to Illinois. During a brief encounter with reporters, he declined to elaborate on his personal finances.

Earlier in the day, Common Cause released a financial statement Reagan filed while governor of California, but it did not show his total income, assets or liabilities.

But Reagan's state campaign chairman, Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.), said his candidate will soon release a limited financial statement. Crane said Reagan "thinks the public has a right to know what one's financial resources are in areas where there may be conflict of interest . . . beyond that, a total exposure he does not think is proper."

Reagan scheduled visits Friday in Kankakee, Alsip, Lincolnshire and Wood Dale.

Saturday, he will stump in Florida at the same time Ford and Democratic candidates Gov. George C. Wallace and Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) are visiting the Sunshine State.

• • •

Serious money problems have beset the four major liberal candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Red-ink financial statements for January were filed with the Federal Election Commission by Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Sargent Shriver.

Their debts ranged up to $100,000 and more.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a conservative Democratic candidate, reported a more-than-healthy balance of $1.5 million.

Reports had not been received from two other top Democratic candidates, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia. But both were believed to be in sound financial condition.

On the Republican side, former California money than President Ford ($2.8 million to Ford's $2.6 million) but ended January with a debt of about $585,000. Ford reported a surplus of about $684,000 at the end of the month.

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**THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION** meanwhile Thursday announced the approval of an additional $600,000 in federal matching funds for seven presidential candidates.

Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania, a Democratic candidate, received the largest amount with $141,000.

Shriver received $120,000, Carter $98,000, Ford $89,000, Udall $88,000, Bayh $42,000 and Harris $19,000.

That raised to $7.2 million the amount of federal matching money doled out so far to candidates of both parties.

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**BOTH FORD AND REAGAN** lose in the Harris Poll against Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

The poll released Thursday showed Kennedy over Ford by 50 per cent to 46 per cent and over Reagan by 50 per cent to 44 per cent. It showed Humphrey over Ford by 49 per cent to 45 per cent and over Reagan by 48 per cent to 45 per cent.

Kennedy has said he is not a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. Humphrey has not declared as a candidate but has said he would accept a draft.

The Harris survey of 2,520 likely voters, taken between Jan. 5 and 14, showed Ford leading Carter and Bayh by 13 per cent. It showed Reagan leading Carter by 17 per cent and Bayh by 14 per cent.

• • •

**CARTER'S WIFE ROSALYN** [illegible] place to visit, but she wouldn't want to live there — except as First Lady.

Sun-Times reporter Leon Pitt said Mrs. Carter told a Chicago press conference: "I don't see Jimmy as vice president. He is a leader. We have this little white house in Plains, Ga., and I enjoy going home."

Mrs. Carter said she would not be as vocal as First Lady Betty Ford if her husband is elected President. "But I think wives should be informed and speak out," she added. "They can be effective."

• • •

**KANSAS CITY, MO.,** may regret having warded off a threatened loss of the Republican National Convention on Aug. 16. The Yippies are coming.

Yippies are members of the Youth International Party and have described themselves as hippies who yip. Which they did very conspicuously at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Kansas City officials met with Yippies to discuss possible campsites for the group but declined to commit any city parks for that purpose.

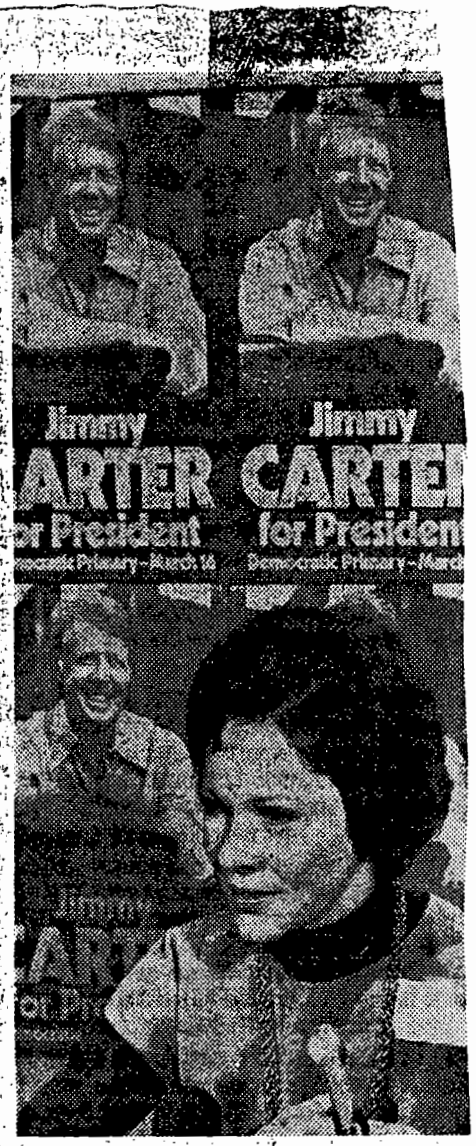
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**UDALL'S BROTHER STEWART,** former interior secretary, was accused of soliciting in a restaurant in Concord, N.H.

"I'm sorry," said a waitress when he started handing out literature promoting Morris Udall's candidacy, "but there's no soliciting allowed in restaurants."

"I'm not soliciting," said Udall. "I'm campaigning."

"You're soliciting," said the waitress, "and it's not allowed here." After Udall gave up and left, the waitress, Theresa Johnson, said: "We can't have it. It scares the customers."




## Speaking for Jimmy

Mrs. Rosalyn Carter, wife of the former Georgia governor and Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter, speaks in her husband's behalf during a press conference Thursday at his Chicago campaign headquarters. (AP)

# Thomson: Reagan to Win Over 50%

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

PITTSFIELD, N.H., Feb. 11 — New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson showed up today for his first appearance with Ronald Reagan and promptly declared Reagan should win the Feb. 24 primary with "well over 50 per cent of the vote."

Thomson, a staunch conservative Republican who only last Sunday urged repeal or revision of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing citizens due process of law stoutly denied he has been kept "undercover" by the Reagan campaign' He said that the only reason he had not been with the former California governor on any of his previous 10 days of campaigning here is that "I've been keeping shop in the state house."

Reagan greeted Thomson, who endorsed him for President over two years ago, with a display of warmth and admiration but tiptoed carefully around Thomson's proposal for altering the 14th Amendment in order to stop "the federal judiciary . . . usurping the sovereignty of the states." The 14th Amendment, adopted after the Civil War, guarantees due process and equal protection of the law to all citizens.

Reagan told a questioner here "the governor is right" in his criticism of the judiciary, but said here and at several stops today that he thought the way to curb the power of federal judges is to require their reconfirmation by the Senate "at periodic intervals," rather than give them lifetime appointments.

Thomson told reporters he had proposed just such a plan several years ago, but Reagan credited the proposal to former Texas Gov. John B. Connally.

The Reagan campaign has been maintaining a relationship of studied coolness toward Thomson, for fear the host governor's doctrinaire conservatism and some of his in-state controversies would rub off on Reagan' Thomson was omitted from the list of Reagan delegates, despite his public declaration last December that he hoped to lead the delegation, and until today he had been conspicuous by his absence at Reagan's appearance in the state.

Introducing Reagan here, Thomson reaffirmed his "strong support" of the challenger and quickly escalated the standard by which Reagan's success will be judged.

Praising former Gov. Hugh Gregg, a moderate Republican who is Reagan's state campaign chairman, Thomson said, "I know Hugh started saying it would be great if we won 40 per cent of the votes, but what I see and hear around this state, Ronald Reagan's not going to win by 40 per cent — it's going to be well over 50 per cent of the vote."

Thomson declared that "Ronald Reagan is with the people," adding that "with the great issues of prayer, decency and morality, Ronald Reagan is fortunate to be on the side of God'"

In three days of campaigning here this week, Reagan has endorsed a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary [illegible] denominational prayer in public schools, to ban busing as tool for ending school desegregation and to reverse the Supreme Court's abortion decision.'

He has also opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, which he had once supported as governor of California, in addition to suggesting periodic reconfirmation of Federal judges, he has proposed a limit on the percentage of income that could be taxed by the Federal government without the direct approval of the people. He has not made clear whether his tax ceiling would be embodied in another constitutional amendment.

Thomson said he believed that President Ford neither "helped nor hurt himself" by his appearances here last weekend. "Ford should do what Reagan did," he said, "get out and campaign in New Hampshire. You've got to meet the people and shake hands with them."

Gregg, too, said he believed "the President did nothing to improve his image while he was here." He added, "I'll probably be predicting the victory before we're done."

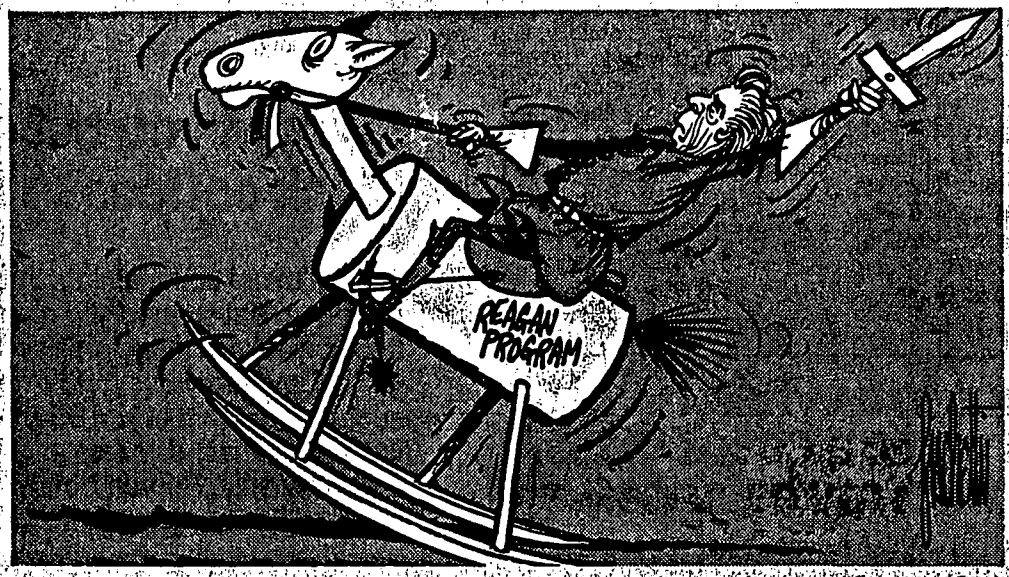
The optimism of the Reagan leaders was not diminished by two small evening audiences — a turnout of 200 people in Portsmouth Monday night and about 1,200 at the University of New Hampshire Tuesday night. The latter was about half the size President Ford had drawn there on Sunday. But Reagan's daytime audiences in the small towns have been sizable and enthusiastic.

Wash. Post

2/12/76

# Reagan's Loser, but Stronger

ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK




CONCORD, N.H. — After spending over a month freeing himself from a monster of his own creation, Ronald Reagan appears to have finally succeeded on his second fulltime campaign swing — only to face a more difficult though less urgent problem.

The self-destructive monster, Reagan's poorly prepared program for transferring $90 billion in Federal spending to state and local government, seems to have been finished off at his news conference Wednesday noon at the New Hampshire Highway Hotel here. The new problem: how to run against an incumbent President in a modest but undeniable resurgence.

That resurgence, helped by Reagan's $90 billion blooper, makes clear that President Ford is not the terminal case he seemed to many two months ago. However, Reagan also is showing he is no Barry Goldwater bent on self-destruction but a disciplined candidate posing a deadly serious challenge to the President.

Wishful thinkers at the White House had come to doubt Reagan's menace partly because of the Reagan campaign's slipshod handling of the $90 billion transfer plan. Stuck with the scheme so blithely lofted by Reagan as a non-candidate last September, Reagan's high command tried to clean it up in pre-campaign strategy sessions at Los Angeles late in December. With Reagan balking at working that hard during the Christmas holidays, they never really came to grips with the puzzle.

The result was near disaster when Reagan's first campaign swing opened in New Hampshire Jan. 5, "We never dreamed it would come at us that heavy," one Reagan insider now admits. Reagan bombed out in Florida and North Carolina press conferences, displaying political rust developed since his last campaign in 1970.

When Reagan began his second swing Jan. 25, the $90 billion monster was a shadow of its former self. Gone were specifically transferred programs, gone were $23 billion in Federal tax reductions, gone, indeed, was any talk of $90 billion. All that remained was a politically defensible promise to transfer welfare grants, food stamps and other unnamed programs, plus Federal revenues to pay for them, back to state and local authorities.

While radically diminishing the program's pretensions, Reagan decided to switch to the offensive. Flying home Jan. 16, from his first swing, Reagan began drafting a new campaign speech indicting the Federal government's incompetency as justification for transferring programs. The finished product was unveiled this week: Reagan's most coherent, best delivered and probably hardest-hitting speech since 1966.

Although Reagan rooters cheered his Florida and North Carolina speeches Jan. 26 and 27, his advisers were uneasy about the press conference here Wednesday, Jan. 28, his first since Jan. 12 and the first in New Hampshire as an announced candidate.

Eight questions were asked before anybody mentioned the transfer issue. Only seven out of 25 total questions touched on it. Most important, Reagan was no longer providing colorful front page stories by constantly shifting his ground.

A new bitterness has developed among Reagan insiders against the Ford campaign's orchestration of press attention to the $90 billion scheme. They see, and deeply resent, the fingerprints of Stu Spencer, the 1966 Reagan campaign manager running the 1976 Ford campaign.

That Reagan himself is not immune from this bitterness is suggested by some reflexive responses this week flirting with violation of his 11th commandment prohibiting criticism of a fellow Republican. Asked at Asheville, N.C., whom he would prefer as Democratic presidential nominee, Reagan snapped: "Bo Callaway." Mistakenly addressed as "Gov. Ford" at Charlotte, N.C., Reagan shot back: "I didn't stumble when I came in."

A more meaningful legacy of the past month is the unintended help given Mr. Ford. When Reagan met his backers at Pensacola, Fla., Panama City, Fla. and Asheville, N.C. this week, the first questions in each place had a worried query about the transfer. This preoccupation has taken Mr. Ford off the defensive and, combined with his new posture of staying home to mind the presidential store, has built his resurgence.

What Reagan must do now, many advisers feel, is shift attention to what may be the most vulnerable policy and personality in the Ford Administration, Detente and Henry Kissinger.

In his basic new speech lasting 35 minutes, Reagan devotes 30 seconds to foreign policy, rejecting detente as "a one-way street" for the Soviet Union. Invariably, it gets more applause than anything else. If the $90 billion monster is truly vanquished, Reagan's focus may soom switch from governmental accounting to global strategy.

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak are syndicated columnists.*

# Reagan in New Hampshire: questions l

1/13/76

## California ex-governor aroused interest, but doubts left behind may be resolved in his favor when he returns

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

They came out in New Hampshire to hear what presidential candidate Ronald Reagan had to say, and they liked him fine. But they asked questions, and the answers led to other questions. Some people felt that the friendly, easy-mannered Californian who is making the first serious challenge of a president from within his own party in more than half a century left the state on the defensive.

The doubts that Mr. Reagan left behind may be resolved in his favor in further visits to the state before its Feb. 24 primary, the first in the nation. At the present a Gallup poll shows the extraordinary Ford-Reagan race almost neck-and-neck. Mr. Reagan's easy, unpremeditated answers to questions recall those of Barry Goldwater in New Hampshire in 1964.

The New Hampshire Republican voter is apt to be of Yankee stock, Protestant, short-spoken, conservative, slow to judge, weighing the candidates's words as well as his manner. The 1964 Barry Goldwater in New Hampshire said exactly what he thought — advocated use of atomic weaponry by NATO area "commanders"; sale of TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority); withdrawal of recognition from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Reagan on last week's visit insisted that neither he nor Senator Goldwater, whom he supported, had ever advocated making social security voluntary. But on Jan. 6, 1964, Mr. Goldwater at his headquarters in Concord, N.H., surrounded by the national press, did just that, and the headlines went out over the nation.

Today, Mr. Reagan has a complicated proposal which he offered at the Houston Leadership Conference of Southern Republicans, Dec. 15, for buying voluntary federal retirement bonds. He did not completely endorse it but offered it as "one very interesting plan" put forward by "knowledgeable people." The idea of making social security "voluntary" could still send tremors through many voting groups.

Mr. Reagan's celebrated plan to transfer one-quarter of the activities of the federal government, amounting to $90 billion, back to states and localities brought questions at practically every rally in the three-day New Hampshire visit.

Mr. Reagan's aides deny that he is backing off from the plan which he offered, Sept. 26, before the Executive Club of Chicago, a conservative group which cheered the proposal.

But Mr. Reagan is repeatedly stressing that he would accompany any such transfer of activities to the states with an accompanying opportunity for them to raise more taxes in lucrative fields presently reserved for the federal government.

This is something for Republican voters in New Hampshire to mull over, for they are proud in having no sales or income tax at present.

The "$90 billion" plan seems to be the dominant issue in the Reagan campaign, obtruding in every encounter with voters, or with the accompanying national news media.

Mr. Reagan's friendly, casual manner can be at once attractive and perplexing to voters and accompanying reporters. At most major appearances he said that Ne sending $115 million a year to government but getting back c in return services. He argue conserve money to let local money at home, and "save" $15

At his final press conferenc Jan. 7, Mr. Reagan was asked this $15 million didn't represent

"Doesn't the $115 million incl the Army and Navy, Air Force, highways?" asked a reporter, the source of your figures?"

Mr. Reagan appeared taken ab understood it that way," he rep mistaken I stand corrected." He not remember the source of the st

Mr. Reagan is seeking a less- image in his campaign, and it wa that one of his most vigorous Republican Gov. Meldrim Thoms not greet his arrival or appear a Governor Thomson is considered t far right and an ally of Willi publisher of the Manchester Union arch-conservative. For the campaig forces are keeping them out of the pi

Here again the situation appeare Republican voters in doubt. Many question President Ford's policies, b Loeb blasts such as "Jerry the Jerk."

Publisher Loeb strongly supports gan and, on the day of his arrival Hampshire, in a front-page editorial in block print that among presidents t never been "bigger incompetents an fools" than the present incumbent. T Leader is the only statewide paper.

# Republicans start to spot Reagan 'weaknesses'

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

Republican leaders are now shifting their attention from what they see as President Ford's failings to the weaknesses they perceive in Ronald Reagan, a new Monitor survey finds.

Questions about both men were sent to 153 Republican state chairmen and national committeemen and drew 92 responses.

About 90 percent of the responses focused on Mr. Reagan, including these assessments:

From the West: "No depth in federal government administration. Answers on issues sound superficial." From the Midwest: "Simplistic approaches. No experience in foreign affairs. Narrow ideological appeal." From the East: "Lack of substance."

Southwest: "Has, so far, given no concrete plan for what he says is wrong." From New England: "His appeal is strong for a limited number of voters. But the majority of the electorate will not subscribe to his programs — which will appear to them as regressive."

From the East: "Too far right." From the Southwest: "Too far to right. Not being incumbent. Not broad enough in vision." From the South: "Lack of presidential incumbency." From the East: "The chief criticism I hear of Reagan is that he speaks like an actor reciting his lines; his statem seem like a script written for him."

★Please turn to Pag

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## ★Republicans spot Reagan 'weaknesses'

Continued from Page 1

There were some negative comments about Mr. Ford, too, usually focusing on his being away from Washington too much and his failure — in the eyes of many people — to show that he has a firm hand at the tiller.

But 90 percent of the responses focused on the emerging "Reagan problem." Commented an Eastern leader:

"Reagan's test now is here as he takes stands on major questions and with the searchlight of the press probing the depth and breadth of his mind." There were more than a score of comments of this nature.

A general concern was that a divisive primary would be fatal for the party next November. From the Northwest this anxiety was put in these words:

"I think most Republican pols who have been involved for years in party politics realize that a primary challenge, no matter how "gentlemanly," is bound to result in a loss for the Republican Party itself.

"Most of us have not forgotten 1964 and do not want a rerun of that one. So, most of us do not appreciate a Reagan challenge from this standpoint.

"Thus, even though many of us are personally conservative and although we are personally fond of Mr. Reagan's views on many subjects, we feel Mr. Reagan is not doing our party a service by running — he will make winning the election over the brand X opposition candidate harder."

Others complaints about Mr. Reagan:

From the South: "The caliber of his supporters." From the Northwest: "Reagan is shallow and can fade easily. Not enough depth behind his statements." From the West: "Much of what he says he has done is not quite as it appears on the surface — and these things are being brought out into the open now."

From the Southeast: "I just believe incumbency is such a plus and the opportunities to use the office so great that I think it will be very difficult for Reagan to attain a lead and hold it." From the Midwest: "Rhetorical panaceas that will not stand close study."

From the far West: "Lack of ability to explain in reasonable detail his fiscal policies as president."

From the South: "No depth in government and its workings; no national experience; shades of Goldwater."

THE CHRISTIAN SCI

1/13/76

"First the blade, then the ear,

## The Monitor's view

# Reagan's 'creative federalism'

Has the U.S. Government grown so big that it now threatens the federal system and interferes with the lives of Americans?

This question could become the central one in the 1976 presidential campaign, and Ronald Reagan's proposal to reduce federal spending by $90 billion and transfer responsibility for those programs and services to state governments provides a welcome opportunity to examine Washington's expanding role.

The former California Governor and candidate for the Republican nomination would sharply reduce federal aid for housing, health, education, welfare, transportation, and community development, as well as eliminate revenue sharing. Mr. Reagan says such things should be the responsibility of those closer to the issues.

While it is true that many of the federal programs Mr. Reagan seeks to change were started during Democratic New Deal times, the concept of raising and distributing money at the national level for certain government services that are essentially local in nature goes back much further in time. Federal spending for highways began during World War I, for instance.

The need for such redistribution of resources between individuals and regions, for that is what this federal spending really amounts to, was based on several facts.

First, there was great disparity among the states in many things that, lumped together, might be termed the quality of life: education, job opportunities, health services, natural resources. Second, for reasons of demography, geography, and economics, some areas had much greater opportunity to find and develop the resources that might allow improvement in that quality of life. What this boiled down to, in most instances, was the vast differences in personal and corporate income and the ability to raise public funds.

Third, political realities were such that it often was much easier for those somewhat removed from the problem, that is those in Washington, to respond to the needs of the politically weak.

Any analysis of Mr. Reagan's plan must be seen in terms of the degree to which those assumptions were — and still are — correct. There can be little doubt, for instance, that great disparities still exist between areas of the country in terms of essential services that can only be provided by government, no matter what level.

It should also be noted that whereas many billions of dollars in federal aid do flow from Washington, state and local governments currently have most of the responsibility for administering such funds and deciding how they should be spent. The shift to revenue sharing is a further step in this direction.

Mr. Reagan's proposal, unless coupled with major tax reform in most states, would shift the raising of public funds from essentially progressive means (graduated income tax) to such things as the sales tax and property tax which disporportionately affect the less well-off.

There can be little doubt that bureaucratic overlaps do exist and in some cases states are burdened with providing services they feel unnecessary. President Ford and the stable of Democratic candidates too are addressing themselves to this problem.

Ronald Reagan's proposal gets to the very core of the country's federal system and will no doubt be popular among many voters. Others have said Mr. Reagan is "running against the 20th century."

In any case, it is good that he has carved out a clearly defined position on this very important subject and that his plan now is being closely examined in economic and social as well as political terms.

Reagan in Florida: No one out in the snow.

# Ford Camp Pushes Reagan Into A Defensive Posture

From AP and UPI reports

Republican presidential contender Ronald Reagan, forced at every campaign stop to defend his first major proposal, said Saturday in Miami that his plan to decentralize government was being distorted by President Ford's aides.

Reagan said his plan to hand over to the states $90 billion worth of federal social services specifically excluded "Social Security and Medicare and those that support the elderly people." Reagan said those programs belong at the federal level.

Earlier this week, Ford's campaign manager, Howard "Bo" Callaway, said in discussing Reagan's plan that "the American people will not tolerate going back to a system where you don't take care of people in need. The American people don't want elderly people thrown out in the snow."

"I don't think anyone is going to be out in the snow," Reagan said in a television show taped for Sunday broadcast.

"...Mr. Callaway must have been speaking off the cuff or at least was guided by his political bias," Reagan said, adding that some people were "distorting what I have proposed."

However, Reagan has called for Social Security reform. Earlier Saturday in the retirement community of Gulfport, he said his plan would give women more benefits.

Reagan in an interview directed at south Florida's large Latin population said Cuban Premier Fidel Castro should be required to "give up some of his hostility and revolutionary zeal" before the United States considers easing its trade restrictions against Cuba.

Reagan was interviewed in flight from Tampa to Miami by Jorge Luis Hernandez for a Miami Spanish language radio station.

Questions about Reagan's domestic budget cutting plan stalked the ex-governor of California at 22-stops across mountainous northern New Hampshire and again as he headed south into other primary states.

And Reagan's difficulty apparently prompted the Ford organization to commit the President to a more extensive campaign schedule in New Hampshire, where the two Republicans first meet in a primary Feb. 24.

President Ford is now planning at least an overnight Feb. 7-8 visit to New Hampshire to join in the primary campaign there, White House sources said Saturday.

An advance team from the White House will be in New Hampshire in the coming week to work out details.

Ford will most likely visit Nashua, N.H., and may go into other cities as well after his aides assess the situation next week.

There is a possibility that the President could extend his visit to three days, a White House aide said.

As Reagan carried his bid for the GOP presidential nomination into southern Florida Saturday, Democrats Henry Jackson, Jimmy Carter, Sargent Shriver and Birch Bayh campaigned in Iowa for convention delegates.

Gov. George Wallace was in Washington for a television interview Sunday (CBS-TV's Face the Nation.)

Reagan's name will be first on the Republican ballot for the Massachusetts presidential primary in March.

Reagan's name was selected by lot Friday by Secretary of State Paul Guzzi shortly after the 5 p.m. deadline for potential candidates to have their names withdrawn from the ballot.

Reagan and President Ford are the only candidates on the Republican ballot.

Robert L. Kelleher, an assistant district attorney in Billings, Mont., was chosen by lot to head the Democratic ballot, followed by Gov. Wallace and Ellen McCormack of New York, an anti-abortion candidate.

The other candidates, listed in order of appearance, are:

Terry Sanford, former North Carolina governor; Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas; former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma; Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp; Bayh; Carter; Shriver; Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Mrs. McCormack qualified for the ballot on a signature petition and also was added to the list by Rep. Charles F. Flaherty Jr. of Cambridge, chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

Successful candidates in the state primary are entitled to a proportional number of committed delegates to the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

# Reagan easier to beat, say Democrats

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Many Democratic leaders from coast to coast lean to the opinion that Ronald Reagan would be easier to beat than President Ford.

Of 300 Democratic state chairmen and national committeemen, 128 responded to a Monitor poll. From these, 66 said Mr. Reagan would be "easier to defeat" in next fall's presidential election and 47 said Mr. Ford would be "easier to defeat."

From conversations with Democratic members of Congress and with a number of these same Democratic state leaders, these reasons for feeling that Mr. Reagan would be the preferable opponent for the Democrats emerged:

• Mr. Reagan, they say, has easy, superficial answers for complex problems — and this would come through to the voters, particularly when under attack from a bright Democratic presidential candidate.

• Mr. Reagan, at best, has merely the "image of a state leader. Mr. Ford is seen, of course, as a national leader. Thus Mr. Ford's experience in national government would make him mote difficult to beat.

• Mr. Reagan — despite later explanations and refinements of his position — has committed a tremendous political blunder, they say, in proposing that $90 billion in federal programs be returned to the states.

Democrats feel they can make much of this issue. Some, in fact, think they could destroy a Reagan candidacy on this issue if he becomes the GOP presidential nominee.

• Mr. Reagan is not in the White House and Mr. Ford is. Many Democrats are not referring to President Ford's on-the-job experience alone. What they are saying is that many people will look at Mr. Ford and say, "He has only been in a short while. Let's give him a chance to show something by electing him to four more years."

Those Democrats who see Mr. Ford as more "vulnerable" to defeat than Mr. Reagan list these points:

1. Ford has an "image" now as ineffective in the White House. Reagan, although untried, would be charged with ineffectiveness as governor of California.

2. Ford, they say, has not coped with the overriding issue of the day — the economy. Or with those issues related to the economy — inflation, joblessness, the energy crisis.

3. Ford, they say, has proved to be an "obstructionist president" — getting in the way of congressional forward thrust by vetoing good legislation.

# For Reagan campaign styles differ

## Gaining the support of all the 'right' people vs. appealing straight to the voters on the issues



al Quarterly
Washington

By Cor[illegible]
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Taft competed for delegates that year in a battle that ended only with Mr. Eisenhower's victory on the convention floor in Chicago.

Mr. Eisenhower won that one on the inside — in the caucuses, not in the media. At the time, the Republican nomination process still was largely a closed affair, dominated by party insiders. Today, things are different.

Some of the younger Ford advisers think it may be dangerous to underestimate what Mr. Reagan can do outside the party structure now that three-fourths of the delegates are chosen in primaries and Mr. Reagan can use television to make his case.

"Reagan doesn't need an organization," said Norman (Skip) Watts, Mr. Ford's coordinator for the primary states. "He's one of the world's greatest salesmen. He'll come sweeping through with his oratorical flair. . . . We have to use incumbency and organization to match his oratory." Mr. Watts knows the Reagan flair well; he was an aide to the governor and an advance man in Mr. Reagan's brief 1968 presidential campaign.

The consensus is that Mr. Ford's incumbency will help him fight off Mr. Reagan, but not that much. An elected President running for re-election can call upon party regulars who worked for him four years before. Mr. Ford has no such political base; local Republicans owe him no more than they owe Mr. Reagan.

The real advantage of Mr. Ford's incumbency, advisers say, is the way he can use it to make the kinds of decisions the conservative Republican electorate will like. "Any time Reagan gins up . . . an issue," said one strategist, "Ford can defuse it whenever he wants to with the power of decision. But at the same time Reagan can whack him hip and thigh with a new issue."

The power of incumbency, in other words, carries with it the obligation to deal with problems Mr. Reagan can avoid. Mr. Reagan may criticize; Mr. Ford must act. So the Ford people see incumbency as a two-edged sword.

## Red Cross asks supplies for Moroccan refugees

By Reuter
Geneva

The League of Red Cross Societies has appealed for tents, blankets, warm clothing, camping material, powdered and condensed milk, and money to help some 30,000 Moroccans recently expelled from Algeria.

The aid is needed by the Moroccan Red Crescent Society which is caring for the refugees, mainly old people and children, in camps in the Oudja, Nador, and Figuig provinces, the league said.

(1)

That $90 Billion Plan

WASL STAR JAN 27

# Reagan Puts Subtle Twist In Strategy Against Ford

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PANAMA CITY, Fla. — Ronald Reagan has made a subtle but potentially significant refinement in the strategy of his campaign to wrest the Republican nomination from President Ford.

In a day of campaigning through some of Florida's most conservative, although Democratic, territory, Reagan unveiled a new approach designed to do more than simply neutralize criticism about his plan for transferring $90 billion in social service programs from the federal government back to the states.

Instead, Reagan is trying to transform the issue into a debate on the efficacy and efficiency of the federal government. At a time when opinion polls, including those taken for Reagan, show a national distrust for the federal government, this would seem to be sound politics if he can pull it off.

THE FORMER California governor did not defend his own controversial proposal down to the letter. Rather he took the line that, in effect, the federal government has done such a demonstrably poor job on the social programs that any new policy might be worth trying.

The altered Reagan strategy evolved out of his efforts to deal with charges that his proposals for transfer were both impractical and ill-conceived. In the past week the conservative leader has been off the campaign trail, polishing a new

See REAGAN, A-6

# REAGAN

Continued From A-1

speech that his managers say will be his standard vehicle in the next several weeks of the primary campaign.

Reagan attacking the federal bureaucracy is dog-bites-man news. But this time the former California governor has codified it to the point it is an tour de force of offense.

In a 40-minute speech at Fort Walton Beach yesterday noon and here last night, for example, Reagan recited nothing but "horror stories" of federal ineptitude in carrying out programs that were supposed to serve social needs. And he concentrated on those programs — but not all of them — that he has recommended transferring back to state management.

Thus, he earned spirited applause from his conservative audiences by deriding the federal record on the issues that are the most conspicuous red flag on the Republican right.

ON WELFARE, for example, he told anecdote after anecdote. In California, he said, there was one case in which 194 county employes were receiving welfare as well as their salaries. A woman in Chicago, he said, used 50 different names and 30 addresses and 15 phone numbers to defraud the government of as much as $150,000 a year. Some welfare recipients, he said, had their checks sent to them while they were abroad — including one family to whom the checks were addressed to the Soviet Union.

In California, he argued, his administration managed to change all that, converting a monthly increase of 40,000 welfare cases to a monthly decrease of 8,000 cases.

"Welfare should be administered without the benevolent hand of Washington laying a finger on it," he said.

On food stamps, Reagan took the familiar line that students from affluent families use them, then asked his affluent listeners if they hadn't had the experience of standing in line at the supermarket "with a pound of hamburger and watching some strapping young man ahead of you buy T-bone steaks with food stamps."

ON AID TO education, Reagan told of Dartmouth being unable to promote an official without getting federal approval, and of the University of Washington spending $40,000 to meet federal requirements on statistical reporting.

On job training, Reagan told of unemployed workers taking courses to become dishwashers and laughing because it is the one job that requires no training. Government housing programs, he said, destroy more than they build and cost more than private housing.

All of these are part of Reagan's repertoire, but now he is concentrating them in a package that has no suggestion he is defending himself on the $90 billion plan. His managers are convinced it was such defensiveness that compounded George McGovern's problems with his demogrant proposal four years ago.

Reagan was in a similar situation earlier this month when he encountered his first sharp questioning on the transfer proposals. He spent a few days trying to explain before moving into a more assertive posture in which he promised New Hampshire audiences that he meant to accompany the transfer with new tax sources to finance them.

IN THE NEW approach, however, Reagan brushes only lightly over the question of tax sources and the mechanics of the transfers, and concentrates his full attention on the failures of the existing system.

His theme is that Washington has been proven incapable of handling these programs so something else must be worth a look. "I am not a part of the Washington establishment and I do not consider that a disadvantage," he told audiences to certain applause.

There are some political hazards in the Reagan strategy. One, of course, is that he will continue to be perceived as patching and filling to counter criticism, but his managers are persuaded this is less likely if he concentrates on documented failures of the past.

The other is that Reagan may limit his appeal to those already inclined to support him. However, opinion surveys made for his campaign have convinced him that an anti-government approach is no longer something that appeals only to a Barry Goldwater minority.

Reagan resumed campaigning along the Florida panhandle to audiences that were receptive and substantial in an area George Wallace usually wins three to one or better.

At Pensacola almost 1,000 paid $5 each to hear him at breakfast. At Fort Walton more than 400 paid $15 each for a lunch of uncertain parentage and the new Reagan speech. And last night more than 3,000 came to the municipal auditorium in this city of 35,000 on a rainy night.

# REAGAN ENDS TOUR IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

N Y TIMES JAN 30

## Says Candidate and Running Mate Should Think Alike

By WAYNE KING

Special to The New York Times

CONCORD, N.H., Jan. 29—Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, winding up a campaign swing throngh New Hampshire in his quest for the Republican nomination for President, said today that a Presidential nominee had the duty to select as a running mate a man who shared his political philosophy.

Speaking to a group of about 50 personsa t a printing plant at Bow, Mr. Reagan said that a Presidential candldate usually picked someone of "opposite political philosophy" as h running mate ln the interests of balancing the ticket.iL "I don't believe in that," Mr. Reagan sald. The Presidential nominee, he said, "has a duty to see that the man who succeeds him," in the event that occurs, "would have the same objectives, philosophy and goals."

Mr. Reagan, as heh as heretofore on a number of occasions, declined to name any possible running mate he Would urge on the Republican convention. He said today that he would consider it his responsibility to urge the convention to select a nomlnee who thought as he did.

In his two days of campaigning here before audiences of from 20 to more than 500 persons, Mr. Reagan has continued to urge a conservative philo- Government spending, a balancei budget, a diminished Federal bureaucracy, far less Federal regulation, and reforms in such programs as welfare and Social Security.

At one point today, speaking to a group of supporters, he accused political workers of President Ford, his opponent for the nomination, of engaging in "dirty tricks" in New Hampshire.

Mr. Reagan later denied making the remark, reported to the entourage of reporters following him by David Broder of The Washington Post, who was acting as a pool reporter at a campaign stop at the United Life Insurance Company at Concord.

A pool reporter is used in situations where facilities are not large enough to accommodate the entire press corps, and those on the pool report to the remainder of the media unable to enter.

Mr. Reagan told other reporters later that he had not used the words, "dirty tricks," and had instead referred to "dirty pool" by the Ford campaign workers.

He referred to a prepared press release that Ford workers were urging local officials to use, criticizing Mr. Reagan for his stand on reforming Social Security.

Broder produced a tape recording of the statement made on a small recorder.

Lyn Nofziger, Mr. Reagan's press aide, said after hearing the tape that he had understood from Mr. Reagan that he did not recall saying "dirty tricks," but was satisfied that he had, and would so inform Mr. Reagan.

# Reagan Scores Ford Backers' 'Dirty Tricks'

W. POST. 1/30

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

CONCORD, N.H., Jan. 29 — Ronald Reagan charged today that President Ford's supporters are running a "dirty tricks" campaign against him and called on the President to "take in hand" those responsible.

The "dirty tricks" charge was made after accusations by the Ford campaign committee that Reagan's recommended reforms would jeopardize the Social Security system — a statement the former California governor called "rather despicable and unworthy of a campaign of this kind."

Reagan complained frequently to audiences of the Ford campaign tactics as he stumped this state for the second day this week, in preparation for the Feb. 24 Republican primary test with Mr. Ford. Crowds in small towns were good-sized and largely receptive.

Reagan's particular target was a press release, distributed by the President Ford Committee in Washington to local headquarters here and in other presidential primary states. With a space left blank for the name of the local committee spokesman, the release said that "over the last 12 years, —— said, Reagan has at various times advocated voluntary Social Security, praised the present system and favorably called attention to a voluntary plan that would ruin it."

At most stops during this tour, Reagan himself has raised the Social Security issue, warning his listeners that "you will soon be hearing that I am going to destroy Social Security."

In Milford last night, after reading the Ford committee press release, Reagan said, "Blank is a liar," adding that "to strike fear in the hearts of those who depend on Social Security is the cheapest kind of demagoguery. Nothing could be more despicable.

"I believe that Jerry Ford, the President, is a fair and honorable man," Reagan told the 450 listeners. "And I cannot make myself believe that he had a hand in some of the things his lieutenants are doing . . . I hope that if President Ford becomes aware of what some of his lieutenants are doing, he will take them in hand."

At a Concord insurance company this morning, Reagan returned to the subject, calling the Ford committee tactics "a little bit dishonest. They come under the heading of dirty tricks."

(In Washington, White House press secretary Ron Nessen said he did not believe the President had seen the material Reagan referred to in New Hampshire.

(The President, Nessen said, "is not getting into the nitty gritty of the campaign, but certainly he has confidence that the people running the campaign are doing so according to the ethical standards he set."

(Asked if Mr. Ford would now review the material Reagan criticized, Nessen said, "Is there something wrong with it? I don't know.")

At the Concord gathering, Reagan also added yet another variation to his defense of his plan to transfer $90 billion of federal programs to state and local administration — an earlier subject of attack from the President and his supporters.

On his last visit to this state, Reagan had said that if beneficiaries of welfare, Medicaid, food stamps or other programs he wants returned to state control were dissatisfied with the benefits their own state decided to provide, they could "vote with their feet," that is, move.

This morning, a questioner asked if it would not impose a further burden on taxpayers of states that provide high benefits if the welfare recipients migrated to those states.

Reagan replied that this problem could be met by reimposing the one-year residency requirement for welfare benefits, which many states required until a Supreme Court decision in 1969 said such limitations were unconstitutional.

# Reagan winds up a 2-week '76 run

*Associated Press*

Ronald Reagan wound up his first major presidential campaign tour Saturday with an airport rally in Iowa, where citizen caucuses next week will begin selecting delegates for next summer's national political conventions.

President Ford, whom Reagan is challenging for the Republican nomination, spent the day at the White House working on his State of the Union message. Democratic candidates campaigned in several states.

In his two-week, 12,000-mile trek through five early primary states, Reagan spelled out details of his federal budget cutting proposal.

"It isn't that he's altered his basic position, but he's found a different way to explain it," a Reagan economics adviser said Saturday before the former California governor left New Hampshire for Iowa on the way to the West Coast and a weeklong campaign break.

Reagan's plan to cut the federal budget calls for the transfer of a variety of federal social programs, such as welfare, health and education, to the states.

"It's not a new idea," Reagan told some 300 supporters at the Des Moines Municipal Airport. "President Eisenhower evolved such a program and the Democratic Congress killed it."

Reagan said the money he proposes cutting from the federal budget "is also money out of your pockets. It makes a round-trip to Washington and they take a chunk out of it before sending it back."

On other issues, Reagan said the Soviet Union was using detente "as a one-way street to take aim on us" and criticized secrecy over U.S. involvement in Angola.

"The federal government should tell us what its strategic importance is, and if it is important to our national security. If it is important, then the government should tell us what action to take."

Meanwhile, Ford met at the White House with the Republican governor of Iowa, Robert Ray, a Ford supporter who told reporters he expects the President to do "fairly well" against Reagan in the Iowa precinct caucuses.

In his State of the Union message, Ford will propose a belt-tightening $394-billion budget for fiscal 1977 with no money for new programs. It is the stuff of which issues are made in an election year.

For example, Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, one of the Democratic presidential contenders, called Saturday for restoration of full employment when he spoke to auto workers in Waterloo, Iowa.

A full-employment bill has been introduced in Congress with Democratic backing. It is the type of program, however, that Ford is likely to oppose because it would require increased federal spending.

Meanwhile, two Democratic presidential contenders spoke to state Democratic chairmen winding up a two-day meeting in New Orleans.

Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp said the Republican-dominated Justice Department has used its power to try to wound Democrats. His statement came when he was asked if his campaign was hurt by reports that more than 50 Pennsylvania officials have been indicted during his administration.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) told the Assn. of State Democratic Chairmen that one of the nation's problems is opposition to economic growth by those who "have made it and want to pull up the drawbridge and retire behind the moat."

Party caucuses will be held in Mississippi Jan. 24. Two other Democratic candidates had their wives out working for them Saturday.

Eunice Kennedy Shriver walked door-to-door in Jackson, Miss., seeking support for her husband, Sargent Shriver. Rosalynn Carter, wife of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, stopped in several Mississippi towns during a day of campaigning for her husband.

Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who was in Mississippi on Friday, went to Florida, another state with an important early primary, for a speech Saturday night in Orlando.

Wallace has added a tough, new phrase to the campaign vocabulary — a political [illegible] bed-wire enema.

He used those words at a press conference Wednesday when assailing a federal judge who ordered wide-ranging reforms in Alabama's prison system.

Wallace first said the "thugs and federal judges have just about taken charge of our society." Then he added: "I don't know but what a good vote for George Wallace . . . might give people a barbed-wire enema to some of these federal judges."

WASH STAR
JAN 24

# Politics Today

## *It's the Season For Sloganeering*

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PENSACOLA, Fla. — If he were running the welfare program, Ronald Reagan was saying the other morning, the one thing he would insist on would be "that the able-bodied be forced to work."

The applause exploded from his audience of perhaps 900 determinedly middle-class voters. They had gathered in the waterfront auditorium here for breakfast and just such confirmation of their own wisdom, but they responded as if this were some new idea that Reagan was advancing. Imagine, he is a candidate who wants the able-bodied to work. What next?

Ronald Reagan is very good at this sort of thing. He knows what they want to hear and he is quick to establish the rapport that Republican conservatives are seeking. At the breakfast here, he used one line after another.

"IF THERE IS to be a detente," he said, "then it should be a two-way street." Applause. "We must maintain a defense posture that is second to none." More applause. Trading with Russia is acceptable but only on a "cash on the barrelhead basis." Even more applause.

"The rule (on trade) should be if the advantage is to us, do it. If the advantage is to them, don't." Who can argue with that?

"This Congress is the most irresponsible I can remember," Reagan said. "Balancing the budget is hard but it's not impossible. It's like protecting your virtue. You just have to learn to say no." Right on, Ronnie.

The striking thing is that there is so little behind any of this when it is subjected to even the most cursory examination.

Who are the candidates or government officials who don't want the able-bodied to work rather than get welfare? Who ever said that detente is supposed to be a one-way street? What constitutes a "defense second to none"? How are we going to persuade the Russians to trade with us if only we do it when we have the advantage? How do you go about balancing a budget when unemployment is still more than 8 percent? Is it really just a question of saying no?

THE TROUBLE WITH providing detailed answers to such questions is, of course, that to do so would vastly increase the likelihood of political trouble. Spelling out trade policy can be touchy with both business and labor. Defining a defense policy gets into the complicated business of how many submarines and how many missiles and how many carriers. That is too sticky for a presidential candidate and, apparently, too heavy for an audience of voters trying to decide whom to support.

The fact that Ronald Reagan is one of the very hottest political properties of the season tells us a lot about the general level of the political discourse in the 1976 presidential campaign. The voters, in both parties, are beset by sloganeering.

Reagan is by no means the only practitioner. George Wallace has used language like that for more than a decade now. President Ford's State of the Union message was a treasure chest of political cliches. Most of the liberal Democrats are equally prone to ringing phrases as a substitute for innovative proposals.

Even after the electorate's unhappy experience with "peace with honor" and the lessons of Watergate, the candidates are still wedded to declamatory politics. What is lacking is any fund of new ideas that are both positive and practical.

THIS DOES NOT suggest that no new proposals are being put forward. Reagan, after all, wants to transfer $90 billion worth of social services to the states. On the other extreme, Fred Harris is basing his campaign against "privilege" on plans for a drastic realignment of economic power. But the consensus in the political community is that neither would have much luck getting many of their ideas through Congress, although either might at least change the direction of national policy.

The devotion to rhetoric this year is no great mystery. It seems to work. The candidate most reluctant to follow this approach, Morris K. Udall, is clinging by his fingertips in the Democratic presidential competition.

One reason it works — and always has — is that voters mistake rhetoric for leadership. More important this time, however, is the fact that the sloganeering relies so heavily on criticism, implied or explicit, of "the mess in Washington" — whatever that means.

Being the candidate from somewhere else is a demonstrable assest this year, as both Reagan and Jimmy Carter are proving. If you're not part of the mess, perhaps you don't need a lot of specific proposals to clean it up.

Reagan
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JANUARY 25, 1976

# Three Slates of Reagan Delegates Here Are Trying to Get on Primary Ballot

By MAURICE CARROLL

At least three slates of Reagan-for-President delegates will seek to get on New York's primary-election ballot, an aim that could scramble what Republican leaders had hoped would be a placid, uncontested election resulting in an "uncommitted" delegation of party professionals.

The three full-scale challenges are under way in Queens and the near fringes of Nassau County, based in a maverick Republican club in Richmond Hill that has been festooned with a huge illuminated "Reagan in '76" sign.

There are also a scattering of individuals around the state who are thinking of running pledged to Ronald Reagan, the conservative former Governor of California, and there are hints that full slates might surface in the two Westchester-based Congressional districts.

### Sounded Out Party

"Yes, I know about them," said Cal Johnson, who is in charge of delegate selection at Citizens for Reagan in Washington. "And I tell them we want them. We want every delegate we can get. But I can't authorize their campaigns."

Reagan aides had sounded out the Conservative Party about trying to pick off a New York delegate here and there, but late last year abandoned any idea of an official challenge in New York.

The idea vanished after the message was passed that Nelson A. Rockefeller still controlled the Republican party in New York and would not take kindly to such a raid.

Richard M. Rosenbaum, who is Mr. Rockefeller's choice as party chairman, reacted with mild public comment to the Reagan-for-President stirrings "It's a free country," he said. But he deplored the "fragmentation" that he said could result if some avowed Reagan supporters slipped into what party officials have hoped to deliver as a united delegation of party officials.

In Queens, where full Reagan slates are seeking to get the required 1,250 valid signatures on delegate petitions in the 6th, 7th and 9th districts, the organization chairman, Melvin Klein, said, "I don't even know if they can get the petitions signed."

### 'We'll Kill 'Em'

Mr. Klein thought a moment "Be that as it may," he said. "Even if they get on the ballot, **we'll kill 'em.'**

The "uncommitted" group that the party professionals seek to send to the Republican convention in August in Kansas City would be, it is generally believed, under Mr. Rockefeller's thumb, and the conservatives who are at the center of the Reagan effort object vigorously to that fact.

"That delegation is going to do what it's told," said former Assemblyman John Gallagher, who is involved in the Reagan effort in the 6th district, which straddles the Queens-Nassau border, "and I'm not one for doing what I'm told—particularly when I don't know what it is theyre going to tell me."

Wilfred Dalton, president of the Richmond Hill Republican Club, and the man at the middle of the Reagan campaign in the 7th and 9th districts, which runs across central Queens, huffed at "dictator Rosenbaum."

And in Clarkstown in suburban Rockland County, William Vines, who is planning a free-lance campaign as a Reagan supporter in the 26th Congressional District, said, "People are sick and tired of the Rockefeller machine."

### Stirrings Are Heard

The regular Republicans in Westchester also have heard Reagan stirrings and the Reagan headquarters in Washington reports queries from would-be delegates in four or five other districts.

These potential self-starters vary, however, in the vigor with which they are willing to take on the organizations. David Gullick, a 24-year-old college student who lives in DeWitt, outside of Syracuse, said that the likely difficulties "don't faze me at all" and that he would seek petitions in the 32d District. But James Riis, a 20-year-old Smithtown college student, said that he was having second thoughts, that he doubted his capacity to beat the 1st District professionals and that, perhaps, he would offer some individual help to the organized Reagan effort in Queens instead.

Whatever fate the would-be Reagan delegates experience in the primary April 6, Mr. Reagan himself has New York friends in the Conservative Party. The "overwhelming sentiment" in the party would be for Mr. Reagan to get the Republican nomination for President, according to its chairman, J. Daniel Mahoney. On the other hand, Mr. Mahoney told a caller the other day that a ticket headed by President Ford could get the Conservative line in November as long as Mr. Rockefeller—the party was formed in opposition to Mr. Rockefeller's brand of Republicanism—was not on it.

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# Reagan Aide, Show Ford's

By JON N
Special to Th

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 20 -Ronald Reagan's strong showing in Republican precinct caucuses yesterday in Iowa indicates that President Ford cannot depend on the Middle Western vote to revive his campaign if he fares badly against the former Governor of California in early primary confrontations in New Hampshire and Florida, Mr. Reagan's chief campaign aides said today.

Mr. Ford's spokesmen, seeking to downgrade the importance of possible Reagan victories in Florida and New Hampshire, have said that the President could with stand such setbacks and rebound in states where he would benefit from the support of party moderates.

"We always considered we had strong support in the Midwest," John Sears, Mr. Reagan:s national campaign manager, said In a telephone interview. "We were very pleased at the turnout."

Mr. Ford won a slim edge in a sampling of votes cast at Republican precinct meetings yesterday in Iowa. Since the President had the advantage of state party political organization on his side, and since the voting was not binding and is subject to later switches, the outcome was seen by Mr. Reagan's strategists as a psychological lift for the challenger.

The Californian had made only one brief personal appearance in Iowa, a 45-minute refueling stop last Saturday in Des Moines, in which time he addressed an airport rally of supporters. The President did no campaigning in the state.

### Heavy Work Ahead

Mr. Reagan is resting in California before resuming a campaign schedule that will have him shuttling between New Hampshire and Florida over the next four weeks, with two brief one-day stops in North Carolina.

His staff was generally pleased with the two-week opening drive just concluded in those states, the first real campaigning Mr. Reagan has done as a national candidate.

The campaign got under way stiffly, with Mr. Reagan initially presenting a puzzling picture of a man who appeared ill at ease with some of his audiences, a marked contrast to the aplomb and wit that had made him for years a much sought-after political speaker on behalf on other candidates or on the conservative dinner circuit.

### Shift to Offensive

Part of his problem, it appeared, was the sudden intrusion into his campaign of fallout from a proposal he had made last September in a Chicago speech to transfer $90 billion in Federal programs to state control, giving the states the option of operating the programs or dropping them.

Questions about how the plan would affect taxes in New Hampshire abruptly had Mr. Reagan on the defensive, and his explanations tended to suggest a retreat from the hardline language of his original proposal, one directed at ideological conservatives long favoring decentralization of the Federal Government.

After two days in New Hampshire, Mr. Reagan and his strategists analyzed the situation and decided thay could not let the transfer program become an albatross that would weigh them down for the rest of the campaign, according to a top aide.

"Before leaving New Hampshire for the first time," the aide said, "the decision was

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made to go on the offensive on the transfer issue. Our position then became one that this was a good plan, let's not get on the defensive and let the White House take it away from ns."

Mr. Reagan's position in public then became one that, as the aide paraphrased it, went like this: "Look, what's the alternative to my plan Except to continur doing the wasteful spending that everyone knows is wrong and doesn't work. The attack on the plan just shows that my critics have no intention of ever dealing meanfully with inflation and Government spending."

After swings through Florida and the Middle West, Mr. Reagan retu4ned to New Hampshire, where he was met by more sharp questions on the transfer plan, but this time he appeared much more deft in fielding them.

He now argued that the states would not need to raise new revenues to fund the programs transfered by the Federal Government. Instead, he said, a portion of the Federal taxes collected in a state could be turned over directly to the state treasury; poorer states would get a larger per capita share than wealthier ones.

This way, he explained, the states would receive the money directly, and economies would result because the states would operate the programs more efficiently and without incurring the cost of routing the money through the Washington bureaucracy.

"Washington takes a cut right off the top and keeps the change," he said at a stop in Jaffrey, as powdery gusts of snow spilled from sloping roofs and sheds. "Why not keep the money right here and not in the puzzle palaces on the Potomac?"

### Many Seem Perplexed

The intricacies of the plan appeared to perplex many voters, but only occasionally did their discomfort become translated into a skeptical question directed at the candidate.

His rejoinder that no new taxes would be necessary appeared to mollify most of his listeners at every stop of his bus caravan. But by the time Mr. Reagan's tour ended last week there were not many voters in the state who seemed convinced that the plan would drastically cut Federal taxes and begin paying off the Federal deficit, which was the candidate's design in his original proposal.

There was slight evidence of some disillusionment in the wake of Mr. Regan's retreat. a fleeting hotion that the bold proposal born in the California sunshine, and distributed through newspaper articles and radio commentary and paid speaking tours, did not hold up in the January light of a candidacy.

"There's no question that $90 billion ought to be cut out of the Government's budget," remarked Hubert Saunders, a high school principal as he waited for the candidate to emerge in the frosty morning from a handshaking tour in Kulich's Shopping Mall outside Winchester.

"But I'm getting a little cynical now about the abilitY of any one candidate to get the job done," he said, his voice rising over the sound of a snowplow that scraped dirtrpocked clumps of snow and broken ice from the parking ot beside the candidate's blue and white bus. -Maybe the job is getting too - or any one man to handle."

Politics



## Wallace appeal slips, too

# Reagan rushes by Ford in Dixie

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Atlanta

President Ford's political problems are mounting in the South on the eve of the nation's political primaries.

A new poll, covering seven Southern states, finds that Republican challenger Ronald Reagan has rushed past the President in voter support.

The poll, conducted by Darden Research Corporation, gives Mr. Reagan a 43-to-38 percent lead with the region's voters, including Republicans, Democrats, and independents. Four months ago, Mr. Ford led in a similar poll 45 to 40.

"The Ford campaign appears to be dead in the water," says pollster Claiborne H. Darden Jr. "Ford is not moving, and he's up against someone who is coming on fast."

The Darden poll was conducted Jan. 9 to 13 by telephone. A total of 601 persons were interviewed in 158 communities in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Alabama.

The political sampling also found that Gov. George C. Wallace's appeal with Southern voters had declined when he is pitted against such opponents as Mr. Reagan or former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

Governor Wallace whipped Jummy Carter 51 to 29 percent last September. That lead has shrunk to 42 to 35 percent today.

Mr. Wallace lost to Mr. Reagan (49 to 40) in September. Now Mr. Reagan's lead has widened to 51 to 31 percent.

The Darden findings are especially serious for Mr. Ford, since two important, early primaries — Florida and North Carolina — will be in this region. In both those states, Mr. Reagan appears to have moved into a lead.

In Florida, Mr. Ford was ahead 47 to 39 last September. Stepped-up Reagan efforts in the Sunshine State have reversed the picture — giving Mr. Reagan a 44-to-37 lead.

In North Carolina, where Mr. Ford led in September in a previous Darden poll, Mr. Reagan has taken a narrow 42-to-39 lead.

The results by no means indicate a hopeless situation for Mr. Ford. But they seem to show a necessity for Mr. Ford to mount a significant effort if Mr. Reagan's momentum is to be broken before the first Southern primary March 9 in Florida.

On the Democratic side, the poll indicates several developments in the view of analysts:

• Jimmy Carter "is moving . . . but he is no powerhouse yet." Improved name recognition outside Georgia is helping.

• Terry Sanford appears weak, even in his home state, [illegible]

• U.S. Rep. [illegible]

# Reagan Maneuvers to Gain an Edge Over Ford in Iowa by Campa

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

DES MOINES, Jan. 13—Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California has decided to intensify his efforts to embarrass President Ford in Iowa's Republican precinct caucauses next Monday night—the first test between the two rivals for the 1976 Republican Presidential nomination.

Mr. Reagan's headquarters heer announced this afternoon that he would appear at an airport rally in Des Moines on Saturday afternoon to appeal for support at the caucauses. It will give him an edge, because Mr. Ford is not expected to campaign here.

The Republican competition in Iowa has been a tame affair, compared with the furious scrambel among six Democratic candidates, even though it presents an opportunity to strike a pschological blow in advance of the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 24.

But the opening of a Reagan office in downtown Des Moines this morning, together with the announcement of his rally, seemed to foreshadow a more spirited contest.

The Republican delegate-selection system differs from that used by the Democrats, whose caucuses will heavily influence the political complexion of the state's delegation to the Democratic National Convention in August.

At the Republican precinct meetings, delegates will be chosen for county conventions, which will choose delegates to Congressional district and state conventions, which will choose delegates to the Republican National Convention. But the Republican delegates at intermediate stages are not pledged to support any Presidential candidate.

By the time the national delegates are chosen on June 18 and 19, the Reagan-Ford race will most likely already have been decided—making the caucuses only marginally significant in the strictest mechanical sense.

The Republican State Committee decided some weeks ago, however, that it did not want the Democrats to get all the national attention next Monday, so it plans to take a straw poll of the participants in 66 of the 2,600 caucuses as a means of gauging Reagan-Ford sentiment in the state.

Most of tUe state's Republican hierarchy — including Robert D. Ray, the Governor, and Mary Louise Smith, who is both the Iowa National COmmitteewoman and the Republican National Chairman "has lined up solidly behind President Ford.

Because of the dearth of organizing effort on either side, Mr. Ray said in an interview today, he finds it hard to "analyze with any accuracy" the relative strengths of the two candidates. He said he expected Mr. Ford to finish first in the straw poll but added that he "would not discard out of hand the possibility of a Reagan victory.r

A United Presss International survey of the 99 county chairmen before Christmas found them evenly divided.

Mr. Reagan has strong Iowa ties, having begun his performing career as a sportscaster on radio stations WOC in Davenport and WHO in Des Moines. Since moving to Hollywood, he has returned often, most recently last April for a Conservative Coalition of Iowa dinner at Marshalltown that drew about 1,500 people.

The coalition's newsletter, which reaches 5,000 families, carried a strong endorsement of Mr. Reagan last week, and the coalition's members are the gackbone of the Reagan campaign's efforts to dominate the caucuses.



# igning There for Republican Delegates

Leroy Conrey, a real estate man from Waterloo who heads the coalition, said that "there are a lot of people in Iowa who don't want to turn out an incumbnt, and there are some who don't like Reagan, but there are very few who are actively pro-Ford."

Even if that is so, it is no guarantee of a Reagan upset, because there has been no systematic drive to get Reaganites to the caucumses, no telephone canvassing, no real organizational effort in many counties, no television or print advertising.

"We've had no time to build anything solid in the few weeks since the Governor announced," commented Raymond W. Hagie, an amiable seed-corn merchant and manufacturer, who is the former Governor's Iowa campaign chairman.

"I don't think the commitment to Ford is strong enough to pull people away from their television sets to go to a caucus —especially if it snows. If the commitment to Reagan's isn't strong enough, we have no business winning."

The Ford organization is not much stronger, although Ralph McCartney, a former legislator who heads the President Ford Committee in Iowa, said he had named county chairmen in two-thirds of the counties and was "still grinding away."

Mr. McCartney conceded that he was "concerned" that what he called "the mainstream of the Republican Party could be hurt by a strong Reagan showing on Monday. Both he and other pro-Ford officials said the President had been damaged in Iowa by the embargo on foreign grain sales.

Reagan

Wall Street Journal 9/5

# Washington Wire

**FORD AND UDALL** are the early favorites in New Hampshire's 1976 primary. Though key conservatives back Reagan, most Republicans feel the President has the edge. They forecast he could get as much as 65% of the vote. The Arizona Congressman has the best organization among the Democratic rivals in New Hampshire. "He's further ahead than we were four years ago," a former McGovern strategist says.

**REAGAN'S ORGANIZATION gathers steam despite his hesitation.**

His operatives begin setting up state campaign organizations in the South and West. Reagan's paid political staff soon will expand to 15 from eight. Campaign chief John Sears promises every state will have a Reagan-for-President organization by year-end. Reagan aides now hint the Californian will declare against Ford in November.

Reaganites insist their man is determined to enter the primaries. To counter the impression of indecision, they argue Reagan can gain by delaying his announcement. It spares him the necessity for now of developing specific issues against Ford. Anyway, Reagan's primary campaign will rely more on inspirational talk than on particular issues, aides say.

*A chief Reagan aim: identifying Ford as part of "the problem in Washington." But he'll try to plant this idea indirectly without attacking the President harshly.*

**MINOR MEMOS:** Democratic presidential aspirant Fred Harris, a sharp critic of Federal Reserve policy, labels the chairman "Third-Degree Burns." . . . A five-dollar bill sent to the White House to cover costs of a Freedom of Information request reposed in a file for over three months before it was found and returned to the sender. . . . House members newly returned from a month's vacation look forward to a six-day Yom Kippur recess this month, a 12-day Columbus Day recess next month. . . . A farm group offers a "Dial-A-Farmer" phone service for students seeking help on papers.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Tuesday, January 13, 1976

# Republicans start to spot Reagan 'weaknesses'

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

Republican leaders are now shifting their attention from what they see as President Ford's failings to the weaknesses they perceive in Ronald Reagan, a new Monitor survey finds.

Questions about both men were sent to 153 Republican state chairmen and national committeemen and drew 92 responses.

About 90 percent of the responses focused on Mr. Reagan, including these assessments:

From the West: "No depth in federal government administration. Answers on issues sound superficial." From the Midwest: "Simplistic approaches. No experience in foreign affairs. Narrow ideological appeal." From the East: "Lack of substance."

Southwest: "Has, so far, given no concrete plan for what he says is wrong." From New England: "His appeal is strong for a limited number of voters. But the majority of the electorate will not subscribe to his programs — which will appear to them as regressive."

From the East: "Too far right." From the Southwest: "Too far to right. Not being incumbent. Not broad enough in vision." From the South: "Lack of presidential incumbency." From the East: "The chief criticism I hear of Reagan is that he speaks like an actor reciting his lines; his statements seem like a script written for him."

There were some negative comments about Mr. Ford, too, usually focusing on his being away from Washington too much and his failure — in the eyes of many people — to show that he has a firm hand at the tiller.

But 90 percent of the responses focused on the emerging "Reagan problem." Commented an Eastern leader:

"Reagan's test now is here as he takes stands on major questions and with the searchlight of the press probing the depth and breadth of his mind." There were more than a score of comments of this nature.

A general concern was that a divisive primary would be fatal for the party next November. From the Northwest this anxiety was put in these words:

"I think most Republican pols who have been involved for years in party politics realize that a primary challenge, no matter how "gentlemanly," is bound to result in a loss for the Republican Party itself.

"Most of us have not forgotten 1964 and do not want a rerun of that one. So, most of us do not appreciate a Reagan challenge from this standpoint.

"Thus, even though many of us are personally conservative and although we are personally fond of Mr. Reagan's views on many subjects, we feel Mr. Reagan is not doing our party a service by running — he will make winning the election over the brand X opposition candidate harder."

Others complaints about Mr. Reagan:

From the South: "The caliber of his supporters." From the Northwest: "Reagan is shallow and can fade easily. Not enough depth behind his statements." From the West: "Much of what he says he has done is not quite as it appears on the surface — and these things are being brought out into the open now."

From the Southeast: "I just believe incumbency is such a plus and the opportunities to use the office so great that I think it will be very difficult for Reagan to attain a lead and hold it." From the Midwest: "Rhetorical panaceas that will not stand close study."

From the far West: "Lack of ability to explain in reasonable detail his fiscal policies as president."

From the South: "No depth in government and its workings; no national experience; shades of Goldwater."

Special Issues
file
REAGAN

Chicago Tribune, Saturday, [illegible]

## Michael Kilian

# Illinois G. O. P. cold to Reagan



*Political Editor Neil Mehler is on vacation. Tribune columnist Michael Kilian regularly reports on the political scene on the editorial page.*

THE RONALD REAGAN movement is going nowhere in Illinois and President Ford can expect the solid support of the state's 1976 convention delegation with little trouble from local conservatives.

This was the consensus following Ford's private meeting with G. O. P. leaders here last week. It was subsequently verified by a survey made by a ranking Illinois congressman of "major" Republicans thruout the state—many of whom are expected to serve as convention delegates next year.

The only significant Reagan holdout was U. S. Rep. Philip Crane, a doctrinaire idolog who has privately admitted that he views the Reagan movement chiefly as a means of keeping Ford "in line."

FORD'S LOCAL ascendancy—only a few months ago some county chairmen were predicting that Reagan would easily beat him in the Illinois primary—is not attributed solely to the national popularity he has gained over his handling of the Mayaguez incident and his manhandling of Congress.

The predominantly conservative Illinois G. O. P. is more pleased with his cutting Vice President Rockefeller adrift as far as the 1976 nomination is concerned and other indications that Ford is "philosophically close" to their views.

Tho some local conservatives are attracted to the idea of Ford's taking on Reagan as his 1976 running mate, there is a growing interest here in giving the Vice Presidential nomination to Tennessee Sen. Howard Baker instead.

Reagan is seen as too old, too controversial, and [in sum] a drag on the ticket. The 49-year-old Baker—the "matinee idol" of the Watergate hearings—is considered just as conservative [an Americans for Democratic Action rating of "zero," an American Security Council rating of 100], but has a more moderated and likeable public image. In other words, he is an electable conservative.

Sen. Charles Percy's on again, off again, on again Presidential drive is off again. Tho he became miffed with the Ford administration a few weeks ago and said he might run no matter what Ford did, he is now back in the fold, devoting his time to thwarting the Reagan menace. He's also been reading Ford's popularity polls.

In making his survey, the ranking Illinois congressman also took soundings on James Thompson's gubernatorial prospects and found opposition to him from party regulars evaporating—mostly for want of a viable alternative.

Richard Cooper, Thompson's millionaire "weight watcher" Republican primary opponent, committed a couple of costly gaffes at the recent Lake County Republican Federation dinner.

He allowed himself to be publicly praised and politically embraced by Lake County's controversial Republican chairman, former State Rep. W. J. [Bingo Bill] Murphy. Cooper also allowed himself to be accompanied most of the evening by the equally controversial William Rentschler, the Illinois campaign chairman for Nixon in 1968 who lately has been beset by all manner of legal troubles.

At least one powerful Republican is talking up State Controler George Lindberg as a candidate to replace Illinois Supreme Court Justice Charles Davis if, as expected, Judge Davis retires by the end of his term next year.

The controler won plaudits as the prime mover behind the state ethics law and as a respected chairman of the House Judiciary Committee while in the State legislature.

A RECENT POLL taken by Young Democrats in Will County received widespread circulation, principally because Will County voting patterns have accurately reflected the outcome of statewide elections in 1970, 1972, and 1974—and because the poll showed State Treasurer Alan Dixon and Secretary of State Michael Howlett beating Walker with Republicans and Democrats alike.

One aspect of the poll was largely ignored, tho it may be even more significant. Walker received a name recognition rating of 97 per cent, compared to 91 per cent for Howlett, 81 per cent for Dixon, and 72 per cent for Lt. Gov. Neil Hartigan.

Of those polled, 40 per cent approved of Walker, compared to 49 per cent for Howlett, 44 per cent for Dixon, and 29 per cent for Hartigan. Only 1 per cent disapproved of Dixon, 4 per cent of Hartigan, and 20 per cent of Howlett.

No fewer than 46 per cent disapproved of Walker.

# Reagan OKs Campaign Unit, Is Termed Legally a Candidate

BY BILL BOYARSKY
Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON—Ronald Reagan Tuesday signaled his intention of challenging President Ford for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination by authorizing formation of a Citizens For Reagan Committee, which will try to round up support and campaign funds.

In earlier days this would have meant little. It would have been part of an elaborate charade in which candidates inched their way into a race, milking the maximum publicity out of each tiny step.

But John Sears, chief staff member of Citizens for Reagan, said that the New Federal Election Law had changed the rules and made Reagan's authorization of such a committee an important event.

"The giving of his consent under these circumstances renders him a candidate under the legal definition of a candidate under the act," Sears said.

Sears said Reagan would not immediately become an active candidate in the sense of going out and campaigning for votes. But, Sears said, "by the consent he is rendering, he will be defined as a candidate."

"He knows that?" Sears was asked.

"He knows that," Sears replied.

(However, Peter Hannaford, a partner in a Los Angeles public relations firm hired by Reagan, disagreed with Sears' interpretation.

(Reagan's action in giving his consent to the formation of the support committee and to the start of a fund drive is "purely a technicality," said Hannaford, and in no way constitutes any change from the former governor's status as a noncandidate at this time.

(Election law requires that before supporters can begin raising money for a prospective candidate they must obtain his consent, Hannaford said.)

Reagan's assent to formation of the committee was the clearest indication so far to his 1976 plans.

Previously he had insisted that he had not made up his mind and would not do so until the end of the year. And, for the record, he stuck to that position in a letter he sent to the committee. It was released by the chairman, Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.).

"I deeply appreciate the support you have expressed for me in forming the Citizens For Reagan Committee," the letter said.

"I must inform you that I have not reached a decision whether to become an active candidate for the Presidency. I expect to make the decision before the end of the year. Meanwhile, I am sending you a letter regarding my relationship to the committee so you will be in full compliance with federal election laws."

Sears said Reagan would send a second letter designat-

Please Turn to Page 16, Col. 1

Wed., July 16, 1975 Los Angeles Times ★

Special
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File
Reagan

ing Citizens For Reagan as "his principal campaign committee," a phrase that makes Reagan a legal candidate under the law.

Laxalt said he was convinced Reagan would become an active candidate by year's end. "In my conversations with him I have come to the conclusion that he has fire burning in his political gut," Laxalt said.

Rating the chances of Reagan becoming an active candidate, Laxalt said: "On a scale of 1 to 10, I would rate it 9½."

The announcement was made on a day that illustrated the difficulties that the conservative Reagan faces in challenging President Ford, who is working hard to mollify party conservatives.

Reagan spent the day in obscurity, doing chores on his ranch near Santa Barbara.

The President was in the spotlight. He appeared on national television in the morning for the Soviet space launching, talked with high defense officials, posed with his wife for news photographs while watching the U.S. space launching, and wrapped up the day by announcing the nomination of a federal judge for Kansas.

Thus, in his challenge Reagan must overcome the President's advantage in public exposure and convince the Republicans that he is better qualified than Mr. Ford.

Laxalt's statement and subsequent press conference indicated how the Reagan camp would try to do this.

There was little criticism of Mr. Ford. "We simply feel Gov. Reagan could do a better job," Laxalt said, adding that Mr. Ford had "for too long been a member of the Washington family" but that Reagan was "totally independent of the Washington scene."

The President seems aware of this tactic and has moved to answer it, declaring last weekend that the federal government was too involved in American life.

Although Reagan is a favorite of Republican conservatives, Laxalt's opening statement did not mention the word conservative, and he used it only rarely when answering questions.

Sears said fund-raising would begin Tuesday afternoon. And Laxalt admitted that it would be a tough race, terming Reagan a "40-60 short-ender."

Members of the committee include former Gov. Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky; retired Rep. H. R. Gross of Iowa; Nebraska insurance executive George Cook, and Mrs. Stanhope C. Ring, former GOP national committeewoman from California.

File Regan - Special File

THE WASHINGTON POST, SUNDAY, JULY 20, 1975

*David S. Broder*

# A Hunch About Reagan

If you report politics for any period of time, you learn that nothing can be more misleading than your own hunches. The field is littered with the bones of those who let their "instincts" blind them to what was really going on.

In defiance of common sense and experience, this reporter has an irresistible urge to confess to a hunch that has been nagging me for months. I think that if Ronald Reagan gets up the nerve to challenge Gerald Ford for the Republican presidential nomination, he may be a lot tougher than anybody supposes.

The case against Reagan's succeeding is ridiculously easy to construct. The public opinion polls put Mr. Ford

*"There is that nagging doubt that Mr. Ford has this nomination quite as safely locked up as all the evidence would seem to suggest."*

ahead of the former California governor by a 2-to-1 margin. And the gap has been widening, not shrinking, in recent months.

Mr. Ford is a declared candidate with the leverage of the White House backing his campaign committee, while Reagan hangs back, reluctant to run. The "fire in his political gut" that Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) said he discerned in Reagan seems to many others to be but a flickering flame of ambition.

Laxalt and other conservatives have launched a "Citizens for Reagan" committee, as a holding action for the undecided challenger. But the old adage holds: You can't beat someone (especially an incumbent President) with no one.

It is especially true in the Republican Party, which gets intensely nervous even at the prospect of a public fight. The habit of deference to designated leaders lies deep in the Republican soul. What else would have made Nelson Rockefeller deliver a nominating speech in 1972 for his old antagonist, Richard Nixon? And that same fear of bloodshed and habit of deference powerfully aid Mr. Ford's operatives in their current drive for commitments to his nomination.

And yet . . . and yet . . . there is that nagging doubt that Mr. Ford has this nomination quite as safely locked as all the evidence would seem to suggest. The doubt began growing during spring travels through 14 states. The trip underlined two fundamental facts: the Republican organization is minuscule in most communities, and most of those who still are active in its ranks believe "in their hearts," as they like to say, the things Ronald Reagan preaches.

From Westchester County, N.Y., to Snohomish County, Wash., the refrain that one heard repeatedly from Republican county chairmen, fund-raisers and precinct workers was the plea that their party "stand for something."

When that mood was last upon them, they nominated Barry Goldwater. His one-sided defeat sent them fleeing back to pragmatism, and persuaded them to back Nixon over Reagan in 1968, on the grounds that while Nixon's views were more equivocal, he might be more electable. But Nixon's disgrace dramatized the high cost of low principles. Republican activists now crave someone whose philosophy they know and trust.

They also sense the country is moving in the conservative direction, which it surely is, and they want their doctrine preached in its purest possible form. Reagan does that better than any other politician in the country—and has for years.

While Mr. Ford gains points with Mayaguez and the vetoes, there is no way, given his political circumstances, that he can act as conservative as Reagan sounds. Not while he's got to defend a $60 billion deficit and detente with the Russians.

Remember, too, that if a Reagan-Ford contest develops, it will not be settled by the wishes of the practical-minded senior party pros and officeholders, most of whom are already in Mr. Ford's corner.

The Republicans will inherit ridiculous system of 30-plus presidential primaries, spawned by the crats' delegate-selection reforms in those primaries, intensity of commitment is what determines the ner. The red-hot purists would in force for Reagan. But would fans of blandness turn out Ford?

My hunch is that if Ronald announced tomorow that he was ning, not in oposition to Gerald but in support of the conservative ciples he's been talking about years, it just might be one heck horse race.

But he probably wants to safe, and procrastination lets the ident lock up the prize without problem.

So, do me a favor and forget mentioned that hunch . . . of course, it comes true.

*Jerald terHorst*

# Reagan's playing long-shot poker

WASHINGTON — Ronald Reagan has played his first hand of Presidential poker and surprised everyone. He opened without face cards or aces, simply a few hearts and a couple of clubs. He'll need to draw some better cards if he intends to stay in long enough to call Ford's bet.

Nevada's Sen. Paul Laxalt, chairman of the newly unveiled Citizens for Reagan Committee, understands the high Las Vegas odds that confront his hero from neighboring California. Right from the start, the Reagan movement has its work cut out for it. Attempting to wrest a party's nomination from a sitting President is well nigh impossible, something never achieved in modern times.

The Reagan committee has his consent to start raising money and luring supporters, but it does not have—as yet—a certified candidate. Reagan is holding back his declaration of candidacy until later this year.

That may be a fatal mistake.

SO LONG as Reagan holds back, he cannot hope to attract the really important G.O.P. support he needs to mount a right-wing challenge to a President already deemed to be right of center. A glance at the Citizens for Reagan charter is instructive on that point.

Laxalt is the brightest luminary on the list. He is a newcomer to the Senate, the former governor of Nevada. The others on the manifest are former Gov. Louis [Louie] Nunn of Kentucky, former Rep. H. R. Gross of Iowa, Mrs. Stanhope C. Ring, a former California Republican committeewoman, and George B. Cook, an insurance man from Lincoln, Neb.

All are staunch conservatives and loyal Republicans but they are not exactly the hierarchy of the party nor the leaders of the cause that Reagan seeks to head.

Why no Goldwaters, Thurmonds, Buckleys, or Towers? The simple answer is that they are pragmatists. They will not pledge fidelity to a candidacy that doesn't exist and, if it should materialize, may not beat Ford. Then too, they are not really mad at the President.

Reagan's indecision creates another problem for his organizers. So long as he holds back a formal announcement, the Citizens for Reagan Committee must affix a disclaimer to all of its literature and fund-raising efforts. Under the new federal election law, that disclaimer must advise everyone that he is not really a candidate for the President but is only testing the waters. That is hardly calculated to bring people rushing to his side.

And it already has hurt him. Important Reagan backers of past governorship campaigns have switched to the Ford campaign in California—oilman Henry Salvatori, Hollywood mogul Taft Schreiber, State Republican Chairman Paul Haerle, State Atty. Gen. Evelle Younger, and others.

Indeed, it was to stop further erosion that Reagan consented to let the new committee operate in his name.

Yet it seems unlikely that two political professionals in the Reagan group would embark on their mission without some clues that the reluctant Reagan can yet be transformed into a running Reagan. John Sears, the 35-year-old executive vice chairman, was a key delegate hunter in the 1968 Nixon campaign, and served briefly in the Nixon White House. He will be the mastermind of the venture. Assisting him will be Lyn Nofsiger, another ex-Nixonite and former Reagan press secretary.

BUT IN THE end, the play of the cards comes back to Reagan. At 64, he is two years older than Ford. His wife, Nancy, is not keen about his running unless he can win. If he formally declares, he stands to lose his lecture fees, newspaper column and radio shows, and lucrative enterprises that reportedly gross him more than $400,000 a year.

And what are the issues on which he hopes to beat the President? Laxalt suggested two—that Reagan would campaign against tax cuts approved by Ford and against detente with the Soviet Union and China.

The polls would not suggest that these would be fruitful targets. Gallup and Harris give the President a commanding lead over Reagan, and, more important, over every Democrat who might face him. New G.O.P. polls in Louisiana and Georgia, where Reaganism should fare best, show Ford beating the former California governor by more than 14 per cent.

So Reagan's indecision is easy to understand. In politics as in poker, only a compulsive gambler challenges the dealer's high cards.

Universal Press Syndicate

Special Cand. File

Reagan

THE WASHINGTON POST Saturday, July 12, 1975

Special Candidate Files
Reagan

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Reagan's Green Light

President Ford's splendid summer, while enormously improving his sagging political prospects of two months ago, has failed to finish off a Ronald Reagan candidacy once and for all, as the President's new campaign manager learned the hard way this week.

Howard (Bo) Callaway, just resigned as Secretary of the Army, got the bad news Tuesday following the President's announcement of candidacy. Callaway visited the law offices, one block down Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, of John Sears. Callaway's question: Would Sears, an architect of Richard M. Nixon's 1968 delegate hunt, take a major post in the Ford campaign.

Sears chuckled, then replied softly that he would not treat his friend, Ronald Reagan, that way. In fact, Sears will leave his law firm to become fulltime director of the national Reagan for President Committee here, once Reagan gives the word. That word will be no formal announcement of candidacy but a secret sign from Reagan that he is indeed running. What's more, Reagan insiders are convinced that sign will be flashed within a month.

That may be Reaganite wishful thinking, but there is no doubt the Ford camp has missed its grab for a silver-platter nomination, that would have been assured had Reagan given a stop sign to Sears. Instead, having permitted formation of the committee, Reagan may well be caught up in a chain of events leading to a struggle for the nomination.

*Ford's campaign has been particularly successful in recruiting big name Californians. That ignited Reagan's boiling point."*

The chain began on May 22 when Lyn Nofziger, Reagan's longtime political adviser, paid a quiet visit to Washington. He was deeply alarmed by what he found. Jerry Ford was no longer acting like a congressman but had been transformed into a President by the Mayaguez incident. Moreover, Ford operatives led by Melvin R. Laird were finally signing up Republican politicians.

Returning to California, Nofziger laid out the facts of life to Reagan. Ford would wrap up the nomination a year in advance unless Reagan went along with a Reagan presidential committee (just as Sen. Barry Goldwater had approved the draft-Goldwater Committee in 1963).

But Reagan was impressed by the sudden climb of Ford political stock. He made clear he would not embark on a mission impossible, a sentiment shared vehemently by his wife, Nancy, who insists on proof that the President is vulnerable.

Against this resistance, arguments were marshaled by Nofziger and other advisers: If Ford prospects rose so sharply, they can—probably will—decline just as sharply; he will be matched against Ford, not in national opinion polls, but in dozens of Republican state primaries; two early primary states, New Hampshire and Florida, may favor Reagan.

What tipped the balance, however, was the Ford-Laird emphasis on conservative Republican politicians in Reagan country — California and the South. With Ford himself taking the telephone, his campaign has been particularly successful in recruiting big name Californians.

That ignited Reagan's low boiling point. Reagan's outrage over Paul Haerle, his handpicked Republican state chairman, coming out for Ford was intensified by this week's defection of conservative William Banowsky, president of Pepperdine University. Banowsky owes his membership on the Republican National Committee to Reagan, but he agreed to support Ford after a presidential phone call.

The result: Reagan flashed what one aide calls "a green light with intermittent flashes of amber." It was enough for Nofziger to close up his Sacramento campaign management firm and rent an apartment in Washington and for Sears to make plans for fulltime political duty. When the committee is announced (probably next week), Reagan will make a friendly comment short of announcing his candidacy.

That has been enough to unleash Sears, Nofziger and former Reagan political aide Robert Walker (now a Coors beer vice president), who have been frantically telephoning conservative Republicans to counteract months of White House claims that Reagan will not be a candidate. Nofziger was calling long distance this week, pointing out Ford's snub of Nobel laureate Alexander Solzhenitsyn (which buttressed Reagan's own suspicion of Ford foreign policy.)

Sears, Nofziger and Republicans recruited for the Reagan committee must yet confront sleepless nights waiting for Reagan's private announcement of candidacy. But Reagan is indisputably in far deeper today than he was yesterday and has passed up his last chance to bury his candidacy quietly and painlessly. Thus, while Ford today stands an overwhelming favorite, he has failed so far to scare off his only opposition.

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P.A. Times – 12/3/75

# Spending doubles, but state on sound footing

**EDITOR'S NOTE: Ronald Reagan's accomplishments as governor of California are in the spotlight as he campaigns for the Republican presidential nomination. Here, in the second part of a two-part series, is a look at some of those accomplishments.**

By DOUG WILLIS

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (AP) — Ronald Reagan revamped California's tax structure to double state revenues and shift the burden from lower income homeowners to a statewide tax base.

In his eight years as California governor, Reagan, who is now seeking the GOP presidential nomination, increased every major state tax, and state spending doubled — from $4.6 billion in 1967, when Reagan took office, to $10.2 billion last year.

And California's state government is in good financial shape today because Reagan gave it a progressive, elastic tax base, according to a nonpartisan fiscal analyst.

"With Reagan's support, the sales tax was increased from 4 to 6 cents per dollar, the bank and corporation tax rate was hiked from 5.5 per cent to 9 per cent, and the top bracket in the state personal income tax was boosted from 7 per cent to 11 per cent.

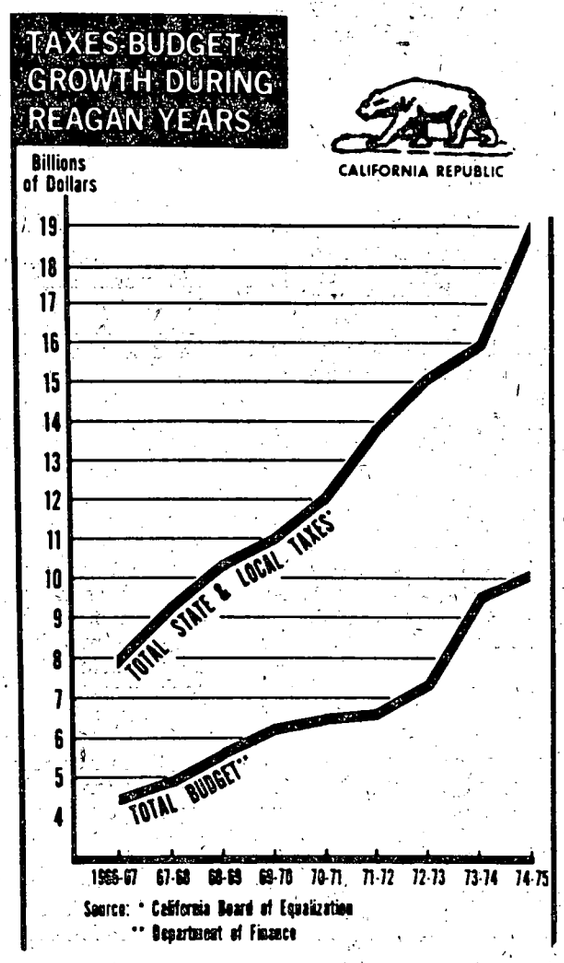
Part of that extra money was used to reduce local property taxes an average of $225 per home.

A. Alan Post, who heads an influential state office which provides nonpartisan analysis of fiscal issues, says Reagan left his successor, Democrat Edmund Brown Jr., with a sound tax base and a $500 million surplus rather than a deficit, helping Brown to get through his first year without a tax increase.

That is high praise from Post, who has critically analyzed fiscal proposals of California governors of both parties for 30 years.

But it is not the kind of record Reagan promised during his 1966 campaign for governor, when he said he would cut fat out of the bureaucracy and reduce the size and cost of government.

During his state administration, Reagan continued his attack on high taxes and government spending. That is the same message he offers now as a conservative challenger to President Ford.




Much of the extra spending enacted by the Reagan administration was the result of inflation — both in revenue and costs — from 1967 through 1974.

But some of it represents increases in support of programs that Reagan criticized. State support of education at all levels increased dramatically. Welfare grants to some recipients increased, although the number of those receiving aid was cut somewhat.

The state collected $500 million in personal income taxes his first year. Last year, personal income tax receipts had grown to $1.83 billion, and this year they are estimated at $2.52 billion.

Per capita state taxes increased from $426 to $768, an 80 per cent hike in the eight years of the Reagan administration. Adjusted for inflation, the per capita increase was still 31 per cent.

Families earning $8,000 a year or less are excused from all state personal income tax. Once middle-income Californians hit the tax-paying level, however, they climb quickly to higher tax brackets with modest increases in income.

Sales and business tax boosts also increased revenues. Sales tax receipts grew from $1.09 billion in 1966 to $2.6 billion in 1974; revenues from business taxes grew from $453 million a year to $1.05 billion.

During those eight years, the state population increased 11 per cent, and inflation was 44 per cent.

On the spending side, the property tax relief enacted as part of his third tax hike bill now pumps $1.1 billion a year of state funds into local coffers.

Most of that money is a direct substitute for homeowner taxes, provided by means of state-subsidized property tax exemptions. In that form, it is provided to local government without any strings directly attached to it.

But in return for the tax shift, Reagan extracted from liberal legislators a complex set of lids on local property tax rates, most of which are too new to have any proven record of effectiveness.

Reagan approved big increases in other areas, although he vetoed more than $1 billion in spending in his eight years.

—Welfare spending grew from $450 million in state funds to $968 million, with about the same increase in federal matching funds.

—A medical care program for the needy, Medi-Cal, was enacted under the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown administration. It started offering services with state and federal support as Reagan became governor.

It grew to $835 million in state contributions by 1974. Reagan campaigned against abuses in Medi-Cal, and in 1971 forced through a restructuring which made 800,000 more Californians eligible for services, but cut the annual growth in costs from 25 per cent to about 10 per cent.

—In education, Reagan repeatedly demanded "accountability" and waged verbal war against demonstrations by university students.

But education at all levels received big increases in state aid from the Reagan administration.

—Annual state support of the University of California increased from $240 million to $509 million, a 112 per cent hike during a period in which enrollment increased 44 per cent. Reagan also forced the university to impose an unpopular tuition on students.

—The state university and college system budget grew from $167 million to $486 million a year, a 190 per cent hike in comparison with a 77 per cent increase in enrollment.

—He increased state support of public schools from $1.23 billion to $2.69 billion, a 119 per cent increase while enrollment went up 10.6 per cent.

—State scholarships and loans to college students were increased from $4.7 million to $41.9 million.

—In state-run programs such as highways, parks and health, spending increased over the Reagan years from $2.2 billion to $3.5 billion, a 59 per cent increase.

—Local assistance, which in California includes major programs such as welfare and schools, exploded during the Reagan years from $2.4 billion to $6.7 billion. That is a 178 per cent increase.

Liberal critics often battled Reagan.

Bob Moretti, Democratic Assembly speaker, fought with Reagan on welfare, health care and tax legislation. He describes the former governor as a "very, very tough man."

He said Reagan took "a hard, conservative line" on each issue, and that Reagan compromised grudgingly and only after days of intense negotiations.

Moretti says, however, that Reagan learned how to govern and work with the legislature.

"He came into office absolutely believing that the legislature was evil, venal. He has learned that legislators are no different than any other people, and that they are reasonable," Moretti said.

## Candidate Reagan


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MOUNTAIN VIEW

## To Georgia Voters:

Like many of you, I have been concerned about the course of events in our country. The old ways aren't working. The federal bureaucracy grows bigger and bigger, spends more and more billions of our dollars, meddles more and more in our lives yet can't seem to solve any of our problems.

Clearly, it is time for strong new leadership — leadership that is not part of the Washington establishment which is responsible for our troubles. That's one of the main reasons why I am supporting Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination for President. He is the one candidate who stands for change — and can make it happen.

I urge you to read this material carefully. It presents some solid reasons for backing Ronald Reagan. As you will see, he feels about things the way most of us here in Georgia feel. He proved, as a two-term governor of our most populous state, that he has the leadership and administrative skill to govern effectively. And, equally important, he has what it takes to win in November.

I hope you will join me in this important effort. Thank you.

Sam Tate

Sam Tate
State Chairman
Georgia Citizens for Reagan

STATE HEADQUARTERS
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# Reasons for Reagan:

## He has common sense answers to America's problems.

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

  "The cure: a balanced budget. The federal government must set a timetable, a systematic plan, to balance the budget — and it must stick to it."

- **Unemployment.** "If a recession causes you to lose your job, or makes it hard for you to find one, you need help, but the long range solution to unemployment is to bring an end to inflation which, in turn, causes recessions."

- **Welfare.** "For years there has been a group of people calling for a Federal takeover of welfare. Actually we should do the opposite — and decentralize welfare.

  "If Joe Doaks is using his welfare money to go down to the pool hall and drink beer and gamble, and the people on his block are paying the bill directly, Joe is apt to undergo a change in his lifestyle — or get off welfare."

- **Social Security.** The Social Security system must be strengthened and improved so that those counting on it will continue to receive their monthly check and so that their benefits won't decline in purchasing power, but will keep pace with inflation.

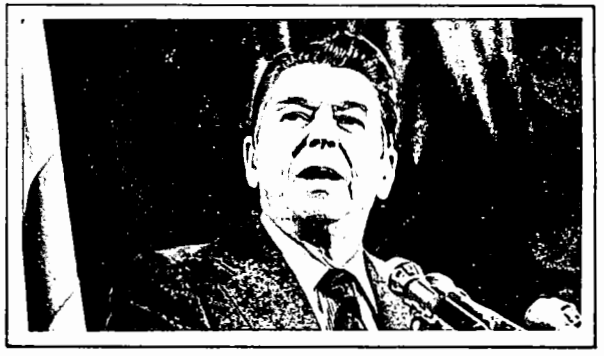
  "There are inequities that must be corrected affecting women, people 65-and-over who want to continue to work, and younger workers. But reforms must be made with care so that they don't jeopardize those already retired, those now working, or those who will enter the work force in the future."

- **Federal Retirees.** Retired Americans cannot maintain a decent standard of living on a fixed income payed in ever-shrinking dollars. The ultimate solution to this problem is to balance the federal budget and halt inflation—but we owe it to retired federal workers and military personnel to see to it that adjustments are made in the interim to protect the value of their retirement income.

- **Crime.** "We must remember that the principal reasons for locking up criminals are punishment and isolation—to keep them from hurting law-abiding citizens, and to serve as a deterrent to others. When a would-be lawbreaker knows he can kill without facing the ultimate penalty, when he knows that parole or probation may come easy for him, we cannot say we have effective deterrents to increased crime."

- **Détente.** "Through détente we have sought peace with our adversaries. We should continue to do so, but must make it plain that we expect a stronger indication that they also seek a lasting peace with us. Too often we act as if a concession on our side—with none by them—is automatically helpful to the process as a whole. Détente will work only if it is a two-way street — something for something."

- **Defense.** "A decade ago we had military superiority. Today, we are in danger of being surpassed by a nation that has never made any effort to hide its hostility to everything we stand for. As a nation, we must commit ourselves to spend whatever is necessary to remain strong. To be second is to be last."



*"I do not for one moment believe that four more years of business-as-usual is the answer to our problems, and I don't think the American people believe it either."*

Reasons for Reagan:

## He'll work to return government to the people.

As government continues to grow we find ourselves losing control of our own destiny. Basic decisions affecting the way we live, work and raise our families are being handed down to us from Washington.

Decisions that were once made by the people themselves are now made by faceless Washington bureaucrats and government officials who seem totally insensitive to the needs and feelings of the people whose taxes pay their salaries.

Ronald Reagan knows that the time has come to reverse the flow of power to Washington - to bring government back to the people. Back to where it belongs.

"What I propose," he said recently, " is nothing less than a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states - a program of creative federalism for America's third century. I am calling for an end to giantism, for a return to the human scale – the scale most human beings can understand and cope with.

"It won't be easy. There will be howls of protest from every carpeted anteroom and chauffered limousine in Washington, but we must turn a deaf ear to them if our nation is to survive."



Paid for by Citizens for Reagan.
Chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt, Treasurer, Henry M. Buchanan.

## The Reagan Record

When he was a candidate for governor of California, Ronald Reagan told the people what he would do if he were elected. And what he said he would do . . . he did.

- In spite of tremendous population growth and a corresponding increase in state services, he kept the size of the state government virtually the same.
- He reduced welfare rolls by more than 300,000—yet increased benefits to the truly needy by an average of 43%.
- He balanced the budget. When he took office the state was spending a million dollars a day more than it was taking in. When he left office he turned over to his successor a $500 million surplus.
- He obtained substantial tax relief for property owners, renters and senior citizens.
- During his administration state support of education increased dramatically, making possible cuts in local property tax rates.
- Government positions were filled not with political "buddies" but with experienced, highly qualified people who were not seeking political careers but could be counted on to tell the governor if they found their job or department unnecessary.

Ronald Reagan is a man of integrity who *means* what he says. He was that kind of governor. He'll be that kind of President.

**What he says he'll do . . . he'll do. He's proved it.**




**"We must offer progress instead of stagnation; the truth instead of promises; hope and faith instead of defeatism and despair."**



# Jimmy Carter
## Presidential Campaign
### For America's third century, why not our best?

Jan. 4, 197[illegible]

Dear Bets & Jody —

To be president is to be forearmed, I think Reagan will be Jimmy's opponent in the General.

If we have a file on Reagan I'd respectfully request that you add this to it — it's only good sense. But it's hardly definitive.

Reagan is simplistic but far from a fool. He was a "tough guy" on mental health, welfare, conservation & minorities. He was, however, far from being the boob we thought he was going to be. He was a more efficient governor than Jerry Brown. Both are men without compassion —

Rosalynn

P.O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/~~897~~-7100

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.

Reagan

Possible Carter campaign strategy: attack Ronald Reagan

Jonathan E. Medalia, 2527 Q St., NW #108, c/o Swanson, Washington, D.C. 20007; 30 Dorr Road, Newton, Mass. 02158; 617-527-1029 (Newton) 202-338-8382 (DC).

Jimmy Carter could criticize Reagan, implicitly campaigning as the Democratic nominee rather than as one of 10-15 candidates. A Carter-Reagan campaign implicitly moves Carter to the spot of the #1 contender, far more than would a "Carter vs. Humphrey vs. Bayh vs. Church vs. Udall vs. ..." campaign. This strategy would show Carter's focus as being November and the Republicans, rather than other Democrats.

The media focuses on political struggle. Carter could show himself as a fighter--at the same time avoiding criticism of other Democrats, which could hurt him at the convention.

The media has severely limited news slots--only a few minutes of national news for the campaign, only a few front-page column inches for the campaign. A Carter-Reagan struggle, with Carter as the Democratic standardbearer, would not only draw coverage to Carter, but would correspondingly limit the news coverage available to other Democrats.

Since Reagan will be campaigning more actively than Ford, Reagan will be receiving more campaign exposure and media exposure. Thus attacking Reagan will produce more publicity for Carter than attacking anyone else--especially if Reagan counterattacks. Indeed, the fact that Reagan deigns to criticize Carter would work to Carter's advantage in gaining the nomination. Anyone who Reagan attacks must be good, Democrats will agree.

Carter could challenge Reagan to a televised debate. The television networks would of course have to refuse to carry the debate unless they could include all 10-15 candidates, which would be awkward, to say the least. Carter and Reagan could of course debate at a high school auditorium, however, where the media could cover it as news. This would produce three waves of media attention--the challenge, the media refusal, the debate--thus building interest in the debate and exposure for Carter.

A Carter-Reagan debate would allow Carter to focus on his strengths and avoid his weaknesses. Since Carter and Reagan are both former governors, administration would be the likely focuse, and foreign policy (where Carter has less experience than Humphrey, Church, and other members of Congress seeking the presidency), would be a less likely focus. Carter would thus not have to develop his foreign policy expertise as rapidly, nor commit himself to foreign policy positions as rapidly. Carter, being a governor, would be well able to criticize Reagan's maladministration in California; Carter would know what to look for. He could contrast his administration with Reagan's. He could stress his experience as governor, which distinguishes him from every other serious Democratic contender and which dissociates him from "the mess in Washington."

If Carter could establish himself as the leading critic of Reagan, he would have an excellent chance of carrying California in the primary, as most California Democrats are Reagan-haters. Indeed, attacking Reagan could lead California Democrats to contribute funds to Carter throughout the campaign. Attacking Reagan would give Carter wide media exposure in California even well before June; California Democrats would follow Carter's attacks in every primary nationwide.

In attacking Reagan's hypocrisy, Carter could link Reagan with the person most hated by Democrats--Nixon--for the reasons most strongly felt by Democrats--the sanctimoniousness, deviousness, and hypocrisy of Nixon and Reagan; a matter of style. Reagan's statements on Watergate provide excellent ammunition--such as Reagan's defense of the Watergate burglars as not being criminals at heart. Any Democrat who can pin the Nixon label on Reagan would greatly increase his prospects for nomination--and election.

If Reagan is not nominated (whether because of Carter's campaign, Reagan's $90 billion plan, or Ford's scintillating, well-organized campaign), Carter could claim that he helped knock Reagan out of the race. If Reagan is nominated, Carter could claim proven ability to campaign against Reagan, which would be an important reason for Democrats to nominate Carter.

If this strategy makes any sense, it should be used soon; any Democrat could think of it and use it to advantage.

Christian Science Monitor 7/8/74
(Reagan - cont.)

presidential candidate? He said, "no," but that he had every intention of running "if the same cast of candidates" were still in the limelight after the 1974 elections. But quite possibly, he said, some new, bright lights might emerge in the upcoming elections and become the "leading candidates" in the eyes of the public. Perhaps, he said, he no longer would be "viewed" as a strong presidential possibility.

But if the Governor remains as one of those who are widely regarded as "the top contenders" after the November elections are over, he says he definitely will run for president. Would he go all out, giving full time to his effort including wide participation in the presidential primaries? "I will go all out," he said.

*Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.*

# Reagan Has Oily Voice for U.S. Fuel Industry

By RICHARD BERGHOLZ

NEW YORK (LAT)—To the angry, frustrated motorist waiting in line for gasoline, oil companies are the obvious target of his rage. And politicians who defend the industry in these times are even harder to find than a gasoline station open on a Sunday.

But California's Gov. Ronald Reagan defends them. And with feeling. Not only in such oil states as Texas and Oklahoma, where he has campaigned since the gasoline crisis developed, but in California and Florida and other states where gasoline is hard to find.

Oil industry profits can be explained, he said. Tax benefits for oil men are justifiable, he said.

It's all part of his contention that Democrats are at fault for the current flap over the gasoline shortage, and it invariable brings applause when he addresses wealthy Republicans at fund-raising dinners.

"The national Democratic leadership," Reagan said, "has spent its energies on finding a whipping boy for the fuel crisis, not on finding more fuel for our people.

"They thunder against the oil company profits for 1973. But 1972 happens to be the worst year the oil industry has known since 1958, and the increases (in 1973 over 1972) really weren't as big as the increases shown by a number of other businesses."

And at this point Reagan usuall draws a roar of approval when he says the New York Times and the Washington Post, both of which he considers downright unfriendly to the GOP and two of the three television networks had bigger profit gains last year than the oil industry.

"They (Democrats) talk about punitive taxes" on the oil industry, the governor said, "when they should be talking about incentives that might lead to the production of more oil."

Reagan opposes any attempt to eliminate the depletion allowance for the oil industry and said he considers it a vital part in encouraging the industry to seek out and develop new oil fields.

Reagan's use of the oil industry theme in his campaign talks appears regularly these days and, when asked about it and the possibility of negative reaction from angry motorists, he said he wasn't particularly concerned about any political debits he might accrue.

He is pushing his tried-and-true conservative political line and when $100-a-plate contributors to the GOP sat down to dinner this week at Miami's posh Four Ambassadors Hotel to hear Reagan speak, they found at their plates a little booklet, "The Reason for Reagan," extolling the virtues of the 63-year-old Californian and plugging him for president.

He's looking at 1976. The booklet was produced in 1968, when he ran briefly.

The Reagan campaign staff did not claim responsibility for seeing that the wealthy Floridians got the booklet and the message—Florida is a key primary state in 1976—and the governor has said at almost every stop that the decision on the presidential race won't come until late next year.

Every candidate has his own style, and Reagan, who has been eminently successful with his, rarely suggests others model him. One of the oddities of his style is that he rarely, if ever, mentions President Nixon by name these days.

At the Miami speech, for instance, he referred to Nixon as "the present occupant of the White House."

That's just his way of speaking, Reagan said, and doesn't mean he is consciously trying to put any political distance between himself and the President.

At Republican affairs, Reagan freely praises the President. For instance, he credits him with having forced Israel and Egypt to "retreat" from their territorial demands.

Frequently, he talks about "realignment" of the political parties and woos conservatives into an alliance with like-minded Republicans.

He sometimes shows flashes of anger and frustration that the Republican presidential race triumph in 1972 has not turned out well.

"Almost two-thirds of us—62 per cent (who voted for Nixon)—thought we won the last election.

"But the other side, indeed now more than ever, still is running the country.

"We live today still in the aura of the Great Society where public policy is dictated by nonelected bureaucrats and private special interest groups implementing their philosophies with our tax dollars (a reference, he said, to pressure groups that have obtained federal grants in such fields as public law and consumerism).

"Just occupying the White House does not make us the party in power.

"The truth is, a Democratic Congress for 40 years, aided by a gigantic bureaucracy which was their instrument and was imbued with their philosophy, has determined national policy."

This galls him, Reagan said, as it should all good Republicans. And so he reached into the 1952 presidential campaign and the Eisenhower years:

"Time for a change, by every standard, is a proper Republican campaign slogan now."

Washington Post
6/2/74

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Ronald Regan: A Threadbare Legacy

*"After Tuesday's primary, Reagan's last hurrah attempt for the presidency will have a shaky political home base."*

LOS ANGELES—An intense backstage dispute over California Republican fund-raising points up an unpleasant fact of life for Gov. Ronald Reagan of California: after Tuesday's primary election, his last hurrah attempt for the presidency will have a shaky political home base.

David Packard, the millionaire industrialist from San Francisco and former deputy secretary of defense, privately complains that Reagan's fund-raising is undercutting the Republican campaign for governor by State Comptroller Houston I. Flournoy. That means Packard, an increasingly important Republican figure here, is by no means solidly in the Reagan-for-President group or is Flournoy, a moderate liberal who will point up ideological differences with Reagan conservatism once he wins Tuesday's primary.

Thus, the political and ideological legacy of Reagan's two terms as governor is threadbare. Not only will the preponderant substance and tone of the Flournoy-led state Republican ticket be to Reagan's left but the emerging new political state Republican power structure is not locked into his 1976 presidential ambitions.

Packard has been atop that new power structure since returning from the Pentagon to the Hewlett-Packard Co. in 1972 and becoming deeply involved in Republican politics for the first time. Reagan insiders have expected Packard's towering reputation, sage counsel and luxuriant bankroll in their 1976 presidential campaign. Indeed, presidential politics was involved when Packard convinced Republican money men to back Flournoy for governor against erratic Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke, darling of the right-wing precinct workers and now under federal indictment for perjury: a Republican governor would help Reagan's presidential campaign, and independent, scandal-proof Flournoy was the best bet.

But Packard has become committed to Flounroy in his own right, as witness his reaction when the Reagan-controlled Republican state committee scheduled a $250-a-plate dinner for June 26. The purpose was to reassert Reagan's political authority and enrich his own political war chest with the usual 20 per cent off the top. Packard was bitter that, with Republican money so scarce in post-Watergate California, Reagan was siphoning money from the campaign for governor.

Packard's unpublicized criticism buttresses belief that he may have thought himself committed to Reagan last fall but is not now. If Packard is uncommitted, that is one less reason for Flournoy as governor to back Reagan. Contrary to rumors, Flournoy made no commitment about the 1976 presidential nomination in return for getting his fat cats.

To win the Republican primary, Flournoy has papered over old ideological differences with Reagan and flinches when Eastern columnists correctly identify him with the Hiram Johnson-Earl Warren tradition of progressive California Republicanism. Over television recently, Flournoy shed away from such identification and embraced Reagan. A Flournoy adviser standing nearby grimaced and whispered: "Wait until June 4."

After June 4, his advisers confide, Flournoy must point up past disagreements with Reagan over such matters as mental health and educational policy to woo independent and Democratic voters and organized labor support.

Those plans show that Flournoy has not converted to Reaganism. He now praises Reagan to escape the fate of former Sen. Thomas Kuchel, who lost the 1968 Republican primary for failing to make peace with Reagan. In fact, Reagan and Flournoy have not conferred personally in nine months.

Nor is the rest of the ticket clearly Reaganite. Packard recently raised money for the state comptroller campaign of assemblyman William Bagley, who years ago buried his feud with Reagan but still takes civil rights and civil liberties positions far more liberal than the governor's.

The Reagan inner circle can live with Flournoy and Bagley but cannot accept the possibility that John Veneman—a sharp critic of Reagan both as a liberal state assemblyman and as the hard-charging Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington—could win the nomination as lieutenant-governor against heavily favored conservative State Sen. John Harmer.

Flournoy promised the money men not to support his old friend Veneman (after having decided on neutrality anyway). Packard recently turned down the hard-pressed Veneman's plea for funds because of a similar commitment. Although Reagan is officially neutral, Harmer's friends say the governor has personally assured Harmer of his private support.

Even if Veneman does not score an upset, Tuesday's primary will end eight years of a California Republican Party monolithically devoted to Ronald Reagan's interests. But a far greater obstacle facing Reagan's higher ambitions is the presidential crisis of Richard M. Nixon.

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Thurs., July 10, 1975 Los Angeles Times

## CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN TEAM NAMED

# Longtime Reagan Backers Join Ford

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ
Times Political Writer

President Ford reached deep into the ranks of longtime supporters of his prospective rival, former Gov. Ronald Reagan, to form his own California campaign election committee, it was disclosed Wednesday.

Henry Salvatori, oilman and a major contributor and money-raiser for Reagan, switched to the Ford team, according to an announcement from a five-member steering committee for the President's campaign in California.

Mrs. Margaret Martin Brock, another veteran of the Reagan wars and a GOP convention delegate since 1952, came out for Mr. Ford.

So did Dr. William Banowsky, Pepperdine University president and Reagan's choice for Republican national committeeman from California.

Taft Schreiber, entertainment industry magnate who once was employed as Reagan's agent during his theatrical days and who was an executive committee member of Reagan's first campaign for governor, came out for Mr. Ford.

So did James Halley of San Mateo and Putnam Livermore of San Francisco, both of whom served as Republican state chairmen during Reagan's terms as governor.

Reagan's onetime appointments secretary, Paul Haerle of San Francisco, now the GOP state chairman, is a steering committee member of the Ford campaign in California, together with Mrs. Nita Ashcraft of San Francisco, who was state vice chairwoman of Reagan campaign finance committees in 1966 and 1970.

Other steering committee members include Atty. Gen. Evelle J. Younger, San Diego businessman Leon Parma and Los Angeles attorney Charles Bakaly.

Almost all of the Ford campaign committee members also have been closely identified with past major Republican campaigns, such as for former President Richard M. Nixon, former Sen. George Murphy and for Houston I. Flournoy, the 1974 Republican nominee for governor.

Reagan, vacationing out of town, said he did not care to comment on the Ford campaign group nor on the inclusion of some of his longtime supporters on the committee.

The former governor has said he will decide by the end of the year whether he will enter the race against Mr. Ford. Meanwhile, some of his supporters plan to form a volunteer group to scout his political strength throughout the country and begin a fund-raising operation.

Parma said that after Mr. Ford's national campaign director, Howard (Bo) Callaway, visits here soon, a chairman of the California campaign committee will be named.

Parma said the 44-member California committee will start organizing a "community-level" campaign for the President and start raising campaign funds.

Other members of the Ford committee include:

Earl Adams, Los Angeles; Clifford B. Anderson, Pasadena; Assemblyman Dixon Arnett, Redwood City; Robert S. Barnes, Newport Beach; Robert F. Beaver, Fullerton; Dr. Arnold Beckman, Irvine; Mrs. Marsha Bents, Newport Beach; Mrs. Elsie Buchenau, Madera; Asa Call, Los Angeles.

Also, Roy Crocker, Los Angeles; Stuart Davis, Los Angeles; John V. Diepenbrock, Sacramento; Kim Fletcher, San Diego; John P. (Rick) Guerin Jr., Los Angeles; Bruce Hazard, San Diego; David B. Holland, Palo Alto; John H. Holoman, Los Angeles; Norman Houston, Los Angeles; David James, Pasadena.

Also, Louis Johnson, Inglewood; Robert C. Kirkwood, San Francisco; C. Douglas Kranwinkle, Los Angeles; Assemblyman Jerry Lewis, Redlands; Mrs. Katie Martinez, Los Angeles; Robert Mayer, San Francisco; Peter McAndrews, Los Angeles; Arch Monson Jr., San Francisco; Assemblyman Frank Murphy, Monterey; David Packard, Palo Alto; Charles Reed, Los Angeles; Waller Taylor, Los Angeles; Charles Thomas, Corona del Mar, and Rep. Bob Wilson, San Diego.

**The Gallup Poll**

# Reagan Is Early Choice Of County Chairmen

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J. — California Gov. Ronald Reagan is the early choice of Republican county chairmen for their party's presidential nomination in 1976.

Reagan is picked by 39 per cent of the GOP party pros in a recent nationwide Gallup survey. Reagan is followed in the balloting by Vice President Gerald R. Ford (24 per cent), former New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (12 per cent) and former Treasury Secretary and Republican convert John B. Connally (7 per cent).

Here are the choices of the county chairmen and the eventual nominees:

| | County Chairman | Nominee |
|---|---|---|
| 1952 | Taft | Eisenhower |
| 1956 | (Eisenhower was incumbent) | |
| 1960 | Nixon | Nixon |
| 1964 | Goldwater | Goldwater |
| 1972 | (Nixon was incumbent) | |
| Today | Reagan | ? |

This year's choices of the county chairmen for the Republican nomination:

**Nationwide**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ronald Reagan | 39% |
| Gerald Ford | 24 |
| Nelson Rockefeller | 12 |
| John Connally | 7 |
| Barry Goldwater | 6 |
| Elliot Richardson | 4 |
| Charles Percy | 3 |
| Howard Baker | 2 |
| James Buckley | 1 |
| Mark Hatfield | 1 |
| Edward Brooke | * |
| No preference | 1 |

(*less than ½ of 1 per cent)

**EAST**

| | |
|---|---|
| Reagan | 27% |
| Rockefeller | 27 |
| Ford | 20 |
| Richardson | 7 |
| Goldwater | 5 |
| Percy | 5 |
| Others/No preference | 9 |

**SOUTH**

| | |
|---|---|
| Reagan | 46% |
| Ford | 21 |
| Connally | 14 |
| Goldwater | 7 |
| Rockefeller | 5 |
| Baker | 5 |
| Others/No preference | 2 |

**MIDWEST**

| | |
|---|---|
| Reagan | 36% |
| Ford | 32 |
| Rockefeller | 10 |
| Connally | 6 |
| Percy | 6 |
| Goldwater | 4 |
| Others/No preference | 6 |

**WEST**

| | |
|---|---|
| Reagan | 47% |
| Ford | 23 |
| Goldwater | 10 |
| Rockefeller | 5 |
| Connally | 5 |
| Richardson | 4 |
| Others/No preference | 6 |

There has been considerable speculation concerning Ford's political future, with the Vice President stating he is not a candidate for the 1976 Republican nomination. To determine which man the chairman would support with Ford out of the running, those who picked him were asked to indicate their second choice for the nomination.

Results show half of Ford's support going to Reagan, giving the California governor majority support (55 per cent) among these grassroots leaders.

Here are the standings with Ford's vote redistributed:

| | |
|---|---|
| Reagan | 55% |
| Rockefeller | 15 |
| Connally | 12 |
| Others/No preference | 18 |

The results reported are based on 2,384 questionnaires received to date, representing 64 per cent of the total contacted. Interviewing was done by mail questionnaire during late January and February.

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*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

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