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ms

EXECUTIVE

*PL/REAGAN, RONALD
ST5*

August 12, 1974

REAGAN, RONALD

Dear Bob:

My sincere appreciation for your August 9 letter. The messages of support and confidence from my friends and former colleagues on the Hill are of tremendous encouragement to me as I assume the responsibilities of the Presidency.

In the coming weeks we will be moving ahead to meet the vital issues confronting our Nation, both in the domestic and international areas. I want to assure you that your recommendations and suggestions will be appreciated. At the present time, the selection of the Vice President nominee is of overriding importance and I appreciate your recommendation. It will be most helpful as I weigh my decision.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Gerry Ford

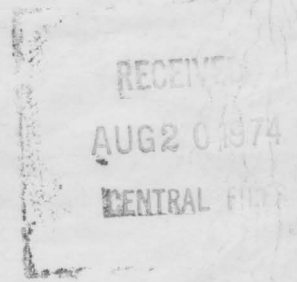
The Honorable Robert E. Bauman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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GRF:WET:VO:jk



32



15
Endorsement

8-12



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

ROBERT E. BAUMAN
FIRST DISTRICT
MARYLAND

August 9, 1974

TO P MA SI WA JCS

BT



Dear Mr. President:

I know I speak for the people of the First Congressional District of Maryland when I wish you God's richest blessings in carrying out the awesome responsibilities upon which you have embarked. You will have my support whenever that is possible and my respect always.

I would suggest that in considering a nominee for the vice presidency that you keep in mind the overwhelming conservative mandate received by your predecessor in both 1968 and 1972. In order to honor that mandate I would hope that you would name a Vice President whose philosophy of government is conservative as is yours and mine. I believe Governor Ronald Reagan of California would fit such a description as well as providing balance and a wealth of governmental experience.

I see no need to strain the nation or the Party further by nominating anyone who has been a divisive influence in the past or whose views are inconsistent with the majority philosophy of our Party.



WHITE HOUSE
MAIL ROOM

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

1974 AUG 12 AM 9 07

August 9, 1974

ROBERT E. BAUMAN
FIRST DISTRICT
MARYLAND



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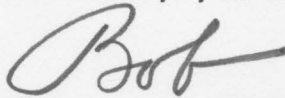
I see no need to strain the nation or the Party further by nominating anyone who has been a divisive influence in the past or whose views are inconsistent with the majority philosophy of our Party.

-2-

I know my comments mirror those of many other Members with whom I have discussed this matter.

You have my very best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bob".

ROBERT E. BAUMAN
Member of Congress

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.



EXECUTIVE

PLT Reagan, Ronald
FC 38

August 15, 1974

Dear Vic:

I am taking this opportunity to let you know that your message to President Ford expressing your best wishes to him and his family and offering your recommendation of Governor Ronald Reagan as the nominee for Vice President has been received.

I will personally make certain that he receives it without delay.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Max

Max L. Friedersdorf
Deputy Assistant
to the President



The Honorable Victor V. Veysey
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

¹³
MLF:VO:abh

cc/incoming to Wm. Timmons

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1974
CENTRAL FILES



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515
August 9, 1974

VICTOR V. VEYSEY
CALIFORNIA



BT

Dear Mr. President:

I like that salutation! My heartiest congratulations and best wishes to you, Betty and your family!

Your speech after the swearing in ceremony was just right, the very best. I have high hopes that you can unite Americans for a better future. I pledge my help in any and all ways.

When you consider a new Vice President, let me recommend Governor Ronald Reagan. He has that special touch and has a lot of appeal.

Again my best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Victor V. Veysey
Member of Congress

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dg

(8)

EXECUTIVE

ALBREAGAN, RONALD
GOLDWATER, BARRY
RAY, ROBERT
BUSH, GEORGE

AUG 17 1974

ROCKEFELLER, NELSON
PERCY, CHARLES
BROOKE, EDWARD
BROCK, WILLIAM
LICHARDSON, ELLIOT

Dear Bill:

This is a short note to thank you for your August 13 letter listing your candidates for Vice President in order of preference and those from whom you withhold your endorsement.

You and I have shared in many vital legislative decisions in the past and I want you to know how much I welcome your recommendations. As President, I have placed a high priority on my constitutional responsibility to select a Vice Presidential nominee. I am pleased to have your views which will be most helpful as I weigh my decision.



With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Jerry Ford

The Honorable William J. Scherle
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

GRF:WET:VO:mlu

RECEIVED

AUG 20 1974

CENTRAL FILES

WILLIAM J. SCHERLE
5TH DISTRICT, IOWA

COMMITTEE: APPROPRIATIONS

8-13

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AC 402, 221-3348

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AMES, IOWA 50010
AC 515, 232-3668

512 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
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DECATUR	STORY
FREMONT	TAYLOR
GREENE	UNION
GUTHRIE	WARREN
WAYNE	

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

August 13, 1974

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I respectfully recommend the following individuals, in order of my preference, for your consideration as Vice President of the United States:

1. Honorable Ronald Reagan
Governor of California
2. Honorable Barry Goldwater
U. S. Senator from Arizona
3. Honorable Robert Ray
Governor of Iowa
4. Honorable George Bush
Chairman of the Republican National Committee
5. Honorable Nelson Rockefeller
Former Governor of New York

I respectfully withhold my recommendation of the following individuals for Vice President of the United States:

1. Honorable Charles Percy
U. S. Senator from Illinois
2. Honorable Edward Brooke
U. S. Senator from Massachusetts
3. Honorable William Brock
U. S. Senator from Tennessee
4. Honorable Elliot Richardson
Former Attorney General of the United States

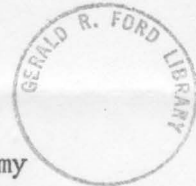
With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Bill Scherle
William J. Scherle
Member of Congress
Fifth Iowa District

*MAXI-ABE WE
PROUD OF YOU!!!*

WJS:bhj1



August 21, 1974

EXECUTIVE
PP 10-5

Ph/Reagan, Ronald

Dear Mrs. Beute:

Thanks so much for your very kind and thoughtful message of congratulations. The support and encouragement of my friends in Grand Rapids are especially welcome and strengthen my determination to bring about an America united in the goal of achieving lasting peace and prosperity.



With my warm best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mrs. Herman Beute
1140 Iroquois Drive, SE.
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506

GRF:RElliott:lrc

P-1B

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ms

EXECUTIVE

PL/REAGAN, RONALD

BES

STS

REAGAN, RONALD

August 28, 1974

Dear Justin:

Thank you very much for your recent message regarding the nominee for Vice President. This was a difficult decision for me.

As you know, after consideration and consultation, I have nominated Nelson A. Rockefeller, former Governor of the State of New York. His superb record of accomplishments in State and Federal government and in private endeavors is well known. He and his family have contributed significantly to the goals of America both at home and abroad. He would, above all, be able to assume the Presidency should God will it. From all the eminently qualified men and women who were considered, it was a tough call for a tough job.



I truly appreciated having your sincere recommendations and gave them my sincere attention.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

Mr. Justin Dart
President
Dart Industries, Inc.
Post Office Box 3157
Terminal Annex
Los Angeles, California 90051

GRF:RTH:FKP:nch

P-8

60

6 - suggestion for Vice-Pres.



PLANS UPSET

Reagan Future: Which Office to Aim For?

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ
Times Political Writer

* Los Angeles Times

Tues., Aug. 13, 1974—Part I 3

At 11:35 a.m. last Friday in Washington, the last hope of Gov. Reagan ever to become President probably went glimmering.

At that point, Gerald R. Ford automatically succeeded Richard M. Nixon. It meant that Mr. Ford very likely would be the Republican nominee for President in 1976 and Reagan would have to wait until 1980.

By then, he would be 69 and probably too old to be nominated. Or elected.

And so now, the 63-year-old Reagan, with only 140 days remaining as governor, ponders whether he wants to reset his sights and become Vice President — presuming Mr. Ford offers him the appointment.

Which is a very big presumption, despite the fact Reagan is one of those under active consideration.

For most of this year, Reagan has been touring the country from time to time, filling GOP speaking engagements and scouting his chances for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976. His name has been in the front rank of all the public opinion polls.

He has never said, flat out, that he wants to be President or that he is running for President. Consistently, he has told interviewers he will make that decision in mid 1975.

Today, he will tell you the same thing, despite the fact that Mr. Ford is an odds-on choice to run in 1976. This is the way he puts it:

"We are, God willing, going to have a Republican incumbent in office when 1976 rolls around. What happens between now and 1976 (regarding the presidential race) will be dependent on his conduct in that office.

"I hope that it's fine. I hope that it does carry out the mandate of 1972 (in the reelection of Mr. Nixon). This certainly would have a bearing on my own decision."

But Reagan has not yet positively shut the door on a run for the 1976 nomination, nor has he accepted the commonly-held view that he will be too old to run in 1980.

It is this threat of a Reagan candidacy that gives credence to the suggestion he would be a logical selection by Mr. Ford for the Vice Presidency. The reason:

The most effective way to eliminate Reagan as a possible challenger is to lock him into the No. 2 spot, according to some Republican theoreticians.

In short form, here are the reasons Reagan would be a good bet for the vice presidential nomination; according to his own supporters:

—As governor of the nation's largest state, he brings a record of executive and administrative experience to Mr. Ford, whose whole career has been in the legislative branch.

—As an eloquent advocate of basic conservative Republican doctrine, Reagan has few peers.

—The new President is going to need an effective traveling salesman to spread the unifying word among the party faithful, and Reagan is one of the most sought-after Republican speakers.

—Republicans have been concerned that the business community — particularly wealthy businessmen — may have been turned off of politics after the Watergate-Nixon scandals, Reagan has proved he can be a

bridge to the business community.

—As a Californian, Reagan brings geographic balance to the national leadership of Mr. Ford, a Midwesterner.

The President has asked top leaders of the Republican Party and of Congress to submit recommendations, and all day Monday the calls were coming into Reagan's office in Sacramento, asking him whether he would take the No. 2 spot, how it would affect his plans, how he would feel working for Mr. Ford.

Reagan will not permit any kind of an organized campaign designed to get him the vice presidential selection. But he has made it clear to the callers he would accept such a bid, that he would be a loyal follower as long as the President wants (presumably through 1980) and that he is prepared to embrace the Ford program as it is subsequently spelled out.

The governor told interviewers last weekend that "I have always felt that for too long, we have turned to the legislative branch of our government for our candidates for President, and have ignored the fact that those with the most executive experience are governors."

One questioner asked if Reagan, as a staunch conservative, worried that Mr. Ford might pick a moderate or liberal as Vice President. His response:

"I happen to believe that what is termed by many as the conservative philosophy is the basic Republican philosophy. It is a libertarian philosophy, a belief in the individual freedom and the reduction of government."

"And so obviously, I would feel that we were more committed to the mandate of 1972, the philosophical mandate, that people handed down in such overwhelming numbers, if the President should choose someone representative of the Republican Party."

Reagan has said he planned to spend his time as a private citizen, starting next year, traveling the mashed-potato circuit around the country, spreading the political gospel of conservatism and libertarianism.

If he were Vice President, he could go ahead with those plans, but but in the role of a public, rather than a private, citizen.

The governor already has considered what might happen if the vice presidential bid came, and he accepted it:

Before resigning, he

would appoint a lieutenant governor.

This lieutenant governor would then succeed to the governor's post, when Reagan's resignation took effect.

The new governor then would appoint a lieutenant governor.

All of these appointments would be Republicans and all would be in effect for the balance of this year. And it all could be done quickly.

In practical political terms, it would mean that Reagan could appoint state Controller Houston I. Flournoy as lieutenant governor, who then could succeed to the top spot and run as incumbent in the Nov. 5 election. Flournoy won the Republican nomination for governor last June.

Flournoy could select state Sen. John L. Harmer of Glendale for lieutenant governor, so Harmer could run as incumbent in November. Harmer is the party nominee for the post.

Flournoy also could appoint Assemblyman William T. Bagley of San Rafael as state controller. Bagley is the GOP nominee for that post.

But the whole thing could develop a politically-contrived look that might cause a voter backlash. And there are those who say nominees should decline such appointments and only "caretaker" selections should be made.

There is a slight hitch, however.

There is no current vacancy in the lieutenant governor's job. The GOP incumbent, Ed Reinecke, has refused to resign until Aug. 30, when he is scheduled to be sentenced on a perjury conviction. A Washington, D.C., jury found him guilty July 27.

But Reagan has pointed out if he were selected by Mr. Ford to be Vice President, his nomination would have to be ratified by Congress and that would take some time. By then, the Reinecke problem will have been resolved.

Would Reagan and his wife really like the No. 2 job in Washington?

Yes, because of the challenge offered in being in on the important decisions and in traveling the country, and the world, in Air Force 2, the vice presidential plane, spreading the political gospel.

No, because of what Reagan calls "the loss of personal privacy" and the harassments of public life.

The "yes" side probably prevails in the Reagan household.

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DART
INDUSTRIES INC.

JUSTIN DART
PRESIDENT

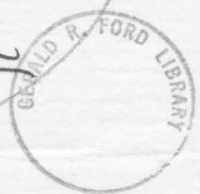
August 14, 1974

RE

Dear Justin

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Personal



Dear Mr. President:

Here is a better summation than I gave you as to why Ronald Reagan is an exceptionally strong candidate to be your right hand. I hope you can find time to read it.

Inflation is our basic problem. Interest rates are the basic culprit.

What would I do if I were in your shoes?

I would make a deal with the Congress to completely balance our next fiscal year's budget regardless of the pain or the trauma.

I would then ask the Federal Reserve to loosen up substantially the money supply -- artificially causing the interest rates to drop.

The equities market is the basis for our business and monetary system. The equities market provides the base for quasi equities like convertible preferreds. Above and beyond that, it provides the base and borrowing capacity of business, utilities, governments whether they be state, county municipalities, etc.

DART INDUSTRIES INC.

JUSTIN DART
PRESIDENT

1974 AUG 17 AM 9 18
WHITE HOUSE
MAIL ROOM

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

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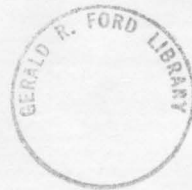
The President
August 14, 1974
Page - 2 -

I believe the world would understand what we were trying to do if we literally balance our fiscal situation and then eased up on our money supply to bring things into better balance.

Your speech to the joint Houses was positively terrific.

Warm regards and thanks for listening,

Justin



The President
August 14, 1974
Page 1 - 1

Name	Date
Holmes 94	11-27-74

I believe the world would understand what we were
trying to do if we clearly balance our fiscal situation
and then work up an out money supply to bring things
into better balance.

Your speech to the joint houses was positively terrific.

Warm regards and thanks for listening.



[Handwritten signature]

Dg

EXECUTIVE

*R. Reagan, Ronald
Reagan, Ronald*

September 3, 1974

Dear Fred:

Thank you very much for your recent message regarding the nominee for Vice President. This was a difficult decision for me.

As you know, after consideration and consultation, I have nominated Nelson A. Rockefeller, former Governor of the State of New York. His superb record of accomplishments in State and Federal government and in private endeavors is well known. He and his family have contributed significantly to the goals of America both at home and abroad. He would, above all, be able to assume the Presidency should God will it. From all the eminently qualified men and women who were considered, it was a tough call for a tough job.



I truly appreciated having your sincere recommendations and gave them my sincere attention.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

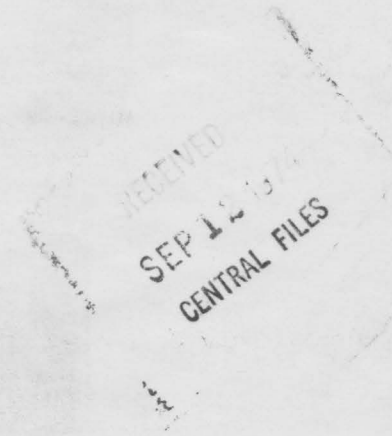
GERALD R. FORD

Mr. Fred T. Clifton
535 Pullman Road
Hillsborough, California 94010

GRF:RTH:FKP:b11

P-8
60

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Personal (?)

FRED T. CLIFTON
535 PULLMAN ROAD
HILLSBOROUGH, CA 94010

August 12, 1974

DS
New Fred

DW

Honorable Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500



Dear Jerry:

Early in 1968 I wrote urging you to seek the Republican nomination for President; and you responded that we should all get behind Richard Nixon who could obtain the nomination, win the election and do a great job. When I visited you in your office a couple of years ago we reminisced about how right you had been. Now, however, you are our President and I would congratulate you upon the merited recognition you have received, and I would congratulate the country upon its good fortune in having you in the wings ready for the responsibility. I know you will do excellently in this position.

In the same way that I wrote you more than six years ago regarding the presidency, I should like to presume to write you at this time regarding the vice presidency. Our party has a number of excellent men such as California's greatest governor, Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater who was proven right by Lyndon Johnson, Melvin Laird and others, anyone of whom would do an excellent job. However, I have been disturbed to read in the press that consideration is being given to Governor Rockefeller whose policies I have long regarded as more Democratic and more fiscally unsound than even some of our former "do gooders". Accordingly, I strongly urge against his selection for I am just one of many Republicans who could not vote for him in the future.

If Ronald Reagan would meet your other criteria, his selection might provide a way of assuring the continuation of sound government in California. As you know, Ed Reinecke must resign at the

FRED T. CLIFTON
222 PULLMAN ROAD
HILLSBOROUGH, CA 94010

August 12, 1974

Honorable Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Jerry:

Early in 1968 I wrote urging you to seek the Republican nomination for President and you responded that we should all get behind Richard Nixon who could obtain the nomination, win the election and do a great job. When I visited you in your office a couple of years ago we reminisced about how tight you had been. Now ever, you are our President and I would congratulate you for the merited recognition you have received, and I would congratulate the country upon its good fortune in having you in the White House for the responsibility. I know you will do excellently in this position.

In the same way that I wrote you more than six years ago regarding the presidency, I should like to presume to write you at this time regarding the vice presidency. Our party has a number of excellent men such as California's greatest-governor, Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater who was proven right by Lyndon Johnson, and many others, anyone of whom would be an excellent job. However, I have been disturbed to read in the press that consideration is being given to Governor Rockefeller whose policies I have long regarded as more Democratic and more fiscally sound than even some of our former "do gooders". Accordingly, I strongly urge against his selection for I am just one of many Republicans who could not vote for him in the future.

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WHITE HOUSE
COMM. ROOM

1974 AUG 15 PM 2 46


of
New York

Clifton (1)

end of this month under regrettable circumstances. If Houston Flournoy were to succeed Ed Reinecke as Lieutenant Governor, and then Houston Flournoy were to succeed to the governorship upon the departure of Ronald Reagan, he could then run as an incumbent against that irresponsible and fiscally unsound Jerry Brown.

Again, my very best to you and your family.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Fred". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

FTC/lp



Dg
f

EXECUTIVE

1

P/Keagan, Ronald
P/Holdwaters, Barry
P/Bates, Howard

September 6, 1974

Dear Mr. Antonovich:

Thank you very much for your recent message regarding the nominee for Vice President. This was a difficult decision for me.

As you know, after consideration and consultation, I have nominated Nelson A. Rockefeller, former Governor of the State of New York. His superb record of accomplishments in State and Federal government and in private endeavors is well known. He and his family have contributed significantly to the goals of America both at home and abroad. He would, above all, be able to assume the Presidency should God will it. From all the eminently qualified men and women who were considered, it was a tough call for a tough job.



I truly appreciated having your sincere recommendations and gave them my sincere attention.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

The Honorable Mike D. Antonovich
Member of the Assembly of the
State of California
Sacramento, California 95814

GRF:RTH:FKP:bmr

P-8
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RECEIVED
SEP 21 1974
CENTRAL FILES

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The White House
Washington



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8 PMS PRESIDENT GERALD FORD

9 WHITE HOUSE DC 20500

10
11 FOR VICE-PRESIDENT I RECOMMEND GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN, SENATOR
12 BARRY GOLDWATER AND SENATOR HOWARD BAKER.

13
14 MIKE D ANTONOVICH ASSEMBLYMAN CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATURE
15 STATE CAPITOL SACRAMENTO CA 95814

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17 NNNN



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FILE MEMO:
EF/bw
September 24, 1974

EXECUTIVE

PL/Armstrong, Anne
PL/Baker, Howard
PL/Brooke, Edward
PL/Bush, George
PL/Goldwater, Barry
PL/Laird, Melvin
PL/Percy, Charles
PL/Reagan, Ronald
PL/Richardson, Elliot
PL/Rockefeller, Nelson

All recommendations for Vice President for the following Names,
filed: PL/Name.



- x Armstrong, Anne
- x Baker, Howard
- x Brooke, Edward
- x Bush, George
- x Goldwater, Barry
- x Laird, Melvin
- x Percy, Charles
- x Reagan, Ronald
- x Richardson, Elliot
- x Rockefeller, Nelson

EXECUTIVE

PP10-5

September 27, 1974

PL/REAGAN, RONALD

Dear Charlie:

At long last I am getting around to formally acknowledging wonderful congratulatory messages from my good friends.

Thanks so much for your congratulations and good wishes. I'm going to try my utmost to perform the obligations of this awesome office with God's help and the great support of good friends like you.

It was so good to hear from you again. It means a great deal to me to have the support of my former colleagues.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Honorable Charles B. Hoeven
Post Office Box 290
Alton, Iowa 51003

GRF:ML:gct



EXECUTIVE

Pl/Reagan, Lowell
Pl/Ford, Gerald
FCI X

The Atlanta Constitution 4-30-75



APPLAUDED AT TECH

Reagan Denies Ford Race Sabotage

By GARY HENDRICKS

Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, considered President Ford's chief rival for the GOP presidential nomination, denied Tuesday night that he is engaged in sabotage against the President's 1976 election plans.

Reagan, who appeared at a Georgia Tech lecture here, said presidential press secretary Ron Nessen had left the "inference" during a Monday press conference that Reagan may be involved in campaign sabotage.

"I hope that Ron (Nessen) did not intend to do that," Reagan said after his speech. "I would not have anything to do with something like that nor would I endorse it."

"I'm sorry some people got that impression."

Monday Nessen said some advisers to the President believed his 1976 election campaign was being sabotaged because of published reports Ford would spurn the Republican nomination.

He added that the advisers have "no suspicion" that supporters of Vice President Nel-



'WRONG IMPRESSION'
Ex-Gov. Ronald Reagan

son Rockefeller are behind the sabotage. However, Nessen declined to "go any further" when asked if suspicions included Reagan's backers.

Newsweek magazine carried a story that Ford told

political intimates he will not run in 1976 because of his wife's health and because he felt he could not spare the time and money needed for a presidential campaign.

Nessen called the story untrue, saying Ford held no such meeting with political friends. "He definitely plans to run for election in 1976," Nessen said.

Reagan said Tuesday night that reports of Ford's turning down the nomination were rumors he said he had heard.

He added that it was "ludicrous" for people in Washington to accuse him of spreading such rumors.

"Washington is the hometown of rumors, and for people there to say an outsider is spreading rumors is a case of the pot calling the kettle black," the former California chief executive said.

He said that Nessen's smile after he said he would go "no further" when Reagan's name was mentioned simply gave the people the wrong impression.

As for his own presidential aspirations, Reagan told the some 230 spectators in Tech's

Coliseum that he could not predict "what would happen down the road two or three months from now."

He said he could continue to travel the country, spreading his message that the growing federal bureaucracy was endangering personal freedom in America.

Reagan, a hawk on the Vietnam war, blamed "the most irresponsible Congress in our history" for the collapse of South Vietnam.

"There is going to be a bloodbath there, and most of that blood can rest on the heads of those in Congress who acted irresponsibly," Reagan declared.

The remark produced the loudest burst of applause of the appearance.

Because the United States failed to live up to a written commitment to aid the South Vietnamese, he said America's word was tainted in the rest of the world.

One consequence of our loss of face, he said, was there is "a 50-50 chance we'll have

war in the Mideast by summer."

He said Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's peace mission failed in the Middle East because the combatants there couldn't trust the American government's word.

"The Arabs told Kissinger to go home," he said. "They couldn't be certain the U.S. government would back him up."

Another burst of applause followed Reagan's assertion that American fighting men had been sold out.

"The one great lesson that we should learn from Indochina is that if we ever again ask them (military men) to fight and die in a war, we must tell them we will turn the full resources of the United States behind them so they can win that war," Reagan said.

He called the Vietnam-era Congress "more irresponsible than any Congress in our history" because it turned its back on the commitment to South Vietnam.

"We violated an agreement that we were pledged to support South Vietnam," he said.

Running through the course of national issues in his speech and adopting hard conservative stands, Reagan delighted the audience, which interrupted him repeatedly with applause.

He attacked the proposed national health insurance program before Congress, saying the present system in the United States was far superior to nationalized medicine.

"If you're going to get sick, you'd better get sick here," he declared. "But our Congress is considering a \$100 billion nationalized health insurance."

He also blamed inflation on government deficit spending and no other cause.

Reagan said it is a myth that high prices for goods or high wages produced inflation. "The simple cause is when government spends more than government takes in."

"The simple answer is to balance the budget," he said.

BRADSHAW, LESTER J. JR.

September 18, 1975

Dear Mr. Bradshaw,

Thank you very much for your recent letters and enclosures.

Unfortunately, I did not receive your letter in time to send a message to Mr. Harry Lewis for the September 13th function in his honor. I'm sure this is a disappointment to you, but I do hope the evening was a memorable one for Mr. Lewis.

With kind regards and appreciation for your interest on behalf of the President.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Mildred Leonard
Personal Assistant
to the President

Mr. Lester J. Bradshaw, Jr.
Penthouse, Barclay Plaza
110-20 71st Road
Forest Hills, New York 11375

dkc

EXECUTIVE
PL/FORD
IV/1975/ST32/NIC
MEH
PP9-2/ST
TR42-7
PL/REAGAN.
MATEK, IRWIN
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
REAGAN, RONALD
*SALES EXECUTIVE CLUB
WHITE, HARRY P.

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CENTRAL FILES

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EXECUTIVE

PH/Reagan
FG387

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: PHILIP BUCHEN

P.



Attached is a copy of the letter from the
Citizens for Reagan for President Committee
to the Federal Election Commission.

The President Ford Committee is preparing to
send a letter on the same subject to the FEC
today supporting the position of the RNC.
This letter meets the objections raised
earlier by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign
Committee in its letter of October 7. Whether
it will be changed before submission to
include arguments against the Reagan position,
I do not know.

Attachment

DEC 14 1976
CENTRAL FILES

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EXECUTIVE

PL/Rockefeller, Nelson
FG 38
PL/Reagan, Ronald

D B

GOLDWATER 11-4

1ST LD A254

BY DONALD LAMBRO

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER SAID TUESDAY VICE PRESIDENT NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S DECISION NOT TO BE PRESIDENT FORD'S RUNNING MATE NEXT YEAR HAS HURT RONALD REAGAN'S CHANCES OF CHALLENGING FORD FOR THE 1976 GOP NOMINATION.

GOLDWATER, R-ARIZ., TOLD UPI THAT, AS A RESULT OF ROCKEFELLER'S DECISION, "I THINK REAGAN IS PROBABLY REASSESSING" HIS DECISION ON WHETHER TO CHALLENGE FORD WITH CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN BACKING. REAGAN'S DECISION IS EXPECTED LATER THIS MONTH.

GOLDWATER'S ANALYSIS WAS IMMEDIATELY DISCOUNTED BY OFFICIALS IN THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN.

"I SERIOUSLY QUESTION THAT THERE WILL BE ANY REASSESSMENT THAT WILL RESULT IN GOV. REAGAN REMOVING HIMSELF FROM CONSIDERATION," SAID SEN. PAUL LAXALT, R-NEV., NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE CITIZENS FOR REAGAN COMMITTEE.

"THE PRESENCE OR THE ABSENCE OF ROCKEFELLER IS OF LITTLE MOMENT," LAXALT TOLD UPI. "WE'RE NOT GOING TO REASSESS."

GOLDWATER SAID HE THOUGHT ROCKEFELLER'S DECISION TO LEAVE THE RACE "WILL HELP FORD." HE SAID HIS FEELING WAS THAT "REAGAN'S FORCES ARE REASSESSING THINGS."

"I'M NOT ADVISING ANYONE TO DO ANYTHING," GOLDWATER SAID. "I JUST THINK REAGAN IS PROBABLY REASSESSING (HIS CANDIDACY) BECAUSE OF IT. I THINK IT HAS HURT HIM SOMEWHAT."

GOLDWATER SAID HE HAD NOT TALKED TO REAGAN FOR SOME TIME.

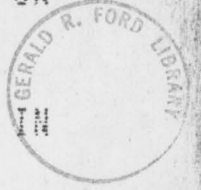
JIM LAKE, AN OFFICIAL OF THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, SAID THE ROCKEFELLER DECISION TO WITHDRAW HIS NAME FROM CONSIDERATION "IS JUST NOT CAUSING ANY NEW REASSESSMENT."

"IT'S JUST NOT ACCURATE TO MAKE THE SUGGESTION THAT BECAUSE OF NELSON ROCKEFELLER WE'RE STOPPING," LAKE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW. "THIS HAS NOT FORCED ANY DIFFERENT DECISION ON THE GOVERNOR'S PART THAN HIS ONGOING DECISION AS TO WHETHER HE WILL SEEK THE GOP NOMINATION NEXT YEAR."

THE WASHINGTON STAR QUOTED GOLDWATER AS TELLING ITS REPORTER THAT "THE ROCKEFELLER MOVE PUTS A SERIOUS CRIMP IN REAGAN'S PROSPECTS."

PICKUP 3RD PGH; GOLDWATER IS

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ORIGINAL FILES

EXECUTIVE

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PL Reagan

PA150

November 5, 1975

Dear Keith:

I am most appreciative of your report from the First District even though some of the news is not encouraging.

I am sending along a copy of a recent letter I sent Senator Dole in response to 13 questions he had concerning the recent grain sale agreement with the Soviet Union.

I believe in the long run that this agreement will prove to be most beneficial because it guarantees an annual floor for grain sales while protecting our position in case of a poor crop.

Insofar as New York City, I am sure that you are aware of the President's strong opposition to a bail out. I regret that he is not getting credit for this position and I certainly hope that you can help spread the word in Kansas that he is resisting efforts by the Democratic Congress to saddle the Nation's taxpayers with a \$7 billion New York City loan guarantee bill.

The charge that the President sold out to George Meany is absurd because the simple fact is that the unions were refusing to ship the grain and there would be absolutely no sales if the President had not stepped in.

I do appreciate your suggestions for remedying some of the problems and I will be pleased to try and move along on these requests.

Thanks again for your excellent report and very candid advice and suggestions.

With cordial regard,

Sincerely yours,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President

Honorable Keith G. ^XSebelius
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MLF:jg

bcc: Elouise Frayer - FYI
Cheney, Hartmann, Marsh and Seidman

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EXECUTIVE

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PR 15
PL
PL/Ford
PL/Reagan, R.
PW 2-3

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

^x NY TIMES

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1975

**G.O.P. FAVORS FORD
IN NEW GALLUP POLL**

A choice by Republican voters, should next year's convention in Kansas City narrow down to a choice between President Ford and former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, currently finds Mr. Ford the favorite by a margin of 58 to 36 percent.

This was the result of a Gallup Poll taken during the period of Oct. 17-20, some two weeks before Vice President Rockefeller disclosed that he would not be the President's running mate in 1976.

In a list of 10 names submitted for consideration as possible Presidential candidates for the Republican nomination,

Mr. Ford was the choice of 48 percent and Mr. Reagan, 25 percent. Those trailing were Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, 7; Mr. Rockefeller, 5; Ambassador to the Court of St. James's Eliot L. Richardson, 3; Senators Charles H. Percy of Illinois and Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, 2; Senator James L. Buckley of New York, former Texas Gov. John B. Connally and Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, 1. Five percent expressed no preference.

Among independent voters, Mr. Ford is the top choice for the nomination with 26 percent, compared to 20 percent for Mr. Reagan. The President also is ahead of his principal opponent in a two-way contest (51 to 40 percent), but by a smaller mar-

gin than among Republicans. The latest findings are based on interviews with 339 respondents who classify themselves Republicans and 501 who consider themselves independents out of a total sample of 1,553 adults, 18 years of age and older. The interviews were conducted in more than 300 localities across the nation.

Bomb Suspect Held Insane

BOSTON, Nov. 5 (AP)—A Watertown man has been found not guilty by reason of insanity on charges of threatening to kill two Federal judges and bomb the Federal court building in Boston. The Federal jury returned the verdict yesterday in the case of James Paradise, 22 years old, after a trial before Judge Leo Brewster.



^x NBC Poll

Nov 4-5

Nationwide

Ford	43	FORD	45	Reagan	48
Reagan	44	HHH	46	HHH	44
Undecided	13				

States polls recently completed in New Hampshire and Florida show results which confirm the Gallup poll figures.

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PR7-1

PL/Reagan, Ronald

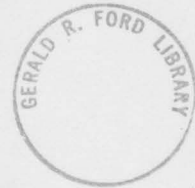
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DICK CHENEY

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

RTH



Benton ^XBecker, Bill ^XCramer's deputy counsel for the Republican National Committee and a personal friend of the President, wants to meet with the President, you and me as soon as possible to discuss some angles of the altered situation under the new campaign law with Reagan in the race. He believes the matters he wants to discuss should be taken up personally with the President rather than by memo and that you and I -- but preferably nobody else -- should be present. I related this to the President and he agreed that he would like to see Benton as soon as it can be scheduled. I would recommend at least a 45 minute slot although it may take less, and that the meeting not be publicized.

*John
put it up.
Dick*

BB

EXECUTIVE

PL/Reagan ③

PU 2-3

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FG 6-11-11 Nessen

November 21, 1975

[Handwritten signature]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN *RHN*

Reagan, Ronald

Here is a compilation of this morning's initial newspaper reports and commentary on the Reagan candidacy.

Attachments



RECEIVED
NOV 24 1975
CENTRAL FILES

Reagan Challenges Right of Ford to GOP Nomination

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

Ronald Reagan opened a challenge to President Ford today that threatens to tear apart a Republican party already debilitated by the stewardship of Richard M. Nixon and the scandal of Watergate.

The former governor of California was scheduled to go before batteries of cameras and reporters at the National Press Club to make official what had been obvious for weeks — that he plans to compete with President Ford for the presidential nomination that will be decided at Kansas City next August.

Then Reagan was to fly to rallies in Florida and New Hampshire, the two states whose presidential primaries at winter's end he hopes to use to drive Ford into retirement.

The challenge from Reagan, a 64-year-old, actor-turned-politician who served the last eight years in Sacramento, is the first such to a sitting Republican president in more than half a century. And it is all the more striking because it is being made within a party that in the past has prized political regularity at almost any cost.

IT WILL BE Reagan's second attempt to win a Republican presidential nomination. He made an abortive 11th-hour attempt in 1968 to snatch the designation from Nixon but never seriously threatened him.

This time, however, Reagan is viewed by political professionals in both parties as a genuine possibility for the nomination. Opinion surveys consistently show him trailing Ford among the Republicans who will make the decision over the next several months but just as consistently picture him as close enough to overtake the President.

Moreover, there is a broad consensus among astute politicians that the challenger to an incumbent president — and particularly one who, like Ford, has not been elected to the office — can gain imposing momentum simply by making a strong showing in early tests of strength such as those scheduled in New Hampshire Feb. 24 and Florida March 9. Indeed,

Republicans already are speculating among themselves about whether Ford might abandon his candidacy should he lose either of those primaries just as Lyndon B. Johnson was forced to do under pressure from Eugene J. McCarthy in 1968.

Whether or not Ford were forced to step aside, and he has insisted he would not do so, a strong Reagan showing early next year would be almost certain to invite others into the competition for the nomination.

Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, for one, has removed himself from consideration for designation as Ford's running mate but has pointedly avoided ruling out one more run for the presidency himself if the circumstances change. And those who know him are almost universally convinced Rockefeller would run again if Ford were forced out and the alternative were a clear field for the conservative Reagan.

OTHERS FROM the Republican liberal-moderate wing, particularly in the Senate, have shown obvious restiveness. Sen. Charles Mc. Mathias of Maryland, for example, has been signaling repeatedly that he might enter primaries as a progressive alternative if the party seemed to be veering to the right with Reagan.

In a radio interview yesterday, Mathias said he had been disappointed by what he called "a gradual movement" away from the center toward the right by Ford as Reagan's candidacy has seemed to gather momentum. And the Maryland Republican left little doubt he considered this a political mistake.

"My thought is that President Ford's greatest strength would be to take a strong central position," he said. If Ford were to do that, he said, "I think the Reagan threat will diminish. I think it will get to manageable proportions. Cater to the Reagan threat — feed the alligators — and you've got real trouble."

Speaking to a student audience at George Washington University last night, Mathias indicated he thought the "real trouble" may already have arrived. Referring to Reagan, he said "the closer he gets, the bigger he looks."

dates have come forward so far. However, some members of the Senate's Wednesday Club, an informal organization of Republican liberals and moderates, have gone so far as to raise the possibility of supporting a moderate conservative. Sen. Howard H. Baker of Tennessee, for the nomination if that is what is required to prevent a swing to the far right.

In the undeclared campaigning he has conducted so far, Reagan has left little doubt that he will present himself as a more conservative alternative to Ford, whose own credentials as a conservative were unchallenged in 25 years in Congress before he was appointed vice president two years ago to succeed Spiro T. Agnew.

The amendment was viewed as anti-reform by Tax Analysts and Advocates, a pro-reform lobby. Among the panel's most reform-minded members, as ranked by Tax Analysts and Advocates, only Ullman and Corman abandoned the committee's pro-reform bloc.

A spokesman for the Association of American Railroads said his organization had been unable to obtain the write-off rule, which other industries have available for reducing their taxes, because depreciation is based on useful lifespan.

"NOBODY COULD ever agree on the lifespan of a roadbed," he said. The 50-year write-off period was "set arbitrarily . . . it

works out to 2 percent a year," he added.

"About 20 railroads in the country can take advantage of it," he went on. "It's a tax deduction and, if things get better, more can take advantage of it."

The association lobbyist defended the tax break on grounds that track replacement and bed upgrading is getting more expensive. Although the saying is "just a little drop in the bucket," the provision will help provide enough money for some railroads to rebuild about 1,800 miles of new track.

He added that the legislation was drafted with the understanding that the saved taxes would be used for rebuilding tracks — "and not for distribution to stockholders."

11/21/75

Reagan Enters Campaign, Seeks a Curb on Spending

By ION NORDHEIMER

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, Nov. 20—Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California officially announced today that he was a candidate for President, challenging Gerald R. Ford for leadership of the Republican Party.

Declaring at a news conference in Washington that his candidacy in the primaries would be healthy for the party, the 64-year-old former movie actor made it clear that his chief target would be not President Ford but a philosophy of governmental spending that he said contributed to the nation's economic woes.

After the news conference at the National Press Club, Mr. Reagan flew to Miami for the first stop in a two-day tour of crucial primary states.

In Miami the Californian's campaign, less than six hours old, was marred by an incident in which Secret Service agents, on the first day of their assignment to Mr. Reagan, wrestled a young man to the ground after he had emerged from a crowd carrying a toy pistol.

The youth, identified by Secret Service agents as Michael Lance Carvin, 20 years old, of Pompano Beach, Fla., was pushed backward over a small rope barricade when he drew the plastic toy after the candidate had concluded brief remarks at a small rally of supporters outside the Ramada Inn next to the Miami International Airport.

The incident occurred as Mr. Reagan and his wife, Nancy, were stepping off a platform a few feet from the young man. The Reagans were shielded and pushed back by other agents and were led quickly inside the motel as the youth was pinned to the ground. He suffered a small facial cut.

In Washington, Mr. Reagan told the news conference that the root of the problems he would attack "lies right here in

Washington, D.C."

"Our nation's capital," he said, "has become the seat of a buddy system that functions for its own benefit—increasingly insensitive to the needs of the American worker who supports it with his taxes."

"Today," he continued, "it is difficult to find leaders who are independent of the forces that have brought us our problems: the Congress, the bureaucracy, the lobbyists, big business and big labor."

It was obvious he viewed himself in this campaign as a man not sullied by long years in Washington, an outsider not trapped by the "buddy system."

The reference to "big business" as possibly a source of the nation's ills was a minor surprise, since Mr. Reagan for 20 years had been active in public life as a champion of the free enterprise system and has held the nation's corporations up as a continuing success story.

For the most part, however, the candidate shied away from questions from newsmen who sought specific building blocks of a Reagan campaign program.

He said that policy on issues would develop as the campaign progressed, and conceded that on some subjects—such as testimony this week that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had conducted clandestine harassment operations against the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.—he did not have enough information to respond to whether he condoned such activity or not.

He did reiterate his long-held positions against gun control legislation, the Equal Rights Amendment, school busing for integration and opposition to Federal assistance to New York City during the default crisis.

But the thrust of his statement was directed at Government spending and how it contributed to inflation, which he has identified as the top problem facing the country.

Seeks Balanced Budget

"We have no choice," he asserted. "This government must get back as quickly as possible to a balanced budget."

He said he would discuss these issues on the campaign trail, but would make no personal attacks on the President. "I'm going to abide by the 11th Commandment: Thou shall not speak ill of another Republican."

Mr. Reagan's press secretary, Lynn Moziger, said that the President aid the challenger spoke briefly by telephone yesterday and exchanged pledges to keep the contest from splitting the party.

After the conference, Mr. Reagan and his party flew to Miami aboard a chartered campaign plane to make the first of five stops today and tomorrow in crucial early primary states: Florida, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Illinois and California.

His first official campaign flight was delayed, however, when the chartered aircraft was late arriving at Washington's National Airport. The airport manager explained that the plane had been re-routed on its approach into the airport because President Ford was at the time making an outdoor speech and planes were diverted from overhead flight paths.

Long Wait in Wings

For the Californian, still spritely in carriage despite a detectable waning of the rugged good looks that helped ease his transition from a fading acting career into public life, the announcement marked the end of his long wait in the wings to challenge the President.

Since Leaving Office

Since leaving office last January, after eight years as Governor of the nation's largest state, he has kept active through a syndicated newspaper column and taped radio commentaries that earned him a six-figure income in addition to keeping alive his ties to a conservative national constituency.

Moreover, he has traveled extensively on paid speaking tours that kept him in the middle of national political dialogues without placing him in direct confrontation with Mr. Ford.

The threat he posed from the conservative wing of the party forced Mr. Ford to move discernibly to the right this year after the more moderate positions he demonstrated in his early months in office, generating the impression among some people that the President vacillated while Mr. Reagan

was a rock of consistency.

Those close to the challenger see his consistency as an important asset in an era of voter skepticism. While it would be unfair to suggest that his thinking has not evolved since his conversion from what he calls a "hemophilic liberal" to the strongly conservative politics, Mr. Reagan is still preaching the basic positions he developed during the 1950's as a spokesman for private industry and as an ardent supporter in 1964 of the Republican candidate for President, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

It was Mr. Goldwater's crushing defeat 11 years ago that causes moderates within the party to fear that a Reagan nomination would lead to a similar fate next year.

Voters Seen Behind

Mr. Reagan, in a recent interview at his home in the Pacific Palisades section of Los Angeles, showed no reluctance to exhume his close identification with the views of Senator Goldwater on issues ranging from a strong anticommunist military stance, to welfare reform and resistance to Government spending on social programs.

"The only thing wrong in 1964 was that the voters of this country were still in something of a New Deal syndrome," Mr. Reagan has asserted. "They still believed that Federal help was free and that Federal programs did solve problems."

"Now the change has come," he continued, "and the people no longer have to be convinced that the Federal Government is too big, too costly and hasn't really solved any problems."

In the same interview, Mr. Reagan indicated that his election would inevitably lead to confrontations with a Democratic-controlled Congress over what he expects would be his program to decentralize Government and to reduce greatly the Federal budget and the Federal debt as inflation-fighting measures.

As President, he said, he would put pressure on Congress to cut some \$90 billion worth of Federal programs and return the responsibility in the area of social concern to the states and local government.

"It's unrealistic to expect that any Republican President elected in 1976 is going to find himself with a Republican Congress," he said. "Basically, there will be a hostile Congress. The only answer will be then for the President to take his case to the people, and I think the people would be ready for that."

'Fireside Chats' Recalled

He cites the precedent of Franklin Delano Roosevelt "fireside chats" as an illustration of this procedure, although that President's social action programs for the most part actually had the support of a friendly majority in Congress and he used the airwaves principally to explain these programs to the people and not to precipitate a fight.

The basic Reagan strategy in this respect, the Governor explained, would be to force the Democrats in Congress to capitulate under pressure from their constituents, or failing that, to elect a Republican Congress in 1978.

His record as Governor in California showed a similar course. Rather than work with a Democratic majority in the legislature—he says the Democratic leadership refused to work with him—he actively sought support directly from the public on issues like welfare reform.

His turbulent first term saw him skirt the Legislature on the controversial issues of the day, arousing public support instead of compromising, vetoing a number of spending measures passed by the Democrats and contending that this strategy won concessions from the Legislature in his second term on his favorite programs.

He never did get the Republi-

can majority elected to the Legislature that he had hoped for, and he compromised in his last years of office, as often as he won, in the view of his political detractors.

His eight years as Governor left him with an uncertain legacy, such as the doubling of the state's budget despite his allegations of economy. However, even some of his bitter enemies in Sacramento eventually conceded he was an able if not brilliant administrator.

When not on barnstorming sorties away from California, he leads a low-paced, gracious life spent chiefly in the company of a handful of millionaire industrialists who have been his friends for years. He does not need the money from his current income, since he is a wealthy man from his real estate holdings alone. These include, in addition to his hilltop Pacific Palisades home and Santa Barbara ranch, several hundred acres outside of Los Angeles that he obtained in a complicated exchange for other land when he became Governor.

His life-style and other factors, mainly his age combine to produce a curious aspect to Mr. Reagan's talents. Some who know him, even a few who have worked closely with him, are not entirely convinced that he relishes the heavy workload that being President of the United States demands.

"My biggest reservation about the man is his ability to throw himself fully into the job if elected," confided a former aide. "When he was Governor he made no bones of the fact that he approached it like a 9 to 5 job and disliked even that much intrusion into his personal life. He delegated tremendous amounts of authority to subordinates and didn't want to be bothered by detail, even though he learned it was those details that messed up his administration, and made the difference between being a good Governor and a great one."

11/20/75

Enter Reagan

Contrary to the popular stereotype, it is not unusual for incumbent Presidents to be challenged within their own party for renomination. Not only did Senator Eugene J. McCarthy oppose President Johnson in 1968 and Senator Estes Kefauver oppose President Truman in 1952 but Vice President John Nance Garner fought the third-term bid of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940. The most spectacular battle ever waged against an incumbent was former President Theodore Roosevelt's effort to block President William Howard Taft, his former friend and protégé, in 1912, a struggle that split the G.O.P. and had consequences that have lasted to the present.

Ronald Reagan, the former Governor of California, thus has many precedents behind his decision to contest President Ford for the Republican nomination next year. Mr. Ford, moreover, is uniquely vulnerable because he came to the White House by the 25th Amendment rather than by popular election. He has no real emotional hold on the loyalties of his party or the public at large. But neither do the financial and industrial interests nor the steadfast party people have any reason to be displeased with him. Entirely orthodox in his conservative economic policies, Mr. Ford politically is a regular's regular.

Up to now, Mr. Reagan has been able to stir right-wing audiences with his dramatic pledges to do away with many Federal programs such as food stamps, Medicaid, revenue sharing and aid to education. He also promises to lop large numbers of people off the Federal payroll, balance the budget, begin paying off the national debt, and cut taxes.

It is an exciting program if one does not examine Mr. Reagan's actual record during his eight years as Governor of California. During that time, the state budget more than doubled from 4.6-billion to 10.2-billion. State tax collections also doubled with the sales tax being raised from 4 percent to 6 per cent, corporate income taxes from 5.5 percent to 9 percent, and the top personal income levy rising from 7 per cent to 11 percent. The number of state employees rose by 5.7 percent while the number of Federal civilian employees during that period actually declined by more than 3 percent. In short, Mr. Reagan talks a much better game about tax reduction and lower government costs than he has ever practiced.

As the primary campaign develops, President Ford and his supporters can be expected to stress these facts about the Reagan record. The President would be in a stronger position to wage this counterattack if he had kept to a centrist position instead of dumping Vice President Rockefeller and trying to pre-empt Mr. Reagan's policies. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the

Reagan rhetoric and the Reagan record is sure to become well known. As it does, it can only be severely damaging to the challenger's cause.

Reagan opens challenge to Ford

By ADAM CLYMER
Sun Staff Correspondent
Manchester, N.H.—Ronald Reagan challenged President Ford for the Republican presidential nomination yesterday, refusing to criticize his opponent directly but naming Washington and the federal government as his enemies.

Mr. Reagan was briefly shaken in Miami yesterday before flying here when a young man at a rally pointed a toy gun at the Californian as he shook hands with supporters. The man, identified as Michael Lance Carvin, 20, of Pompano Beach, Fla., was wrestled to the ground by Secret Service agents. Mr. Reagan and his wife, Nancy, were hustled away.

Agents had been guarding Mr. Reagan only half a day when the incident occurred. Mr. Carvin was taken to Dade County Jail pending a hearing this morning, in which Justice Department officials reportedly will recommend a \$500,000 bond.

Mr. Carvin was said to have been charged with intimidating a presidential candidate and with assaulting a federal officer.

Mr. Reagan arrived here last evening to declare that "Washington seems to have lost track of the American dream," after making his long-expected

announcement of candidacy at the National Press Club in Washington. There he said:

"The root of these problems lies right here—in Washington, D.C. Our nation's capital has become the seat of a buddy system that functions for its own benefit—increasingly insensitive to the needs of the American worker who supports it with his taxes. Today it is diffi-

cult to find leaders who are independent of the forces that have brought us our problems—the Congress, the bureaucracy, the lobbyists, big business and big labor."

He was emphasizing, if indirectly, how his own background as a movie actor and governor differed from Mr. Ford's 27 years in Washington. And the "buddy" reference also was de-

signed to emphasize Mr. Ford's frequent appointments of former Republican congressmen to federal jobs.

But there was nothing indirect about his approach to the federal government. In Miami he said the government was interfering too much in "our lives" and "government is not the answer to the problem. Government is the problem."

His first two stops after announcing, in Miami and Manchester, emphasized the importance of the Florida and New Hampshire primaries to his campaign. He has considerable support and hopes of winning in each, though not in the Massachusetts primary which comes between them on March 2.

In launching the first serious Republican challenge to a Republican president since ex-President Theodore Roosevelt challenged President William Howard Taft in 1912, the 64-year-old Mr. Reagan argued that his candidacy would not split the Republican party and injure its chances next year.

Mr. Reagan said he would support Mr. Ford if he won the nomination (ex-President Roosevelt ran on the Bull Moose ticket and Democrat Woodrow Wilson won) and argued that the Republican party, even if perfectly unified, was too small to win but needed to do something different to attract independents and non-voters.

While many of his Washington answers—on issues from the defense budget to the FBI's hounding of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., to help for New York city—were vague and general, his position there on gun control was definite. He said it was "naive and foolish to simply disarm the citizen."

Four hours later in Miami, just after a brief speech to 300 supporters gathered at an airport motel, Mr. Reagan was confronted by a young man with what turned out to be a toy, a snub-nosed gray and black plastic toy gun—a gun incapable of firing even a cap.

The former governor said later he had seen "very little of anything." His wife and some staff members appeared quite distraught at the incident. But Mr. Reagan said it would have no effect on his attitude about gun control.

Asked if he felt anything could be done about the threat of assassinations of candidates, he told reporters on the flight here. "I don't think there's anything you can do except place your confidence in these guys [the Secret Service agents] and they're awful good."

His speeches here and in Miami were brief performances, more efforts to show his campaign flags in states where the basic conservatism of the Re-

publican party gives him hopes of unhorsing President Ford early. Neither here, nor in Miami or Washington did he criticize the President directly, saying that would violate the "eleventh commandment . . . not to speak ill of another Republican."

But in that Washington appearance he did emphasize at least the generalities of his own views, and he invited reporters to find his differences with Mr. Ford. He attacked budget deficits, contending that the federal government was as bankrupt as New York city, except that it had the power to print money. He warned that the nation's defense was being neglected.

He attacked schoolbusing as

a device that increased prejudice, and criticized the equal rights amendment for threatening women's legal advantages. Asked what he would do as president for women, he quipped, "I'm going to continue to support Nancy to the best of my ability."

He snapped like a hungry bass when asked what President Ford should do about two pending bills which Mr. Ford or his aides have said he would sign—the latest energy bill and a measure allowing construction unions greater freedom to picket at building sites.

Mr. Reagan said Mr. Ford should veto both bills. The energy measure, he said, "increases our dependency on outside

sources rather than domestic." The picketing bill would have the government "forcing compulsory unionism in an entire industry."

But although he promised "in the coming months . . . I will talk in detail about responsible, responsive government, the 1967-1974 California governor was not ready yesterday with details on defense spending, the FBI and Dr. King, or a solution to New York city's problems.

Asked what level of defense spending he felt adequate, Mr. Reagan said he could not know without access to classified information. Asked about the FBI and Dr. King—after saying the American people were sick of a government "too intrusive in

their lives"—he said he had not had time to read the morning's newspapers to learn of it. (Details had first appeared not yesterday but the day before.)

Asked about New York city, Mr. Reagan said he could not offer a precise solution. Although he had identified the costs of New York city's "basic services" as an excessive, \$1,446 a person, and compared them to other large cities' average of \$670, he said he had not had time to "get deeply into every single subject. . . . All I can give you is the generalization—you do not want to see distress imposed upon the hard-working people of New York city who are not to blame for this."

Mathias neutral on Reagan

Washington Bureau of The Sun
Washington—Republican members of the Maryland congressional delegation were neutral in their response to Ronald Reagan's announcement that he will seek the GOP presidential nomination.

Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., a liberal who has been attacking President Ford for "feeding the alligators" of the Republican right wing, said the "announcement opens the prospect at least that there will be another voice addressing itself to the issues."

He warned, however, that "the American people" will want to know what the conservative Mr. Reagan plans to do "to put 8 million Americans back to work . . . to lower the cost of living [and to] invigorate the political system."

Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr., who faces a re-election contest next year, said: "As of now I support the President and I don't equivocate in that support. But I'm not going to preclude the possibility of things happening in the primaries that would make it possible for Governor Reagan or others in the party."

Representative Robert E. Bauman (R., 1st), probably the most conservative member of the delegation, said, "I think his [Mr. Reagan's] candidacy is a good thing for the party and good for the American people."

Mr. Bauman, who said he could support either Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan, said, "The President has not been tested outside of his district in Grand Rapids, Mich." and a fight for the party nomination would "test his mettle."

Representative Marjorie S. Holt (R., 4th) and Representative Gilbert Gude (R., 8th) could not be reached for comment.

Reagan Is Not Acting

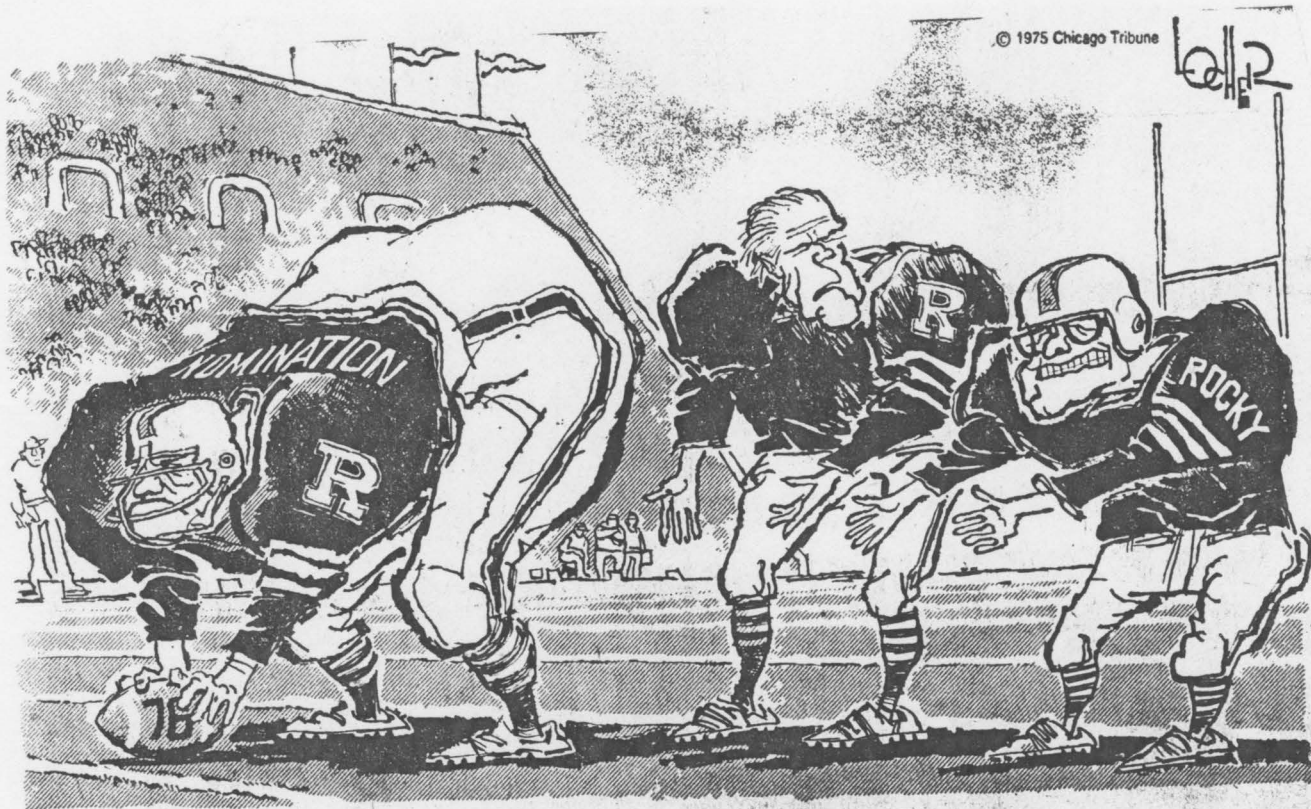
Ronald Reagan's entry into the Republican presidential campaign will be, in his words, "healthy for the nation and for the party." President Ford needs to have his ideas, policies and leadership tested in the crucible of the primaries. He is an incumbent, bearing the White House burdens day by day, but an unelected incumbent who has never drawn a vote beyond Michigan's Fifth congressional district. The Reagan challenge to Mr. Ford comes from the right, the radical right, which cherishes notions that often are too simple, too negative and too risky. Yet we welcome Mr. Reagan's entry, and if Mr. Ford falters or swings too far right, we would welcome the candidacies of others speaking for the Republican mainstream.

The former California governor is often disparaged as just a former movie actor, but he's not just acting like a candidate; he's for real. He comes across on the stump and the tube as self-assured and competent, with eight years of experience as governor of the largest state in the Union. He should be taken seriously when he says he can handle the enormous problems and challenges that the White House poses. His adversaries concede he was a good enough gover-

nor, regardless what else they say about him.

In any political contest of substance, voters should be informed in detail of contrasting positions. Yet Mr. Reagan was less than forthcoming on several important issues yesterday. Instead he took refuge in the "Eleventh Commandment" (Thou Shalt Not Speak Ill of Fellow Republicans). That is a good rule so far as it applies to personal invective and calumny. But voters should insist on specifics from Candidate Reagan—not only the specifics of his own platform but his specific objections to Mr. Ford's conduct of the the presidency.

Even more important, Republicans should not allow Mr. Reagan's candidacy to turn the contest for the GOP nomination into a debate way over on the edge of the mainstream, or out of it. Mr. Ford, as titular head of the party, has an obligation to speak for more than one wing of the party. Mr. Ford, as candidate, will find that the best politics, too. If the the battle for control of the Republican right predominates, or if Mr. Ford falters badly in the early primaries, then other Republicans with other points of view should enter the contest for the presidential nomination.



"I thought you were behind me!"

'U.S. needs new course;' Reagan to oppose Ford

By Jim Squires
Chief of Washington bureau

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—Saying the American people are in a mood of "discontent", former California Gov. Ronald Reagan declared officially Thursday he will try to take away the 1976 Republican presidential nomination from incumbent Gerald Ford.

The ex-movie actor and onetime liberal activist said he is running for President because of concern over "the course of events in the United States and the world. He appealed for the support of all voters "who share my belief that our nation needs to embark on a new constructive course."

The official announcement by the 64-year-old Reagan, now an arch-conservative, signals the failure of a 10-month-old White House strategy to prevent a direct challenge of President Ford by appeasing the party's right wing.

IT IS THE FIRST serious attempt to unseat a President by a member of his own party since Eugene McCarthy challenged President Lyndon Johnson's war policies in 1968.

After a surprisingly strong showing by the Minnesota liberal, in the New Hampshire primary, Johnson announced he would not seek re-election, a decision Reagan clearly wants to force upon President Ford.

Reagan said he will campaign actively in the New Hampshire and Florida primaries and pledged—just as Ford has—to wage an active contest for delegates in all 30 primary states.

Speaking to a crowded ballroom at the National Press Club, Reagan said he sees his candidacy as healthy for both his party and the nation.

BUT OTHERS view it as potentially lethal to the party's hopes next year—as a similar effort by conservative Sen. Barry Goldwater [Ariz.] proved to be in 1964.

An anathema to party liberals and moderates, Reagan's decision drew public criticism from Sen. Percy [R., Ill.], even before it was announced.

Percy, in a statement distributed by his office Wednesday but embargoed for release Thursday morning, said "a Reagan nomination" would result in a "crushing defeat" and "could signal the beginning of the end for our party as an effective force in American political life."

Percy, a liberal who had considered challenging Ford for the nomination, questioned Reagan's qualifications to be President. He said Reagan lacks "an adequate understanding of complex national and international issues," and the "required vision to effectively lead the country at this critical time."

"I INTEND TO vigorously oppose his quest for the the 1976 Republican presidential nomination," Percy declared.

The statement was interpreted by some political observers as paving the way for Percy's own entry into the presidential sweepstakes should Ford fail to turn back Reagan's challenge.

Reagan, citing the "11th commandment—that Republicans don't criticize other Republicans," declined to respond directly to the Percy statement except to say he thought he had an "11th commandment" pledge from Percy.

"I don't know what came first," he said, "the pledge or that statement."

HOWEVER, REAGAN said his record as California governor does not support Percy's allegation that he is "far out of the centrist mainstream."

Although few party leaders believe

Reagan can win the nomination, many conservatives among them welcomed his official candidacy, the threat of which had already forced liberal Vice President Rockefeller to declare himself out as Ford's 1976 running mate.

"Mr. Reagan is one of the most eloquent political figures on the national scene," Sen. Henry Bellmon [R., Okla.], said. "His successful service as governor of California qualifies him as a worthy contender for our nation's highest and most responsible office."

Of big name party conservatives, only Goldwater has openly opposed the Reagan candidacy and publicly announced his support for the President.

REAGAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT and press conference, which took place only a few blocks from the White House, failed to provoke a response directly from Ford. But his campaign manager, Howard "Bo" Callaway, issued a crisp welcome to Reagan and fired the opening salvos of what could be a bitter contest.

Reagan's announcement, he said, "now gives the voters a clear choice between candidate Reagan's rhetoric and President Ford's record."

Callaway, who sent an assistant to monitor the Reagan performance, accused the newly announced candidate of avoiding tough issues during his session with the press.

"It was evident that Mr. Reagan will answer specifically only what he wants to," said Callaway, who was in El Paso, Tex. "But reporters, as well as voters, cannot help but note how he ducked such tough issues as military spending, FBI activities, and federal aid to New York City. A President cannot duck the tough issues, nor should a presidential candidate."

IN A BRIEF SPEECH, Reagan outlined his now familiar complaints of high inflation, unemployment, and "coercive, meddlesome, and ineffective" federal government which is unresponsive to the American worker.

"In my opinion, the root of these problems lies right here — in Washington, D.C.," said Reagan, who served as governor of California from 1966 to 1974. "Our nation's capital has become the seat of a 'buddy system' that functions for its own benefit . . ."

Reagan declined to criticize Ford directly but cited a lack of national leadership "independent of the forces that have brought us our problems — the Congress, the bureaucracy, the lobbyists, big business, and big labor."

"If America is to survive and go forward, this must change," he said. "It will only change when the American people vote for a leadership that listens to them, relies on them, and seeks to return government to them."

Candidate Reagan

As a declared candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, Ronald Reagan has a number of things going for him. Not necessarily in order of importance, he is photogenic, personable, and a persuasive speaker; he made a highly respectable record as an administrator during his two terms as governor of California; and he has a popular issue which he has made largely his own: the growth of a bloated, ineffective federal bureaucracy.

Mr. Reagan's lack of experience in the Washington maze would be a drawback for most aspirants; for him it may prove a positive advantage. He can portray himself as a real new broom—the tough lawman from outside coming in to clean up the town.

There is a converse side of these advantages, though. For many voters, Mr. Reagan's weak point may be that he just looks too good, too handsome, too smoothly articulate, too professional in

the art of crowd-pleasing. The contrast with President Ford may not work entirely to Mr. Reagan's benefit.

There is an important reason for welcoming his official entry into the race. Possibly the most fundamental issue before the nation right now is the federal government and its relation to the people, how far its powers should extend, where they should be limited or pushed back. With Mr. Reagan officially in the running, those questions will get intense public scrutiny and debate, as they should. And since the incumbent President will be an active partner in that debate, it will have a more direct effect on government than debates usually do.

Mr. Ford has had a unique position in our history as a President who never had to face a national test before his party's voters or the electorate at large. He is in one now, and his handling of it will help to shape the nation's coming years.

Jerald terHorst

Ronald Reagan places his bet



WASHINGTON—In just three months, New Hampshire voters will tell Ronald Reagan and the rest of us whether he has a chance to snatch the Republican Party's nomination from an incumbent President. The odds are he will get the answer he wants.

What has Reagan got to lose by trying? Nothing. What does he stand to gain? A great deal, perhaps even the coveted right to be the party's nominee instead of Gerald R. Ford. But one must still doubt Reagan's chances of winning the presidency.

This admittedly blunt appraisal doesn't reflect any personal animus toward the former Republican governor of California. Reagan easily is the most exciting, most provocative figure on the political landscape for 1976, a Goldwater with a golden tongue. Nonetheless, the vagaries of the political process and the mood of the nation suggest that the wise bettor will be cautious about putting a lot of money on Reagan in next November's battle for the White House.

CREATING TROUBLE for President Ford could be easy for Reagan, given the President's penchant for creating trouble for himself in recent months. Republicans of every hue seem disappointed in his performance, faulting Ford for lackluster speeches, his barnstorming around the country, a fumbling administration shakeup, and a shuffling campaign organization. Letting Vice

President Rockefeller go has displeased the moderates while failing to appease the conservatives—and ditto for Ford's drift to the Right on social issues and his zig-zagging line on financial aid for stricken New York City.

If the Ford shambles last another 90 days, Reagan will not have to win a majority of the GOP primary vote in New Hampshire on Feb. 24 or in the critical March primaries in Florida, Illinois, and North Carolina to put Ford's nomination in doubt. Indeed, Reagan needs only to run up a sufficiently large vote, 40 per cent or better, to demonstrate that the President is vulnerable and likely to be toppled in later primaries.

That's one of the handicaps of incumbency. A sitting President must thoroughly trounce his challengers in the primaries or risk losing the nomination at the convention. The Reagan strategy contemplates achieving the latter by preventing Ford from achieving the former.

To pull it off, Reagan is counting on his personal charm and his undeniable magnetism on the stump, plus a savvy campaign staff to whom he has entrusted himself and much of his thinking.

The personality contrast between Reagan and Ford will be all-important, because, to borrow an old George Wallace line, there's scarcely a dime's worth of difference between Reagan and Ford on the issues. Both are foes of Big Govern-

ment, swollen budgets, and bureaucratic red tape. Both are fans of free enterprise, states' rights, and reduced social spending by Washington.

Their major policy disagreement is in foreign affairs. Reagan thinks detente with the Soviet Union works to the Russians' advantage; he sounds as though he would prefer the old days of cold war confrontation. Ford would keep America's guard up while continuing along the path of peaceful coexistence.

SUPPOSING Reagan succeeds in forcing the President out of contention, either before or at the Republican convention, could a stridently conservative Reagan go on to beat the Democratic nominee next November? A lot would depend, of course, on whether the Democrat is another George McGovern and capable of unifying a fractured party. But if the Democrats choose a more moderate nominee, one able to draw the support of the intellectual Left and the blue-collar populists, then one must turn to the national opinion pollsters to rate Reagan's chances.

And their surveys thus far show that while a Reagan ticket would have deep support among conservatives, there are not enough of them in the big industrial states to win for him.

A lot of moderate Republicans and independent voters are hoping Ford will remember that—and them.

Universal Press Syndicate

Reagan Opens '76 Bid

Man Holding Plastic Pistol Seized in Fla.

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ronald Reagan launched his Republican presidential candidacy yesterday with a veiled attack on President Ford's leadership and a warning that the federal government is likely to find itself as bankrupt as New York City.

At Reagan's first campaign appearance hours later in Miami, a young man brandishing a plastic toy pistol was knocked down and arrested when he approached Reagan. Reagan was not harmed.

In a series of speeches that began at the National Press Club in Washington and ended late last night in New Hampshire, the 64-year-old former California governor presented himself as an outsider who would be an alternative to the "business-as-usual" policies of the Ford administration and the Democratic Congress.

"Our nation's capital has become the seat of a buddy system that functions for its own benefit—increasingly insensitive to the needs of the American worker who supports it with his taxes," Reagan said.

"Today it is difficult to find leaders who are independent of the forces that have brought us our problems—the Congress, the bureaucracy, the lobbyists, big business and big labor."

It is Reagan's unspoken contention that Mr. Ford, a veteran of 25 years in the House, is too much a part of this "buddy system" to really change anything. Essentially, Reagan's anti-government theme is the same one he rode to victory in 1966, when he ran as a "citizen politician" against two-term incumbent Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown.

Reagan also revived another device yesterday that served him in good stead in that 1966 campaign. He promised to observe the "11th Commandment," which says: "Thou shall not speak ill of any fellow Republican."

Reagan used this "commandment" as an excuse for avoiding direct personal criticism of the President. He made the same pledge personally to Mr. Ford on Wednesday in a telephone conversation in which both men agreed that they would not wage "divisive" campaigns.

Despite this pledge, Reagan made an effort on his first official day of campaigning in the early-primary states of Florida and New Hampshire to establish various points of conflict between himself and Mr. Ford.

In his announcement speech, Reagan said the United States has lost its military superiority and is "in danger of being surpassed by a nation (the Soviet Union) that has never made any effort to hide its hostility to everything we stand for."

Reagan also drew domestic differences with President Ford. He called upon the President to veto pending bills on construction site picketing and energy use, knowing that Mr. Ford is believed likely to sign both measures.

And he borrowed from Mr. Ford's rhetoric—as the President has frequently borrowed from Reagan's—in giving his criticism of Ford administration spending policies.

"This government must get back as quickly as possible to a balanced budget," Reagan

said. "I think the only difference between the national government at the moment and New York City is that the national government has a printing press."

Mr. Ford often has used the same line, substituting the word "Congress" for "national government."

Reagan avoided being specific on many issues, as he did during most of his two successful campaigns for governor and a belated and losing campaign for the GOP presidential nomination in 1968. Three times—on the defense budget, on the New York City issue and on the revelations about how the Federal Bureau of Investigation hounded Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.—Reagan declined to give specific answers to questions.

On the first two issues, he declined on the grounds he didn't know specific dollar amounts or specific programs that were needed. On the FBI question, he declined on grounds he hadn't read the morning papers—even though the story had been made public the day before.

But Reagan responded readily on a number of other issues.

On gun control, he said it was "naive and foolish to simply disarm the citizen" and said he instead favored legislation imposing stiff penalties for any crime in which the offender carries a gun.

On the school busing issue, Reagan said that "forced busing had failed signally in its purpose. It's added to the bitterness it's supposed to cure."

Asked what he was going to do for women, Reagan quipped that he was going to support his wife, Nancy, "to the best of my ability."

Reagan was born in Tampico, Ill., the son of a hard drinking small businessman and government worker in the Depression. He attended little Eureka College in Illinois, where he was captain of the swimming team and a three-year football letterman.

After a midwestern career as a sports announcer and a Hollywood movie career, Reagan became active in politics as a Democrat, speaking out for Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas in a bitter 1950 race where she was beaten for the U.S. Senate by Rep. Richard M. Nixon.

Reagan switched to the Republican Party in the early 1950s and attracted national attention with an effective speech in behalf of the Barry Goldwater candidacy in 1964. Two years later he was elected governor of California by a million-vote margin.

Reagan's first day of campaigning took him from Miami to Manchester, N.H. The nation's first primary will be held in New Hampshire on Feb. 24 and the third in Florida on March 9.

In the gun incident, Reagan had just finished a speech outside a motel near the Miami airport and was shaking hands with persons in the crowd. A young man pushed forward toward Reagan, holding in his hand what looked like a pistol.

A Secret Service agent knocked the gun, which later was found to be a plastic replica of a .45-cal. pistol, from his hand. Agents knocked the man to the ground, and was handcuffed and carried into the motel.

Officials identified him as Lance Carvin, 20, Pompano Beach, Fla. He was charged with intimidating a candidate for federal office and assaulting a federal officer.

"We have reason to believe he (Carvin) is the same person who called our Denver office on Nov. 10 from a public phone booth in Pompano Beach and threatened the lives of the President, Vice President and Gov. Reagan unless Lynette Fromme (charged with attempting to assassinate Mr. Ford) was freed," a Secret Service spokesman said.



By Bob Borchette—The Washington Post

Ronald Reagan and his wife, Nancy, as he formally announced his presidential candidacy at the National Press Club.

Reagan's challenge to Ford

Ronald Reagan has made it official. He has thrown that Hollywood cowboy hat into the ring for the Republican presidential nomination. The question for Republicans is not only whether he would be the best representative of their party but whether he could win the national election. The question for President Ford is how to resist the Reagan thrust within his party in a way that does not reduce his own uncertain chances with the electorate.

Mr. Ford's main advantage is his incumbency. But, particularly as an unelected President, he has to prove that he is handling his job firmly, wisely, and compassionately in order to maintain it as an advantage rather than a drawback. No amount of politicking in the realm of Reagan rhetoric will conceal any lack of leadership on which the Reagan forces can seize. Similarly, any Ford actions and policies pursued more for political than

presidential reasons can only be counter-productive.

At the moment, Mr. Ford appears to be more defensively political than vigorously presidential. By reversing this situation, he could rest assured that, win or lose the nomination, he had done the job he was appointed for. And, by showing that federal government can be made to work effectively — and that he is the man to do it — he would make a double thrust against the Reagan offensive.

For Mr. Reagan has gone so far as to say Washington has become a "foreign power" to Americans and that the "Gordian knot" of federal entanglement cannot be untied: "We have to cut it with one blow of the sword." He was less stark at the press conference announcing his candidacy. But he touched on concerns of many Americans when he deplored the "buddy system" in Washington, with representatives of big governmental and private interests insensitive to the needs of the working people. Who could dispute the general point of his call for more responsible and responsive government, with the people deciding how much government they want?

It is on the specific means to achieve it that the words and records of the candidates must be judged. On the Equal Rights Amendment, for example, the lines are drawn — Ford in favor, Reagan against. On detente, Ford emphasizes its mutual benefits, Reagan sees the Soviet Union gaining more than the U.S. On other matters such as a balanced budget, strong defense, and decontrol of energy prices, Ford and Reagan seem to have similar views.

As the campaign continues, apparently with neither candidate criticizing the other, the public will have to watch and listen closely to evaluate them on the issues.

GOP middle, left wary of Ford tilt

Republican moderates warn President they may run their own candidate if he leans too far right

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

"The Reagan impact," as it is being called here, is already eroding the influence of Republican moderates and liberals who are now moving to protect their interests.

Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois is in effect speaking for moderate Republicans in Congress as he says flatly that Reaganism is bad for America and the Republican Party, and that he "hopes" the President "won't be tempted to match the Reagan rhetoric or — worse yet — to act on it."

GOP liberal leaders have for months now been concerned over what they see as a Ford tilt to the right — occasioned as they see it, by the President's effort to try to keep the conservatives from moving behind Ronald Reagan.

The moderates in the Senate met recently with the President and got his assurance that he would give their viewpoint consideration in the future, that they would not be blocked out in presidential planning.

But more and more — in the New York City decision, in the stepping aside of Nelson Rockefeller, in what they see as the President's increased emphasis on conservative rhetoric — these leaders believe that Mr. Ford is turning away from moderate advisers and the moderate approach to solving problems.

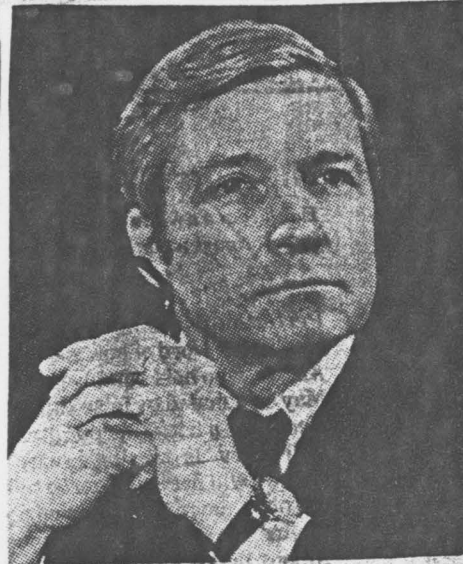
Thus, the moderates now are warning the President: If you don't "play fair" with us, if you try to "outconservative" or even just "equal-conservative" Reagan, we are going to enter our own candidate and fight to win the presidential nomination.

Senator Percy, who before Ford became President had explored the possibility of running for President, is well prepared to make such a bid.

His plan, in fact, would call for his entering the Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, and California primaries.

He seems intent now on following this plan if Mr. Reagan starts to give Mr. Ford a drubbing or if Mr. Ford makes too many concessions to the right wing in his effort to beat off the Reagan challenge.

Sen. Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland is



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Percy — 'Reaganism bad for country'

also a possible moderate GOP candidate. So is Sen. Mark Hatfield of Oregon.

And Sen. Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts just might make a bid.

Perhaps in an attempt to cool these heated moderates, President Ford has talked recently about having Senator Brooke as his running mate. And he always speaks kindly to these members of Congress — this is much more than Mr. Nixon ever did.

There are even times when the moderate Republicans think the President accepts some of their basic philosophy — as when he decided in favor of a Vietnam amnesty, and when he chose Mr. Rockefeller as a running mate.

Other moderates believe that Mr. Ford is convinced that he must have the moderates with him if he is going to win the election next year.

They argue that only by following a moderate or progressive tack will Mr. Ford be able to win over the independent voters — only about 18 percent of the electorate.

In announcing his candidacy, Mr. Reagan indicated that he thought a conservative (less

big government, less federal-government spending) philosophy would not only win over the Republicans but also attract the independent bloc.

At this point Mr. Ford, according to political observers, may not be doing enough to keep the conservatives with him. But, they say, he is also making GOP moderates exceedingly unhappy.

Many Fear Reagan Bid Perils Ford and GOP

By David S. Broder

Washington Post Staff Writer

The presidential campaign that former California Gov. Ronald Reagan launched yesterday is seen by many in the Republican Party as one that jeopardizes not only President Ford's future but that of the GOP.

Reagan himself, in his announcement yesterday, went out of his way to avoid personal criticism of the incumbent Republican President and predicted that his own brand of conservatism would bring to the diminished GOP "the 40 per cent of the voters that are disillusioned with both parties and are not voting."

But that view is not shared by many others in the Republican leadership—who see in the Ford-Reagan clash a divisive force that may irreparably split their party, whoever emerges with the nomination.

Fear of the party-splitting tendencies of a Reagan race lay behind the frantic backstage efforts of Mr. Ford's campaign manager, Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, during the past few months, to get influential conservatives to dissuade Reagan from running.

Some did try, but Reagan, believing Mr. Ford was becoming more vulnerable and not less, could not be dissuaded. Gallup Polls showed the gap narrowing

from a 61-to-33 advantage for the President among Republican voters in early summer to a 58-to-36 per cent lead in mid-October. Two November polls, one by NBC News and one by William R. Hamilton, showed the Ford-Reagan race a virtual tossup.

In recent days, some Ford advisers have been virtually conceding Reagan the favorite's role in some early primary states, notably Florida, and talking of a "comeback" by the President when the battleground moves to the Middle West.

Callaway, while expressing public confidence in Mr. Ford's eventual victory, has conceded privately that a protracted battle with Reagan might leave the President an easy prey to defeat in November.

In urging Southern conservatives to try to block a Reagan candidacy, the former Georgia congressman warned that the Reagan voters of the spring primaries might well become supporters of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace next November, if Wallace runs as an independent candidate for President.

Callaway's argument, of course, can be stood on its head and converted into a reason why Republicans would be better off running Reagan. If the former California governor could unite the Wallace-minded

independents with the embattled Republican faithful, he might have a better chance of winning than Mr. Ford.

But the first hours of Reagan's declared candidacy brought abundant evidence that he will be hard put to unite the Republican Party behind his own standard, even if he is able to wrest the nomination from Mr. Ford.

While Reagan conspicuously passed up chances to take direct potshots at Mr. Ford, Callaway did not hesitate to question Reagan's competence to be President.

He accused the former actor of having "ducked such tough issues as military spending, FBI activities and federal aid to New York City," and said Reagan could offer only his "rhetoric" in comparison to Mr. Ford's "record."

Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) also jabbed at Reagan's press conference vagueness, comparing it to Richard M. Nixon's often-promised but never-disclosed 1968 campaign "plan" for ending the war in Vietnam. "This year," said Mathias, "the American people are going to want to see what's in the plan."

Even more ominous for hopes of eventual Republican unity was the blast from another progressive Republican, Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), who assailed Reagan's "simplistic thinking."

Reagan's Challenge for Leadership of Republican Party:

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

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20—One of the more prominent Republican Governors telephoned an associate in Washington this noon. The Republican Governors Conference was about to begin. He said anxiously: What should he say about former Gov. Ronald Reagan's announcement of his Presidential candidacy this morning?

It was a small token, but a meaningful one, of the degree to which the Californian has obliged the political community to take seriously his challenge to the President. Mr. Reagan begins his campaign without having to silence the snickers that greeted the challenges of the late Estes Kefauver in 1952 or Eugene J. McCarthy in 1968. That is a considerable ac-

complishment, made possible by the unusual nature of President Ford's accession to power and by Mr. Reagan's national following and his sharp sense of timing.

Indeed, like the Republican Governor who was worried about what to say, Republican politicians contemplating the Reagan-Ford race this afternoon were inclined to consider it a close thing, with the real possibility that Mr. Ford would be the first Republican President since Chester A. Arthur in 1884 to seek the nomination and be denied it by his party.

Mr. Reagan's assets in this attempt to make political history are many, some of them obvious, some of them subtle.

Large National Following

He has a far more substantial national following than has Mr. Ford, the legacy of his career as a motion picture and television actor, his emergence as a spokesman for conservatism

in 1964 and his two terms as the Governor of California. By contrast, Mr. Ford has never run for public office outside his old Grand Rapids Congressional district and only burst upon the national consciousness in the fall of 1974.

Moreover, the Californian is a vivid campaigner, a trained performer who works effortless turns of humor, modesty, outrage and concern upon his audiences. Mr. Ford is a plodder on the stump, unexciting and sometimes bumbling.

Mr. Reagan's followers tend to be ideologically committed, and hence more likely to go to the polls than the President's supporters, many of whom seem to support him largely because he occupies the White House. The "intensity factor," as some analysts have described it, has proved over the last decade, to exert a strong influence on primary results.

The schedule of the early primaries is fortuitous from the former Governor's point of view too. First is New Hampshire, third is Florida and fifth is North Carolina—all conservative states. Second is Massachusetts, where Mr. Reagan can explain away an adverse result by recalling its lonely support of the Democrats in 1972, and fourth is Illinois, where he was born.

Mr. Reagan's staff is superior to the President's, despite the arrival at the President Ford Committee of the highly regarded Stuart Spencer of California as political director.

A measure of the problems of the Ford enterprise is the fact that the political liaison

man at the white House is Richard B. Cheney, who has no experience in state or local, let alone national, campaigns.

Against these debits must be weighed the credits that accrue to Mr. Ford: His success in restoring a measure of credibility to the office; his personal good nature, which makes many reluctant to vote against him; his control over the hierarchy of the party, and his ability to shape the political dialogue, to a degree, by the actions he takes or does not take.

There are those, furthermore, who feel that Mr. Reagan, so persuasive on the radio and on the banquet circuit as the apostle of generalized conservative goals, may be vulnerable when asked to specify how he would achieve them. Perhaps significantly he ducked questions on defense spending and the New York City fiscal crisis at his news conference today.

Howard H. Callaway, Mr. Ford's campaign chairman, pounced on Mr. Reagan's evasions, asserting that "a President cannot duck the tough issues, nor should a Presidential candidate." That sort of pressure will no doubt continue.

Finally, Mr. Reagan will have to overcome the idea, which has lurked in Republican minds since 1964, that a rightist candidate may be nominated but cannot win in November.

Conventional wisdom says, and it was speaking loudly in Washington this afternoon, that a minority party cannot nominate someone from one

of its wings and hope to compete.

The Illinois moderate, went so far as to argue in a statement that "a Reagan nomination, and the crushing defeat likely to follow, could signal the beginning of the end for our party as an effective force in American life."

But conventional wisdom has a bad track record over the last dozen years, partly because of unforeseen and politically cataclysmic events such as assassinations and resignations, partly because of the rapid decay of the parties.

If Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama is in the race as a third-party nominee, if the Democrats nominate a unifying candidate, if the issues remain primarily economic and not social, if moderate Republican

field a candidate of their own if candidate Reagan commits the indis of easily exploitat gaffes that Barry Goldwater committed in 1964, then it would almost certainly go down in flames in the same way the Arizona did.

But it is easy to construe other sets of ifs, and that fact seems at last to be dawni on the politicians after more than a decade of watching the assumptions disintegrate.

Most of them, and most their camp followers, have therefore come to the conclusion that Presidential politics is probably more fluid this time than at any time since 194. Everyone remembers what happened that year, so there is no inclination here to dismiss out of hand the possibility a Reagan Presidency, however far-fetched it may seem.

DOUGLAS KIKER

NBC

And so, former California Ronald Reagan has thrown his hat in the ring declaring that he will be a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. He, in effect, said that his campaign slogan, his platform, will be "Return Government to the People". He said that he will enter all 30 republican primaries and will campaign actively in some of them, including New Hampshire, which is first, and Florida, which is third. He did not criticize President Ford by name, he never has, and he never will. But he did say there is an eleventh commandment, thou shall not speak ill of another republican. He said that the seed of the problems in this country is Washington, D.C..

Governor Reagan rejected the charge that he is a right wing candidate. He said that his record as Governor of California proves that he is in the main stream. He pledged to campaign-run in a gentlemanly manner, he said. He quickly pointed out that registered republicans constitute only 20% of the vote in this country, and he said that he is out to get the Independent, the 40% of the disenchanteds. He indicated that possibly there will be a liberal republican to enter the race also. He said Rockefeller, he didn't know. But he just said a liberal

Republican. Then Governor Reagan said that he made his final decision to run not very long ago.

Again, former California Governor Ronald Reagan declaring that he will challenge President Ford for the Republican Presidential nomination. (11/20/75)

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Reagan Is Seasoned For '76

Terry Drinkwater - CBS

There's been a theatrical quality to almost everything Reagan has done, from the very moment he was sworn in as Governor at a glittering midnite ceremony at the rotunda of the state capitol. Governor Reagan talked more conservative than he really was. Now, in speeches, he boast about all the money he saved California. He did keep down the number of state jobs and welfare costs. But the annual budget and taxes doubled albeit because of inflation during his eight years in Sacramento.

Today candidate Reagan's best talent is his speaking style. He's the most polished of all the presidential hopefuls. He knows how to deliver one-liners that are actually funny. His serious speech is almost always the same basic one he's used for years on what he calls rather fondly "the mashed potato circuit."

So far his audiences have been carefully chosen. But an underdog declared candidate cannot be so choosy. And he's likely to have trouble with unfriendly questions from audiences and reporters. Reagan has never been good verbally at grappling with detailed, complicated issues. Presidential campaigning this year will well require more than the old predictable answers. His actor's sense of timing tells him there shouldn't be too much exposure too early in the game.

Very shortly, he'll seclude himself here in California again before the real run begins after the first of the year. He'll also rest. There are those who question whether he has the stamina and the stomach for the nonstop campaigning which underdogs usually endure. He's 64 and a man who likes to be alone with his family. When Reagan first ran for the presidency 7 years ago, he came in a poor third at convention time behind Nixon and Rockefeller. But now he's seasoned. As an undeclared presidential candidate he has been rehearsing the role now for 9 months and he likes it. Today he's clearly confident he does have a chance to win. -- CBS Morning News (11/20/75)

Reagan, Carter Programs Remain Just Talk

Bruce Morton- CBS

Ronald Reagan's program is packaged in what reporters traveling with him have already come to call "the speech." It proposes a radical, if conservative change in basic American domestic policy. Reagan would, for instance, balance the federal budget and start paying off the national debt. He would do this by ending some \$90 billion worth of social and welfare programs. States could keep them and pay for them if they wanted. With not

Television Commentary

C-ii

saving, Reagan says, he could not only balance the federal budget, he could cut income taxes by more than 20%. It's a program that is bound to have a lot of appeal.

On the more moderate level is former Ga. Governor Jimmy Carter's program for breaking up and thinning out the federal bureaucracy. It can be cut from its present more than 400 departments and agencies down to fewer than one hundred. That too is a proposal for major change, one likely to appeal to a good many people.

Reagan's new policies or Carter's for that matter, will remain just talk unless they can not just get themselves elected President but help elect a Congress which agrees with them. Without a conservative Congress, Reagan can't head the country in a conservative direction. It's fair to ask Reagan, if he thinks a conservative Congress is electable and a problem for the voters who must decide which presidential candidate they like and then decide whether they want a Congressman who agrees with him or a continuation of the present divided government and the inability to make major changes which divided government seems to produce. -- CBS Morning News (11/20/75)

EXECUTIVE

November 21, 1975

PL/REAGAN, RONALD

PR 16-3

PR 16



MEMORANDUM FOR: RON NESSEN
FROM: JIM SHUMAN
SUBJECT: RONALD REAGAN
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Here are the first day comments on the Regan announcement. My own observations are that the Regan candidacy say, as I said at lunch, prove to be a boon for us.

1. He will force us to tighten our own staff work, and produce better quality work.
2. He will be a stalking horse, criticising the Democrats and the operation of the government more sharply than we are able to, thus weakening the Democrats in the general election.
3. His general ignorance of national affairs - assuming it continues - will make President Ford look better and better every day.

Of course, this does not mean we don't have to work hard. If we blunder, Regan could be a serious threat.

Attachments

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1975
CENTRAL FILES

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filed 11/26/75

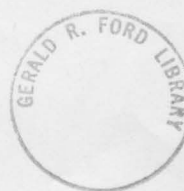
EXECUTIVE

PL/Reagan

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

MEMORANDUM



Vern:

When you get this, give me a call,
as I have some information to pass on to
you.

Walt

Reagan fund-raiser??
needs H response.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

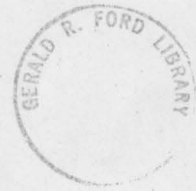
November 25, 1975

EXECUTIVE (4)
PL
P12-3
PL/Jord
PL/Reagan
Media Report

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: RON NESSEN

Should this be called to the President's attention?



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