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President Ford Committee

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

MEMORANDUM

OCTOBER 31, 1975

TO: BO CALLAWAY
FROM: FRED SLIGHT
SUBJECT: REAGAN ATTACK CAMPAIGN

Carolyn Booth represented the PFC on October 25th before a gathering of Washington, D. C. - Maryland - Virginia College Republicans at George Washington University.

Attached for your information is a summary of the points made by David Keene, Southern Regional Director of Citizens for Reagan. Keene, by the way, arrived after Carolyn's presentation and was not aware of her presence in the audience. His remarks undoubtedly represent more than his own personal viewpoint.

Keene is a former member of the staffs of Jim Buckley and Spiro Agnew, and was once prominently associated with Young Americans for Freedom.

Attachment

cc: ✓ Stu Spencer



From Pete Wilson & League of CALIF. CITIES.

October 31, 1975

Obviously, as a former Assemblyman who had an inside firsthand view of the Reagan years, you have a better knowledge of his qualifications than I could ever hope to have. I can only give you my personal viewpoint of those years and point to some of the highlights as we viewed them. Some of these are favorable and others are unfavorable and more consistent with what I believe to be Reagan's true philosophy toward government.

From a municipal viewpoint the only saving quality was that he had as one of his early subordinates under Bill Clark, Ed Meese who had at least a county viewpoint of local government although this was heavily weighted toward law enforcement. When Ed Meese took Bill Clark's place it was helpful to local government, but even Ed finally caved in as you may recall when he assumed the leadership within the Administration in supporting Proposition 1 in 1973 and personally directed the legal and economic efforts to prop up the Governor's position. I am enclosing our analysis of Proposition 1 to refresh your memory. This concept alone which Reagan has tried to peddle to other states disqualifies him, in my opinion, from holding any leadership position.

When Reagan arrived in Sacramento it was with a total business orientation and very little concern for even a moderate viewpoint. While he sought and used the League's Annual Conference in San Diego in 1966 to present his views to city officials throughout the state, he wouldn't even appear at the 1967 Annual Conference in San Francisco and each year we went through the same hassle in trying to get him to attend what had been a traditional "Governor's" luncheon. This is an intangible, but his conduct has to be contrasted with that of his predecessors who built the tradition. The current Governor isn't much better, but he is not discriminatory and Reagan found no problem in attending any of the conventions held by business people in 1967 or thereafter. The only other Annual Conference he missed was in 1972 in Anaheim.



Reagan's concern for home rule was largely lip service and again primarily against state government rather than for local government. His pervasive attitude that governmental employees couldn't succeed in private business is something that does not show in any record other than statements he repeatedly made at Host breakfasts or other business dominated conferences. We lost many good career people as a result of this attitude, but, more importantly, it was bad for public employee morale and is one of the factors with which you must contend in current employer-employee relations legislation. He left other legacies that will long outlive his memory such as the penny-wise but pound foolish idea that you could stop the growth of government by stopping the construction of public buildings necessary to house governmental agencies. In this area I suppose that Alan Post's annual budget analysis and special reports during the Reagan years would be the best source of information.

I have enclosed the 1967-1974 Highlights of Legislation: "The Reagan Years." I am sure that you and the members of your staff will be interested in your own assessment of bills Reagan either signed or vetoed or worked against during those years.

Meanwhile, I will simply point out some of the good and bad bills, most of which you will readily remember and all of which are referred to in the enclosure.

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Brown had vetoed an earlier separate cigarette tax bill which Lanterman had carried for the League.

3. Page 5. Real Property Transfer Tax. Another Reagan plus because there was uncertainty over opposition from interested parties, most of whom were aligned with Reagan. The single major factor was that the author was Steve Teale.
4. Page 8. Annexation. Reagan vetoed AB 1632 which would have solved the uninhabited island problem. He was influenced primarily by business interests and by Frank Lanterman. It set the Reagan pattern on annexation for the next eight years and was one of the reasons why California has such backward laws on annexation.
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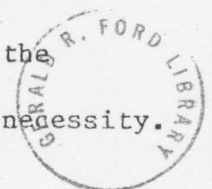
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August 7, 1968, Legislative Bulletin

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This assessment is certainly uncharitable and could also be erroneous. It was, however, his first and last support of a regional mechanism to solve a regional problem.

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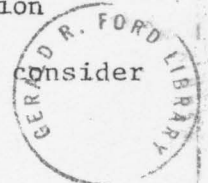
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local government's revenue problems as serious always considered reduction of business taxes as having the highest priority. A temporary relief of business inventory from 15% to 30% was made permanent and as we will find later was increased to 50%. He did recognize the burden which would be placed on local government by a mandatory retirement bill when he vetoed AB 1098 (page 24).

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2. Page 6. Coastline Protection. Here I can be a little more certain that the lack of leadership on the part of the Governor was primarily responsible for the defeat of all legislation and the adoption of Proposition 20.
3. Page 11. Subdivision Map Act Revision. Because it was the League's and Senator Gregorio's bill and because it was opposed by the California Real Estate Association and the Home Builders, the Administration offered no help whatsoever in the enactment of this essential legislation. It is my own guess, and only a guess, that if the bill had passed it would have been vetoed.
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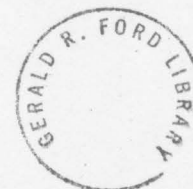
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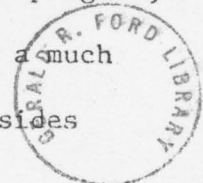
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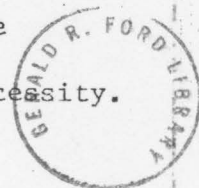
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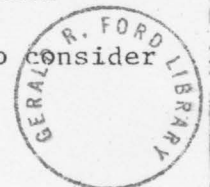
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THE RONALD REAGAN COLUMN
(For Release In Papers Of Friday, Nov. 7, Or Thereafter)

By RONALD REAGAN

Copley News Service

Everything from chicken manure to windmills is being touted as America's great energy hope. Most of the talk is just that. All the exotic energy sources put together won't provide more than a fraction of U.S. energy needs in the next several decades.

Solar power is the most talked about exotic source. It is being used today to heat a few buildings and swimming pools. Its advocates conjure up visions of heating the whole country with it. They ignore its limitations, which are great.

The sun's power is very diluted when it reaches us. It takes about 10 square feet to gather enough energy for a single kilowatt of power.



The Ronald Reagan Column -- 2

While a building's roof may be large enough to hold solar "collectors" for a nearby swimming pool, the size requirements for the collectors are staggering when you begin talking about power plants.

A nuclear power plant with a capacity of 1,000 megawatts needs a 25-acre site. A solar power plant with the same capacity would need 50 square miles of collectors, and to equal the nation's projected nuclear capacity by the mid-1980s (200,000 megawatts), you'd need an area larger than the state of New York to hold all the collectors!

Like other exotic energy sources, solar power has some useful limited applications, mostly in warm weather areas. In fact, any discussion of its merits and risks should include a calculation of the number of people in heavy winter areas who would fall off their roofs trying to scrape snow from their solar collectors.



The Ronald Reagan Column -- 3

Some power companies are considering limited efforts to extract methane gas from manure, but it would be hard to find a scientist who would bet that this "source" ever will amount to more than a small percentage of our needs.

Windmills are in the same category. They can be useful where strong winds prevail, but their cost per kilowatt is high and it's hard to imagine Americans covering their landscapes with them.

Harnessing the tides, though feasible, would provide for only a small amount of the nation's energy needs, even if a massive, expensive development program were undertaken.

Tapping the heat of the earth's core is many years away, although use of steam near the surface is today providing a small percentage of our energy.



The Ronald Reagan Column -- 4

While talks go on about "alternative sources" to fossil fuels, the United States has the largest proved reserve (not total reserve) of oil it's ever had--enough for 11 years' supply. On the continental shelf alone, there are an estimated 98 billion barrels of oil, plus natural gas. The bulk of it has been tied up, not by lack of technology but by bureaucratic red tape and the political maneuvering of so-called environmentalists.

Dr. P. Beckman, a quiet but plain-speaking University of Colorado professor who specializes in the study of energy, says this about solving our short-range needs:

"Use all the oil you can get till other sources come in." He's referring, of course, to domestic oil. Those "other sources" are coal and nuclear power.

But why not use conservation to combat energy scarcity?



The Ronald Reagan Column -- 5

Because politically inspired scarcity, which we've been wrestling with for two years, cannot be solved by legislated conservation, such as rationing and price controls. They only rearrange the problem.

The forces of a free marketplace are the best means of achieving conservation, Dr. Beckman observes.

"There is no rule that says you can't throw diamonds out the window, but people just don't do it," he says. "If gasoline costs more, people will conserve it and economize in other areas."

Coal, of which we have a huge reserve, may offer the best alternative to gasoline for powering our automobiles not too many years from now, if political roadblocks can be cleared away.



The Ronald Reagan Column -- 6

Pilot projects have shown that by drilling down into a coal field, exploding the coal and reducing it to rubble, injecting water and oxygen, you produce methane gas. Piped out, it can be refined into methanol, which can power an internal-combustion engine. Its heating value is only that of gasoline, so cars would need larger tanks, but this is outweighed by its potential abundance and the fact that it is nearly pollution-free. We could do away with costly gadgets such as catalytic converters, which replace one type of pollution with another.

The methanol-from-coal program suffers primarily from investment anemia at present.



The Ronald Reagan Column -- 7

And, should serious talks begin on developing such a fuel to replace gasoline, it probably would trigger a major campaign by the environmental extremists, who seem intent on reducing the mobility and freedom of choice of the workingman in order to recapture for themselves a bucolic past that never was.

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mc



THE RONALD REAGAN COLUMN
(For Release In Papers Of Friday, Nov. 7, Or Thereafter)

By RONALD REAGAN

Copley News Service

Everything from chicken manure to windmills is being touted as America's great energy hope. Most of the talk is just that. All the exotic energy sources put together won't provide more than a fraction of U.S. energy needs in the next several decades.

Solar power is the most talked about exotic source. It is being used today to heat a few buildings and swimming pools. Its advocates conjure up visions of heating the whole country with it. They ignore its limitations, which are great.

The sun's power is very diluted when it reaches us. It takes about 10 square feet to gather enough energy for a single kilowatt of power.



The Ronald Reagan Column -- 2

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November 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: BO, STU, BOB
FROM: PETER KAYE

This is how I believe we should conduct the counter-Reagan program next week:

I: Before He Announces

- Judy* A. A statement from U.S. senators supporting the President. Stress the President's experience in world and national affairs and his skill in dealing with Congress. The confidence they have in him as a party, national and world leader.
- PK* B. A detailed story naming our new finance chairman and activities. I'll have it written and ready to go to counter any Reagan financial story.
- PK
STU* C. Circulate among Reagan press on Wednesday night informally. Stu and I already have such plans. Another we should plant in and around the Madison is Cliff White.

II. During the Announcement Time

- PK* A. A release by Bob Wilson explaining why a majority of California congressmen support Ford.
- Judy* B. Anything positive we can get out of John Rhodes and Hugh Scott similar to Senate positions (above).
- PK* C. Bo will be in El Paso and will have a news conference on this as soon as we can brief him on Reagan's announcement.
- prel. Judy* D. We should have available in Washington and ready for reaction -- Burch, Laird, Scranton, Dole, etc. -- our best political spokesmen. I'd like to offer them up for TV



talk and news programs too.

TAP
Gov.

Judy E. Same thing on the road. e.g. Anne Armstrong in St. Louis etc. Let me know and we'll coordinate details.

PK F. The President should tend strictly to business -- hopefully of a major headline-making nature -- in the White House and avoid any reaction. *Nelson*

PK G. We should have someone at Press Club taping Reagan. Handouts supporting President Ford should be available from sources on the Hill and us.

III. Immediately After Washington

B. A. Reagan goes to Miami. I suggest our PR guy there distribute handout from four (or all five if we get them) Florida congressmen supporting the President. I advise against a news conference but believe the release must be distributed statewide and most important to press traveling with Reagan at planeside.

Breen B. Same thing with Cleveland in New Hampshire. A release for local and traveling press at Manchester Town Meeting that night and perhaps a Cleveland news conference to follow Reagan's if he has one, as planned, in Manchester the next day. Both the Florida and New Hampshire releases should stress solidarity, party unity, Ford's experience and by implication Reagan's lack. But they should be upbeat. We'll hit Reagan harder later.

Faine Anderson Mrs. King PK C. The next day in Charlotte. Another statewide release from Holshouser -- copies at planeside to press. News conference by governor in Raleigh after Reagan's appearance in Charlotte. Point up President as moderate conservative; Reagan as more extreme. We might also feed Holshouser a few tidbits on Reagan's record as governor.

~~Bruce Lindt~~ Mike Hudson B. D. Same thing in Chicago with Ogilvie. Release at planeside for press conference and statement or press conference following. Again, Ogilvie, as governor, can put President in more moderate stance than Reagan.

~~STU~~ PK E. Finally, Los Angeles rally. Younger and Carpenter. More emphasis on Reagan's California record. Airport rally. Releases at planeside to press and earlier locally.



IV. Way After.

Keep counterattacking on national radio and TV and statewide in key areas.

Fred.

A few afterthoughts:

What we are trying to do is to coopt as much of the Reagan story as we can. Also to set an early tone as aggressive campaigners. We don't need to zero in negatively just yet. Only in generalities stressing Reagan's lack of experience with Congress, dealing with national and international issues and over-all extremism and ego trip in seeking nomination. Also we should keep pointing up party unity; quote Goldwater and Rockefeller in need for eliminating squabbling in forging winning ticket for minority party.

As for technique. It is important that releases be coordinated but not written by the same person. They should come from many sources inside and outside of PFC. Press conferences and other public radio and TV appearances should be undertaken only by our most experienced and skilled people. President should remain aloof and minding the store.



Rerun on the Right Reagan's Campaign, Like Goldwater's in '64, Raps Big Government He Cites California Record (With Some Omissions) And Paints Ford Futile Welfare, Taxes and Detente

By NORMAN C. MILLER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ORLANDO, Fla.—Close your eyes, cast your mind back a dozen years, and you can believe that the candidate exhorting the conservative faithful at a rally here is Barry Goldwater.

He heaps scorn on Republicans who embrace Democratic-type programs swelling Washington's power. He pledges to abolish huge sections of the federal bureaucracy, cut taxes, balance the budget and begin paying off the national debt.

"We have come to a watershed moment—a moment in which government must be turned around and take a different direction," he tells his applauding partisans.

This isn't Barry Goldwater but Ronald Reagan, speaking in the final warm-up stages before formally declaring his candidacy against Gerald Ford for the Republican presidential nomination. Mr. Reagan's decision to run seems certain, and he probably will announce it next week.

The 64-year-old former governor of California, who many think is the most polished stump speaker in American politics today, then will take to the hustings with a message that adds up to this: President Ford is an ineffectual leader who isn't up to the job of reversing government to a truly conservative direction.

Not-So-Veiled References

Although Mr. Reagan says he will avoid personal attacks on the President, his meaning is clear in his indirect statements. "I don't see that there is any real effort being made in Washington at any level to make the drastic change that needs to take place," he tells an interviewer. "Maybe it's because they're all part of the interlocked Washington establishment."

Mr. Reagan has had considerable impact even before declaring his candidacy. He has

pushed President Ford to the right on several issues, including across-the-board spending cuts in social programs, and in effect he has pushed Vice President Nelson Rockefeller right off the 1976 GOP ticket.

Maneuvers by the President and his men have only seemed to whet Mr. Reagan's appetite for primary races. "It's time for a change, it's time for a crusade," he told a country club gathering of Florida Republicans last week. In this and other speeches around the country, Mr. Reagan has presented in breathtaking detail the kind of "drastic change" he will espouse as a candidate.

He urges the abolishing, over an unidentified period, of major social programs currently costing \$90 billion a year. He says flatly that he would end federal aid to education and abolish welfare programs such as food stamps and Medicaid. He indicates also that he would stop subsidies for housing and end federal revenue-sharing with states.

Job for the States

Responsibility for these programs should be "systematically transferred" to the states, and the states could continue them or not as they choose, Mr. Reagan says. He acknowledges that this transfer would result in higher state and local taxes to pay for continued programs. But he promises that a massive reduction of Washington's role would remove "the dead hand of federal interference" and also produce huge savings as much of the federal bureaucracy is wiped out.

"With such a savings, it would be possible to balance the federal budget, make an initial \$5 billion payment on the national debt and cut the federal income tax burden of every American by an average of 23%," Mr. Reagan declares.

President Ford, Mr. Reagan implies, will never really chop down the federal bureaucracy because he is part of that "Washington establishment" and is just playing political games when he talks conservatively.

Thus, of the President's tax-and-spending-cut proposal, Mr. Reagan says: "My simple interpretation is that the \$28 billion cut is in the proposed increase of the budget (which the President will submit in January). Now, if there is \$28 billion that can be cut from the proposed increase, why the hell is it in there in the first place? It has a little bit of the sound of the fellow who advertises a big sale, 20% off, but he raises the prices 40% before he cuts them back."

Assault on Detente

In foreign policy, Mr. Reagan accuses the President of being soft on Communism. Detente with the Russians "has deteriorated into a one-way street in which the enemy is using it to further his aims toward the eventual domination of the world and the destruction of this way of life of ours," he asserts.

He attacks the treaty that the U.S. and other nations signed last summer with the Soviet Union at Helsinki—a treaty that formalized Russia's post-World War II revision of Eastern European boundaries. "The U.S. said to the captive nations: 'Give up any hope of freedom,'" Mr. Reagan charges.

Thus, in both the domestic and foreign arenas, his boldly stated conservatism makes President Ford look relatively bland. The Californian and his advisers are convinced an uncompromising conservative gospel will have winning appeal in primaries to the conservatives who dominate the GOP.

Mr. Reagan has substantial campaign assets in his bid to upset the President. His assured and articulate style contrasts with Mr. Ford's dull and sometimes bumbling manner. Mr. Reagan has an enthusiastic following among grassroots conservatives that assures him of ample campaign funds.

He appears to be in vigorous health. Although in person his age shows, on television he looks much younger than 64. The Reagan campaign organization, which is already in place, appears to be operating more effectively than the Ford camp in early primary states—New Hampshire, Florida and North Carolina.

Mr. Reagan's immediate goal is to defeat Mr. Ford in these early primaries, hoping that such blows would destroy the President's campaign effort in later primaries or even cause him to withdraw. While Mr. Reagan must be rated an underdog, the strength of his challenge may be measured by the fact that the Ford campaign manager, Howard (Bo) Callaway, already is trying to discount possible early primary losses by the President.

Further, the gradual switch of states to primaries instead of state conventions, bringing the number of primary states to 30, means that a majority of delegates will be elected by GOP voters instead of politicians. This factor enhances the chances of a skilled challenger like Mr. Reagan and diminishes, to some degree, the advantage the President has through his control of government and party machinery.

Reagan advisers are confident their candidate can cope with the charge by Ford men that the Californian is so conservative that his nomination would result in defeat rivaling the GOP's Goldwater disaster of 1964.

For one thing, they say, the time has finally come for a true conservative. "In 1964, about 75% of the people thought the federal government was doing a good job," one Reagan adviser says. "Now, about 75% think it is doing a bad job."

Pointing to the Record

For another, they say, unlike Sen. Goldwater, Mr. Reagan has governed the nation's most populous state and demon-



strated, as one puts it, "that conservative Republican principles do work."

Mr. Reagan himself takes every opportunity to recite highlights of his record, trying to show that he can deliver on his promises.

When he was elected in 1966, the state was threatened with big deficits, he says, but when he left office last January, the state had a \$500 million surplus. Tax and budget cuts over eight years "provided more than \$5.7 billion in direct tax relief," he claims.

Moreover, increased state aid to local governments enabled them to cut property taxes, Mr. Reagan says. At the same time, state spending was restrained by holding the number of state employees at "virtually the same" level for eight years, he says.

Delivery of Services

Mr. Reagan cites the slashing of California's welfare rolls as one of his greatest accomplishments. Welfare costs were escalating out of sight and the rolls were increasing by 40,000 persons a month, he says, but a 1971 "reform" law cut the number of welfare recipients by 400,000 by the end of his term.

While relentlessly pursuing a "cut, squeeze and trim" fiscal policy, Mr. Reagan says he also improved vital public services. The record supports his further contention

that state appropriations for education were doubled during his tenure, from kindergarten up through the multi-campus University of California, which he was denouncing during the student violence in the 1960s.

However, Mr. Reagan's rosy recital of his record ignores some other material facts. Unless asked, Mr. Reagan doesn't mention such things as these:

The state budget more than doubled during his tenure, rising to about \$10 billion from \$4.6 billion. While the bulk of the increase was for state assistance to local governments, and in this respect the state was just performing a collection and distribution function, the rest of the state budget also increased about 50% during the Reagan years.

California taxes rose substantially under the Reagan administration. The retail sales tax went up to 6% from 4%. Personal income taxes, which had ranged from 1% to 7%, were raised to a range of 1% to 11%. Corporate income taxes rose to 9% from 5.5%, although increases were offset substantially by companion reductions in the state's inventory tax. Tax withholding from workers' paychecks was imposed in 1972, something, Mr. Reagan had vowed he would never allow. In all, state tax collections doubled during the Reagan years.

"Tax Relief" Claim

The \$5.7 billion in "direct tax relief" that Mr. Reagan talks about resulted from partial tax rebates enacted during a few periods when the state had fat surpluses. But without three basic tax increases, there wouldn't have been any money to rebate.

It should be noted that Mr. Reagan really hadn't any choice except to back a big tax increase his first year in office; the previous Democratic administration had left the state in financial straits. One of the two other big tax increases supported by the governor raised funds to assist local governments, and the increased state aid did arrest, for a time, the rise in local property taxes. Now, however, property taxes are rising again because inflation is increasing property valuations sharply, according to A. Alan Post, the nonpartisan legislative analyst for the California legislature.

Effects of Recession

Mr. Reagan's claim that he held state government employment steady for eight years isn't precisely correct. Actually, the state's full-time employees increased modestly by 5.7%, to 108,393, during the Reagan years, according to the state's Personnel Board. (In contrast the number of federal civilian employees declined 3.3% during the same eight-year period.)

Mr. Reagan also is apparently exaggerating when he claims that the tightened eligibility rules imposed by the October 1971 welfare law had cut 400,000 persons from the rolls when he left office last January. According to a spokesman for the State Department of Benefit Payments, the peak caseload was reached in March 1971, when 2,293,906 Californians were receiving welfare checks. Last January, 2,060,875 persons were on welfare—a decline of 233,031 rather than the 400,000 Mr. Reagan claims.

Further, as a result of the recession, California welfare rolls have been rising again this year. At last count, 2,109,591 persons

were on welfare—just 20,069 fewer than when the Reagan-sponsored welfare law took effect in October 1971.

No one familiar with the California law disputes the fact that it tightened welfare eligibility rules considerably and thus removed some persons—perhaps the "cheaters" Mr. Reagan flays—from the rolls. Clearly, the Reagan law helped stop the upward spiral of welfare. However, a number of welfare specialists dispute whether the state law had much permanent impact in cutting welfare rolls; the basic trend of welfare is determined much more by general economic conditions, they contend.

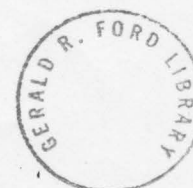
It is clear, in sum, that none of Mr. Reagan's major policies as governor violated his conservative principles. However, he was a good deal more pragmatic as governor than his rhetoric would suggest; especially in his second term, he compromised with the Democratic-controlled legislature on fiscal and social issues.

Yet fundamentally, Mr. Reagan consistently tried, against the pressure of Democratic legislators and the forces of inflation, to restrain government growth. Undoubtedly, he did succeed in imposing some degree of restraint. But he didn't succeed in reversing or even halting that growth.



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MEMORANDUM

TO: PETER

FROM: STU

Wichita

There is a Governors Conference approximately the same time RR is announcing in ~~St. Louis~~. The following governors are supporting the President:

Hols/Houser

Evans

Bowen

Bond

Ray

Moore

Rhodes

Milliken

Bennett

N.C.

Washington

Indiana

Missouri

Iowa

West Virginia

Ohio

Michigan

KANSAS

~~MADE W. Va.~~

We might be smart to use spokesman (as relates to announcement) at the Governors Conference.

Edwards — S.C.

Thompson — N.H.

Hannard — ALASKA



Weekly expense
Under \$250./matchable
Convention figure.

Mike
Milburn 833-8000



RR

Before → U.S. Senators — Brock, Mc, Baker, Taft
Finance
Cliff White at Madison

During → Steering Comte x etc. at Penn Club
Crime in S. Cal
Beh x
Rhodes/Scott
H in WTT on NY etc.
Bo in Texas & Nebraska
Scranton

after → By state

Way after →

~~WWWW~~

What → Party unity
Ford & Congress
PF as statesman
Uplift
RR's record / inexperience
in world affairs
extremism
others come out



Reagan in Race Would Turn Heat on Ford

By ANDREW GLASS
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — On Nov. 20 or thereabouts, former California Gov. Ronald Reagan is expected to make it official that he'll run for the Republican nomination for president.

And when he does, he is sure to turn up the heat on President Ford.

While Reagan still maintains that he hasn't decided whether to run, a detailed battle plan is already being forged. Reagan says it calls for injecting "a little excitement" into the New Hampshire primary, which will be decided on Feb. 24, and into the Florida primary, which falls just two weeks later.

The Reagan forces are rapidly organizing themselves down to the precinct level in both of these primary states while, by all accounts, the Ford campaign staff has focused on winning the allegiance of party leaders.

Reagan, of course, is not ignoring the GOP leadership. He intends, for example, to confer with key Florida GOP officials in Boca Raton and in St. Petersburg in early November.

When it comes, the assault on Ford is likely to be somewhat oblique in its style and diffused on the issues. "I've never compiled a laundry list of where we differ," Reagan says mildly. "But I'm sure there would be different approaches that we have to things."

Reagan would much prefer to avoid a straightforward attack on Ford's policies, just as he prefers to deal in his speeches with generalities rather than with specific stands.

"At last, our people seem to be aware of how they are picking up the tab for all we spend," Reagan told the New York Conservative party amid cheers last week at a \$100-a-dish fund-raising dinner. "Government," Reagan went on to say, "is not the solution to the problem. Government is the problem."

The following evening, Reagan made the same point to the Yale Political Union, a less enthusiastic and more skeptical audience. "I think

it's every American's right to be stupid," he told the undergraduates.

Yet, in New Haven or elsewhere, Reagan rarely ducks a question on the issues, although he usually digs a channel in which he can retreat if pressed too hard. The only question he avoids nowadays are those that deal with his plans to run against Ford. His sense of political timing, he says, tells him that it is still premature to deal with these matters.

No such qualms arise to check Reagan's pronouncements in the foreign policy field, where he is seeking to shore up his lagging reputation.

"Never again should we recognize or participate in bodies that expel our friends and allies without cause," he told the Philadelphia World Affairs Council last Tuesday in a speech that he had carefully scheduled last April. But that didn't mean, he quickly added, that he thought the United States should pull out of the United Nations at this time.

Reagan views détente with the Soviets as a fine concept, but adds that it has become too much a one-way street and that Washington should be taking a more hard-nosed approach toward Moscow.

He professed to be alarmed by the various congressional investigations of the Central Intelligence Agency. The agency, he says, is being "destroyed by the current atmosphere" as "hundreds of counter-intelligence sources dry up."

One area where he breaks cleanly and firmly with the Ford administration is over the Panama Canal. The State Department is seeking to renegotiate the Canal Zone treaty, which requires congressional approval.

"We built that canal," Reagan said last week. "We paid for it. It is the property of the United States and they (the Panamanian government officials) are pro-Communists. I think we would be damned fools to turn the sovereignty of the canal over to them."

Heat on Ford

It is precisely that kind of attack from conservatives on Congress and elsewhere that convinced the Ford administration the canal treaty is too volatile an issue to deal with in an election year. A high administration official acknowledged privately Friday that the negotiations will be stalled until after November 1976.

On the domestic front, Reagan contends that the federal government has no business bailing out New York City, whose problem, he says, is one of "mismanagement." On the other hand, he adds, "I don't want to see any little bondholders hurt by this."

While Reagan is against "paving over our country in the name of progress," he has nothing good to say about the environmentalists who "wouldn't let you build a home unless it looked like a bird's nest."

According to Reagan, welfare payments should be localized rather than federalized, although some federal standards might have to be retained. Federal outlays should be slashed by \$90 billion, he says, which would balance the budget, create a \$5 billion surplus as a downpayment on the national debt and cut the average American's income tax by 23 per cent.

"What I propose," Reagan said rather grandly, last week, "is nothing less than a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states — a program of creative federalism for America's third century."

Reagan's program might be dismissed as that of a unrealistic ideologue if not for the fact that he served as governor of California now the nation's largest state, for eight years, and left office, in the words of an aide, "with his hide pretty much intact."

The former governor loses no opportunity to tell "the California story." He stressed the \$500 million surplus he bequeathed to the Democrats. He notes that there were 400,000 fewer Californians on the

welfare rolls when he left office in January 1975 than when he took over, "although grants to the truly needy were up by 43 per cent."

Reagan also makes much of the fact that Ford had named him to the commission that investigated CIA wrongdoing. National security issues, his advisers admit, is a Reagan weakness, and he is doing all he can to compensate for it.

Reagan's cameo appearances on television belie the fact that his wit is not particularly sharp, that his private banter is weak and punctuated by clichés.

Occasionally, these weaknesses show through. In Philadelphia, for example, Reagan was clearly unfamiliar with his text, which dealt with America's relationship with the non-aligned Third World. Eight times while reading the speech, Reagan spoke of the "Third World War" until he realized what he was doing and apologized for his "Trentonian slip."

Reporters who cover Reagan for any length of time find that he answers every question on a particular subject in a pat way, as if by rote, never changing his words.

Nevertheless, Reagan continues to demonstrate a great appeal to GOP audiences — the only constituency he needs to capture the presidential nomination. They see his polished and poised performance, his stances in shaking hands and signing autographs, his orange-brown hair, his blue-tinted contact lenses and his rosy cheeks.

"Isn't he youthful," a Long Island matron said of Reagan while the spotlights beamed on his face at the Suffolk County's annual GOP fund-raising dinner.



David S. Broder

What Means to Reagan's Conservative Ends?

With the entry of Ronald Reagan into the Republican presidential race this week, the question of means and ends in the 1976 election is now posed in its sharpest possible form. Bringing that question to the forefront of political consciousness is so important that Reagan's candidacy can be welcomed even by those who do not share his vision of what the American future should be.

The purpose of Reagan's running is very clear: to lead a conservative counterrevolution against the 40-year growth of the bureaucratic welfare state in Washington. He has the singular virtue of stating his objectives in unmistakable terms.

In a speech in Chicago this fall which previewed the main theme of his campaign, the former California governor assailed "Big Brother government in Washington," whose "crushing weight...has distorted our federal system and altered the relationship between the levels of government, threatening the freedom of individuals and families."

He said: "It isn't good enough to approach this tangle of confusion by saying we will try to make it more efficient or 'responsive,' or modify an aspect here or there, or do a little less of all these objectionable things than will the Washington bureaucrats and those who support them...The problem must be attacked at its source."

"What I propose," said Reagan, "is nothing less than a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states—a program of creative federalism for America's third century." As a first installment on that effort, Reagan proposed reducing the federal budget by about \$90 billion, cutting federal taxes about 23 per cent and requiring the states to pick up much of the federal burden in areas of welfare, education, housing and community development, medical and food assistance.

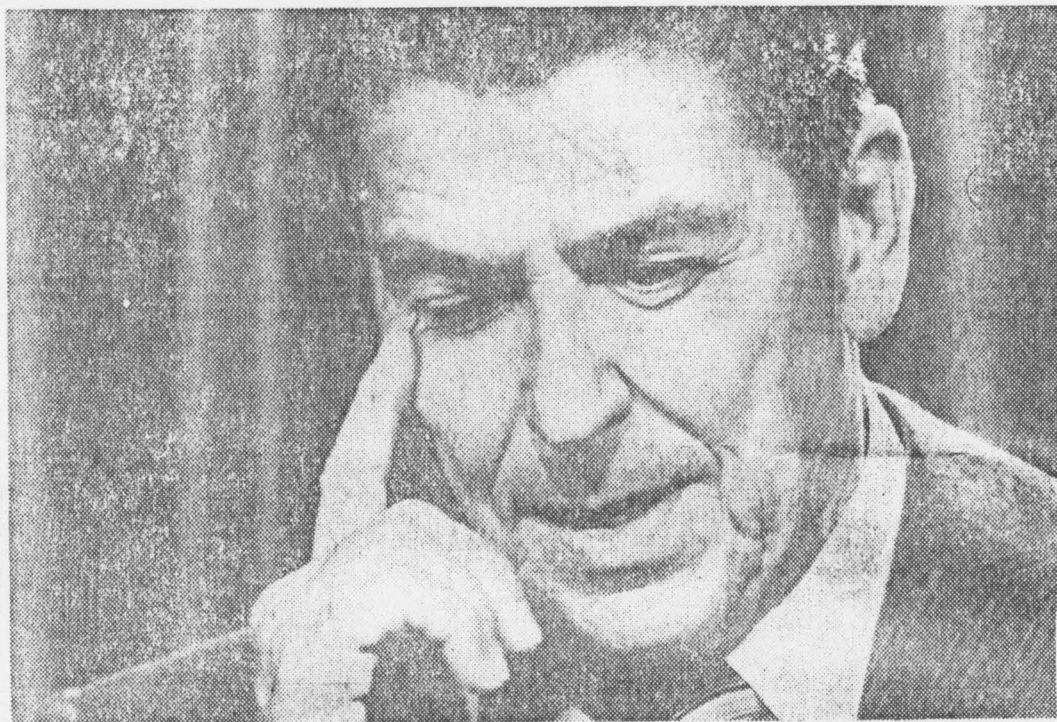
Thus, Reagan's ends are admirably clear. By what means does he seek to achieve them? By running for President. Is he realistic in his assessment of the ends-means relationship?

Pat Buchanan, the conservative writer, thinks not. He has accused Reagan of grossly overpromising. Buchanan, who served in the Nixon White House and saw the fierce interest-group, bureaucratic and congressional resistance to Nixon's much

more modest program of decentralization, has a realistic awareness of the limits of a President's power.

The same warning could be given by those in today's White House who are attempting to ease regulatory restrictions on the economy—a program which Reagan endorses but says is insufficient.

They can testify that, contrary to conservative myth-making, private industry in this country is not longing to be freed of government regulations. On the contrary, big business loves the protection from competition which those bureaucratic rules provide.



Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina, a conservative Republican and Reagan supporter, found himself denounced by the truckers in his home state when he had the temerity to cosponsor a bill proposing abolition of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Conservatives like Helms and the others who will rally to Reagan's banner have a duty to level with the public about what it will really take to achieve the ends they are seeking. There is no stronger political-economic power in this country than the triangle formed by the congressional committees that authorize and fund a

program and agency, the bureaucrats who administer it, and the interest groups who are its beneficiaries.

That is as true of the welfare triangle, the education triangle, the housing triangle and the transportation triangle as it is of the famous military-industrial complex.

To crack any of those power centers and the spending, regulation and bureaucracy they produce will take an enormous outside force.

That kind of force can be generated—legitimately—in our country only by a sustained mandate from the voters, expressed not merely in the election of an individual as President but in a victory for his party that gives it control of the Congress and Executive for long enough to put its program into effect. To reverse the forces of governmental centralization that began with Franklin D. Roosevelt will take party victories as great as the Democrats won from 1932 to 1952.

If the conservatives of this country are honest with themselves and the voters, they will campaign for that kind of victory—and not just the nomination and election of Ronald Reagan. And if Reagan is more than a personal ego-trip, he will

tell the voters that if they want his program, they must end the 22-year Democratic rule of Congress as well, and give him a conservative-controlled Congress.

This duty falls with particular force on conservatives, for they, of all people, must understand how fragile are the bonds of confidence and trust that sustain this nation. The American people cannot be conned again, and it would be a con game of the worst sort to promise that a President with Reagan's goals would reverse the course of 40 years' history if he were elected without political allies to the White House.

What we need least of all in this country is a continuation of the policy and political stalemate of the past seven years—a stalemate which has fed public frustration and cynicism with the whole political process.

If Reagan is elected on his own, as Nixon was, he will in a short time be as frustrated—and dangerous—as Nixon was. And that serves no one's interests, least of all true conservatives.

That is why the means-and-ends question now become central to our politics.



Reagan Would End Fed

By THOMAS W. OTTENAD
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON

"WE HAVE COME to a watershed in history." Ronald Reagan was saying to about 300 persons gathered in a park in Orlando, Fla., the other afternoon. "Government must be turned around and headed in another direction."

To turn away from what he sees as excessive federal dominance of American life, the former California governor favors action so drastic that it would reverse political history of the last half century by shattering the power, authority and primacy of the Federal Government in many fields of social welfare.

In his forthcoming run for the Republican nomination for the presidency, he is ready to seek a sweeping, revolutionary break with the past that would abolish outright federal programs ranging from welfare to school aid and costing 90 billion dollars this year. State and local governments would have the option of continuing or modifying any of the programs, but if they did they would have to pay for them.

In an interview with the Post-Dispatch, Reagan, who is scheduled to announce his candidacy Thursday, repeatedly expressed concern about a potential totalitarian take-over unless the nation removes the federal presence that he believes intrudes on many aspects of American life. He warned:

"THE DANGER is that if there is not soon a beginning of an answer, a fellow on the white horse could come in and say, 'Put it in my hands.' I don't think America is at that point yet, but it could happen."

In the political community, the Californian is rated as the most serious kind of threat to President Gerald R. Ford's hopes for the Republican nomination next year. After listening to Reagan's polished, easy performance the other day, a woman in that charmed crowd in Orlando suddenly called out, "Do you realize you could make mincemeat of Jerry Ford?"

"Do you mind if I don't answer that?" Reagan replied with a grin, as the crowd laughed and applauded.

Reagan's winning way with a crowd — most aficionados rate Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Dem.), Massachusetts, his only close competitor as a political orator — is only one reason that many analysts believe Reagan may succeed at the always difficult task of unseating an incumbent President.

Among other strengths, he is well known, he is a long-time darling of conservatives and he has been making recent political moves skillfully in contrast to Mr. Ford's series of blunders.

In a confidential poll taken for the Californian, voters rated him higher than Mr. Ford in possessing what they regarded as ideal presidential traits. The surveys indicated, too, that Mr. Ford's support was even softer than most analysts had thought; more than 70 per cent of the President's supporters were rated as transferable to Reagan in a race against the Democrats.

On the early form sheet, Reagan is the underdog if for no other reason than precedent. But in political circles, whispers are beginning that Mr. Ford has performed so badly that he might have to withdraw from the race.

ON THE OTHER HAND, once Reagan becomes a candidate, his life will get tougher as his views receive wide analysis. In the end his chances are likely to rest on how he is perceived.



he's to the right of Barry Goldwater." Senator Goldwater (Rep.), Arizona, the first high priest of the Far Right in modern times to become a presidential nominee, was buried in a landslide in 1964 when his proposals — like making Social Security voluntary and selling the Tennessee Valley Authority — proved too conservative and scary for the country.

Even some of those closest to Goldwater's campaign concede that he never offered anything as far-reaching as Reagan's proposal to wipe out social service programs accounting for slightly more than one fourth of this year's federal budget.

The scheme is a sweeping one. The poor and the elderly would be hard hit. So would some special interests like airlines, road builders and mass transit. Cities would lose heavily. National defense would be untouched except for a minor saving through a change in the retirement program for civilian employees.

BIGGEST OF ALL is a cut of 21.6 billion dollars in federal welfare and related aid to the poor. He would wipe out such major programs as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, rent subsidies, interest supplements, school lunch program, food stamps and special unemployment assistance. Left untouched are Social Security, medicare, the new Supplemental Security Income payments, veterans' benefits and retirement programs.

The federal programs he would end include many that are highly popular: All aid to elementary and secondary schools, grants and work payments to needy college students, as well as manpower training and temporary jobs for the unemployed and disadvantaged (13.7 billion dollars); all expenditures for mass transit, highway construction except on the Interstate Highway System and for subsidizing the Postal Service (5.8 billion dollars); flood control and other river development projects as well as subsidies for the Tennessee Valley Authority (4.7 billion dollars).

Other principal federal activities that Reagan would scrap include: The 7.2-billion-dollar medicaid program, which helps to pay for medical care for almost 26,000,000 low-income Americans; the 6.3-billion-dollar general revenue sharing program; equalization payments (6 billion dollars) to compensate state and local governments for increased energy costs; aid to cities (4 billion dollars) under a recent revision of such familiar programs as urban renewal and Model Cities, and federal aid for construction of hospitals and other health facilities.

In speaking about his proposal, Reagan appeals to the anti-spending mood that many see in the nation. "With such a savings," he told nearly 1000 persons at a Republican fund-raising dinner in Clearwater, Fla., the other night, "it would be possible to balance the federal budget, make an initial 5-billion-dollar payment on the national debt and cut the federal personal income tax burden of every American by an average of 23 per cent."

HE USUALLY DOES not point out that these gains would be offset in part by whatever spending would be needed for any programs that might be carried on at state or local levels under his local option provision. The net effect, he is confident, would be substantial savings.



CAROLINA FAVORITE: Ron Raleigh, N.C., with Senator

make the label "to the right of Barry Goldwater" stick.

They want their man perceived as a reformer bent on making government a more effective instrument, not on destroying it or repealing the social and economic gains made since the New Deal.

From a political standpoint, a hard Right position of this kind is likely to be most damaging if Reagan becomes the Republican presidential nominee. It would make it difficult for him to compete next fall against a Democrat for votes from the Center and the Left.

In the race against Mr. Ford for the nomination, however, it probably will be far less harmful. The President is conservative himself, and so is the Republican Party. At least since 1964 conservatives generally have dominated party decisions, including the choice of presidential candidate. The issue could be used against Reagan only if Mr. Ford could convince his party that his opponent is too far to the right to have a chance of winning next November.

Reagan clearly believes the country ready to reverse the course it has followed since 1932 of giving the Federal Government increasing authority and responsibility over social welfare and many other aspects of individual business life.

"I think the people have changed," he said recently as he sat in his hotel room in Coral Springs, Fla., with three reporters. "There has been no change in basic philosophy of Congress over the past 40 years. There has been pressure on them to change."

"THE NEW DEAL syndrome" had people believing they would get federal this and free federal that. People see they are earning more and saving less. We went through high inflation as the cause. Now we see that the reason is the cost of government has gone higher than anything else."

His lodestar is a return to



Reagan (second from left) in (left), North Carolina Gov. James E. Holshouser Jr. and South Carolina Gov. James B. Edwards (right). All are Republicans; A. Helms of North Carolina

Reagan's Savings Plan

Here are the nine major budget areas with savings listed in billions of dollars in Ronald Reagan's plan to cut drastically federal aid and federal dominance:

Education and manpower training	\$13.7
Community and regional development	\$ 5.5
Commerce and transportation	\$13.1
Income security	\$21.6
Law enforcement	\$ 1.0
Revenue sharing	\$ 7.2
National security	\$ 2.0
Health	\$10.3
Allowances	\$ 8.0
Total	\$82.4

These figures are for the current fiscal year in the budget submitted to Congress last February. Later estimates by congressional committees are higher and would raise the total saving from his plan, Reagan says, to more than 90 billion dollars.

"that government does the least it can, consistent with an orderly society. Each time you depart from that, you go down the scale." His hand dropped in steps down an imaginary ladder. "There is a loss of freedoms. You go down the scale toward totalitarianism."

The danger is worsened in his view by the country's worrisome economic situation. Like many people over 50 (he is 64), he is haunted by the memory of the Great Depression. "You go back to the 1920s when I was growing up," he said. "We had the Depression. I graduated from college in 1932."

Today the country has less room for economic maneuvering than it had then, Reagan believes. In his view "the old panaceas" of greater public spending to cure recession have pushed the cycle to higher and higher levels, where after each pause inflation commences again but at a more frightening rate.

"What is to keep it from being 20 per cent next time?" he asked. "Then what if there is another 1929?"

He first advanced his plan in a speech in Chicago in late September. Since then he has dealt with it seven more times, suggesting that it will be a key in his forthcoming campaign for the presidency.

Given the concern among some of his advisers, it would not be surprising if the plan were soft-pedaled or modified after he becomes an avowed candidate.

• **THE STRATEGY** for the battle ahead is to focus less on Reagan's familiar role as a conservative ideologue and more on him personally.

With Mr. Ford's uncertain performance as President helping to make the point, the Reagan team will attempt to show Reagan as a decisive leader whose views are clearly and unequivocally for a new approach boldly different from the past.

The first round of seven primaries next year starting with New Hampshire on Feb. 24 and ending with New York

win or come close in these contests to develop the momentum he needs to overcome the President's advantage as the incumbent.

Florida is crucial for Reagan. He is believed to have so much natural strength there that unless he can win, or perhaps run neck and neck, his challenge to Mr. Ford will not appear credible.

Key associates of Reagan concede that they will have to stop and reassess their plans if he does poorly in the initial primaries. Some of them suggest that if he is beaten badly in the first several contests he may withdraw. Contingency plans have been made, they say, for him to return to his lucrative role as a radio commentator and newspaper columnist.

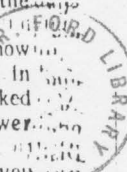
VICE PRESIDENT Nelson A. Rockefeller's decision to take himself off the 1976 Republican ticket may damage Reagan's presidential chances somewhat. Rockefeller's withdrawal removes the man who has been the symbol of conservative dissatisfaction with the Ford Administration and may make it more difficult for Reagan to rally the right wing.

The techniques he learned as a radio announcer, movie actor and television host make Reagan one of the most polished political campaigners ever. He is at his best in question and answer sessions with small audiences, but he sometimes delivers prepared speeches less skillfully.

With two terms as governor of California behind him, Reagan is a far more sure-footed politician than he was in 1968 when he made an inept and unsuccessful effort at the last minute to snatch the Republican presidential nomination.

What is his rationale for running now at what he sees as a watershed in American political history, he was asked the other day in Florida. The answer was confident:

"One thing that makes you feel you have a decision to make is that there seems to be a sizable body of people out there who think you have the chance



M A U R E E N R E A G A N
WHY I SUPPORT THE
E R A

Maureen Reagan's relationship with her father, former California governor Ronald Reagan (her mother is actress Jane Wyman) has always been one of mutual support—both personal and political; and when she told this story about Elizabeth Cady Stanton a few months ago, she could not have known how ironic it would sound to her later. Daniel Cady, it seemed, encouraged his daughter's independent spirit and inquisitive intellect as a child. He insisted that his daughter have a good education, and later invited her to work in his law office. When young Elizabeth learned about the injustices and inequities in the property, inheritance, and real estate laws as they pertained to women, she became angry. Her father told her, "When you are grown, you can go to the state capital and change those laws." And yet, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton became an adult and an independent human being, her father openly opposed her political career.

In August of this year, Maureen Reagan and her father found themselves in direct (and public) opposition to each other on one important issue: the Equal Rights Amendment.

In 1973, when the ERA came up for ratification in California, it was approved (with the full support of Governor Reagan). The radio station where Maureen Reagan hosted a talk show was swamped with calls: many implied sinister applications of the Amendment that simply did not exist, and others indicated vague misunderstandings and misinformation. "I began to realize," says Maureen, "how little I knew about women's political history. The more I learned, the more I felt that the statement, 'I'm not a Women's Libber, but . . . ' is a cop-out. I know now that my responsibility lies in giving my political skills and energy to the Movement, not just in seeing what it can do for me. The ERA is a rallying point for women to write themselves into the Constitution."

No stranger to political activism, Maureen Reagan has tried, for the past 10 years, to combine the two careers of acting and politics. Since 1964, she has been a fund-raising speaker for the Republican Party and has worked in many political cam-

paigns. She is currently a member of the media chapter of the bipartisan National Women's Political Caucus. In 1971 she landed her own radio talk show on California's KABC.

She declared herself a feminist on the air, and received a call from her father. He told her, "I'm all for you—but I liked you better as a militant moderate than as a feminist." Of her own commitment, she says, "There are no equals in fervor to reformed smokers and philosophical converts, and I am both."

She was asked to do a pro-ERA commentary, to be aired along with her father's views, for his radio show, "Viewpoint," heard nationally on 320 stations. By then, he had already modified his original position favoring the ERA, but she tried to persuade him to reconsider. "Then, a few days later, I learned that he had taped an anti-ERA speech, which was first publicly aired as part of an NBC-TV documentary." The argument included such statements as "Human beings are not animals, and I do not want to see sex and sexual differences treated as casually and amorally as dogs and other beasts treat them. I believe this could happen under the ERA. . . . I favor balanced budgets, I want to get government off your back and mine; and I think Communists are bad guys. I also find myself against the ERA. . . . I believe that [it] would take away laws that were passed especially to make sure that women were not put upon by men."

"His statement came as a complete surprise," says Maureen Reagan. "Before I had a chance to discuss it with him further privately, it became public conversation, and we have had no personal discussion about it since. I feel somehow that my powers of political persuasion failed me. I made it very clear about how strongly I feel on this issue, and I'm sure he has no idea how really hurt I am. I respect his right to disagree, but I wish he had better arguments. You just don't tell fifty-one percent of the population that you'd rather protect them than grant them true independence."

"But it's not all that easy—for he is my father and that transcends all politics."

—Susan K. Berman





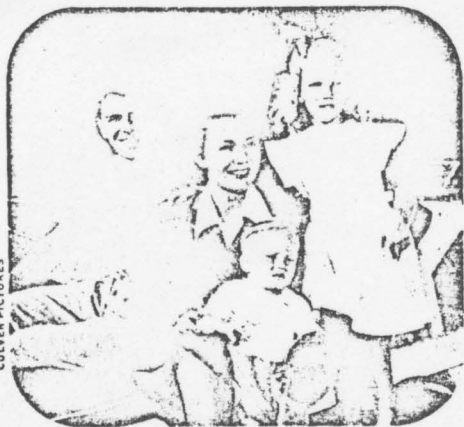
Excerpts from "Equal Rights Amendment-Pro" by Maureen Reagan:

"The Equal Rights Amendment is absolutely necessary to guarantee that the concept of equality crosses state lines, and that means that a woman living in Arkansas, Indiana, or Nevada enjoys the same rights as a woman living in New York, California, or Texas. Anything less than a fully

ratified amendment to our constitution will result in a piecemeal, patchwork of state laws.

"It took a hundred and forty five years of concentrated effort to force America to recognize a woman's right to vote. It has taken another fifty four years for the Congress to give birth to the ERA. It's up to us to give it life."

REAGAN'S DAUGHTER MAUREEN STUMPS FOR SOME CAUSES THAT SHIVER DADDY'S TIMBERS



CULVER PICTURES

In 1946 Ronald Reagan and Jane Wyman were the ideal Hollywood couple with Maureen, 5, and Michael, 1. Two years later, they were divorced.



Maureen waits for a Manhattan cab. Unlike her dad, she supports handgun control and the right to abortion.

Maureen Reagan climbed into an airport limousine, plopped her corduroy hat on her blond head and screwed up her face into an impish Bronx cheer (right). That gesture from the 34-year-old daughter of Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan summed up her feelings about the icy reception she just had faced in Manhasset, Long Island, a Republican enclave that lies within her father's political turf. Maureen had harangued 200 upper-middle-class women for 35 minutes with a speech in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, a proposal most of them were dead against.

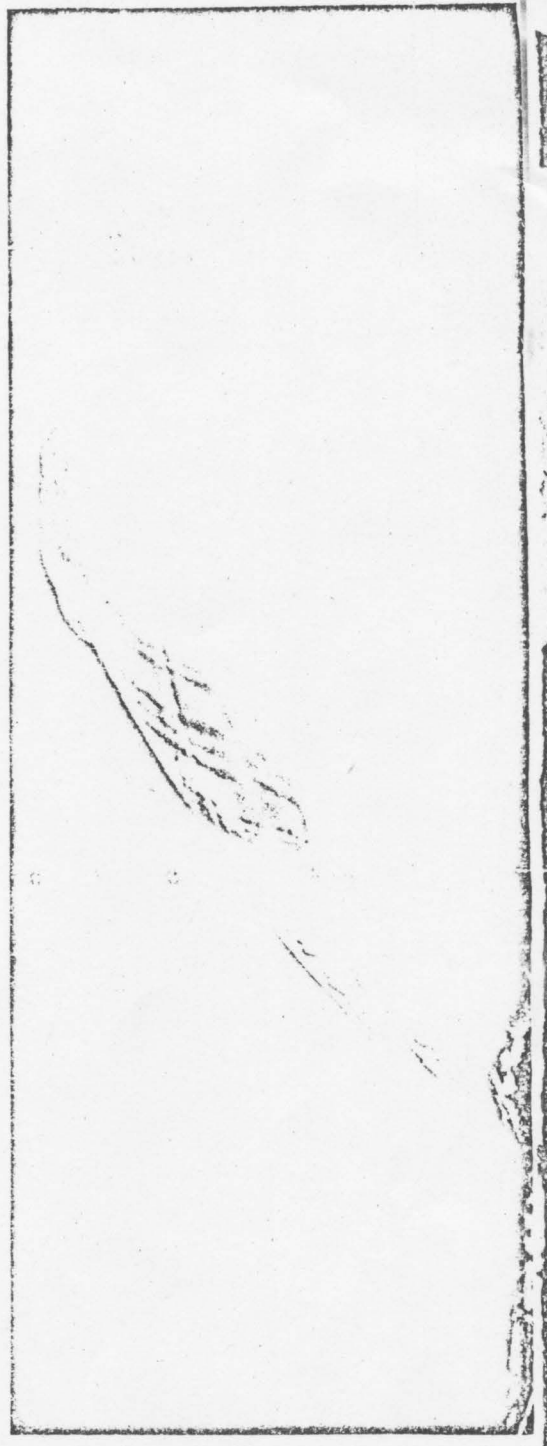
"She really threw a bomb at the old gals," said club president Isabel Haggerson. "I think she may have lost her father some votes."

"That's the toughest house I've had," Maureen said, obviously relieved to be heading home to Los Angeles after her nine-day lecture swing.

Ironically, just two years ago Reagan's daughter was an anti-libber. Her conversion took place when she was serving as host on a Los Angeles radio talk show. One guest accused her of coping out on the movement. "You're absolutely right," Maureen admitted. "As of this moment, I'm a women's liberationist." Almost immediately, her telephone rang. "I thank," said the caller, "I liked you better as a militant moderate." It was her father.

That anecdote now has become part of Maureen's lecture spiel, for which she gets a minimum of \$500. (Last year she earned \$12,000.) And while she hopes to convince other GOP women—she joined the party in 1960, two years before Governor Reagan—to support ERA, she has yet to win over her father. "I respect his right to disagree," Maureen says. "But I wish he had better arguments. You just don't tell 51 percent of the population you'd rather protect them than grant them true independence."

Maureen also was unsuccessful at discouraging Reagan from running for President. "It was difficult to see my father when he was governor," she says. "It would be absolutely impossible if he's President." She thinks



Reagan will win but is cagey about her relationship with him ("I see him when I see him"), and she calls her stepmother, Nancy, "a traditional political wife" who "is quite a lady."

By all accounts, Maureen has had a bumpy life. Born in Los Angeles, she was 7 when her parents divorced (her mother is actress Jane Wyman). After 10 lonely years in boarding schools, Maureen quit Marymount College in Virginia to become a secretary. "My folks were very disappointed in me," she admits. The next decade brought two brief marriages—to a policeman and a lawyer—and a series of careers—actress, singer, publicist, lecturer, political consultant and campaigner for the Republican party. She

Photographs by Arthur Schatz



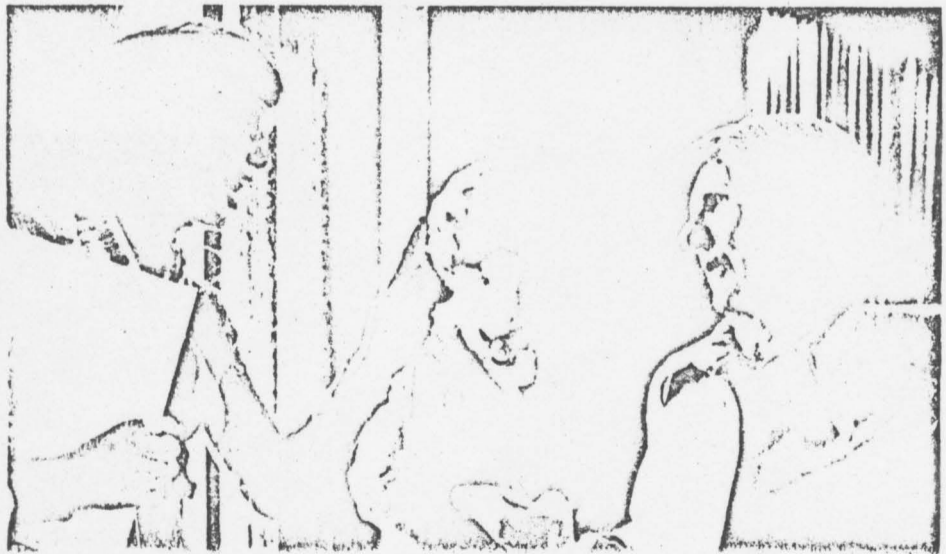
quit her talk show last year to do an unsuccessful TV pilot.

Her half-sister Patti also has gone into show business. ("I told her how to fill out the unemployment forms," says Maureen, who has been on the dole herself.) Patti, whose professional name is Davis, wrote a ballad with boyfriend Bernie Leadon of the Eagles for his group's hit LP, *One of These Nights*. Maureen, who lives in a one-bedroom apartment with her dog, frequently sees her half-brother Ron, 17, a student, and her adopted brother Michael, 30, a boat dealer.

Inside the family, neither her mother nor stepmother see eye-to-eye with Maureen on ERA. "I'm the resident radical," she laughs. MARY VESPA

"I love my parents very much," says Maureen Reagan. "But I am tired of being known as someone's daughter only."

Maureen defends herself after a Manhattan speech. Her audience's negative reaction, she says, was "very stupid."



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