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May 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVE GERGEN

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT *FS*

SUBJECT:

Reagan Statements

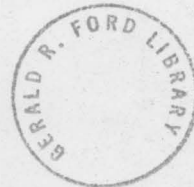
I am providing the attached materials on Ronald Reagan for your selective use. The dates indicated below are memoranda dates.

1. May 7 - Transcript of Goldwater press statement on the Panama Canal along with three Reagan quotes on Angola, the Pueblo incident, and Ecuadorian confiscation of U.S. tuna boats.
2. May 6 - Unemployment in Michigan.
3. April 12 - Critique of Reagan's March 31 nationally televised address.
4. April 10 - Miscellaneous foreign policy statements.
5. February 2 - Statement on U.S.-U.S.S.R. grain sales.

An additional piece on bellicose and/or irresponsible statements is now being edited. I will provide you with a copy as soon as it is completed.

Attachments

cc: Stu Spencer  
Roy Hughes  
Peter Kaye



Teddy Roosevelt's dictum to 'talk softly, but carry a big stick,' Ecuadorian aggressiveness might rapidly melt under such circumstances."

Ronald Reagan Column  
Copley News Service  
3/3/75

Attachment



HONORABLE BARRY GOLDWATER

PRESS CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 4, 1976

I understand my old friend Ron Reagan says I am confused in connection with my comments on his Panama Canal position.

It happens that I do know the facts concerning the Panama Canal. Based on my understanding of this highly complex matter, I fully support the policies of the Ford Administration. I know that Ronald Reagan's public statement concerning the Panama Canal contained gross factual errors.

I also know his statements on the Panama issue could needlessly lead this country into open military conflict. My position, which is completely consistent with the announced policy of President Ford, is that we should utilize diplomatic means to avoid having to choose between access to the Canal or the use of troops to protect this interest. We are seeking to maintain good relations with our Latin-American allies while at the same time protecting our rights to operate, use and defend the Panama Canal. The United States will not surrender its interest in the Canal.

On the contrary, through the process of negotiation, we have embarked on the best course of action to preserve them. Now, obviously, we would be prepared to use military force as a last resort. But, the whole point of President Ford's policy is to avoid such a last resort alternative.

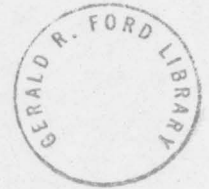
I must assume that Ron's attacks are the result of a lack of understanding of the facts involving the Panama Canal. Either that or else they reflect a surprisingly dangerous state of mind which is that he will not seek alternatives to a military solution when dealing with complex foreign policy issues. I believe he has a solemn responsibility if he expects to be taken seriously as a candidate for the Republican nomination to state specifically what his position is concerning the Canal. Would he have the United States break off negotiations with Panama on the Canal issue, would he change the instructions we have given our negotiators, how would he defend the Canal militarily if he rejects meaningful negotiations? If he changes the United States' position, would that precipitate a break-off in the negotiations on the part of the Panamanians?

These and other specific questions should be directed at Governor Reagan. He has clearly represented himself in an irresponsible manner on an issue which could affect the nation's security. I must conclude that if, as Ron says, I am confused, though, knowing the clear, hard fact, that he's got to have a position based on ignorance.

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED SLIGHT

May 6, 1976

FROM: Ralph Stanley *RStan*  
SUBJECT: Reagan comments on unemployment in Michigan



The unemployment issue is of great interest in Michigan, where current unemployment rates statewide are running at over 12%, and over 17% in the city of Detroit. The auto industry was particularly hard hit during the recent recession, and is now emerging from its worst two year slump in history. In light of the severity of unemployment in the state, and in particular among the blue collar workers who have been Wallace supporters in the 1968 and 1972 Democratic primaries (and whom Reagan wishes to attract as cross over voters in the upcoming GOP primary) Reagan's remarks in his campaign book should be brought to the attention of PFC campaign officials and advocates.

"It was hard to find signs of the recession after the first few weeks. The resorts were crowded; the parking lots and highways were crowded. There were virtually no signs of hard times to those of us who lived through the Depression. I don't mean that no one was hurt. It's a traumatic thing to be without a job and need and want one. But when you read that 50,000 of the laid off Michigan auto workers had their unemployment checks sent to them in Florida all winter, you begin to wonder how much great distress there was."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>  
Call to Action, Ronald Reagan with Charles D. Hobbs, Warner Books, March, 1976. p. 57

# President Ford Committee

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

April 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO FRED SLIGHT

From: Ralph Stanley *Rapl*

Subject: Reagan Foreign Policy Statements

Listed below are a series of direct quotes of Mr. Reagan about U.S. foreign policy matters.

## DETENTE

" For them, detente is not a step toward peace."

"...they see the whole arrangement as a result of our weakness."

"It is a way for them to carry on the revolutionary struggle with the advantage for them increased by detente."

".. detente's usefulness to the Soviet Union is only a cover for their traditional and basic strategy for aggression."

"Not seeing the facts is useful for those who can turn a profit from dealing with the Soviets, even though such trade increases our danger

-Copley News Column  
11/14/75

Q: Mr. Reagan, as recently as November of last year, you indicated that detente increased the Soviet's ability to carry on what you termed their 'revolutionary struggle'. You also indicated that trade with the Soviet Union increases our danger. If you were President, would you do as you have suggested, and in the interests of the nation, suspend trade with the Soviets, and stop all efforts to seek a relaxing of tensions with them?

"I happen to believe that right now, the free marketplace, allowing American farmers to sell their produce in the international market, even the Soviet Union, is a greater advantage to us than it is to the Soviet Union."

-RR Meet the Press  
3/7/76

"We are making the concessions, we are giving them the things they want we ask nothing in return."

-RR Meet the Press  
3/7/76

# President Ford Committee

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"It isn't a case of what you decide to spend in the military. That is based on what you have to spend- what is necessary if you are to remain equal in power to any potential enemies in the world. And so, military spending is virtually forced on you as a necessity."

- RR Q/A Following Announcem  
11/20/76

"Defense is the only one that is uncontrollable in the sense that our requirements depend wholly on the actions of others."

- RR Stand on the Issues  
1/5/76

## PANAMA

"Torrijos is a friend and ally of Castro, and , like him, is a pro-Communist. He threatens sabotage and guerilla attacks on our install if we don't yield to his demands."

-RR TV Speech 3/31/76

Mr. Reagan met privately on November 3, 1975 with Dr. Arnulfo Arias, deposed President of Panama.

Q: Mr. Reagan, you have stated that the current leader in Panama has threatened war if we do not yield to demands, and you also met with the former President of Panama secretly last November. Do you think th such statements and actions, particularly coming w you were a private citizen, undermines this countr foreign policy and threatens the cnaal negotiation Would you send troops to Panama to protect our int there?

## HANOI

" And it is now revealed that we seek to establish friendly relatio with Hanoi. To make it more palatable, we are told this might hel us learn the fate of the men still listed as Missing in Action?"

- RR Speech 3/30

Q: Mr. Reagan, if oyu were approached as President b the North Vietnamese, with a desire to talk about the case of the MIA's, are you saying you would r take advantage of the opportunity?

# President Ford Committee

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## NATIONAL SECURITY

"There is a tendency for us, with good reason, to believe that wherever the Soviet is moving, it is aimed at us."

-L.A. Times 2/15/76

"There are many places in the world where we are involved. I mean where we should be involved. There is a domino theory and we are the last domino."

-L.A. Times 2/15/76

"On the international scene, I have been speaking out in the last few days on what I think is wrong there. I think that internationally on the foreign scene, this country is in great danger."

-Meet the Press 3/7/76

"Our nation is in great danger, and the danger grows greater with each passing day."

"The evidence mounts that we are Number Two in a world where it is dangerous, if not fatal to be second best."

-RR TV Speech 3/31/76



Q: Mr. Reagan, you have said that this country is in great danger, danger that increases with each passing day. You have also said that there are many places in the world where we should be involved, as we are according to your statements, 'the last domino'. Where are these places you advocate we take up active involvement? Should we intervene in Lebanon? In Angol? In Mozambique? In Argentina? Do you mean we should be militarily involved?

## DEFENSE SPENDING

"A strong national defense and a sound economy are essential-you can't have one without the other."

-Miami Herald 1/11/76



# President Ford Committee

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- Q: Mr. Reagan, you have criticized detente as a 'one-way street', and have said that it is a situation in which we ask nothing in return; but you have also called our farm sales to the Soviet Union as a situation which is a greater advantage to us than them. Do you still believe that we are getting the upper hand in our agricultural trade?
- Q: Mr. Reagan, you have said that trade with the Soviets increases our danger, but that allowing the American farmer to sell his produce to the Soviet Union is a greater advantage to us than to them. How can you advocate both of these positions?

## ANGOLA

"..do they want detente or don't they? If they don't, I think it is incumbent on us to give material aid to the side in Angola that is not supported by the Russians."

"Its time to straighten up and eyeball it with Russia, and the time to start is in Angola..." "We should say 'Hey fellas-out...let them fight it out among themselves. If not you will have us to face.'"

- L.A. Times 1/6/76

"At virtually the eleventh and one-half hour, Congress was asked for more aid to supply the Angola factions fighting the Soviet backed group. Under the circumstances, it was unrealistic to expect Congress to agree."

-Ft. Lauderdale News  
2/20/76

- Q: Mr. Reagan, you have said that it was 'incumbent on us to give material aid to the side in Angola that is not supported by the Russians', but that it was unrealistic to expect Congress to agree to that aid. Had you been President, would you have sent troops to Angola as part of the aid you promised? Would you have ignored Congress and authorized aid on your own? When you say we should have threatened the Russians if they did not get out of Angola with the statement that they would 'have us to face', do you mean you were prepared to confront them militarily?

" We gave just enough support to one side to encourage it to fight and die, but too little to give them a chance of winning."

-RR TV speech 3/31/76



MEMORANDUM FOR:

PETER KAYE

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT

SUBJECT:

Reagan's Statements on Grain  
Sales

I have received a considerable number of calls, especially from our Midwest people, in the last several weeks concerning Reagan's position or public statements on grain sales.

As best as I can determine, Reagan's comments have been generally vague and non-descript. When a small controversy arose over his flirtation with grain stockpiling, he allegedly denied holding any such viewpoint. In any event, here is a brief synopsis of what I have been able to dig up.

Case #1

In his speech in Houston before the Southern Republican Leadership Conference, Reagan discussed the morality of selling grain to the Soviet Union at a time when they continue to outspend the United States on armaments.

"Would they, without our help, have to abandon arms building in order to feed their people or face the possibility of an uprising and revolution by a desperate and hungry populace? If the answer to this is yes, then we are faced with a question of national security and pure moral principle. If our decision is on the side of morality and security, we cannot ask the farmer to bear the full burden. We, as a nation, would have to think of his produce as a part of national defense and be prepared to offer a market for what he raises. Perhaps it could even be stored for future sale when and if the Soviet chooses real detente and abandons its buildup of offensive weapons."

Reagan Speech Excerpt,  
Houston, Texas 12/13/75.

Case #2

In an interview in Omaha, Nebraska with a World-Herald newsman, Reagan again raised the question of the United States grain trade with both the Soviet Union and Communist China. Reagan said that we should continue to evaluate whether we are "aiding them in enslaving their own people" as well as captive satellite nations.

Reagan went on to say that if U.S. agricultural exports are stopped to Russia and China, "we should not let the American farmer take the rap." The U.S. government would have to return to a system of buying farm surplus.

World Herald 12/3/75

Case #3

According to a story in the L.A. Times by Richard Bergholz, Reagan stated that any lever was sufficient to pry the Russians out of Angola, including the sale of wheat. Although he revised this statement once, he then returned to the stand that "any lever is sufficient" to remove the Russians from interference in Angola.

Los Angeles Times  
1/7/76

cc: Bo Callaway  
Stu Spencer

Attachments

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## 'MORE IMPORTANT' TO NIXON, KISSINGER

JUN 13 1974

# Reagan Puts Mideast Ahead of Rodino Probe

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ  
Times Political Writer

What President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger are doing in the Middle East is "far more important than anything the Rodino Committee is going to produce," Gov. Reagan said Wednesday.

The governor referred to an impeachment investigation under way in the House Judiciary Committee headed by Rep. Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.), and to the current diplomatic visit to the Middle East by Mr. Nixon and Kissinger.

"The government of the United States and the President are the only anchor holding world peace together," Reagan told a Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce luncheon at the Los Angeles Hilton. And he urged businessmen to avoid being distracted by charges that

Kissinger ordered electronic surveillance of 13 government officials and four newsmen in 1969 in an effort to locate "leaks" of government information.

Kissinger, who has denied he issued a direct order for the wiretaps, threatened Tuesday to resign if charges that he lied about the incident are not "cleared up."

Reagan said he sympathized with Kissinger, said the secretary of state is being subjected to "nitpicking and harassment" and that when such allegations begin to interfere with important national security matters, it is time to "evaluate things and put them in proper perspective."

Speaking rapidly and with obvious feeling, the governor applauded Kissinger's outburst in Salzburg, Austria, Tuesday and urged the businessmen to "read the statements

by Dr. Kissinger and look at what is going on in the world."

Reagan later told newsmen he could not explain why Kissinger chose Salzburg, at the start of the Middle East journey, to make his threat to resign, and said he did not know how to reconcile differences between Kissinger's sworn statements and contrary statements by the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

But the governor defended the use of electronic surveillance by saying "the government had a right to take steps to find out who had been endangering national security" by the information leaks. And he said the practice of wiretaps was more prevalent under the Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy administrations than under Mr. Nixon.

It would be a "disaster for the

Please Turn to Page 4, Col. 1



SPEECH BY RONALD REAGAN BEFORE  
THE DETROIT ECONOMIC CLUB

File

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May 14, 1976



It has been said that politics is the second oldest profession. I have learned in the intervening years that there is a great similarity to the first.

A well known newspaper columnist wrote not long ago, that of all the inventions that have liberated the working man from the drudgery of daily existence, none has done more than the automobile. And yet today the automobile and the men and women who make it are under a constant attack from Washington--attacks from the elitist, some of whom feel guilty because Americans have built such a prosperous nation and some of whom seem obsessed with the need to substitute government control in place of individual decision making.

The energy bill which Congress passed and Mr. Ford signed last December I believe is a case in point. Among other things, it mandated gasoline mileage standards, which by 1985, will, if enforced, will have the effect of forcing Detroit to make some 80 or 90% of its automobiles subcompacts or even smaller. Now, no matter whether anyone wants them or not, they will by that time, have to accept that kind and there is little evidence that the people or that these kinds of cars would sweep the country in popularity. The bill regulates the market-place, it dictates to the consumer and in the process, it will make Detroit's unemployment problem worse than it is already. In fact, because it takes

less manpower to make these small cars than the present ones favored by the American consumer, the unrealistic fuel use standards that have been mandated by the energy bill, if they're allowed to remain, would cost at least 200,000 Michigan workers their jobs according to industry sources. For all of this, you can thank Washington, from Capitol Hill to the White House.

And, while we're talking about energy, let's not forget that this bill is already making us more, and not less, dependent on foreign oil. I remember back three years ago when we lined up at the gas stations, when we lost Project Independence, when we heard Congressmen talking and talking about how we were going to become independent of any outside source. If we could

have harnessed their talk we wouldn't have had to turn the thermostat down.

Now we find that in its most recent March for the first time we cross the half-way mark in dependency on foreign oil. More than half of what we consumed has been imported and we are producing less now than we were three years ago. Lacking incentive, the United States oil explorers are not doing what we must do which is to get every drop of oil out of our own ground that we reasonably can get.

At the time of the Arab embargo in late 1973, the Federal Energy Administration was created very hastily. It has grown like a weed ever since as does every government program once launched. I think I probably told you ten years ago, that even then it was apparent that when government launched a program, it became the nearest thing to eternal life that we'll see on this earth.



At the Federal Energy Administration there's a 112 publicists turning out press releases on a constant basis. Its Administrator, Frank Zarb, was a key proponent for the energy bill that I've just talked about and as Congress has passed energy legislation it has given it to the FEA to administer. The Wall Street Journal estimates that this bureaucracy is costing the consumer about 3-5¢ a gallon for every gallon of gasoline. When it comes to conservation, the FEA doesn't apply that term to the money that is spent. Last June, it retained a fashion consultant to put on an Energy-Conservation Fashion Show in a fashionable New York hotel which cost about \$10,000. I don't think it really produced any oil or saved any. FEA will go out of business on June 30th unless Congress extends it. Mr. Ford apparently intends to ask Congress to do just that with a budget that will be three times FEA's present budget and it expects to expand by several hundred more employees added to the 3400 that it already has.

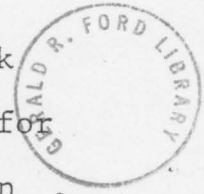
The Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon, was the first director, energy director of the FEA and he thinks it is a monster, that it should be closed down and he has said, "...It is an outrage, I'd abolish the agency and close its doors tomorrow." If government is going to be responsive to the people, one thing it owes us is a regular and careful review of the efficiency and the usefulness of the bureaus and agencies it creates. And what it should do also is that Congress should never automatically review the life of an agency. Whether this agency stays on or goes does not erase the fact that here in Michigan your unemployment rate is still at 12.5%. In fact Michigan led the nation and suffered



the worst unemployment in 1975. There has been much talk from Washington about the economic upturn. I've warned for months that fighting recession without fighting inflation would only bring a worse inflation someplace down the line. Now we're beginning to see the first disturbing signs. National unemployment rate has stopped dropping and a wholesale price index has started upward again. This is not good news anywhere but certainly not here. We must change our priorities. We must fight inflation effectively, wrestle the Federal budget in the balance of index taxes so that the working man who gets the cost of living salary index doesn't find he's moved up into another surtax bracket and ends up paying a profit to government and losing money for himself.

These are some of things we must do to begin solving these problems. And the energy bill, I think would be a great beginning. I believe the best thing this country can do for us or our government can do for us is recognize that sometimes its of the most help when it does nothing. What it should do now is repeal the energy legislation, get out of the way and turn the industry loose in the market-place to find the sources of energy this country needs.

I don't believe that the solid economic recovery we're told we're having can be built on this nation continuing to go into debt at a faster rate than it ever has in our national history. We're increasing the temperature of a sick patient at the same time we try to cure the fever by breaking the thermometer. This country is \$95 billion deeper in debt than it was twelve months ago. We continue to go into debt almost \$2 billion a week and



almost half of that is interest paid on the already existing debt. And this is on account of a tax burden Federal state and local that is taking 44¢ out of every dollar earned in the United States. It is the biggest single item in the family budget, greater than food, shelter and clothing combined.

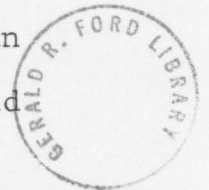
It has been suggested that there are really no issues in this campaign. As a matter of fact, a Senator recently stated that if the two Republican candidates were put in a dark room together, no one could find any philosophical difference between them. Well, maybe if the room was very dark that's true, but if you turn on the lights I think there are some differences to be viewed. And I have suggested one of them has to do with our relative experience in government. One has been a part of the Washington establishment for most of his adult life. I, as you were told in the introduction, spent most of my adult life out of the private sector; then for eight years was governor of a state, that if it were a nation, would be the 7th ranking economic power in the world.

But when I became governor, California was in about the same shape as New York City and New York City has no difference between it and Washington, D.C. except that Washington has a printing press. When New York went to Washington to ask for help that was like asking the captain of the Titanic for a lift. But when I was here before I do remember that I spoke to you who remember then about some ideas that I had for the government of California if I became governor. They were ideas for a creative society and a partnership between governor and this government and business and industry. Well, ten years later perhaps you'll hold still for a little report on how that

worked. I told you the condition California was in the verge of bankruptcy, spending a million and half dollars a day more than it was taking in, had been a bookkeeping trick to hide the fact that they were spending 15 months revenue on 12 months services. There were other things, funds that were unaccuarately out of balance that were hanging as billions of dollars of liability over our people's heads and over the property owner's heads.

I only know one thing, my faith and my belief in the private sector. I turn to the people of California for help. I asked for people who didn't want a job in government, I wanted those who would be most anxious to get back to their own careers and their own lives, and who wouldn't have to be persuaded to give some time in serving in government. We put that kind of an administration together. Then we gathered in a room one day for a lunch like this, what had to be the top leadership in the state of California, people who were the most successful in their particular lines of endeavor and a variety of lines of endeavor. We told them what we had in mind. More than 250 leaders and successful people in California volunteered, not just to serve on committees or put their names on a letterhead. They gave an average of 117 days apiece full time away from their own jobs, their own careers, their own activities and businesses. Organized into task forces, they went into every area of state government. They brought back to us the end of those 117 days, 1800 specific recommendations as to how modern business practices, common sense of everyday living, could be used to make government more responsive to the people. We

implemented more than 1600 of those recommendations. And that is why eight years later we turned over a solvent government, a balanced budget, it was a \$500 million surplus, and we have returned to the people of California in those eight years, in tax rebates and tax reductions, \$5,761,000,000. Now this was done by turning to the people and letting the people participate in their government. I use the word rebate and that might have sounded a little strange to you. It isn't often used in government. What it meant was that the first time we got out of the hole and had a surplus, and my finance director said, "How do you want to spend it?" I said "Let's give it back." He said it'd never been done. I said "Well, it never had an actor up here before either." So we gave it back. And I had a legislature that was just about the same complexion as today's Congress--irresponsible. So they didn't look kindly upon this but my having told the people publicly we were going to give it back they figured they couldn't interfere. I don't happen to believe that government has a right to a surplus. I believe government takes as much money as is required to perform the services and if there's any left over at the end of the year you give it back. So we did this. The last surplus we gave back was \$850 million. Now, when you tell a liberal, Democratic legislature that you want to give back \$850 million, this is like getting between the hog and the bucket. One Senator indignantly proclaimed that giving this money back was an unnecessary expenditure of public funds.

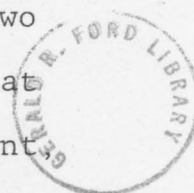


I happen to believe that what worked in California can work in Washington, D.C. if the government will turn to the people of this country for the great wealth of talent, managerial skill and talent that is available, and ask the people to participate in their government. Now I find that in towns wherever governments try to do things that people should do things for themselves, it is a failure. I mentioned an experience the other day, social security. There's a man in New Jersey on disability payments. The other day he received this letter from Social Security telling him they were discontinuing the payments because he's dead. Well he read the letter and he didn't believe it. So he went down to see them and they couldn't argue with him. He was alive all right but they couldn't argue with the computer and they couldn't figure a way to reinstate his payments. But they did manage to help him for a while. They gave him \$700 to pay for his funeral.

But every time Washington fails it comes up with an even costlier failure. For example, for more than 20 years, government is trying to build low cost housing for the poor. Its a worthy undertaking but they're wrong people trying to do it. To date, the score is they've destroyed 3½ houses for every house they've built. In North Carolina, Gaston county last winter, the government gave them \$21,000 to buy heating oil for homes where the people were too poor to keep their houses warm. Now they've discovered that \$20,500 of that went for administrator's salaries and expenses to supervise the buying of \$500 worth of oil for 268 gallons. But now they're also trying to find out what happened to 128 gallons that disappeared and no one knows what happened to them or where they went.

There's the matter of welfare. A woman in Chicago has established some kind of record for free enterprise. She has been getting welfare under 80 names, 30 addresses, 15 telephone numbers and her take is estimated at \$150,000 tax free.

Now, I move onto another subject with regard to the differences that might exist between the candidates. There has been some criticism. You perhaps heard a rumor or two that I've mentioned the Panama Canal. It is not true that I'm trying to preserve the Erie Canal. But our government for two years, has been negotiating to turn over to the dictator of Panama, who seized power eight years ago, the sovereignty of the Canal Zone and the rights to the Canal over a long period of time. I have been critical of this. The State Department has propagandized to the effect that this is the kind of a lease hold or it is a kind of colonial vestige of colonialism. Ladies and gentlemen the Panama Canal Zone, by treaties sustained by court decisions in our own country including the United States Supreme Court, is sovereign United States territory. Indeed, the court has likened it to the purchase of Alaska, prior to its becoming a state. We have observed our terms of the treaty including the protection of the independence of Panama. This is vital to our strategic defense of this hemisphere. It is vital life indeed to our trade and commerce. But I don't believe that this country should be negotiating under a threat of violence from a dictator that bloodshed will follow if we don't give in because we set a precedent if we do that all anyone else has to do is threaten us with violence and we'll give whatever is demanded.



First of all, I don't believe there will be such violence. I think we should be good neighbors, I think we should sit down and negotiate any points of friction that can be eased. But I do not believe that negotiation should be predicated upon turning over the sovereignty of the United States territory for the Canal which we built and which is ours.

On a television broadcast a few weeks ago, I described our foreign policy as wandering without aim. Earlier this year Dr. Kissinger said there was no alternative to detente. Mr. Ford said that no one who advocated abandoning detente could be elected. I kind of hope he's right because he now says he's not going to use the word anymore. But its not the word, its the policy that I believe has been bothering him, because under that policy our defense capability in this country has deteriorated to the point that Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has refused an answer to a direct question to say that we are still number one in our military capabilities.

I have been told that I have been speaking superficially or irresponsibly about this and yet there has not been a single response with any fact to substantiate the charge that what I have said is not true. This country is second best in a world where it is dangerous, if not fatal to be second best. And my statements have been sustained by statements by experts who are available to anyone in Washington including the Chief of NATO, the Chief of Engineering and Research in the Pentagon, the top defense expert at the Library of Congress, the Secretary of the Army who said that if we went to war tomorrow this country could only equip

half its division. I believe Secretary Schlesinger tried to warn the people of this country of our situation and perhaps that's why he's no longer a member of the Administration.

Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, former Chief of Defense Intelligence who resigned at the time of the firing of Dr. Schlesinger has said "...It is a bit difficult for me to understand how anyone could look the facts in the face and state that our military power is second to none. The figures speak for themselves and no amount of Washington's pompoustry can erase them. And Dr. Schlesinger has said that two-way erosion of the United States military strength and the energy policy of this country has given the Soviet Union the potential to control the world within ten years. I do not challenge the President's patriotism. I do not quarrel with the fact that he has asked for more money than this irresponsible Congress has been willing to give. I've never suggested that he share Dr. Kissinger's pessimistic view that you and I, the American people, lack the will and the stamina to keep this country in the number one position. But I do believe that to continue seeking cooperation from Congress gives us a situation that has gone beyond just an imbalance in weapons. I don't believe the people in this country lack the will and the stamina. What we lack is the truth and the information that our government owes us about our situation. I believe a President of the United States should go over the heads of the Congress to the people of this country, tell them what our situation is and I believe the people in this country will make whatever sacrifice is necessary to keep this country strong.



With that same legislature in Sacramento I learned, that faced with obstructionism that that's what you do. You take your case to the people. And when the people understand the truth the people have a way, not necessarily of making them see the light, they make them feel the heat.

I don't share faith in the Washington establishment. It is my belief that Washington has centralized too much authority and power, it is exercising too much control over local and state governments, and too much control over the people of this country. I don't believe that we can afford politics as usual any longer. Big government makes small people and what is needed today are big people making government small.

I know that we've lost faith now and then some of us and have faltered in belief in ourselves and in our country. But I don't believe that the elite in Washington should be fearful in telling us the truth no matter how unpleasant. Because, no people who ever lived on this earth have fought harder, paid a higher price for freedom or done more to advance the dignity of man than the Americans living today. I believe what the people want is a change I don't think that they want the housewife to be told that she can't buy cereal in the market without a government agency protecting her without being cheated. I don't believe that the business community of this country wants to continue sending 10 billion pieces of paper to Washington. I don't believe we want industries battle with regulations of the type that one firm alone spent \$30 million complying with the regulations enforced by government. It didn't add one ounce to the productivity of that industry and therefore



it did not create a single job. But \$30 million would mean 3400 jobs in that particular industry.

And no Republican in going to win without getting the votes of millions of Democrats and Independents. I believe there is a new majority of Americans abroad in the land today and I believe they are looking for a cause around which to rally. And I believe for the first time the things that they believe in are what many of us have thought have been traditional Republican philosophy. And therefore, if we will present to them a cause and a standard, I think we can have their support. It should be a cause that pledges we will reduce the power and size of the Federal government by returning in an orderly and phased manner to the state and local communities, programs that they should be running without Federal interference and turn back at the same time the Federal sources of revenue to fund them, give back the tax revenue.

I would begin with welfare. Mr. Ford said it should be federalized and he advocates the guaranteed annual income plan which I think will add about 12 million people to the welfare rolls with the stroke of a pen, the same bill that was defeated two years ago. In California we had a welfare problem. We were adding 40,000 people to the welfare rolls each month. We turn to the people again and the Citizens' Committee presented us with a plan for reform. In less than three years we reduced the rolls by more than 300,000 people. We saved the taxpayers \$2 billion and we were able to increase the grants to the truly deserving needy by an average of 43%. Now, I would make one

suggestion nationwide if states took over the administration of this program as they should. And that is that we quit destroying people, the spirit of humanity with welfare and start saving people, and to do that I propose that the able bodied welfare recipients be given the opportunity to work at useful community projects in return for their welfare grants.

We built the greatest public school system that the world has every known and built in some local levels (inaudible) Now we have Federal aid to education and with it has come Federal interference with education. I believe again that education should be turned back to the states and to local communities and who knows, if we get Washington out of the classroom maybe we'll get God back in.

I think our banner should present also a demand for fiscal sanity, the balancing of the budget and hopefully the beginning of installment paying on the national debt so at least our children have a pattern to follow.

The deficit spending of the Federal government is the single cause of inflation and inflation is the cause of the recession and the unemployment that plagues us all. On the international scene I think we have to accept our destiny, to be the leader of the free world. To abdicate that responsibility is to abdicate the ability to keep the peace. Therefore, I think we should ask the people of this country to sacrifice if need be, but to keep us so strong that no other power on earth will ever dare to test that strength and violate the peace.

I received a letter a short time ago, just after the broadcast of that speech. It was a man who had fled to this country in 1956

from Hungary at the time when the Hungarians tried to free themselves from Soviet rule. He said "I saw Communism in action. I know what is in store for the world. I was shocked by the total ignorance of decent and good Americans about the true face of Communism." Then he went on to say, ten of us 20 years ago. Today I own my own business. I only worked and used the opportunity this country gave me to choose my own course in life. I feel that I have come close to the American dream, to be free, to be independent and proud and I never stop thanking God for giving me the chance."

So this is what I think is at stake in this election. I think the people in this country are hungry for a spiritual revival. I think we want to believe again in ourselves and in our government and that this nation under God is still governed by the moral values upon which it was founded and that our children might be able to grow up in a country knowing the same freedom that we knew when we were growing up in America. I would like to go to Washington. I would like to go not because I believe I can perform great deeds, but because I believe you can and I believe it is time to have a government that once again recognizes it is supposed to be not only of and for but by the people of the United States and I would like to see if Washington could not give the people of this country a chance to participate in their government. Thank you very much.

RONALD REAGAN'S QUESTION & ANSWER SESSION

Q: Gov. Reagan, I don't want this to be confused with the question you were asked during the press conference. So much of your success in the recent primaries has been attributed to the Wallace cross-overs. Do you feel that this could hurt your chances in the November elections against the more progressive candidate?

A: Could it hurt my chances against more progressive candidates. Well, I have never identified those who cross-over in the states where (inaudible) is permitted. as particularly belonging to one or the other of the candidates of the Democratic party. I always figured that they must be Democrats who didn't find what they wanted in any of the candidates in their party and that's why they crossed over. Now, some evidence of this is the fact that in Alabama, where I won 70%-30%, Mr. Wallace also won by a tremendous margin in light of an even greater percentage so the cross-over there must have been some kind of Democrat. This whole matter of whether I'm electable or whether I have a narrow ideological base, I think comes down to a matter of record. California is almost 2-1 Democratic. I won the election in 1966 by a million votes and was elected four years later. In the present campaign in the primaries, in New Hampshire for example, which...there is no cross-over allowed there, so hundreds of Democrats wrote my name in on the New Hampshire Democratic ballot. It didn't do me any good in the primaries but it was nice to see. I think the evidence that Democrats, just as they did in '72 when they got a good look at the McGovern convention, I think many of those same Democrats are a part of that new majority out there who are waiting, for some cause and I will tell you this. If I did not believe when I made the decision to run that I offered the best

chance of victory in November, I would not be a candidate seeking your support here in this state.

Q: Governor Reagan, would you look favorably upon Sen. Brooke as a Vice-Presidential possibility?

A: Well now, I know that some of the Press disagree with me on this but I have to take some legal advice. First of all, I have not let myself even think ahead to who might be a Vice-Presidential suggestion of mine, because that's what it is, a recommendation at the convention. I think its a little presumptuous at this stage of the game to be thinking that far ahead. I'm almost superstitious about it. But also, and I say the press differs with me on this, I have been informed that under the new election laws a candidate cannot discuss names of people that he would make a part of government. I have interpreted in my legal advice (inaudible)...would include to recommending a Vice-President. Fred says no, it only means people that I could appoint. I'm going to stick with the lawyers advice and still stay with this. I.....

Q: Gov. Reagan, I have one question here. I recognize the derogatory ..... has great concern. This question is what is your attitude would you state briefly toward the vexing problem of the Middle East?

A: Well, whatever else you may think, I think that Richard Nixon had a good policy started in the Middle East. I think one of the great problems there is that there is so much right on both sides, and we have the Soviet influence in the Arab nations

we know that Israel is an ally and a long time friend of ours and I think that if we keep our word we are pledged to that ally and the preservation of Israel as a state. But Nixon started the moving into the Arab states and replacing the Soviet influence with United States influence. Thus, we did reach the point. With at least the Arab states divided and which we, trusted by representatives of both sides could gather them together at a table and begin the process of mediation at a table which is a proper way to settle this dispute. Now, unfortunately, both sides seem to have lost confidence in us. Perhaps the debacle in Viet Nam and whatever else has happened we know that Dr. Kissinger had returned early from the Mideast some time ago simply because both sides said they no longer had confidence that any decisions made there would be upheld by our government. I still think that we should return to the other policy. To do that this entails what I mentioned in my remarks...I think we've got to have the strength that there will be confidence in the part of our friends and allies and I think also that we've got to remind the world... Vice-President Rockefeller returned from his last trip around the world and said that he found a great lack of confidence among our friends in the United States. I think this country has to take the steps to remind our friends and allies and the rest of the world that we will abide by our commitments, we will not toss long-time allies aside. We intend to operate as the leader of the free world and then I believe we can get back to those meetings at the table in which we can invite both sides to sit there and know that they will have some trust and confidence

in us. I think that calls for us understanding sometimes if we see what appears to be aid given to one side or the other that we have to recognize that that might be a part of the policy of winning the confidence of both factions there.

Q: Many questions on these two subjects. What is your specific position on the handling of our post office problem?

A: You know, I think I told you the story of 1966. It was a comparison about one of the regulated monopolies, the phone company and about the government monopoly of the post office. Well, I might as well finish it. I remarked then, about 35 years ago, you could make a long-distance phone call from San Francisco to New York for \$20.70 odd cents. For that same amount of money you could send 1,037 letters across the country. Today you can make that phone call for 56¢. For that amount of money you can only send four letters across the country. So the government is suing the Bell System. Very briefly, my answer is one that I would like to see a legitimate experiment objected in this country and that is the private carrying of first class mail, at least on the experimental basis.

Q: What is your position as far as National Health Insurance and its expense to the Federal government and its people?

A: Well, I've been on that subject for a great many years and I think I've done some rather in-depth studying of those systems abroad, England, Sweden, other countries where they've done it. Nationalized health insurance is socialized medicine.



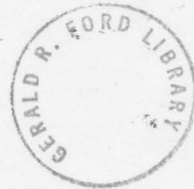
You can't socialize the doctor without socializing the patient and I believe evidence shows that medicine run by government is more expensive than anywhere it is tried than what we presently have in our country and the conclusion you have to reach is that it is also less effective and less efficient. If you have to get sick, get sick in America and we don't need and should not have the compulsory national insurance.

Q: Did you approve of the handling of the financial distress in New York and if not, why not and what would you do about the problems of urban cities like Detroit?

A: Well, I must say that my sympathy is not of the deepest with regard to New York City. Cities of a million population or more in this country average \$681 per capita to provide the essential services to their people. In New York City the cost is \$1446. New York City bought its own problems not through any outside influence or not through any economic or natural disasters. They just plain had politicians over the years who betrayed the people by never being able to say no and I think someplace along the line New York City is going to have to resolve its own problems. Certainly they can't ask the rest of these people to support them in the style to which they've become accustomed. Therefore, I was somewhat critical of the Federal government stepping in. First of all as I indicated earlier, you know, that was really one patient trying to doctor the other. The problem of the urban cities I believe again is one in which mainly the Federal government

has done two things. First of all it has dangled grants for so-called Federal money but insisted that you must match these grants and then institute programs that they have prescribed in Washington. Sometimes the temptation of the money is so great that the local communities takes it whether the program is really of top priority or interest to it. That's part of it. The second thing is the Federal government has usurped the tax sources in this country to where most local areas are left vastly or mainly dependent on the property tax which is not a vast increasing tax that does not keep pace with the economy as does the income tax on others. I believe that the responsibilities should be turned back to the communities and states. They should have the privilege of discontinuing them if they didn't want to maintain them, keep them if they were priority and the tax sources should be given. Now some people say now how does this work? Well, we have one tax now, just since 1926 has been shared---the Federal government's estate tax. A percentage of that has been earmarked by law to the states no strings attached. Norris Cotton, Senator of New Hampshire, suggested a few years ago, that to help education, not Federal aid; that what the Federal government should do is to turn over the tobacco tax to the state, and in that sense to earmark it to be used for education but not have grants and controls coming from Washington. This could even apply to the Federal income tax. Can anyone show a reason why the Federal income tax collected in April, instead of being taken to Washington and then sent back in the form of grants, why they could not earmark a percentage of that tax and they retain it in the state in

which it is collected and send the balance to  
Washington.



CANDIDATES ON THE ISSUES: REAGAN

*Reagan - 15542*

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

Oklahoma City

Ronald Reagan, asserting that "this country is hungry for a spiritual revival," says that as president he would "take advantage of every opportunity to stress moral values."

However, asked about the possibility that Democrat Jimmy Carter might be making prayer an issue, Mr. Reagan said, "I myself don't think we ought to make God an endorser in this campaign." He himself placed "great reliance" on prayer, he said.

Mr. Reagan gave these views during a lengthy interview with the Monitor aboard his plane recently, en route from Detroit to Oklahoma City. The interview was part of a Monitor effort to probe the specific campaign '76 stands on the issues of the three main contenders: Mr. Reagan, President Ford; and Mr. Carter.

Analyses of Mr. Ford's and Mr. Carter's stands will appear on these pages soon.

The interview came during a night flight on a small campaign jet, after a long day which had included a luncheon speech and several local TV interviews. Mr. Reagan spoke freely after a quick chicken dinner, never groping for answers. He was friendly, but maintained a degree of reserve. Except for the deep lines on his face, he has the look of a much younger man.

Among Mr. Reagan's points:

- He opposes national health insurance and calls "government medicine spending more expensive" and "less efficient" than private medical practice.
- He would add 5 to 15 years to the sentence of anyone with a gun in his possession while committing a crime, and make the sentence mandatory, without probation.
- He would "turn the industry loose" to produce the energy the country needs, and strike a balance between man and his environment which would recognize that "people are ecology, too."
- On foreign policy, he would oppose concessions to Moscow without proper concessions in return, keep up U.S. ties with Taiwan while using China as a "deterrent" against the Soviet Union, seek to replace Soviet with American influence in Arab states, refuse to deal with Cuba's Fidel Castro, and refuse to "negotiate away" the Panama Canal.

The interview follows:

**Are you disturbed by the moral climate in the United States?**

Oh yes, I think almost everyone is. I think what we have seen is an era of permissiveness. But I also think we have seen a kind of humanist philosophy that has been impressed particularly upon our children, a questioning of all moral values, all the traditional values.

**Would you or could you do anything to improve this climate?**

The office of the presidency does have a moral suasion. I believe that by setting a tone at that position, by doing whatever you can to counter this humanist philosophy and to reawaken an interest in traditional values upon which this country was founded — yes, I think a president can do something.

**Do you do this by, perhaps, turning the presidency into what Teddy Roosevelt once called a "bully pulpit"?**

I think you take advantage of every opportunity to stress those moral values. I think this country is hungry for a spiritual revival.

**Jimmy Carter is bringing religion, certainly the subject of prayer, into this election. Do you think it belongs there?**

Well, it has always been difficult for me to volunteer this. I have never hesitated to answer questions about my own faith, my own belief, my own reliance on prayer.

**Is there a possibility that the candidates could be running against each other on which is more prayerful?**

I don't think there should be such a contest. . . . I myself don't think that we ought to make God an endorser in this campaign. . . . It would be difficult for me to simply volunteer what my faith is. I have never hesitated to answer when asked, and, frankly, I place a great reliance on prayer.

**Where do you stand on national health insurance?**

I think any comparison of our pluralistic system in America compared to those countries such as England, Sweden, that have put in national health insurance reveals that government medicine is more expensive, government medicine is less efficient, and we have, I believe, the finest health care to be found any place in the world and we should think twice before we throw that system away.

**How would you handle inflation? Unemployment?**

Inflation and jobs go hand in hand. I believe that our problem has been [that] for too many years we treated the

REAGAN ON TROOPS TO RHODESIA

Remarks made at speech to Sacramento Press Club

June 2, 1976

Reagan said if he is elected President he might send American troops to Rhodesia "in the interest of peace and avoiding bloodshed" if the Rhodesian government asked for help.

He said he does not believe an actual commitment of American troops would be necessary to preserve the peace during a transition of power to the black majority in the white-ruled African nation.

He said a treaty or promise of U.S. help might be enough to restore peace in the African nation:

"Whether it would be enough to have simply a show of strength or whether you have to go in with occupation forces or not, I don't know."

But he said he would be willing to send American troops

"if the government there said that a token show is necessary."

Asked if he would go beyond sending a token force to Rhodesia, Reagan replied:

"I don't think you'd have to." But he added, "If we had made such an arrangement, such a pledge, I certainly would."

NOTE: Another account of the above quote is:

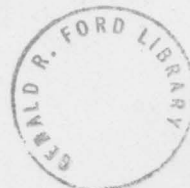
"Well, if we made such an arrangement that made such a pledge, I assume we would."

Reagan also said:

"I do not believe this would be out of line with the policy we followed in several other areas, and the policy that we followed in the Middle East. And certainly it never involved us in war in the Middle East, nor do I believe it would involve us in war there (Rhodesia)."

In speech in Visalia - June 2 :

He believes Americans should "offer our services to mediate and help arrive at a settlement...and see there's no bloodshed and violence



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while the transition is made" to majority rule in Rhodesia.

Jim Lake (Reagan's Press Secretary) said the Visalia remarks referred only to diplomatic moves, not troops.

The Today Show this morning reported:

"Ronald Reagan said the statement he made yesterday should not be interpreted as meaning that he would go to war over Rhodesia. The original statement was that if he is elected President he might send troops to Rhodesia if the Rhodesians requested them to keep the peace.

An aide said Reagan feels it would be better to send a UN force instead of Americans."



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PK-REAGAN 6-3

BY ROBERT B. GUNNISON

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN SAYS HE WANTS TO DISPEL ANY NOTION THAT HE WOULD GO TO WAR OVER RHODESIA.

CAMPAIGNING FOR THE JUNE 8 CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY, REAGAN WEDNESDAY TOLD A SACRAMENTO AUDIENCE HE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEND U.S. TROOPS TO THE TROUBLED AFRICAN NATION "IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND AVOIDING BLOODSHED."

THE FORMER GOVERNOR SAID A TREATY, OR "THE PROMISE" OF AMERICAN HELP, MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO TRIGGER FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT COMPRISING BLACK NATIONALIST GUERRILLAS AND THE WHITE MINORITY.

REAGAN SAID, HOWEVER, HE MIGHT DISPATCH SOMETHING BEYOND A "TOKEN FORCE" IF NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN PEACE. HE COMPARED THE SITUATION TO THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCES SENT TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

MINUTES AFTER HE MADE THE REMARK, HE TOLD A STATE SENATOR THAT REPORTERS WOULD INTERPRET THE STATEMENT TO MEAN HE "HAD DECLARED WAR ON RHODESIA."

LATER, AT A FUND RAISING SUPPER IN CUPERTINO, REAGAN STARTED HIS BRIEF REMARKS TO ABOUT 200 PERSONS BY SAYING: "IT ISN'T TRUE. I'M NOT GOING TO DECLARE WAR ON RHODESIA."

"I MADE THE MISTAKE OF SPEAKING TO THE PRESS CLUB OVER IN SACRAMENTO. YOU HAVE TO BE CAREFUL ABOUT WHAT YOU SAY."

DECLARING HE FAVORED DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, REAGAN TOLD THE PRESS CLUB THE CURRENT STRIFE WAS "NOT A RACIAL PROBLEM." HE SAID THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN TOGETHER SHOULD GUARANTEE PEACE DURING NEGOTIATIONS.

HE WAS ASKED HOW HE WOULD SUPPORT THE GUARANTEES -- WITH AN OCCUPATION FORCE, TROOPS OR OBSERVERS.

"YOU WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETELY INVOLVED WITH THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT AND FIND OUT WHETHER THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY," HE REPLIED. "IT MIGHT SIMPLY BE THAT THE PROMISE, THE TREATY OR AGREEMENT, WOULD PREVENT THE OTHER FROM HAPPENING ..."

"BUT WHETHER IT WOULD BE ENOUGH TO HAVE SIMPLY THE SHOW OF STRENGTH -- THE PROMISE THAT WE WOULD -- OR WHETHER YOU'D HAVE TO GO IN WITH OCCUPATION FORCES, I DON'T KNOW."

ASKED IF HE MEANT HE WOULD CONSIDER DISPATCHING TROOPS TO AFRICA, REAGAN INDICATED HE WOULD, PROVIDED THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT BELIEVED A "TOKEN SHOW" WOULD HELP.

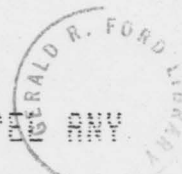
WOULD HE GO BEYOND A TOKEN SHOW?

"I DON'T THINK YOU'D HAVE TO."

BUT WHAT IF YOU HAD TO?

"WELL, IF WE MADE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT THAT MADE SUCH A PLEDGE, I ASSUME WE WOULD."

UPI 06-03 10:18 AED



Washington Star  
June 3

## Reagan Willing To Send Troops To Rhodesia

SACRAMENTO (AP) — Ronald Reagan says that if he is elected president he may send American troops to Rhodesia to preserve the peace if the Rhodesian government asked for help.

But the former California governor said he doesn't believe an actual commitment of American troops

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## REAGAN

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Continued From A-1

"Whether it would be enough to have simply a show of strength, or whether you have to go in with occupation forces or not, I don't know," Reagan said.

But he said he would be willing to send American troops "if the government there said that a token show . . . is necessary."

Asked if he would go beyond sending a token force to Rhodesia, Reagan

made" to majority rule in Rhodesia.

But Reagan's press secretary, Jim Lake, said Reagan's Visalia remarks referred only to diplomatic moves, not troops.

Yesterday was Reagan's second day of campaigning in California's rich agricultural heartland in his campaign against Ford. There are 167 delegates at stake in Tuesday's winner-take-all Republican primary.

In a speech earlier in the day Reagan outlined his most detailed position to date on busing.



Salisbury  
June 3, 1971

# Reagan bares plan against busing

By BRUCE WINTERS  
Sun Staff Correspondent

Sacramento, Calif. — The White House of Ronald Reagan would propose a constitutional amendment if necessary to end forced busing and order the federal bureaucracy "to get off the back" of local school systems, the candidate said yesterday.

[Mr. Reagan also said yesterday that if he is elected president he might send American troops to Rhodesia to preserve the peace if the Rhodesian government asked for help, the Associated Press reported. He said he does not believe an actual commitment of American troops would be necessary to preserve the peace during a transition of power to the black majority in the white-ruled African nation.]

["Whether it would be enough to have simply a show of strength, or whether you have to go in with occupation forces or not, I don't know," Mr. Reagan said.]

[But he said he would be willing to send American troops "if the government there said that a token show . . . is necessary."]

[Asked if he would go beyond sending a token force to Rhodesia—  
See REAGAN, A12, Col. 5]



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(POLITICS)  
(BY LEWIS LORD)

WASHINGTON (UPI)--JIMMY CARTER, WHO HAS PREDICTED A FIRST BALLOT VICTORY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, NOW SAYS A SECOND BALLOT WIN IS MORE PROBABLE.

"I FEEL MORE CONFIDENT OF A SECOND BALLOT VICTORY," THE DEMOCRATIC FRONTRUNNER SAID WEDNESDAY AS HE WRAPPED UP HIS CAMPAIGN FOR NEXT TUESDAY'S CALIFORNIA PRIMARY.

CARTER SAID DELEGATES PLEDGED TO GEORGE WALLACE WILL SHIFT TO HIS COLUMN IF THERE IS A SECOND BALLOT, GIVING HIM THE NOMINATION.

IN THE RACE FOR THE GOP PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, RONALD REAGAN, ALSO CONCENTRATING HIS EFFORTS IN CALIFORNIA, SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEND AMERICAN FORCES TO RHODESIA "IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND AVOIDING BLOODSHED."

REAGAN TOLD THE SACRAMENTO PRESS CLUB A TREATY OR PROMISE OF U.S. HELP MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO RESTORE PEACE IN THE AFRICAN NATION. ASKED IF MORE U.S. FORCES WOULD BE SENT IF A TOKEN FORCE WERE INADEQUATE, REAGAN SAID: "WELL, IF WE MADE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT THAT MADE SUCH A PLEDGE, I ASSUME WE WOULD."

PRESIDENT FORD ANNOUNCED PLANS FOR HIS FINAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGN TRIP. HE WILL CAMPAIGN SUNDAY IN NEW JERSEY AND OHIO, THEN MAKE AN EIGHT-CITY OHIO MOTORCADE MONDAY.

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PH-POLITICS SKED 6-3

PICTURE

BY LEWIS LORD

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

JIMMY CARTER, WHO HAS PREDICTED A FIRST BALLOT VICTORY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, NOW SAYS A SECOND BALLOT WIN IS MORE PROBABLE.

"I FEEL MORE CONFIDENT OF A SECOND BALLOT VICTORY," THE DEMOCRATIC FRONTRUNNER SAID WEDNESDAY AS HE WRAPPED UP HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY IN NEXT WEEK'S "SUPER TUESDAY."

CARTER SAID DELEGATES PLEDGED TO ALABAMA GOV. GEORGE WALLACE WILL SHIFT TO HIS COLUMN IF THERE IS A SECOND BALLOT, GIVING HIM THE NOMINATION.

TUESDAY'S FINAL THREE PRIMARIES OF THE YEAR -- IN CALIFORNIA, OHIO AND NEW JERSEY -- WILL BE CRUCIAL AND COULD DECIDE BOTH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

FRANK CHURCH SUGGESTED MORRIS UDALL, WHO HAS PLACED SECOND IN EIGHT PRIMARIES BUT NEVER FIRST, DROP OUT OF THE OHIO RACE TO GIVE HIM A CLEAR SHOT AT CARTER.

"IF I COULDN'T WIN, I WOULD STOP RUNNING," SAID CHURCH, WHOSE VICTORY IN MONTANA THIS WEEK WAS HIS FOURTH IN FIVE PRIMARIES.

UDALL, WHO LAST WEEK URGED CHURCH TO STAY OUT OF OHIO, SAID HE HAS MORE DELEGATES THAN ANYONE BUT CARTER AND WON'T QUIT.

"I THINK THE RACE IN OHIO IS BETWEEN ME AND CARTER," UDALL SAID. "I'M IN IT ALL THE WAY."

CALIFORNIA GOV. EDMUND BROWN JR. CLAIMED HE FINISHED FIRST IN THIS WEEK'S RHODE ISLAND PRIMARY AS A RESULT OF AN UNCOMMITTED SLATE EMERGING ONE PERCENTAGE POINT AHEAD OF CARTER.

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UPI 06-03 03:11 AED

REAGAN'S RHODESIAN REMARKS

Governor Reagan's statement that he would send American troops in Rhodesia -- and then his immediate withdrawal from that position -- once again raise fundamental questions about his capacity to be President.

Because of the awesome strength of America, our President must always think before speaking and acting. Reckless statements, such as the Rhodesian comment made by Governor Reagan, can produce dangerous and perhaps even disastrous international results, if spoken by a President.

It was one thing for Governor Reagan to speak thoughtlessly when he was talking about Social Security, or a \$90 billion reduction in Federal spending, or selling the Tennessee Valley Authority. But it is quite another thing when he talks of using troops to defend the Panama Canal before diplomacy has failed, and then makes the same mistake with regard to Rhodesia.

The President of the United States, as leader of the Free World, is faced with tough, volatile and extremely dangerous issues everyday. As these issues arise, it is absolutely essential that the President approach them with steady, reasoned calm; that he analyze fully the strategic, political and perhaps economic dimensions of the issue; that he understand the implications for this country of the reasonable choices open and that he move decisively toward the solution that best protects the United States interest. In the nuclear age, the President



cannot be reckless in his statements or his actions.

When President Ford was confronted with the current problems in South Africa, he sent his Secretary of State there with directions to pursue a diplomatic solution. This is the proper approach and one which has resulted in progress in reaching a non-violent solution.

When Governor Reagan was challenged on his statement, he withdrew to a position of supporting majority rule in Rhodesia and a claim that he was referring only to diplomatic moves and not the use of troops. This final position, of course, brings him full circle to a position President Ford has sponsored for many months.

My point in raising this is not to deal with the substance of Governor Reagan's remarks -- he has essentially withdrawn them and retreated to a more rational position. My concern is what this tells us about the Governor's approach to decision-making. Again, the spectacle of a man who aspires to sit in the Oval Office responding without any thoughtful deliberation, with the impulsive resort to violent solutions is alarming and very dangerous. I believe this is the lesson to be drawn from this episode.

All Americans -- and indeed citizens throughout the world -- can be thankful that the current President of the United States thinks before he acts.

# Poll shows voters concerned, confused on issues; real focus is on personalities

©1976, The Associated Press

New York—Economic problems and crime top the list of Americans' concerns in this

right more often than wrong in picking the candidate's stand. Jimmy Carter's supporters were the most likely to name

of Mr. Brown and Mr. Church had not then taken shape, the poll did not test their supporters' perceptions.

by 14 per cent.

Concern about energy problems and about air and water pollution were each named by



He knew he made a mistake almost as soon as he said it and he has been trying to dance back ever since.

But the question for the Republican Party grows larger every day: do we want our party to be out there on the end of that limb this November along with Mr. Reagan?

I think the answer is clearly no.

We have an incumbent President now who is proving by deeds -- not just hot rhetoric -- that we can keep America at peace. To me, it is abundantly clear that one of the reasons President Ford can win this fall is because he won't scare people out of their wits.

I think it's time that Mr. Reagan declared a 12th Commandment: "Never speak before you think."



Rhodesia and Reagan



It's time that all Republicans faced the hard facts:

One of the major issues that has now begun to haunt this political campaign is whether one of our two leading candidates, Ronald Reagan, has the judgment and temperament to make fundamental decisions on war and peace.

Early in the campaign, Mr. Reagan made it clear that he had little use for negotiations with the Soviet Union and that he would probably scuttle the nuclear arms talks.

Soon thereafter he began talking about the need for us to go "eyeball-to-eyeball" with the Russians in Africa.

By mid-spring, he was urging that we take a much more bellicose position on the Panama Canal, and he said he would not hesitate to send American troops there.

Yesterday he went out all the way to the end of the limb, saying that he would be prepared to send American soldiers to Rhodesia.



REAGAN'S RHODESIAN REMARKS

File

Fr GRF

Governor Reagan's remarks yesterday about Rhodesia once again raise a fundamental question about his capacity and judgment.

I continue to have a great affection for Mr. Reagan and I respect many of his views, but I do not think this country can afford to start sending troops to every far-flung corner of the world whenever there's a problem. That's what Mr. Reagan first suggested about Panama and now he seems to be suggesting it for Rhodesia.

My policy has been and will continue to be this: we will use force whenever it is necessary to protect American lives or to preserve American interests, but war will always remain a last resort. I have found ~~that~~ the United States can achieve striking successes if we resort first and foremost to diplomacy and if we formulate policies that help to prevent crises before



they arrive. That's the approach we're taking in the economic summit in Puerto Rico, and if we stick to it in other areas, we can keep our powder dry.

Gergen  
6/3/76

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OK

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the word "number" and other illegible scribbles.



they arrive. That's the approach we're taking in the economic summit in Puerto Rico, and if we stick to it in other areas, we can keep our... speaks before he

Pattern of man who thinks.

- Panama
- South Africa

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but w/ Foreign policy no  
 + through ~~stability~~ = 5  
 retreat from ~~reduction~~



REAGAN ON TROOPS TO RHODESIA

Remarks made at speech to Sacramento Press Club

June 2, 1976

Reagan said if he is elected President he might send American troops to Rhodesia "in the interest of peace and avoiding bloodshed" if the Rhodesian government asked for help.

He said he does not believe an actual commitment of American troops would be necessary to preserve the peace during a transition of power to the black majority in the white-ruled African nation.

He said a treaty or promise of U.S. help might be enough to restore peace in the African nation:

"Whether it would be enough to have simply a show of strength or whether you have to go in with occupation forces or not, I don't know."

But he said he would be willing to send American troops

"if the government there said that a token show is necessary."

Asked if he would go beyond sending a token force to Rhodesia, Reagan replied:

"I don't think you'd have to." But he added, "If we had made such an arrangement, such a pledge, I certainly would."

NOTE: Another account of the above quote is:

"Well, if we made such an arrangement that made such a pledge, I assume we would."



Reagan also said:

"I do not believe this would be out of line with the policy we followed in several other areas, and the policy that we followed in the Middle East. And certainly it never involved us in war in the Middle East, nor do I believe it would involve us in war there (Rhodesia)."

In speech in Visalia - June 2 :

He believes Americans should "offer our services to mediate and help arrive at a settlement...and see there's no bloodshed and violence

while the transition is made" to majority rule in Rhodesia.

Jim Lake (Reagan's Press Secretary) said the Visalia remarks referred only to diplomatic moves, not troops.

The Today Show this morning reported:

"Ronald Reagan said the statement he made yesterday should not be interpreted as meaning that he would go to war over Rhodesia. The original statement was that if he is elected President he might send troops to Rhodesia if the Rhodesians requested them to keep the peace.

An aide said Reagan feels it would be better to send a UN force instead of Americans."



R A

PM-REAGAN 6-3

BY ROBERT B. GUNNISON

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN SAYS HE WANTS TO DISPEL ANY NOTION THAT HE WOULD GO TO WAR OVER RHODESIA.

CAMPAIGNING FOR THE JUNE 8 CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY, REAGAN WEDNESDAY TOLD A SACRAMENTO AUDIENCE HE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEND U.S. TROOPS TO THE TROUBLED AFRICAN NATION "IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND AVOIDING BLOODSHED."

THE FORMER GOVERNOR SAID A TREATY, OR "THE PROMISE" OF AMERICAN HELP, MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO TRIGGER FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT COMPRISING BLACK NATIONALIST GUERRILLAS AND THE WHITE MINORITY.

REAGAN SAID, HOWEVER, HE MIGHT DISPATCH SOMETHING BEYOND A "TOKEN FORCE" IF NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN PEACE. HE COMPARED THE SITUATION TO THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCES SENT TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

MINUTES AFTER HE MADE THE REMARK, HE TOLD A STATE SENATOR THAT REPORTERS WOULD INTERPRET THE STATEMENT TO MEAN HE "HAD DECLARED WAR ON RHODESIA."

LATER, AT A FUND RAISING SUPPER IN CUPERTINO, REAGAN STARTED HIS BRIEF REMARKS TO ABOUT 200 PERSONS BY SAYING: "IT ISN'T TRUE. I'M NOT GOING TO DECLARE WAR ON RHODESIA.

"I MADE THE MISTAKE OF SPEAKING TO THE PRESS CLUB OVER IN SACRAMENTO. YOU HAVE TO BE CAREFUL ABOUT WHAT YOU SAY."

DECLARING HE FAVORED DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, REAGAN TOLD THE PRESS CLUB THE CURRENT STRIFE WAS "NOT A RACIAL PROBLEM." HE SAID THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN TOGETHER SHOULD GUARANTEE PEACE DURING NEGOTIATIONS.

HE WAS ASKED HOW HE WOULD SUPPORT THE GUARANTEES -- WITH AN OCCUPATION FORCE, TROOPS OR OBSERVERS.

"YOU WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETELY INVOLVED WITH THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT AND FIND OUT WHETHER THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY," HE REPLIED. "IT MIGHT SIMPLY BE THAT THE PROMISE, THE TREATY OR AGREEMENT, WOULD PREVENT THE OTHER FROM HAPPENING ...

"BUT WHETHER IT WOULD BE ENOUGH TO HAVE SIMPLY THE SHOW OF STRENGTH -- THE PROMISE THAT WE WOULD -- OR WHETHER YOU'D HAVE TO GO IN WITH OCCUPATION FORCES, I DON'T KNOW."

ASKED IF HE MEANT HE WOULD CONSIDER DISPATCHING TROOPS TO AFRICA, REAGAN INDICATED HE WOULD, PROVIDED THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT BELIEVED A "TOKEN SHOW" WOULD HELP.

WOULD HE GO BEYOND A TOKEN SHOW?

"I DON'T THINK YOU'D HAVE TO."

BUT WHAT IF YOU HAD TO?

"WELL, IF WE MADE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT THAT MADE SUCH A PLEDGE, I ASSUME WE WOULD."

UPI 06-03 10:18 AED

Washington Star  
June 3

## Reagan Willing To Send Troops To Rhodesia

SACRAMENTO (AP) — Ronald Reagan says that if he is elected president he may send American troops to Rhodesia to preserve the peace if the Rhodesian government asked for help.

But the former California governor

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## REAGAN

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Continued From A-1

"Whether it would be enough to have simply a show of strength, or whether you have to go in with occupation forces or not, I don't know," Reagan said.

But he said he would be willing to send American troops "if the government there said that a token show . . . is necessary."

Asked if he would go be-

made" to majority rule in Rhodesia.

But Reagan's press secretary, Jim Lake, said Reagan's Visalia remarks referred only to diplomatic moves, not troops.

Yesterday was Reagan's second day of campaigning in California's rich agricultural heartland in his campaign against Ford. There are 167 delegates at stake in Tuesday's winner-take-all Republican primary.

In a speech earlier in the day Reagan outlined his

Salisbury  
June 3, 1971

# Reagan bares plan against busing

By BRUCE WINTERS  
Sun Staff Correspondent

Sacramento, Calif. — The White House of Ronald Reagan would propose a constitutional amendment if necessary to end forced busing and order the federal bureaucracy "to get off the back" of local school systems, the candidate said yesterday.

[Mr. Reagan also said yesterday that if he is elected president he might send American troops to Rhodesia to preserve the peace if the Rhodesian government asked for help, the Associated Press reported. He said he does not believe an actual commitment of American troops would be necessary to preserve the peace during a transition of power to the black majority in the white-ruled African nation.

["Whether it would be enough to have simply a show of strength, or whether you have to go in with occupation forces or not, I don't know," Mr. Reagan said.

[But he said he would be willing to send American troops "if the government there said that a token show . . . is necessary."

[Asked if he would go beyond sending a token force to Rhodesia  
See REAGAN, A12, Col. 5

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UP-217

(POLITICS)

(BY LEWIS LORD)

WASHINGTON (UPI)--JIMMY CARTER, WHO HAS PREDICTED A FIRST BALLOT VICTORY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, NOW SAYS A SECOND BALLOT WIN IS MORE PROBABLE.

"I FEEL MORE CONFIDENT OF A SECOND BALLOT VICTORY," THE DEMOCRATIC FRONTRUNNER SAID WEDNESDAY AS HE WRAPPED UP HIS CAMPAIGN FOR NEXT TUESDAY'S CALIFORNIA PRIMARY.

CARTER SAID DELEGATES PLEDGED TO GEORGE WALLACE WILL SHIFT TO HIS COLUMN IF THERE IS A SECOND BALLOT, GIVING HIM THE NOMINATION.

IN THE RACE FOR THE GOP PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, RONALD REAGAN, ALSO CONCENTRATING HIS EFFORTS IN CALIFORNIA, SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEND AMERICAN FORCES TO RHODESIA "IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND AVOIDING BLOODSHED."

REAGAN TOLD THE SACRAMENTO PRESS CLUB A TREATY OR PROMISE OF U.S. HELP MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO RESTORE PEACE IN THE AFRICAN NATION. ASKED IF MORE U.S. FORCES WOULD BE SENT IF A TOKEN FORCE WERE INADEQUATE, REAGAN SAID: "WELL, IF WE MADE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT THAT MADE SUCH A PLEDGE, I ASSUME WE WOULD."

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UPI 26-23 29:42 AED

R A

PH-POLITICS SKED 6-3

PICTURE

BY LEWIS LORD

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

JIMMY CARTER, WHO HAS PREDICTED A FIRST BALLOT VICTORY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, NOW SAYS A SECOND BALLOT WIN IS MORE PROBABLE.

"I FEEL MORE CONFIDENT OF A SECOND BALLOT VICTORY," THE DEMOCRATIC FRONTRUNNER SAID WEDNESDAY AS HE WRAPPED UP HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY IN NEXT WEEK'S "SUPER TUESDAY."

CARTER SAID DELEGATES PLEDGED TO ALABAMA GOV. GEORGE WALLACE WILL SHIFT TO HIS COLUMN IF THERE IS A SECOND BALLOT, GIVING HIM THE NOMINATION.

TUESDAY'S FINAL THREE PRIMARIES OF THE YEAR -- IN CALIFORNIA, OHIO AND NEW JERSEY -- WILL BE CRUCIAL AND COULD DECIDE BOTH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

FRANK CHURCH SUGGESTED MORRIS UDALL, WHO HAS PLACED SECOND IN EIGHT PRIMARIES BUT NEVER FIRST, DROP OUT OF THE OHIO RACE TO GIVE HIM A CLEAR SHOT AT CARTER.

"IF I COULDN'T WIN, I WOULD STOP RUNNING," SAID CHURCH, WHOSE VICTORY IN MONTANA THIS WEEK WAS HIS FOURTH IN FIVE PRIMARIES.

UDALL, WHO LAST WEEK URGED CHURCH TO STAY OUT OF OHIO, SAID HE HAS MORE DELEGATES THAN ANYONE BUT CARTER AND WON'T QUIT.

"I THINK THE RACE IN OHIO IS BETWEEN ME AND CARTER," UDALL SAID. "I'M IN IT ALL THE WAY."

CALIFORNIA GOV. EDMUND BROWN JR. CLAIMED HE FINISHED FIRST IN THIS WEEK'S RHODE ISLAND PRIMARY AS A RESULT OF AN UNCOMMITTED SLATE EMERGING ONE PERCENTAGE POINT AHEAD OF CARTER.

THE SEVEN UNCOMMITTED RHODE ISLAND DELEGATES ALL HAD EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE FOR BROWN AND STATE DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN CHARLES REILLY SAID THEY ARE "MORALLY OBLIGATED" TO BACK THE CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR.

BROWN SAID THE RHODE ISLAND RESULTS DEMONSTRATED THAT "JIMMY CARTER HAS YET TO PROVE HIMSELF THE FRONTRUNNER."

CARTER, WHO WON THIS WEEK'S SOUTH DAKOTA PRIMARY AND FINISHED SECOND IN RHODE ISLAND AND MONTANA, DESCRIBED BROWN'S COMMENT AS "A LITTLE BIT ILLOGICAL."

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UPI 06-03 03:11 AED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

TO: MIKE DUVAL  
DAVE GERGEN  
JON HOWE  
LES JANKA

FROM: BUD MCFARLANE

Attached is a rescrub, approved by General  
Scowcroft.



REAGAN ON TROOPS TO RHODESIA

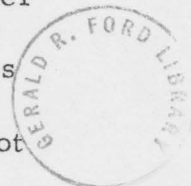
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I believe we all recognize that in a campaign for the Presidency there is a natural tendency among candidates to make headlines by dramatic statements on this or that issue. Unlike the President -- who must always speak as President and whose statements must command respect internationally for the United States as a steady, thoughtful voice of leadership worthy of respect -- these statements by other candidates often reach extreme bounds and through rhetorical hyperbole gain attention, however dangerous or unrealistic they may be as national policies. By and large, you and I are able to discern this rhetoric from reality and take it with a large dose of salt. Because these candidates are not the President, usually no harm is done except for the alarming perception it creates abroad of these individuals. I believe, however, that American voters must look closely at these rather foolish performances for what they tell you about that candidate's capacity for responsible national leadership.

As the recognized leader of the Free World, and the Commander-in-Chief responsible for our Nation's security, the

President is faced with tough, volatile and extremely dangerous issues every day. As these issues arise, it is absolutely essential that the President approach them with steady, reasoned calm; that he analyze fully the strategic political and perhaps economic dimensions of the issue; that he understand the implications for this country of the reasonable choices open and that he move decisively toward a solution that best protects United States interests. In the nuclear age, the President cannot be a reckless, hip-shooting decision-maker.

In this context, I must say that I have been truly astonished by the alarming performance of Governor Reagan recently. I refer to his remarks concerning the possible use of United States forces in Rhodesia. Because of their unusual nature, I have reviewed not just the headlines but the entirety of what he said on this matter when questioned in California. At the outset, the Governor said that he might send American troops to Rhodesia "in the interest of peace and avoiding bloodshed." He did not explain in the first instance just what United States interests he was pursuing; on what basis the use of that force would be justified or how in terms of our relations with the African countries concerned the use of force would come about. He went on to say that the U. S. intervention might simply



involve a show of strength although he did not explain against whom or for what purpose. He added that the force if introduced on the ground would only be a token force but went on to say that if we had an "arrangement" to use force, he would go beyond token numbers. He did not comment on whether or not he would support the negotiation of such an arrangement in the first place, or what the "token force" symbolized and against whom.

Later, the Governor drew a rather incredible analogy between this "policy" and US policy in the Middle East where, it is obvious to

most, completely different and very basic US interests are at stake.

*When Governor Reagan was challenged on his statement, he*  
~~When challenged further, however, the Governor's spokesman -- trying~~

~~to pick up the pieces -- withdrew to a position of declaring that the~~ *supporting*  
~~Governor favored majority rule in Rhodesia and that he was referring~~ *a claim that*

only to diplomatic moves and not the use of troops. This final position, of course, brings him full circle to a position President Ford has sponsored for many months.

My point in raising this is not to deal with the substance of Governor Reagan's remarks -- he has essentially withdrawn them and retreated to a more rational position. My concern is what this tells us about the Governor's approach to decision-making. Again, the spectacle of a man who aspires to sit in the Oval Office responding

without any thoughtful deliberation, with the impulsive resort to violent solutions is alarming and very dangerous. I believe this is the lesson to be drawn from this episode. ~~The man you vote for must possess the ability to solve very critical, potentially explosive problems for you day in and day out. I find that the record established by President Ford meets this challenge extremely well.~~



THE WASHINGTON POST, MONDAY, MAY 3, 1976

*Marilyn Berger*

## Panama Canal: Reagan's 'Good Old Days' Issue

It's distressing that a candidate for President of the United States can win votes by promising to lead us into the past. That's what Ronald Reagan has done with his demagogic misleading refrain about the Panama Canal: "We bought it and paid for it... it's ours... just as much as the Louisiana Purchase and Alaska are ours... we're not going to give it up to some tinhorn dictator."

To Texans, where Reagan turned up the volume on a melody we first heard in New Hampshire, it seemed as effective as a call to "Remember the Alamo." His audiences loved it. It's an issue that appeals to patriotism, love of flag and country. It permits a show of American strength after years of being





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1976

File

NOTE FOR COLEMAN ANDREWS  
TIM AUSTIN  
JIM CAVANAUGH  
FOSTER CHANOCK  
JIM CONNOR  
✓ MIKE DUVAL  
BILL GOROG  
JERRY JONES  
BUD MC FARLAND  
BILL NICHOLSON  
TERRY O'DONNELL  
PAUL O'NEILL

This is the story we discussed at the  
meeting this morning.

Dave Gergen

*DS*



# Funding loopholes

# aid Reagan

## Backers get around legal limits

By James Coates

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—Ronald Reagan's surging presidential campaign is being fueled by thousands of dollars raised through loopholes that the Federal Election Commission sought to make illegal before it was abolished by the Supreme Court.

A Tribune examination of Reagan campaign spending shows that supporters of the former California governor are taking advantage of the court's decision to circumvent the intended spending limits.

A key to the Reagan strategy in recent primaries has been a concerted effort, using computerized mailing lists, to educate conservatives, including supporters of Democratic Gov. George Wallace, on how to spend money on Reagan's behalf without violating the legal limits.

SOME OF THE Reagan mailing lists were purchased from the direct-mail wizard, Richard Viguerie, who handles direct mailing for Wallace and probably can reach his supporters better than anyone.



# FEC 'dead', Reagan backers make hay

Viguerie says he is certain he did not sell Reagan "the best Wallace lists."

At the same time the cash-short Reagan campaign has urged its delegate candidates to operate independently of the Reagan effort, allowing them to buy thousands of dollars worth of advertis-

In Florida, a Reagan confidant, Joseph Coors, acknowledged buying \$20,000 worth of ads using the "unauthorized" loophole.

Most ambitious of the loophole users appears to be the American Conserva-

AT THAT address, Visser charged, Citizens for Reagan and an unauthorized group, Delegates for Reagan, had adjoining suites where they shared the same duplicating machines, copiers, typewriters, and phones.

When the Federal Election Commis-

May 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

File  
RR

SUBJECT: Reagan Activities in Michigan

Bruce Eberle, the fund raiser for Citizens for Reagan, has hired the Richard M. Viguerie Company to do a large series of mailings, today, to anti-gun control people throughout Michigan.

Viguerie is sending a letter from Ronald Reagan to the anti-gun citizens in Michigan, stating that he has profound disagreements with President Ford on the subject of gun control. Reagan discusses the Ford Administration gun control proposals and claims that they are the first step toward the confiscation of all guns.

The letter goes on to request its recipients to (1) start chain letters on this subject with their friends and (2) to bring two people to the polls with them on Tuesday.

The letter concludes with a statement by Governor Reagan to "send our message to the Washington politicians." (Has a familiar ring.)

My unimpeachable source assures me that in his years of experience in the direct mail business he has found that the "anti-gun people have no peer in point of utility and activism." He said compared to any other group (anti-abortion, anti-pornography, etc.) the anti-gun lobby is by far the most active and effective.

My friend advises me that the mailing will be paid for by Citizens for Reagan. He also notes that Citizens for Reagan (Eberle) wanted the Viguerie Company to mail to Wallace voter lists throughout Michigan, but because Governor Wallace is still on the ballot in that state the Viguerie Company said it would not be ethical to do this. However, a large number of the anti-gun group are also supporters of Governor Wallace, so that the overlap will eliminate much of the "ethical" problem. Also, note the thinly disguised appeal to Wallace voters ("send them a message," etc.).



## Reagan and the Republican Party

Recently, Reagan has said on a number of occasions that he was able to bring together the California GOP after it had been badly split in 1964. He also claimed that he would be better able to unite the Republican Party than President Ford.

The fact that 60 former Reagan appointees and key political supporters from his California Administration have endorsed President Ford for nomination seems to belie this claim.

Why have so many former Reagan supporters from his home state turned around and endorsed President Ford? The unpleasant facts presented below--which Reagan has conveniently forgotten--should be brought to the attention of the voters before Reagan has the chance to tell them his record in California shows that he can do "good things" for the Republican Party.

\* \* \* \* \*

### I. The California GOP Under Reagan - 1967 to 1974

ITEM When Reagan became Governor in 1967, there were:

- 2 Republican U.S. Senators
- 17 Republican U.S. Congressmen out of a delegation of 38
- 38 Republican State Assemblymen (out of 80)
- 19 Republican State Senators (out of 40)

ITEM When Reagan left office in 1975, the Republican Party in California had LOST:

- Both U.S. Senate seats
- Two Congressional seats, despite the fact that 5 new districts were created by reapportionment; the result was a reduction of Republican strength in the delegation from almost half down to 35%.
- 13 State Assembly seats
- 4 State Senate seats

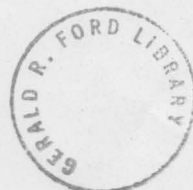
ITEM When Reagan took office in 1967, Republicans held 5 out of the 6 constitutional statewide offices in California.

ITEM When Reagan left office in 1975, Republicans held only 1 statewide constitutional office.

ITEM When Reagan took office in 1967, Republicans accounted for over 40% of the electorate of 8,340,868 voters in California.

ITEM When Reagan left office in 1975, the Republican share of the electorate had decreased by over 10%; decreased despite the fact that registered voters had increased by almost 20% to 9,928,364.

ITEM Reagan strengthened the California GOP so much that he was succeeded in the Governorship by Jerry Brown-- a Democrat.



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BC-Reagan Roundtable, Adv 06 - 5 Takes, 490-2,330  
\$ADV 06

For Release Sun, June 6

By WALTER R. MEARS

and

DOUG WILLIS

Associated Press Writers

LOS ANGELES AP - Ronald Reagan contends that U.S. defenses have slipped to a point at which the Soviet Union can be "more truculent and aggressive" with conventional arms and might survive American retaliation in a nuclear war.

In an interview with The Associated Press, the Republican presidential challenger said the U.S. defense budget should be whatever it takes to maintain national security, but said he could not set a figure.

Reagan said he had confidence in the budget favored by former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, who advocated about \$104 billion in defense spending this year. That is about \$3 billion over President Ford's budget.

Reagan also said he still wants to shift programs that represent about a quarter of the \$396-billion federal budget to state and local governments, along with tax sources to finance them. But he said he had no estimate of how much the net tax saving would be.

He said there is concern in Congress that the administration "might by some kind of executive order" make U.S. concessions in Panama without congressional approval.

Reagan has said that as President, he would not permit negotiations with Panama predicated on a yielding of U.S. sovereignty over the canal and its zone. He has avoided saying that he would simply break off negotiations.

Insisting that the United States should not give up control of the Canal Zone, Reagan said only in "the era of science fiction" can he envision a time when the Panama Canal will not be vital to U.S. interests.

Here is a partial transcript of the interview, conducted aboard Reagan's chartered jet as he campaigned for Tuesday's California presidential primary:

Q: Gov. Reagan, you say the United States has slipped to second place in military strength. Does this mean in your view that the Soviet Union could now defeat the U.S. in a full scale war?

A: I don't believe . . . that the Soviet Union would have the margin of superiority to attack. But I think the great danger is that the Soviet Union is in the position of being more truculent and aggressive with the use of conventional arms, knowing that there is virtually no way we can prevent this, such as in Angola. All we could do was talk.

Q: You mean that you think this creates a new danger of brush-fire type wars?

A: That's right, up to and including, I think, what the commander of NATO warned about, Alexander Haig, that the imbalance there was so great that we were on the edge of disaster. Now suppose the move should come by the Soviet Union in western Europe and the NATO alliance can't stop them . . . The only recourse left to us would be the one thing that none of us wants at all, the nuclear button. The day we push the nuclear button we know that we do not have the nuclear superiority we once had, we don't even have parity.

file  
Reagan



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 BC-Reagan Roundtable, Adv 06 - 1st add, 470  
 \$ADV 06  
 For Release Sun, June 6  
 LOS ANGELES: that parity.

Q: But you do believe that we still have second strike capability?

A: Not really. We've ignored some very significant factors, one of them being their civil defense plan. There are estimates . . . that they could take a second strike and suffer probably fewer casualties than they did in World War II. Russian casualties during World War II were estimated at 20 million .

Q: So what does this add up to? Does this mean that you're concerned about being in a massive retaliation position, or about the United States being unable to retaliate?

A: I am concerned that we must have a defensive posture so strong that they can't be tempted into doing this. Now this does not mean, . . . that I would have us have tank for tank and gun for gun and man for man. Not at all. Our ability has lain in technology and in qualitative superiority. We have weapons systems which have not been developed, for example the cruise missile, probably the most promising . . . a weapons system in which we're years ahead of them in development. This would alter their whole plan if suddenly we were on the scene with a new weapons system. . .

Q: The administration's defense budget this year is 14 per cent higher than last year, about \$101 billion. The projections in Ford's budget would have it go up by about \$10 billion a year over the next four years. How much more do you think should be spent?

A: Well, in defense spending I believe that you are guided by necessity. It isn't a matter of opinion, of choosing to have this priority or that priority. You have to spend what is necessary to maintain national security.

Q: Can you say what is necessary in your view?

A: No, although I do believe that I would have confidence in Dr. Schlesinger's figures when he was there. Now I've never challenged that Mr. Ford has not asked for more armaments, for more defense spending than Congress has been willing to give. But . . . he places his faith and confidence in his long time buddies in the Congress and they turn him down. And I have said that leadership today, I believe, calls for going to the American people and telling them the truth.

Q: . . . You've made that point repeatedly . . . Ford says that he's been sustained in 42 vetoes that have saved \$13 billion. What could you do differently?

A: Well, let's take that picture of defense. Here is his own secretary of defense caught between not wanting to reduce the political chances of the President but at the same time trying to persuade the Congress . . . that we need more defense strength. And so he can't say, he won't say we're No. 2, but he won't say we're No. 1. Mr. Ford at the same time . . . is saying to the American people we're the most powerful nation on earth. You can't have it both ways . . . What is wrong with the President of the United States saying to the people of the United States here is the danger and it is your danger, not just mine . . .

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BC-Reagan Roundtable, Adv 06 - 2nd add, 470

\$ADV 06

For Release Sun, June 6

LOS ANGELES: just mine. . .

Q: Ford has called Congress irresponsible . . . and has been very critical of the Congress for overspending . . .

A: Well, he's vetoed some spending bills and I think this is understandable. Good Lord, he's boasting about \$13 billion, I vetoed \$16 billion worth at a state level. State Finance Director Roy Bell says Reagan vetoed nearly \$2.3 billion in spending bills during his eight years as California governor. . . . Probably the greatest triumph we had were the welfare reforms in California. Now the opposition was so great there that when I asked the legislature as governor for permission to come before a joint session and present the proposal for reform, they refused . . . So I went up and down the state presenting them to the people. And the result was that in about two months the leadership of the Democratic legislature came in to see me and their expression was 'Stop those cards and letters.'

Q: Is this what you would do from the White House?

A: Yes, and I think it's long overdue.

Q: You've said that any President would have to say that he'd go to war if necessary to defend the Panama Canal. What about situations short of loss of the canal, a situation in which we would still have use of the canal . . . but Panama would control it. Where do you draw the line?

A: Well I think the safest line, here is one of the four great waterways of the world, strategic waterways. And in a time of emergency or war, an enemy that could close those four waterways could shut down the industry of the United States . . . Now one of the reasons for our having sovereignty in the canal zone is because we realized that this great and important waterway was being built across a tiny country which could not possibly be expected to preserve or defend the canal . . . The thing is that sovereignty then gives us this power and ability, there is a deterrent factor against someone trying to take it if it belongs to the United States.

Q: Then in your view the zone and the canal are inseparable issues? The administration position is that we negotiate on the zone and then somewhere down the road consider . . . the canal.

A: But you have a treaty now, what they're talking about is a treaty which would call for a period in which you'd turn over the canal. How do you negotiate such a treaty when you don't even know what kind of government there will be in Panama? We're negotiating with a fellow that took over by military force and threw out the elected government of the country.

Q: Is there a point foreseeable at which we won't need the canal?

A: Well, now we get into the era of science fiction. No one can ever say that something is impossible . . . Suppose down the road someplace surface travel of ships literally became minute or non-existent because of some new development . . . out of our space travel, something developed in rocket travel . . . Then, of course, a canal wouldn't be necessary.

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BC-Reagan Roundtable, Adv 06 - 3rd add, 470

\$ADV 06

For Release Sun, June 6

LOS ANGELES: necessary. . . .

Q: You want a balanced federal budget, but you also want an increase in defense spending and you've advocated several tax cuts . . . How can you balance the budget and at the same time increase defense spending and cut taxes?

A: How did we save \$2 billion on welfare and increase the welfare grants by 43 per cent in California? And we saved the taxpayers \$2 billion . . .

Welfare grants were increased and the caseload declined under Reagan reforms. The claim of a \$2-billion saving is based on an estimate of what welfare would have cost Californians in state, federal and local taxes without the reforms, according to a Reagan aide. State welfare spending went from \$450 million to \$968 million annually during the Reagan administration, and federal matching funds increased about as much. Exact comparisons are impossible because of a shift of programs for the aged, blind and disabled from federal to state jurisdiction . . .

Congressman Phil Crane R-Ill. has written a booklet on saving \$56 billion in federal spending and yet adding a couple of billion dollars for research and development for the Pentagon . . . Now I'm not going to say that I agree with every point . . . But he also includes, and I would too, the Pentagon itself as an area of savings. You have to assume that the same kind of bureaucratic fat exists in the Pentagon as in any other government agency . . .

Q: The transfer program, to which you still refer without the ill-fated \$90 billion figure, how big a share of the federal budget do you now envision transferring back to the states? You've mentioned welfare and other programs that you want to switch.

A: Well, what I had to do, the \$90 billion figure, which I think got distorted, was an illustration of the size of those half-dozen programs to the federal government . . .

Q: Well, that was about a quarter of the budget, a little less. Is that still the range of transfer that you have in mind?

A: Yes. But I also . . . made it plain that this would not be a net saving because obviously if you're going to continue those programs some of that spending is going to be there. What I pointed out was that with that much in just that transfer alone, that first you'd lose the portion of that . . . Washington administrative overhead, it would be gone. Second, I believe from our own experience with welfare that there is then an additional slice because they would be run more efficiently and effectively at the state and local level than they're being run in what is bad administration . . .

Q: Can you quantify that . . . How much do you think that you can save if you are able to transfer about a quarter of the federal budget back to the states?

A: That I couldn't quantify because I don't know at the moment, I would not have available to me the figures on what is the administrative overhead, what share of HEW would become unnecessary.

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BC-Reagan Roundtable, Adv 06 - 4th add, 440

\$ADV 06

Repeating for all needing

For Release Sun, June 6

LOS ANGELES: unnecessary. . . .

Q: You've also said you think there are a number of federal programs that should be canceled outright. Could you give me some examples?

A: Of course there's Phil Crane's book, but as I say, I can't go by that completely, but I think when you look at it, yes, we're in an emergency situation with our country now going into debt at a rate of about \$100 billion a year . . . You have to treat this as an emergency situation just as a family whose breadwinner suddenly has had a big cut in income and the family's got to say what can we do without. Now maybe some of the things you do without are not foolish or useless but maybe some of them you have to say, well, they're a low priority, they're not as important as food on the table . . .

For example, I think you'd have to look at the arts program . . . Now this wouldn't be a big saving, it isn't a big program, but here's an example.

Q: The program for the arts, I believe, is about \$180 million . . .

A: Yes.

Q: That doesn't get you very far toward dealing with a \$70 billion deficit.

A: No, as I said, this is one of the smaller ones . . .

Q: Are there any big ones?

A: Sure. I think there are. I think a lot of that big chunk would come in this transfer back to local government . . . Look at 74,000 regulators now, federal regulators, enforcing federal regulations. It is estimated that the administrative expense of those alone . . . is \$3 billion . . .

President Ford has proposed to Congress an easing of federal regulations of industry and business over the next four years, with specific steps yet to be outlined. Ford said there are 80 agencies and about 100,000 federal employees involved in regulatory programs. The current administration budget for the 24 major regulatory agencies is \$3.8 billion . . .

Q: Who are the regulators that you would eliminate?

A: The regulation that we have to have is where government protects us from each other. For example, we have anti-monopoly laws . . .

Q: What about food stamps? Is that something you think we can eliminate?

A: This is something that should be transferred. Right now it's run at the state level or administered at the state level but totally under the authority of the federal government.

Q: And these transfers would be with earmarking of a portion of the federal income tax to the states and localities?

A: Whether that or whether other taxes . . . Whether it's a particular tax, a whole tax, certainly I do not mean to dump it on the states.

End ADV Sun June 6, Sent June 2

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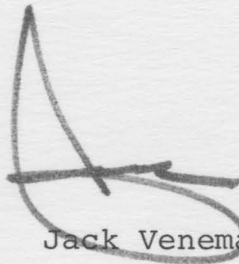
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1976

*File  
Reagan*

NOTE TO MIKE DUVAL:

The attached is some information on trends in the Republican Party during Reagan's two terms as Governor of California.



Jack Veneman



REPUBLICAN PARTY TRENDS  
DURING RONALD REAGAN'S TERM AS GOVERNOR

Voter Registration

Percentage of Republicans registered for general election:

1966	40.2%
1968	40.3%
1970	39.8%
1972	36.7%
1974	36.0%

Registration percentages for June 8, 1976 primary:

Democrat	57.3%
Republican	36.3%
Other	6.4%

Comparison of California Legislature and Congressional Representation 1966 to 1974

	<u>Assembly</u>		<u>State Senate</u>		<u>House</u>		<u>Senate</u>	
	<u>Repn.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Repn.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Repn.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Repn.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>
1966	37	43	21	19	17	21	1	1
1968	41	39	21	19	17	21	-	2
1970	37	43	19	21	18	20	-	2
1972	28	52	20	20	20	23	-	2
1974	25	55	15	25	17	26	-	2

Not since 1877 have there been fewer Republicans in the California Legislature.

One of the most detrimental actions taken by Reagan on Republican representation was his veto of the 1973 reapportionment bill. After two and half years of effort, the Legislature passed a reapportionment bill which met the guidelines of the court and was supported by the majority of California Congressmen and Legislators.

The measure passed the State Senate by 25 to 13, and the Assembly by a vote of 43 to 21. In the Senate, 15 Republicans supported the bill and 4 opposed it. In the Assembly, 14 Republicans voted aye and 8 voted no.

Ignoring the desire of a majority of the Republican legislators, Reagan vetoed the bill. The California Supreme Court then assumed responsibility for determining the State Senate, Assembly and Congressional district lines for the balance of this decade. Reagan's veto caused the Republicans to suffer a loss of as many as 5 Senate seats and up to 11 seats in the Assembly.

Record of Reagan's Ability to Influence Voters of Both Parties in California

Governor	-Reagan (R)	56.6%	Governor	-Reagan (R)	52.8%
	-Brown (D)	41.6%		-Brown (D)	45.1%
Lt. Gov.	-Finch (R)	58.0%	Lt. Gov.	-Reinecke (R)	54.8%
Controller	-Flournoy (R)	48.2%	Controller	-Flournoy (R)	60.2%

After Reagan's first term, Reagan's margin dropped while other statewide office-holders seeking re-election increased.



In 1970, Reagan campaigned extensively for the re-election of Senator George Murphy over John Tunney:

Tunney (D)	53.9%
Murphy (R)	44.3%

In 1973, a special election was held on a proposition sponsored by Reagan to amend the Constitution to limit the State spending and taxing powers. Reagan exercised every degree of influence possible in support of the constitutional amendment. Despite putting his prestige on the line, the proposal was defeated 54% to 46%.

#### Reagan's Effect on Republican Organizations

During the 8 years of the Reagan administration, the influence and effectiveness of the voluntary organizations and county central committees diminished significantly. Reagan focused on gaining control of the State Central Committee. By concentrating the power with the State Central Committee, county committees and precinct organizations lost their effectiveness. Reagan managed to control most of The Republican Womens Organization, the largest voluntary organization in the State.

Currently, the remaining voluntary organizations (California Republican League, California Republican Assembly, and the United Republicans of California) do little more than talk to themselves.

The result has been that every Republican candidate has had to develop and sustain his own organization for election or re-election.



# CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

July 6, 1976

EMBARGO - RELEASE UPON DELIVERY 10:30 PM EDT -TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1976

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

TEXT OF GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN'S NATIONWIDE TELEVISION ADDRESS

ABC NETWORK

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1976

Good evening from California and happy birthday.

Just two days ago, on Sunday, you and I achieved a milestone in the history of mankind and in the history of freedom. We the people of the United States of America have been free for 200 years plus two days and we've proven to the world that freedom works.

Now, this might not sound like much of an accomplishment to those of us who were born here and accept freedom as the natural state of mankind.

But it should. The places and periods in which man has known freedom are few and far between; just scattered moments on the span of time. And most of those moments have been ours. In this land, in these 200 years.

The original colonists came here driven by a hunger for freedom. They've been followed down to the present by modern-day immigrants possessed of that same hunger and courage it takes to tear up roots and start anew in a strange land. Some of those immigrants are better described as refugees. They crawl over walls, make their way through mine fields and barbed wire and risk their lives in leaky, make-shift boats to escape the new tyranny of the police state.

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Those original colonists were unique. In all the world the march of empires, the opening of new lands was accomplished by military forces, followed by adventurers and soldiers of fortune. Only here did the people precede the force of arms. Those who came to this untamed land brought the family. And families built a nation. I'm convinced that today the majority of Americans want really what those first Americans wanted -- a better life for themselves and their children, a minimum of governmental authority. Very simply, they want to be left alone in peace and safety to take care of the family by earning an honest dollar and putting away some savings. This may not sound too exciting, but there is a magnificence about it. On the farm, and on the street corner, in the factory and in the kitchen, millions of us asking nothing more but certainly nothing less than to live our own lives, according to our own values, at peace with ourselves, our neighbors and the world.

We have come from every corner of the world, from every racial and ethnic background and we've created a new breed. Yes, we have our faults - plenty of them - but selfishness isn't one of them. We are a generous people, with our friends, our neighbors and with strangers throughout the world, as victims of catastrophes in most every country can testify. There is a great deal to love and to be proud of in our land.

But there seems to be a discontent in the land today. Government, which once did those things which strengthened family and traditional values, now seems to have lost faith in us. And, many of us seem to have lost confidence in ourselves.

There's a story told about the early days of the automobile -- the horseless carriage. A motorist, complete with linen duster and goggles, pulled up in front of a farmhouse. He called out to the old fellow on the porch and asked, "Do you know where this road takes me?" The old boy said,

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"Nope." "Well", he asked, "do you know where that road back down there behind the cornfield goes?" Again, "Nope". Annoyed, he said, "You don't seem to know much of anything do you?" The old boy said, "I ain't lost." And he wasn't -- not him or those other Americans of that day. They knew who they were and where they were going. Some would have us believe those Americans are no longer relevant -- that there is no place for them or their rugged individualism in today's world. And some who think that are to be found in government.

The Americans who keep this country going -- the ones who fight the wars; drive the trucks and raise the kids; the farmer and fireman, craftsman and cop; they are wondering -- for the first time -- if the governmental institutions they have upheld and defended really care about them or their values.

Oh, they haven't fallen for the line of a few fashionable intellectuals and academics who in recent years would have us believe ours is a sick society -- a bad country. They know better. Someone said to me the other day tis a great country for the Irish. I'll personally testify to that. Indeed, it's a great country for Americans of Polish ancestry, German, Scandinavian, Greek, Chinese, Italian and all the scores of ancestries that go to make this breed we call American. We aren't giving up on America. But we are beginning to wonder if the American government is giving up on us.

We've worked and made this the most prosperous, productive land in all the world. But now the dollars we earn don't increase in number as fast as they decrease in value. The savings we counted on to see us through our non-earning years melts away like ice in a summer sun. And we're told that's due to inflation, as if inflation were some kind of plague or natural

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disaster for which no one is to blame. Well, it is a killer, it kills jobs, it kills savings. It kills hopes and dreams, but someone is to blame.

Inflation is theft-by-legislation. It is government's way of getting more tax revenue without raising the rates. Don't raise the tax rate on your home --- just appraise your home as worth more than it was the year before. Income tax rates can stay where they are, but a cost-of-living increase in pay moves you up to a surtax bracket where you pay a higher percentage of your earnings in tax reducing your standard of living.

Every time a piece of inflationary legislation is passed by Congress, the American family's ability to plan for the future is hurt. Every time the buying power of a paycheck is reduced because the government is pursuing inflationary policies, government is acting against the values of thrift, of honesty, of savings — the values that our people brought with them to this country, the values they instilled in their children. Government progress that can't be paid for out of a balanced budget must be paid for out of your pocket.

Our society is now one in which, increasingly, older Americans live away from their families. And there is no group in this country which has been more viciously savaged by anti-family governmental action than America's elderly. Inflation can quite literally kill someone who is living on a fixed income. The big spenders in Washington have brought us to the place where older Americans are slowly -- but surely -- being pushed to the wall. And their suffering is shared by their children, who may be married with children of their own.

Inflation isn't a vague term from some economic textbook. It is a bitter, government-created fact of life the American family has to live with. Is it any wonder the American people are asking if anyone in Washington really cares?

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Oddly enough, they probably do. Those we call bureaucrats are not evil people. They really are trying to be helpful to those they've decided need their help. But this means imposing on others; using the power of taxation to confiscate and redistribute earnings; restricting freedom. In short, making government the master, not the servant.

One of government's legitimate functions is to protect us from each other; to see that no one is discriminated against or denied one's God-given rights. To that end, we have adopted legislation to guarantee civil rights and eliminate discrimination of all kinds. Certainly no one of us would challenge government's right and responsibility to eliminate discrimination in hiring or education. But in its zeal to accomplish this worthy purpose, government orders what is in effect a quota system both in hiring and in education. They don't call it a quota system. It is an "affirmative action" program with "goals and timetables" for the hiring of particular groups.

If you happen to belong to an ethnic group not recognized by the federal government as entitled to special treatment, you are a victim of reverse discrimination. Goals and timetables are in reality a bureaucratic order for a quota system. For example, if your ancestry or national origin is Czechoslovakian, Polish, Italian, or if you are of the Jewish faith, you may find yourself the victim of discrimination contrary to the Civil Rights Law. No American should be discriminated against because of religion, sex, race or ethnic background in hiring, in schooling or in any other way; and I'd like to have the opportunity to put an end to this federal distortion of the principle of equal rights.

There have been other decisions of government--some still pending--which strike at basic values and, indeed, at the very heart of the family. One of the pending measures is a legislative proposal which in the name of

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child care would insert the government in the very heart of the family's making of decisions with regard to children; decisions which properly are totally the right of the parent.

I realize there is a great difference of opinion regarding the subject of abortion. I personally believe that interrupting a pregnancy is the taking of a human life and can only be justified in self defense--that is, if the mother's own life is in danger. But even those who disagree must certainly be concerned about one facet of government's involvement in abortion. The pregnancy of an underage girl automatically makes her eligible for welfare on the Aid to Dependent Children program. This, in turn, makes her eligible for Medicaid and a free abortion regardless of her family's means. To add insult to injury, welfare rules forbid government from informing her parents. Thus, government is in the position of conspiring with an underage child to provide her with an abortion, while keeping knowledge of her situation from her parents.

Let me read you a letter I received from a mother while I was still Governor. She wrote: "Who do they think they are--not telling the parents? Who in God's name gave them the right to keep the health and welfare of your own child from you. I, as a mother, have the right to carry in my body my unborn child. I have a right to stay up night after night holding and pacing the floor with this child, feeling the pain of fear. I have a right to look into her tiny face and love her so much that I could squeeze her to death. I have a right to watch her grow day after day, year after year, and then one day to look up and see a 15-year-old young lady standing in front of me. A 15-year-old who might some day find herself in trouble and



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some fool standing there saying I don't have a right to know. I repeat-- who do they think they are?"

I wonder what the early immigrants who came to this country would say if they knew that their descendants live in a society where their children are forbidden by government to pray in schools.

I could offer other examples--unfortunately too many--of government action against rather than for the strengthening of family life; governmental actions which not only harm the family but also destroy the sense of neighborhood and community that means so much to all of us. Forced school busing comes to mind immediately. It is so obviously wrong that overwhelming majorities of Americans, black and white, are against it. Yet, courts continue to impose it.



Parents have a right--and a responsibility--to direct the education of their children. This should include the choice of school their children attend. I have said repeatedly that as President I would propose legislation--in keeping with the 14th Amendment--to eliminate forced busing. Should that prove inadequate, then I would propose a Constitutional Amendment declaring that no state nor the federal government shall refuse admission to a public institution to any person, otherwise qualified, solely on account of race, color, ethnic origin, sex or creed.

That does not mean I am opposed to all federal action in the field of education. But such action should be so indirect as to avoid any possibility of federal bureaucratic control.

For too many years a philosophy of government has dominated Washington and especially the Congress--a philosophy that works against the values

(More)

of the family and the values that were so basic to the building of this country. I believe this is the central issue of this campaign and of our time.

After eight years as Governor of a state that is literally a cross section of America; great cities teeming with industry, small towns and sprawling suburbs; a rich agricultural economy and 22 million people of every race, religion and ethnic background--after those eight years, I know that government can work for the family and not against it. I know that economic justice can once again become a reality instead of a dream for hard-working Americans.



I know that government can be energetic without being intrusive. Helpful without being domineering. Efficient without being dictatorial.

Some weeks ago on a TV broadcast similar to this, I told of how our administration had found California on the verge of bankruptcy and how we had been forced to raise taxes in the face of that emergency. I also spoke of the measures we then employed to make government more responsive and efficient and how, as a result, we were able to return more than \$5½ billion to the people in tax cuts and rebates.

But there is more to government than just practicing economy, important as that is. Here are a few things we did as we straightened out the fiscal mess. The state income tax had begun at the first \$2,000 of earnings.

But when we left office, a family had to be earning more than \$8,000 before it was subject to any income tax.

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We subsidized local governments to provide a \$1,750 exemption in the homeowners tax. And, we provided a rebate for renters.

We increased supplemental aid to the elderly, the blind and disabled to make it the highest of any state in the Union. And, we gave additional property tax relief to senior citizens, based on their income, ranging up to 92% of the tax on their homes.

We increased state support for schools 24 times as much as the increase in enrollment. The state scholarship fund for deserving young people is nine times as big as it was and we put more young people 21 and under on boards and commissions than any other administration in California history.

More members of minority communities were appointed to executive and policy-making positions than in all the previous administrations put together. We moved from 11th to third among the states in the rehabilitation of the handicapped and their placement in private enterprise jobs. And, we increased support for alcohol and drug abuse programs, rehabilitation of juveniles and adults and treatment of the mentally ill.

More than 800,000 needy Californians on county health care were included in Medicaid, and 43 of our 58 counties were able to reduce property taxes two years in a row. The second year, there were 45.

We had a problem in California that is also a national problem—the constant increase in welfare. It continues to go up in good times and bad in numbers of recipients and in cost. Voices in Washington—Democrat and Republican—refer to it as "the welfare mess". In California, it was a mess, with the caseload increasing by some 40,000 people a month.

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Every attempt at controlling its growth was resisted and frustrated by bureaucrats who seemed to be actually recruiting to increase the rolls.

Finally, with the help of a citizens' task force, we designed a program to reform welfare; to eliminate cheaters; to encourage the able-bodied to work; to find runaway fathers and make them responsible for their family's support. In less than three years, we not only halted the runaway growth, we reduced the rolls by more than 300,000 people, saved the taxpayers \$2 billion and were able to increase the grants to the truly deserving needy by an average of 43%.

We learned, of course, that there are people who'll cheat and there are those who'll accept a lower standard of living in order to get by without working. But we also learned that the overwhelming majority of welfare recipients would like nothing better than to be self-supporting, with a job and a place in our productive society. They may be fed and sheltered by welfare, but as human beings, they are being destroyed by it.

There is a giant bureaucratic complex that thinks of them as "clients", to be permanently maintained as government dependents. This complex measures its own well being and success by how much the welfare rolls increase. To be truly successful, the goal should be to reduce the rolls by eliminating the need for welfare. This is the kind of common sense that's been lacking in Washington for much too long. I believe what we achieved in California can be done at the national level if government will once again have faith in the people and their ability to solve problems.

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There are those who want to approach the nation's problems on a politics-as-usual basis. A little government help here; a shrewd political move there. A little special treatment to this group or that group. A political "strategy" of one kind or another. But we are not going to get out of the mess we are in simply by doing the same old things in a new way.

And then there are those whose approach to government combines soothing rhetoric, pleasant smiles and reorganization gimmicks. Well, you can't get to the heart of an issue by being vague about it. And you don't discipline an irresponsible and wasteful Congress by putting an indulgent friend in the White House. You don't fix bad policies by rearranging or replacing one bureaucrat with another. You have to replace bad ideas with good ones.

I'm not a politician by profession. I am a citizen who decided I had to be personally involved in order to stand up for my own values and beliefs. My candidacy is based on my record and for that matter my entire life.

I'm not asking you to help me because I say, "Trust me, don't ask questions, and everything will be fine." I ask you to trust yourselves; trust your own heads—hearts. Trust your own knowledge of what's happening in America. And, your hopes for the future.

Let me be completely candid: No Presidential candidate has a patent on virtue. But I believe I offer something more than words, and that is my record as Governor of a state which, if it were a nation, would be the seventh ranking economic power in the world. I believe I can do the job that has to be done.

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Many of you—perhaps most of you—who are watching this evening consider yourselves Democrats. I'd like to say a few words to you directly.

During the six months I've been campaigning, I have had some wonderful moments. But I must say that among the most satisfying were those in which I discovered I had received votes not only from members of my own party, but from a great many Independents and Democrats as well. This happened in the industrial north, in the south and in the west. It indicates the issues I was talking about—our basic values, Washington's excesses, our declining national defense—all go beyond party lines; that there is a new coalition, a new majority across this land ready to answer the nation's needs.

I was once a Democrat myself and believed that party represented our values faithfully. I don't believe I changed. But the intellectual and political leadership of the Democratic party changed. The party was taken over by elitists who believed only they could plan properly the lives of the people. We were sheep and they were the shepherds. And, if we don't watch out, the shepherds are going to outnumber the sheep. I am a former Democrat and now a Republican. Millions of you have decided neither Party faithfully represents what you believe. The answer is for all of us to vote for our values and not for labels next November.

There are those who say what we are attempting to do cannot be done. But when I hear that I remind myself of a famous moment in American history.

The British had been defeated at Yorktown in the last great battle of the War for Independence. As General George Washington marched out to receive the surrender of the British commander, the British musicians solemnly played a tune entitled, "The World Turned Upside Down". And, against

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all odds and the predictions of all the experts, that's just what the colonists had done.

Well, we can turn the world right side up; the world of the family and the neighborhood and the America we love.

It may take a struggle and some sacrifice, but isn't it worth it? We can do it for ourselves, for our children and in repayment for all those who did the back-breaking jobs that built this nation. They worked their hearts out to give us a country where the right to be left alone, to pursue happiness as we defined it, would be respected by men and by the law.

We ask nothing of freedom but freedom itself and that means the right to control our own destiny without undue interference by an arrogant officialdom.

There are those who no longer have faith in our ability to do this. They still believe in government for the people, but of and by themselves; that, given freedom of choice, we'll choose unwisely; that ours is a sick society, salvageable only by their omnipotence.

Well, let them explain how a sick society produced the men who journeyed out into space and set foot on the moon; or those other men, the ones we waited for a few years ago, who came back to us proud and unbroken after enduring torture at the hands of savage captors for a longer period than any men in our history.

Have we forgotten how we waited in front of our TV sets through the long night hours for that first plane to land at Clark Field in the Philippines? We were filled with hope and fear; fear of what we might see; of what the years of torture might have done to those we called the P.O.W.s.

Finally, the moment arrived. The plane was on the ground and we waited--it seemed forever--for the door to open and the first man to appear.

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Then, with some difficulty--but on his own--Jeremiah Denton, now Rear Admiral Jeremiah Denton, made his way down the ramp. He saluted our country's flag, thanked us for bringing them all home and then asked God's blessing on America.

As the planes continued to bring our men home, Nancy and I were to share an experience that will live in our hearts forever. We were permitted to officially welcome the more than 250 who were Californians by having them as guests in our home. Not all together, but in groups, on four such occasions in all, until we had been privileged to meet and know all of them. It was an unforgettable and inspiring experience." On one of those evenings, we watched two of our guests come together in our living room, apparently strangers until they heard each other's names. Then they threw their arms around each other. They were the closest of friends, knew the most intimate details of each other's lives and families. Their friendship had been built over the years of imprisonment by tapping coded messages on the mud and bamboo wall that separated their cells. They had never seen each other until they came face-to-face there in our living room.

On those four occasions, we heard tales of indescribable torture told without any attempt at dramatics, with no rancor or bitterness and definitely no attempt to beg sympathy. One man, for trying to escape, had been buried up to his neck and left for weeks, his food thrown on the ground before his face.

We heard of men tortured beyond the breaking point until lying on their cell floors, they wanted to die because they had eventually told their

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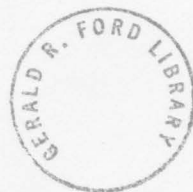
captors some of what they wanted to know. But in the adjoining cells, others who had the same experience at one time or another took turns hour after hour just tapping on the wall to let them know they understood and to hang in there and not give up.

When they were asked why, if they knew they'd eventually break, why they didn't give their captors the information they wanted without undergoing the torture, they seemed surprised. They said, "We were prisoners. The only way we had left to fight the enemy was to hold out as long as we could."

One young man (a fighter pilot who looked as if he should be a cheer leader, maybe on a college campus) had shattered his arm and shoulder when he bailed out after his plane was hit by anti-aircraft fire. They wanted him to talk to two of our anti-war protesters who were guests in Hanoi. He refused. They stood him on a stool, tied his shattered arm to a hook in the wall and then kicked the stool from beneath his feet—not once, but time after time until he gave in. In the meeting that followed, knowing his words were being carefully monitored, he said he tried in every way he could to indicate to these fellow Americans they weren't hearing the truth, but he said, "I spoke to ears that refused to hear".

One night after our guests had gone and Nancy and I were alone, I asked, "where did we find them, where did we find such men?" The answer came to me almost as quickly as I'd asked the question. We found them where we've always found them when such men are needed--on Main Street, on our farms, in shops and stores, in offices, oil stations and factories. They are simply the product of the freest society man has ever known.

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In the darks days following World War II, when we alone, with our industrial power and military might, stood between the world and a return to the dark ages, Pope Pius the XII said, "The American people have a genius for great and unselfish deeds. Into the hands of America God has placed the destiny of an afflicted mankind."

God Bless America.

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July 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY  
FROM: MIKE DUVAL *Mike*  
SUBJECT: REAGAN

I think there's one very important objective that you may wish to consider as we go into the Convention. We should have a clear strategy to "capture" Reagan's core analytical capability after we win the nomination. I'm not sure how much he has, in terms of polling and strategy information and capability, but whatever is there should be a prime target.

Such information will be extremely useful as a check on our own information/strategy. In addition, if it falls into the wrong hands, it could be a potent weapon against us in the general election.

Probably the best way to approach this is through Spencer (who has ties with the Reagan polling outfit) and directly with John Sears through your normal sources.

I don't know much about the Reagan operation or our relationships with it, but I do think this is a subject that deserves your close attention.

