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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR RON NESSEN

FROM: JIM SHUMAN

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SCHWEIKER QUESTIONS

1. Has the President made an additional comments on Reagan's choice, either last night after the Maryland delegates meeting or today? *No*
2. Does the President feel that the people should know a candidates vice presidential choice before the convention? *Process. consult.*
3. Will the President announce his choice before the convention? *No plans to*
4. If not, will he announce a short list of people he is considering? *consult, at appropriate time*
5. When does he plan to announce his choice? *ANNOUNCE CHOICE*
6. What process will he use in choosing a vice presidential candidate? *As said - - -*
7. Would he consider opening the choice to the convention as Adlai Stevenson did in 1956? *After consult, will make decision?*
8. Will the President pick a liberal to unify the party, and go for Northeastern votes? *Same*
9. Or will the President now go for a "Sun Belt" strategy? *Same.*
10. Was Schweiker one of the people the President was considering for vice president ~~He was not one of the people the President was considering for vice president~~
11. Does the President feel Reagan's announcement was a desperate move? *NOT Characterized.*
12. Does the President feel Reagan's announcement has thrown his own campaign off-base? *obviously Not.*

Not go to speculation individuals

13. Does the President feel Schweiker's acceptance shows secret support for Reagan in the Ford delegate camp? *No.*
14. Has the President gotten any pledges of support from Reagan supporters because of the announcement? *[REDACTED] Check Jim Baker.*
15. Did Schweiker talk with the President before the announcement was made? *No*
16. How did the President first learn of the announcement? *Wine copy.*
17. What was his initial reaction, words, etc. *wasn't there.*
18. What strategy will the White House use to take advantage of the announcement?

GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN

Vice- Presidential Choice:

"I do not believe you choose someone of an opposite philosophy in hopes he'll get you some votes you can't get yourself, because I think that's being false with the people who voted for you and your philosophy." LA Times 5/12/76

If Ford tries to buck the mood of the delegates and pick a liberal Northerner, Reagan feels it would tear the convention apart. He personally will oppose such a move. Says he: "It would be a foolish mistake. Ford would lose the South. And a lot of Republicans might not work for him. The balance of the country is in the Sunbelt, and that's where the future of our party is." Time magazine 8/2/76

National Health Insurance

Reagan does not advocate a national health care program. In a medical magazine Private Practice, he is quoted as saying, "Virtually all Americans have access to excellent medical care today." Cong. Quarterly 11/15/75

In his campaign book, Call to Action, Reagan stated: "Socialized medicine has always been one of the key elements in programs of collectivization...The so- called national health care problem involves less than 10% of our people. What justification is there for forcing 100% of the people to participate in a government program in order to solve a problem affecting less than 10%?" Call to Action, Warner Books 3/76

Public Service/ Guaranteed Jobs

Reagan opposes the Humphrey- Hawkins bill. Washington Post 4/20/76

"Congress is trying to solve the problem of unemployment the way it always has- by spending money. The \$6 billion for

SENATOR RICHARD SCHWEIKER

Vice- Presidential Choice:

COPE, the political action committee of the AFL-CIO, rates Senator Schweiker as more liberal than either Hubert Humphrey or Walter Mondale- Jimmy Carter's running mate:

	'75	'74	'73	'72
Schweiker	100%	91%	100%	100%
Mondale	95%	82%	90%	90%
Humphrey	90%	80%	90%	100%

ADA, Americans for Democratic Action, gave Senator Schweiker an approval rating of 85% in 1974, which is the same rating that this liberal group gave to Senator George McGovern. In 1975, Senator Schweiker received an 89% rating.

National Health Insurance

Senate Bill 3 and H.R. 21, as originally introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy (D- Mass) and Representative James C. Corman (D- Calif.), would set up a federally run health insurance program not requiring deductibles or coinsurance. Senator Schweiker was a co- sponsor of the bill in the Senate. Congressman Corman's office estimates the bill could eventually cost \$162 billion.

Public Service/ Guaranteed Jobs

The Humphrey- Hawkins Full Employment Bill (S- 50), which calls for massive federal jobs to be created in order to reduce the adult unemployment rate to 3% within four years after enactment, is estimated to eventually cost, on the

REAGAN

the public works bill (Public Works Employment Act- 1975) would be better spent in tax incentives to business and industry to hire more people." Orlando Sentinel 2/15/76

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." R.R. National television address 7/6/76

Common Situs Picketing

In his nationally syndicated radio broadcast on November 5, 1975, Reagan said that Ford should veto the Common Situs Picketing bill on the grounds that it would enhance compulsory unionism. He stated: "At stake is a person's right to a living, whether or not he chooses to join a union." R.R. Copley News Service 11/5/75

Welfare

"I believe that welfare should be state and locally administered and authorized and funded, with the Federal government turning the sources of funds back so that it's not an added burden. But get the Federal government out of the business of welfare." R.R. Interview- U.S. News & World Report 5/31/76

Angola

If the Soviet Union cannot be persuaded to withdraw its military aid from Angola, the U.S. should "keep on supplying material" to the anti- Soviet factions, Reagan said. Lebanon Valley News 1/6/76

SCHWEIKER

average, between \$20- \$40 billion annually. Senator Schweiker is a primary sponsor of this legislation.

Abortion

Senator Schweiker has recently stated that he is in agreement with Governor Reagan's views on abortion, which call for a constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decision. On June 28, 1976, Senator Schweiker voted in favor of a Senate amendment sponsored by Senator Packwood to delete from the appropriations bill for HEW a section that would bar the use of federal funds to pay for or promote abortion.

Common Situs Picketing

H.R. 5900, passed by the Senate by the narrow margin of 52-45 on November 19, 1975, allows construction and building trade unions to picket an entire construction site in protest of a dispute with a single contractor working at that site. Senator Schweiker voted for this measure, which the President eventually vetoed.

Welfare

Senator Schweiker voted with the majority on passage of the labor- HEW appropriations of FY 76. The bill appropriated \$36 billion for the Department of Labor, the health and welfare portions of HEW, and related agencies.

Angola

On December 19, 1975, Senator Schweiker voted in favor of an amendment to the Defense Department appropriations for FY '76 which prevented any funds being spent for Angola for other than "intelligence gathering" activities.

ERA

"I do not believe that a simple amendment, the Equal Rights Amendment, is the answer to the problem. I think that it opens a Pandora's Box, and could in fact militate against the very things that women are asking for." R.R. Q&A-National Press Club, Washington, D. C. 11/20/75

Energy Policy

Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 -- Reagan opposed the bill, saying "That bill will increase our vulnerability to the OPEC monopoly, through decreased domestic production and increased dependence on imports of at least one million dollars a day." R.R. Stand on the Issues 1/5/76

Deregulation and Oil Company Divestiture -- "The U.S. should have an energy policy of trusting the market place. Get rid of the controls, trust the market place." R.R. Business Week 2/9/76

"The best thing the government can do is review its whole policy with regard to getting out of the way. Get rid of the regulations and controls that are keeping private capital from being invested into going out and finding new sources of energy." Today (Gannett) 2/1/76

Oil Depletion Allowance -- Reagan called for a restoration of the oil depletion allowance. "Business taxes are passed on to individuals. Congress took a tax break from the oil industry, and the people are paying." Austin-American Statesmen 4/7/76

Federal Aid to New York City

"On the basis of what I know now, and with the caveat that there may be other factors in the field of high finance involving other sectors of the country that I may not be aware of (I don't think there are, but there could be). No. I think New York's problems had to be settled by New York." R.R. Interview Business Week 2/9/76

ERA

Senator Schweiker was a primary supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment resolution which passed the Senate in December, 1972.

Energy Policy

Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 -- Senator Schweiker voted for this bill, which was passed by the Senate on April 10, 1975.

Deregulation and Oil Company Divestiture -- On October 8, 1975, Schweiker voted to extend controls over natural gas prices. On the same bill, Schweiker voted in favor of two amendments which called for forced divestiture by the major energy firms of separate phases of the oil industry.

Oil Depletion Allowance -- Senator Schweiker voted to repeal the percentage allowance for major oil companies and to limit credits for each oil-related tax. H.R. 2166, passed on March 26, 1975, was directed along with the divestiture efforts at all the major oil companies.

Federal Aid to New York City

On December 6, 1975, Senator Schweiker voted to authorize Federal loans of up to \$2.3 billion a year through June 30, 1978, to help New York City meet its seasonal cash flow needs.

Defense Spending

"This nation must trust less in the pre-emptive concessions we are granting the Soviet Union, and more in the reestablishment of American military superiority." R.R. New York Times 3/5/76

"Right now I believe that the three systems that offer us an opportunity to regain supremacy are the B-1 bomber, the Trident submarine, and, above all where conventional forces are concerned, the cruise missile. We should proceed with the cruise missile because it is a weapons system the Russians are years behind on. They would have to alter their whole planning to try and counter it." R.R. Interview U.S. News and World Report 5/31/76

Federal Social Services

On July 15, twelve days before announcing Senator Schweiker would be his running mate, Ronald Reagan said: "Senator Mondale's child-care bill, for example, is a pretty good indication of his philosophy. It's a bill that would inject government into the family relationship to a greater extent than has ever been done in our nation's history.... I think his devotion to the Washington establishment and the philosophy of big government in Washington, doing the things that I have believed should be done more at the local and state level by the people themselves, will be a liability to the Democrats." R.R. The Washington Post, July 16, 1976 article by Spencer Rich

Defense Spending

On June 4, 1975, Senator Schweiker voted in favor of an amendment introduced by Senator Symington to delete \$1.2 billion in fiscal 1976 authorizations from the overall \$25 billion authorization approved by the Armed Services Committee.

On June 5, 1974, and again on June 5, 1975, Senator Schweiker failed to vote on two amendments calling for reductions in defense appropriations for development of the B-1 bomber.

More recently, on May 20, 1976, Senator Schweiker voted to bar obligation before February 1, 1977, of funds authorized for production of the B-1 bomber.

Federal Social Services

Senator Schweiker is a co-sponsor of Senator Mondale's Child and Family Services Act, S-626, which is currently pending in the Senate.

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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1976

GUEST:

JOHN SEARS - Campaign Manager for Ronald Reagan

INTERVIEWED BY:

Bob Clark - ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent

Frank Reynolds - ABC News Correspondent

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This is a rush transcript for
the press. Any questions re-
garding accuracy should be re-
ferred to ISSUES AND ANSWERS

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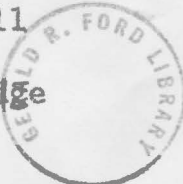


MR. CLARK: Mr. Sears, welcome to ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

You are Ronald Reagan's chief campaign strategist and the man who reportedly picked Senator Schweiker to be his running mate, or first came up with that idea for presentation to Ronald Reagan. You have been insisting that the strategy has worked. The delegates are shifting to Reagan. Can you name any delegate, delegate or delegates from any state who, since the announcement of the Schweiker naming have shifted to Reagan?

MR. SEARS: We will be making those announcements this week and I think you will be quite interested in them. I want to say one thing. I think one of the difficulties people have had in discussing what has happened here in the naming of Mr. Schweiker is that just about everybody has thought that the announcement of Mr. Schweiker was aimed entirely at getting delegates to the National Convention.

We picked Mr. Schweiker after two months' search of everybody that we thought should be considered for the office of Vice President. We think that announcing him in advance really is the most honest way to conduct ourselves going to the Republican Convention because it gives the Republican party a chance to view a whole ticket which they are all going to have to be running with in the fall. And we think that this ticket, of course, can win in the fall because it does for the first time in over 20 years bridge



the gap that exists in the Republican party between the more conservative and the more liberal to moderate wings of the party.

There has not been an elective officeholder from a large state in the northeast on the ticket since Tom Dewey and to take advantage of the Carter-Mondale deficiencies we felt that this particular ticket was the best possible and we do feel at this point that Mr. Ford will have to come forward and name who he is going to run with and then the convention can make its choice.



MR. CLARK: Mr. Sears, you have just said that you expect Schweiker to add strength to the ticket in the Northeast. You have been quoted as saying in the last couple of days that the Schweiker choice has helped Reagan a lot in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Illinois. Can't you give us any names, any specifics at all to back up that generalization?

MR. SEARS: I think starting tomorrow we will begin to back up that allegation, but I do want to explain here that we did not pick Senator Schweiker with the expectation that the Pennsylvania delegation would fold in our midst and all come for Mr. Reagan. We certainly knew the powers that existed in Pennsylvania and that the vast majority of them would and are maintaining their alliance with Mr. Ford. That was never part of our thinking. Mr. Schweiker said, and I will swear to it myself, that when we carried through with our discussions with him, both on my part and Mr. Laxalt's, and indeed Governor Reagan, we never talked to him about delegates from Pennsylvania. That is the absolute truth. We do feel that the presentation of a ticket to the Republican party, a party that desperately needs to win this fall, is a very good idea, in the sense that by the time the convention is held now the delegates will have had three weeks to look over this ticket and decide on its viability for fall,



and already from the last week we are quite sure that Mr. Ford will have to name his runningmate before the convention, because there are a vast number of his supporters who are pretty well telling us that if he does not, they will refuse to vote for him on the first ballot.

MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Sears, speaking of things you say you would swear to, a great many Republican supporters of Governor Reagan around the country were quite willing to swear to their beliefs that he would never name anyone philosophically incompatible in terms of stands on the issues, voting records and so forth. And I am reminded of what Governor Reagan used to say in his speeches all the time, not necessarily about selecting the vice president, but he would say: "Let us raise the banner and let us not dilute that banner for the sake of political expediency."

Well, don't you think that in doing this that is precisely what he has done?

MR. SEARS: Well, what you are really asking is a philosophical question rather than a political one. If we in this country or in the Republican party want to go on through the rest of our days with a situation where the country is constantly divided, and our own party is constantly divided, so that there is no chance for people that disagree to feel that they have somebody in the government that they can talk



and perhaps have their views represented, then we just can't do things of the kind that we have suggested.

On the other hand, Mr. Schweiker himself has made it quite plain that he well understands and feels himself that to serve in the capacity of Vice President is really an obligation to sell the Administration's programs. Ronald Reagan has not changed one stand that he has, one opinion that he has, in any section of his speech. This is not a situation which happened really in 1960 when two high members of the party got together in an apartment in New York and wrote the platform. This is an entirely different situation, in which Mr. Schweiker will, and actively so, represent Mr. Reagan's policies to his constituencies.

Mr. Schweiker is a quite formidable candidate in that way because his constituencies happen to be those that the Republicans definitely need to crack into in the fall in order to beat Carter and Mondale.

MR. REYNOLDS: How do you go about keeping a constituency, keeping either Mr. Schweiker's constituency, when he says, as he has, that now he has a larger constituency and he will support the platform and he will endorse Governor Reagan's views, even though many of those views seem to be in direct conflict with his own, with his own votes; and how do you keep the conservative constituency, when Governor Reagan seems to turn his back on it and reach far out to the end of the party?



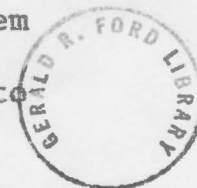
MR. SEARS: First of all, you can cite nothing to show Governor Reagan has turned his back on his constituency. As I say, he has not changed any of his positions.

As far as Mr. Schweiker is concerned, Governor Reagan of course has a number of things about his stand on the issues and his own personality and his own background that are of great appeal, really, to a lot of the votes that constitute Mr. Schweiker's constituency. What he has always needed is somebody who has pure credibility with those constituencies so he can get a fair hearing for his views. Now, Senator Schweiker is going to be of great value to Governor Reagan in that regard.

MR. CLARK: Mr. Sears, let me cite a direct quote to you as we talk about whether Governor Reagan has changed his position in any way on this. Just a matter of days before naming Schweiker, Reagan was asked what would happen if Ford picked a liberal Northerner as his runningmate, and he replied, according to Time magazine -- this is Time's quote: "It would be a foolish mistake. Ford would lose the South and a lot of Republicans might not work for him."

Now, doesn't that mean he changed his mind rather radically when he selected Schweiker?

MR. SEARS: I don't think so at all. That is quite true of Mr. Ford. I think Mr. Ford has a horrible problem here, and he is doing everything he can to avoid trying to answer the question.



If Mr. Ford picks somebody from the Northeast he will have difficulty in maintaining his candidacy in the South and the Far West and parts of the Middlewest. If he goes in the other direction --

MR. CLARK: Why Mr. Ford and not Mr. Reagan?

MR. SEARS: Mr. Reagan has a strong appeal, and has not to his constituency - he has an identifiable one. Mr. Ford's problem all the way through the past year and since he has held the office.

Since he has never run for it and been elected, that he has no discernable constituency. That is why an incumbent President registers down in the middle 20's in the polls at the moment.

Now, Governor Reagan by this selection now has the capability of running a truly national campaign. He can campaign strongly in the South, he can campaign with the ticket in the North, he can campaign in the Middlewest and West. Mr. Ford, whichever way he goes on this particular selection will have to give up something.

Now, Mr. Ford can sit and write letters to all the delegates. One of the networks last evening it seems has already polled all the delegates, so he could shortcut the process. They found that John Connally is preferred by more people than anybody else. I think that the American people who have had some doubts as to whether Mr. Ford can make a tough decision are not going to like this process that he is going through. I think the miscalculation here of what the mentality of the Republican delegate is is going to be very difficult for Mr. Ford to handle.



MR. CLARK: If I can get clear on one point. Are you saying it would be a mistake for President Ford to pick a northern liberal as his running mate?

MR. SEARS: I think that Mr. Ford has great difficulty in terms of figuring out who he should pick himself. First of all, we have been through the list ourselves with great particularity, so we are quite familiar with what ranges of possibility exist.

Mr. Ford's problem is that nobody in this country seems to know exactly what he stands for so he doesn't have a constituency as such that he can add to or subtract from or whatever. He represents himself to be a man sort of in the middle, but nobody seems to be quite clear from his two years in office exactly what that means. So his selection of a runningmate will add coloration of one kind or another to his candidacy and that is something that he definitely does not want to do.

Now, I think the Republican delegates, however, now that we have taken the step that we have, will demand from him that they know exactly who he is going to run with before they cast their lot with him. They have been a little disturbed and I have myself, by a few things they have heard in the last week about his plans for the fall should he gain the nomination.

First of all, I read in one of the national news magazines



that he does not intend to debate Mr. Carter if he is the nominee.

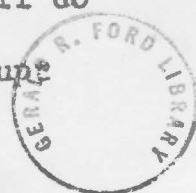
I have also read some accounts from some of his strategists that say that in regard to the vice presidency they want a very active man because Mr. Ford doesn't intend to go out and campaign very much.

Now, that is a little disheartening to a party who first of all only controls 20 percent of the vote and is going to start off by most accounts about 40 points down with Mr. Carter. So we are looking forward to the next two weeks and we do feel that really the delegates and the party and everybody else does deserve to know who Mr. Ford will be running with.

MR. REYNOLDS: But haven't you administered a blow to your campaign? You mentioned that Mr. Ford's failing lies in the fact that people don't know where he stands or what he stands for. But the basic rock on which Ronald Reagan's campaign rested, and his appeal, was his integrity. People would walk away from his speeches saying, "We know where he stands."

Do they know where he stands now?

MR. SEARS: Yes, they certainly do. I may point out to you Mr. Reagan lived in California with a Lieutenant Governor neighbor, Robert Finch, who I know quite well and you all do too, for a number of years, and it did not seem to corrupt



his stands on the issues or anything.

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As I said earlier, he has not compromised or changed any position that he has taken previously and will not, so there is really no problem about this.

What you have basically heard in the last week -- I might add also in passing, there has been a great deal of discussion about whether we have lost delegates or not. We haven't lost any delegates, not a one.

MR. REYNOLDS: The South has held.

MR. SEARS: The South has held and after all the talk all week about all this loss of delegates and so forth Mr. Ford went to Mississippi last weekend with two Congressmen fully expecting and quite well advertised that he would come home with the Mississippi Delegation and in a state that this decision has created a great deal of controversy, they still held.

(Announcements)

* * * * *

MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Sears, just before we broke for the commercial, you said that the South was holding firm and that Mississippi was a problem that you had anticipated anyway; I gather that.

MR. SEARS: I might add that a week ago today all the networks and a vast number of people from the press were all in Jackson, Mississippi, for some reason way before

we did



this, feeling what was about to happen was a break for Mr. Ford in the delegation. Now we have survived this announcement; we have gone through the last week and that still hasn't happened.

So, you know, basically what you have been hearing is a lot of comment from people who are conservatives, but you must understand have been supporting Mr. Ford all the way through.

?

MR. REYNOLDS: Has Clark Reid been supporting Mr. Ford all through this?

MR. SEARS: There are those in Mississippi who wonder sometimes. I don't know that we need to get into all that right now. We did feel before we even did^{this}/there was some perhaps change of attitude/taking place in Mr. Reid's mind.

Now it is difficult, as we have had to do it all through the last year when the vast majority of the members of Congress who are Republican and the Governors and everybody else that anybody in the press would go to to get a comment have all been actively supporting Mr. Ford. So you have to understand that when you go out and ask them, even if they are known as conservatives, what they think of this, they have all been on the other side.

Now, as you get to real people who have been supporting us, yes, there has been some controversy, but they have all held through the week and we are very grateful to them for



that.

MR. REYNOLDS: Ten days ago, Mr. Sears, before the Schweiker announcement, you made the statement that the Reagan campaign had 1140 delegates and you said you knew their names.

MR. SEARS: Yes.

MR. REYNOLDS: I think we got three on that same day. Three names.

MR. REYNOLDS: Do you still have the 1140 names in your pocket?

MR. SEARS: Yes, I do and as I also explained that ^{the} same week, there are 30, 40 to 50 delegates -- 40 to 50 I believe I said -- who recognized in the press anyway as Ford leaners or Ford supporters. Because of their political situation and the ambitions perhaps that they have and the fact that they have to run for office or the fact they are looking toward securing another party position keeps them from coming out against an incumbent president.

MR. REYNOLDS: I find it difficult to believe, Mr. Sears, why they would be reluctant to come out now but they will be reluctant to at the last minute leap out of the closet and declare their allegiance to Governor Reagan.

Won't that make them even more unwelcome among the party structure?

MR. SEARS: I think that many of these people are known



to Mr. Ford's campaign people as people that are not necessarily going to vote for Mr. Ford, so I don't think there will be any delusion about that.

MR. CLARK: Mr. Sears, we obviously have a direct conflict on this number of delegates. It takes, of course, 1130 to nominate. The other Senator from Pennsylvania, Senator Hugh Scott said today -- he being a Ford supporter -- that President Ford at least had 1141. You say you have 1140. You can't both be right.

MR. SEARS: I think he did also say -- I happened to see him say this -- that he himself had only talked to seven delegates, so I guess he is taking the word of somebody else in the campaign to say that.

Obviously we will find out the answer to this interesting question perhaps during the next two weeks, but definitely at the convention itself.

MR. REYNOLDS: Will we find out tomorrow that you have more delegates than you have publicly disclosed up until now?

MR. SEARS: I think there is a very good chance you will find out tomorrow. we have more delegates --

MR. REYNOLDS: Could you give us some estimate of the numbers involved?

MR. SEARS: I think we will wait for tomorrow for that.

MR. CLARK: We want to talk with you about another



point.

First, were you the first one to suggest to Ronald Reagan that he name Senator Schweiker as his runningmate?

MR. SEARS: Well, going back even before that, I think I was the first one to suggest to him before that came up that the proper thing to do here would be to announce our choice before the convention, and well before the convention.

I want to just say a few things here. There has been a great deal of controversy as to why and how vice presidents are selected to run with presidential nominees. On the one hand, many people feel it should be left open to the convention; that four or five names should be submitted.

I think myself and Governor Reagan thinks that really that is not quite correct because, although the party has a great interest in who is on the ticket because everybody has to run with it, the nominee has to run with the fellow in question and live with him if they are elected.

On the other hand, the old system which Mr. Ford is going through a variety of, wherein you say, in other words, that you are consulting with everybody and then you pop out with a name, most of the time one which nobody really wanted --

MR. CLARK: Let me ask you about another --

MR. SEARS: Excuse me just a second -- had some great deficiencies in it too, as we have seen in '68 and '72 with Mr. McGovern and various other times. Therefore, we did feel the best way to accomplish the accommodation of the needs of candidates and the needs of the party was to come out



MR. CLARK: You have done that now. Let me, if I may, raise another name that popped out of your selection system: William Ruckleshaus, the former Deputy Attorney General, says he got a hard offer from you and another person to be Reagan's runningmate a little over three weeks ago. Did you indeed make such an offer to Mr. Ruckleshaus?

MR. SEARS: No, I did not, and that was printed only in one story in this particular city, and Mr. Ruckleshaus has denied the thrust of that story immediately.

MR. CLARK: Have you talked with Mr. Ruckleshaus?

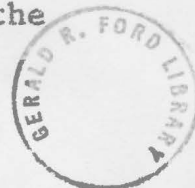
MR. SEARS: I have known Mr. Ruckleshaus for many many years. I have talked to him on many occasions. I have never offered him the Vice Presidency. Ronald Reagan has never talked to Mr. Ruckleshaus about it. I never had the ability to offer --

MR. CLARK: Could I ask you if you sounded out others before approaching Senator Schweiker?

MR. SEARS: Oh, no.

MR. CLARK: Mr. Ruckleshaus was sounded out, you will agree, but he was the only one?

MR. SEARS: He was not sounded out. He of course with the third gentleman who was there and can speak to the conversation as well -- the third gentleman has been a fellow who has always been quite fond of Mr. Ruckleshaus -- I have always thought very highly of him myself, and over the



course of the years he has always thought that Mr. Bucklehaus, when various jobs or opportunities were open, should be promoted for them. And other than that, the conversations were quite private, but I will stand by the fact that no offers of the Vice Presidency --

MR. CLARK: I think the thing that has puzzled many conservatives and incensed some of them, that you moved as far as you did to Senator Schweiker, considering his being an almost liberal voting record in some eyes.

You would say now that you did not, before getting to Senator Schweiker, you did not consider a moderate --

MR. SEARS: We considered everybody --

MR. CLARK: considera-

tion up to the point of sounding out?

MR. SEARS: No. That is absolutely true.

MR. REYNOLDS: Could I ask you, Mr. Sears, what was Ronald Reagan's first reaction when you recommended to him that he pick Richard Schweiker?

MR. SEARS: In that discussion I really took about 35 or 40 minutes. Really I gave him all the reasons in conjunction with the responsibility he had given Senator Laxalt and I to make a recommendation to him.

MR. REYNOLDS: Was he enthusiastic or shocked or stunned --

MR. SEARS: I explained how we had gone through all the people in the Senate and the Congress, and why various



of them had not met the criteria we had laid down, and how we had investigated people in the private sector, among the Democrats even, people who were in the Cabinet and have been in the Cabinet, people in the state houses, although there are only 13 of them, and why we had come to the conclusion that we had; and that took me 35 or 40 minutes, as I recall.

I then explained to him all of the good things that we thought Senator Schweiker could do in terms of bringing his constituencies to our ticket. And after that, of course, I had been doing all the talking for all that time, his first response, as I recall, was "Well, will he do it?"

MR. REYNOLDS: And did he accept right away when you asked him?

MR. SEARS: Well, as any normal man would do, he was rather floored by being asked when he was. We did make it plain to him that we were not putting him on a list or anything, that he was indeed the only one under consideration; until we reached some resolution of whether he would do it or not, then we weren't talking to anybody else.

He asked to have really 24 hours to think about it, which he took, and came back.

MR. CLARK: Mr. Sears, another very disturbing thought to some conservatives I think you would agree is the thought that Richard Schweiker, with that extremely liberal voting



record in Congress- might wind up as President. How can you possibly offer anyone reassurances on this score, or would you want to offer reassurances?

MR. SEARS: Senator Schweiker himself has said if his ticket is elected he would assume, and I think that would be anyone's assumption, that he would run on the policies enunciated by Governor Reagan. And if the worse should happen, he would pursue those policies.

I don't see anything so confounding about that. I do recall in 1960 in some quarters there was a lot of criticism of John Kennedy for picking Lyndon Johnson. A lot of the criticism really revolved around the fact of would Mr. Johnson pursue Mr. Kennedy's policies. Well, of course unfortunately we got a chance to see whether that was true, and of course Mr. Johnson --

MR. CLARK: That was a great surprise and dealt with an assassinated President.

I wanted to finish this thought. Can you really say to a conservative, can you make a pledge to conservatives in this country that if Richard Schweiker became President he would carry out the Reagan mandate, if there were such a mandate?

MR. SEARS: I don't see any problem with that, myself. One of our problems in this country is that first of all people will often, and this is one thing I admire greatly



about Mr. Schweiker, are unwilling to give their word about anything and have it meaningful, and very secondly to that, the level of peoples' belief about anything in this country is probably at an all-time low. I think it would be very refreshing if we could go ahead with this exercise, that Senator Schweiker would become Vice President, that we could all see once again that those who are part of his constituency would feel that they have a chance to have their opinions felt, and Governor Reagan could make the decisions, as Mr. Schweiker says he will be able to.

MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Sears, if this firestorm continues, is the Schweiker nomination, or designation, negotiable?

MR. SEARS: Oh, absolutely not.

MR. REYNOLDS: He is on there to stay?

MR. SEARS: Yes, indeed.

MR. CLARK: I am sorry, we are now out of time. Thank you very much for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

- - -



Reagan

PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS NBC RADIO AND
TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "NBC'S MEET THE PRESS."

M E E T T H E P R E S S

Produced by Betty Cole Dukert

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1976

GUEST:

SENATOR RICHARD SCHWEIKER (R., Pa.)

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

John Cochran - NBC News

Joseph Kraft - Field Newspaper Syndicate

James D. Squires - Chicago Tribune

- - -

This is a rush transcript provided for the information and convenience of the press. Accuracy is not guaranteed. In case of doubt, please check with

MEET THE PRESS



MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Senator Richard S. Schweiker, Republican of Pennsylvania.

Ronald Reagan announced this past week that if he wins the Republican nomination, he will name Senator Schweiker as his Vice Presidential candidate. A former businessman and former member of the House now in his second Senate term, Senator Schweiker's voting record is given high marks by liberal organizations and low marks by conservative organizations.

We will have the first questions now from John Cochran of NBC News.

MR. COCHRAN: Senator, do you think Ronald Reagan would make a better President than Gerald Ford has?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Yes, I do. I think it will be decisive. I think he has demonstrated by the move of proposing his Vice Presidential runningmate be subject to a three-week trial by fire ordeal, that I gladly accept it; and in addition, I think he has shown initiative and creativity that is needed to upset the Carter momentum.

MR. COCHRAN: Today Mr. Reagan's campaign manager, John Sears, said that tomorrow he will announce some proof that you have been a help to Mr. Reagan in garnering delegates. Where will those delegates come from?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I think you will see a very interesting and exciting week this week. I think some of the pundits who were beginning to say things last week will



begin to take a second look. I think you will see two things beginning to happen. You will see the South will hold firmly, and I have confidence in that. I know that Governor Reagan does.

I also think you are going to see the beginning of the cracking of the North - Eastern / delegation, and I think you will see the momentum turn around.

MR. COCHRAN: Senator, you are going to Mississippi later this week, as I understand it, with Mr. Reagan. Let's say you go down there and Mississippi doesn't hold firm. Let's say you come back from Mississippi convinced they are going to go for Mr. Ford. Would you withdraw as a Vice Presidential candidate if you are convinced you are going to hurt Mr. Reagan's chances?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I have never quit under fire in my life. I wouldn't quit now. Governor Reagan is not a quitter. I am not. I want to say we are going to hold Mississippi. I went to South Carolina. I think I showed South Carolinians that I didn't have horns, and when I left they did issue a statement saying they were standing solidly behind Governor Reagan, and they even suggested that I go to Mississippi and talk to them as I talked to the South Carolinians. So I really believe that we have a good chance of holding Mississippi, and I think those two things coming together will completely shoot down the Ford



propaganda arm that has been very strong this past week.

(Announcements)

MR. KRAFT: Senator, I would like to explore a little bit how compatible your views are with Governor Reagan. He has been intimating very strongly the United States was second-best in defense to the Russians. Do you agree with that?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, I think if you look at my voting record you will find some similarities here. For example, I broke from some of my friends in the Senate on this and supported the Trident Polaris submarine. I also broke from them and have voted for the Cruise missile. I voted for the nuclear carrier. So my voting record has demonstrated that I do think we need to beef up our defense, and I think there is an area of agreement here by my own voting record for some of these missile and weapons systems.

MR. KRAFT: Didn't you also vote to cut back U. S. troop presence abroad?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I voted basically to have NATO pay more of their share. I did not feel we could withdraw a commitment to NATO. But I do believe and I have believed for some time and I still do believe that some of the foreign countries are taking us for a ride, and that we ought to ask and insist that they pay more of their share, and that was the reason for my feeling as it is.



MR. KRAFT: Didn't you in 1974 vote to cut back the troop commitments by 76,000?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Yes, and for the reasons that I said. I think it is very important to make this point, Joe. I don't think we can have allies who aren't willing to help themselves. We went through Vietnam, and unless basically the people are willing to help themselves, there is no sense defending them. And this is one of the reasons I felt and voted opposing the war in Vietnam, because I didn't feel they were really willing to defend themselves. And I think the same thing is true of things abroad. If they are willing to help themselves and to help support the effort, fine. But we can't be a crutch for everyone.



MR. KRAFT: In view of your insistence that our friends support themselves, how do you explain -- I think you were the one who cast what must have been the tie-breaking vote in favor of foreign aid, the 1975 Foreign Aid bill.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Now, what phase of the Foreign Aid bill are you talking about?

MR. KRAFT: I think it was in 1974, the final appropriation. It was 45-44 and I think you were in the 45 for approval.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, let me say I think there is something to make very clear here. This is a coalition. We don't pretend it to be anything else. There is no question. I think this is a bold, decisive effort to unite the wings of our party, conservative and moderate. I do come from the moderate wing of the party.

Governor Reagan comes from the conservative wing of the party. We make no apologies for that. I am sure there are a number of areas where we have differed in the past and I think it is important to know that the Republican party only represents 22 percent of the people any more and if you go into a national election with half of that, that is 11 percent, there is no possible way that you can beat Jimmy Carter.

That is why I think the coalition for victory concept is sound, that is why we do have some diversity, and I think that is why we are going to win, the Reagan-Schweiker team is



2 going to win instead of the Ford-What's-His-Name Team which isn't going to win.

MR. SQUIRES: Senator, if President Ford had offered you the No. 2 spot on his ticket, would you have accepted?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I think I have made it very clear that I am running as Governor Reagan's choice and I certainly wouldn't accept it at this particular point in time.

I think earlier, why obviously anyone would consider the vice presidency, as a matter of fact, so that I think you have to relate the timeframe here but I would not consider running for vice president under President Ford.

MR. SQUIRES: Did you tell a Philadelphia columnist earlier in the year that anyone would be a fool to turn that job down; that you would be glad to run with him?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, I didn't put it in those words. You are using a little poetic license there. He simply said would I be willing to consider running for vice president and I said I don't know of many Senators in the United States Senate that wouldn't. I will stand by that statement, and I think my colleagues will back me up privately, if not publicly.

MR. SQUIRES: Governor Reagan has said that there are so many differences between he and President Ford that they cannot share the same ticket. You know them both. What are



those differences?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, I am not going to speak for Governor Reagan in this respect. I think this is something you should ask him. I do think this, though: I think one of the reasons that the incumbent President, Mr. Ford, has been for two years, and yet is 30 some points behind Mr. Carter, he hasn't been able to sew up the convention only three weeks ahead of time. I think it shows some fundamental weaknesses in his projections and I think he is not clearly identified with any wing of the party. He is not clearly identified with any set constituency. I think the strength that this team has is that Governor Reagan is clearly identified with the conservative wing. I am clearly identified with the moderate wing and that is why we will start out with 22 percent instead of 11 percent.

MR. SQUIRES: Right before you were offered this, you were a Ford delegate and you were supporting him and there were Republican officials who had expected you to help them with the floor fight in Kansas City on behalf of the President. What changed your mind so suddenly?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: There has been a lot of what I call knee-jerk reactions to this phenomenon because they really haven't delved into the deep facts and analyzed my background, looked at my votes. I have had 6,000 votes; I have had any number of speeches and people just short-term it.



Now, you have overlooked a very key fact. Some months back they circulated a letter of all Republican Senators as to who would support President Ford for re-election. You omitted there that I was one who didn't sign that because I have some reservations. I refused to sign a loyalty pledge to Mr. Ford.

Now, the press has overlooked that. The only thing that has happened, I did agree to be a delegate-at-large and I did express a preference at that particular meeting, a Ford-preference vote, but I think that is quite a bit different and I think they should also know the other facts that the press seizes on one thing but doesn't give a balanced picture on the other.

I might say that I also hoped that President Ford's campaign would improve; it would upgrade; that it would peak and instead of that it has gone just the other way so none of the things that many of us had suggested have been listened to and I think they are headed for 16 years of Carter and Mondale with a Ford candidacy and I think these are factors too.

MR. MONROE: Senator Schweiker, Governor Reagan recently attacked Senator Mondale's child-care bill as indicating a big-government philosophy, injecting the government into family relationships, he predicted Mondale would be a liability to the Democrats.



Doesn't it hurt Governor Reagan's credibility, particularly among conservatives, to team up with you considering that you are a co-sponsor of Mondale's child care bill?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, let me answer this, Bill, in a couple of ways. There is a newsletter called "Political Intelligence Newsletter" and they took the ACA rating, the conservative ratings, and the ADA ratings, put them together, eliminated duplication and eliminated all Senators from 1 to a hundred. It is very interesting, if you do something in depth here, Senator Mondale comes out No. 3; I come out No. 40. That doesn't exactly put me in his same league. There is a whole number of positions where Senator Mondale and I differ. Abortion is one of them. Gun control, the death penalty for criminals, detente, amnesty for draft evaders, the Trident Cruise missile systems, busing, Diego Garcia. So I think you have to look at the perspective and balance the thing and this is what the press has not done. They have seized on just a few things because it looks pretty difficult to go and study 6,000 votes, but I think that is the thing that is going to come through this week.

MR. MONROE: Well, Senator, in this case Governor Reagan has seized on the child care bill as a specific example of something he doesn't like about Senator Mondale.

As an example of Senator Mondale's big government philosophy; spending on social programs.



You are a co-sponsor of the child care bill, are you not?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: That is correct, and let me address myself to that, Bill.

I have had great concern for some time about the way this government is heading. I have said, and I even brought a news clip along for analysis here. Back in 1972 that many of the federal programs that we keep heaping up, which I have supported, just aren't doing the job and aren't working the way they should, and the dilemma we face in the Senate and Congress -- and this is something I said over the years is, that you have a choice of voting for nothing and burying your head in the sand and doing nothing or voting for something which is usually more federal bureaucracy, and invariably I am an activist so yes, I have voted to come down on the doing something side, but the dilemma is we have no choice but those two alternatives and Governor Reagan and I discussed this very thoroughly during our six-hour meeting and I specifically got into some of these social areas where I have had great interest in jobs and in care of this kind and health insurance. We agreed to try to be innovative, to come up



So my perceptions are, No.1, yes, we do have to solve these problems; No. 2, we have never had anything but an either/or choice here, and No. 3, Governor Reagan is the first one to come up with some private-sector problem-solving.

He did this in California with his program ; set up a task force in the private sector on medical. He did the same thing in terms of reforming welfare. He did the same thing in terms of property tax reform. So the longer we talked and the more I studied it, I am convinced that this is the only way that you can turn the bureaucracy around, but still solve these problems which I feel are very important and vital and actually turn the country around.

When I came to Congress, the federal budget was \$92 billion. It is now \$374 billion. It is almost out of control. The old ways won't work. That is why this solution and this ticket and this team excites me and I think it is going to excite our party and the country and I think it is the only way to stop this on-rushing event.

MR. MONROE: You have been a co-sponsor of the Child Care bill; of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill, of the Kennedy Common National Health Insurance bill. Do you think you will change Governor Reagan in these areas or do you think you might change?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No. I will go back again, Bill, to what I said: I think Governor Reagan recognizes these



problems as I do, and I think the innovation here is that we are going to find ways of involving the private sector in solving them.

My only desire in my votes was to solve problems, as I explained a minute ago. You either had to vote no, which was to bury your head in the sand, and I don't agree with that, or you had to vote yes for a federal bureaucracy and I would be the first to admit -- as I said, I have said several times, 4, 6, 8 years back, that they aren't doing what we hoped they would do, but we had no other alternative.

Here Governor Reagan is giving us a third way, if you will, to approach these problems. I am intrigued by it. I believe that I can stick with my principles in solving these problems, and be innovative and have an input and I think too often in Washington we stereotype everything -- either/or, this or that, federalize or bury your head in the sand, and I think it only is a broader creative thrust we are going to have to solve these problems.



MR. COCHRAN: Senator, I am confused. You said we should spend more time -- that is the press should spend more time analyzing your entire voting record, and we have come here armed with 3 by 5 cards. But I am beginning to wonder if that wasn't an exercise in futility. Didn't you say a day or two ago that you would be guided by Ronald Reagan in all matters political?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No. Again, the press is having trouble with shorthand here. What I did say was that I would expect to support the Republican party platform, and I wouldn't know how any Vice President would do anything differently.

You know, I want to make a point here. This is a unique experience. I am being subjected to a trial by fire -- which I knew was coming when I accepted this. My record as a Vice Presidential nominee is being held up, unlike Senator Mondale whose record has not been held up. And I am being held up before the fact and am being held up and examined in the middle of a Ford-Reagan contest. So basically the eyes of the country have been on me. I think it is a healthy thing, I think it is a good thing. It is not an easy thing. But to get back to your question, I think that a person in this position has no alternative but to support a party platform, and I think that is what a convention is all about, and I hope that is what a platform is for.



And I would expect the delegates to have a substantial say on which way our party is going. And I think it is important to make another point: I am not running for the top job. You are not interviewing a Presidential candidate. I think several of you are pressing me as if I am the Presidential candidate. I am not. I am the Vice Presidential candidate. No Vice President has ever been put in this position before. So I would expect as a Vice President to be No. 2. I am not No. 1.

I would also expect to support the party platform, and I see no inconsistency from representing my state's interest to also representing, as a second member of the team, the national interest.

MR. COCHRAN: Well, sir, your importance is that you might be President one day if you do indeed become Vice President. Therefore, it is important to know what you would do if you were President. I understand you said the other day that if Reagan were elected and you were elected vice president, that if something happened to him you would follow Reagan policies



SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Your shorthand is getting ahead of what I said, and I think this is the problem. The press has not had a really concise analysis of what I have tried to perceive here in terms of my job. I would think that if I campaigned for Vice President and that if I campaigned on a party platform, and that in addition whatever other things that weren't in the platform that Governor Reagan and I worked out as a team and put forth to the people, that if we were elected on that mandate, that I would feel obligated to complete that term on that mandate, because it was that mandated team of Reagan and Schweiker that would have been elected. So we would have gotten a mandate on that basis, and I would expect that that mandate would carry for the full term. And I think that is the only honorable thing to do. I think what's new here is that you have a Vice President three weeks in advance. The media has trouble groping with that.

MR. KRAFT: Senator, you said in response to a previous question there were many things you had suggested to President Ford which he didn't do. What are they?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, in terms of basically dramatizing what he believes in, what he stands for, the kind of campaign he should be running, things such as this; and it has basically fallen on deaf ears, that's all.

MR. KRAFT: It is just a matter of style, in other words?



SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Not necessarily, because I have said that one of the problems has been how the President is perceived, and he is perceived in a way where he doesn't identify with programs, with policies, with beliefs. I think he comes through as a straightforward, honest, decent guy, and that's certainly a plus, and I respect that. But to lead a country you have to have certain solid, substantial things that you support and stand for.

MR. KRAFT: Didn't you suggest to him when he met with the Wednesday Club of Senate progressives that he shouldn't make concessions to the right wing of the party?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, keep in mind there was a whole group of senators that met with him. My suggestions, no, were not in that order.

Some of the other senators in the group may well have said that, but my suggestions were along the lines I have said.

MR. SQUIRES: Senator, did you say earlier that you thought a Ford-Reagan ticket would be a mistake?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I didn't say that earlier, no. What I said was basically that Governor -- I don't know that I really covered it. I think -- I do know that I have discussed this matter with Governor Reagan and he has made it very clear to me that he won't accept the No. 2 position; that he feels he can best offer his help and advice outside any new



Administration rather than to be No. 2. And he has made it clear to the press and I think to his delegates that he isn't available for the No. 2 slot. That is all I understand.

MR. SQUIRES: I think what I am trying to get at is the practical politics of the matter. Up until your selection both Reagan and Ford spokesmen seemed to agree that the method of attack in the general election was going to be an assault on the liberalism of Mondale and Carter, that the tickets were going to offer the American people a very clear choice this time, for the first time in several elections. Don't you think that your presence on a ticket either with Ford or Reagan confuses that strategy? How can you go into the South and attack a liberal Democratic ticket?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, I think first of all, you have to come back to some basics. We will still be running on respective platforms, and I haven't seen the platform as yet in terms of what is going to come in Kansas City, but I would wager you would find very substantial differences between the Republican platform and the Democratic platform. So I don't see that this is going to present any problem at all, because for the first time you are going to find very decided differences between these two platforms. And I think this is exactly what you will run on.

Keep in mind I have been very critical of detente. Some of the themes that Governor Reagan has said.



I led the fight to kill the Siberian energy deal in the United States Senate. I also opposed computer technology going to Russia. I have been outspoken in terms of some of Kissinger's work of going to Africa and putting a billion dollar development bank there.

I also have been for some of our stronger weapons systems. So I think there are many areas of agreement, and there are some areas of diversity; and we are not misleading anyone about that.

MR. MONROE: We have a little more than two minutes.

Senator Schweiker, you got a 100 percent rating from the AFL Committee on Political Education on some 20 votes of yours in the Senate, and obviously have maybe a 90 percent difference of opinion with Governor Reagan on many issues. You say if you and Governor Reagan were elected and something happened to him and you became President, you would follow the mandate given to the ticket. Wouldn't that be uncomfortable and awkward and embarrassing? You, a relatively liberal Senator, following basically conservative policies, that the country would feel you did not believe in.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Bill, I have been waiting for that question all program. You used a 100 percent figure, and this is exactly my criticism of some of the reaction in the media. My overall Congressional COPE average is 67 percent. That isn't 100 percent. You know, people are 33



percent off in the shorthand hieroglyphics they have been writing.

MR. MONROE: In 1975, 20 votes, a 100 percent rating.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, sure, but I would hope you will look at the whole man, with the 16 years experience at 67 percent.

Let me say one other thing. Governor Reagan has been a union member. Governor Reagan has been president of his union. Governor Reagan has been an active member of the union movement. Now, I would have no problem working with that compatibility. I will wager that Governor Reagan is probably one of the first Republican candidates in history to have been a union member. So I really don't see a problem here. And of course, if you pick my high year and don't look at my average, sure, people can make it a problem. But basically I think that is the answer.

MR. MONROE: You are saying you would follow Reagan policies if you became President succeeding him?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I am saying, No. 1, I would follow the platform, because that is what we are running on; and No. 2, I would follow the election mandate that we got elected on. And to do so other than that would be, I think, to sort of snub your nose at the whole political system, because we would have gotten elected under those proposals and programs, and for the end result of that particular term I feel a responsibility to run on the basis of what you told the voters.

MR. COCHRAN: Can't we throw out your voting record in the Senate and just look at Ronald Reagan's record and listen



to Ronald Reagan's speeches?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Not at all, because I am going to be in there plugging for a jobs program; I am going to be in there plugging for a catastrophic health insurance program; I am going to be in there plugging that we don't get into any more wars like Vietnam. I am going to be in there to solve some of these social problems by using the private sector. And that is what it is all about.

MR. MONROE: Thank you very much, Senator Schweiker, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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Next Week: Elliot Richardson, Secretary of Commerce



PM-CHOICE SKED 7-27

(COMMENTARY)

BY ARNOLD SAWISLAK

UPI SENIOR EDITOR

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE BEST EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TODAY THAT RONALD REAGAN DOESN'T HAVE THE VOTES NEEDED TO WIN THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION IS HIS CHOICE OF SEN. RICHARD SCHWEIKER FOR HIS RUNNING MATE.

IN TAPPING THE LIBERAL PENNSYLVANIAN FOR VICE PRESIDENT, REAGAN HAS TAKEN THE BREATH-CATCHING RISK OF BETTING HIS WHOLE POLITICAL BANKROLL ON ONE ROLL OF THE DICE.

IT SNAPS CREDULITY TO BELIEVE THAT REAGAN, THE APOSTLE OF GOP CONSERVATISM, WOULD TAKE THE CHANCE IF HE REALLY HAD THE 1,140 DELEGATES HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGERS CLAIMED LAST WEEK.

IN BOTH TIMING AND SUBSTANCE, THE SCHWEIKER SELECTION SUGGESTS (1) THAT REAGAN HAS ABANDONED HOPE OF FINDING 1,130 CONSERVATIVE VOTES NEEDED TO WIN THE NOMINATION AND (2) THAT HE BELIEVES THIS MOVE WILL WIN OVER ENOUGH MODERATE AND LIBERAL DELEGATES TO REACH THE MAGIC NUMBER EVEN IF HE LOSES SOME CONSERVATIVE SUPPORT IN THE PROCESS.

SENATE REPUBLICAN WHIP ROBERT GRIFFIN OF MICHIGAN CALLED THE ACTION "A MOVE OF DESPERATION." GRIFFIN IS A STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF PRESIDENT FORD, BUT HIS STRONG REACTION WAS SHARED BY SOME REAGAN BACKERS, INCLUDING REP. ROBERT ASHBROOK OF OHIO, WHO SAID:

"THIS IS A TOTAL LACK OF CREDIBILITY ON REAGAN'S PART. I CAN'T POSSIBLY SUPPORT HIM ANY MORE."

THE CHOICE STUNNED POLITICIANS BECAUSE SCHWEIKER SEEMS, ON THE RECORD OF HIS VOTING IN CONGRESS, TO BE JUST ABOUT THE MOST IDEOLOGICALLY INCOMPATIBLE RUNNING MATE REAGAN COULD HAVE CHOSEN.

PUTTING "LIBERAL" OR "CONSERVATIVE" LABELS ON POLITICIANS CAN BE A TRICKY BUSINESS, BUT THERE IS NO SUCH PROBLEM WITH SCHWEIKER. IF HE IS NOT A LIBERAL, THEN ALL THE USUAL YARDSTICKS FOR SUCH MEASUREMENTS MUST BE JUNKED.

FOR EXAMPLE, AS SEN. ROBERT DOLE OF KANSAS POINTED OUT, SCHWEIKER HAD A 91 RATING IN 1974 FROM THE AFL-CIO'S COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, WHILE SEN. WALTER MONDALE OF MINNESOTA, WHOM JIMMY CARTER CHOSE AS RUNNING MATE TO HELP HIM AMONG DEMOCRATIC LIBERALS, HAD A COPE RATING OF 82 IN THE SAME YEAR.

SCHWEIKER'S RATING FROM THE LIBERAL AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION IN 1974 WAS 85, WHILE HE SCORED ONLY 16 ON THE CONSERVATIVE INDEX OF AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION.

REAGAN MAY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE NATION THAT HE CAN WORK WITH POLITICIANS WHO DO NOT SHARE HIS ORTHODOX CONSERVATISM.

THE CHOICE OF A RUNNING MATE LIKE SCHWEIKER AFTER HE HAD WON THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION MIGHT HAVE BEEN SO INTERPRETED. BUT EVEN THEN IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A SHOCKER BECAUSE THERE ARE MANY WELL KNOWN REPUBLICANS CLOSER TO THE MIDDLE OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM WHO ARE AVAILABLE.

COMING WHEN IT DID, THE SELECTION LOOKS MORE LIKE A BID FOR SHORT TERM POLITICAL GAIN AT KANSAS CITY NEXT MONTH THAN LIKE A LONGER RANGE EFFORT TO MODERATE REAGAN'S IMAGE FOR THE NATION IN THE FALL.

AND THAT IS THE KIND OF POLITICAL MOVE THAT COULD BACKFIRE DISASTROUSLY, WINNING NO NEW SUPPORT AND LOSING SOME THAT HAD BEEN WITH HIM FROM THE START.

BUT TO REAGAN, IT MIGHT BE WORTH THE RISK. BECAUSE IF HE HASN'T GOT THE VOTES IN AUGUST, IT WON'T MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE WHAT HIS IMAGE LOOKS LIKE IN SEPTEMBER.

UPI 07-27 02:35 AED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON NESSEN
DAVE GERGEN

FROM:

JIM SHUMAN

SUBJECT:

SMITH COMMENTARY

*Jan
Political
file*

Here is a copy of the Howard K. Smith comment on Reagan's
choice of Schweicker.

Susan had prepared it, following my instructions last night, but apparently it stuck to another piece of paper and Ray missed it when typing the summary.

It was one of those unforeseeable accidents, but I have told the staff to be doubly careful in their handling of copy.

Attachment



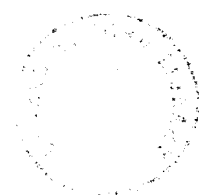
Howard K. Smith (ABC)

Only the Kansas City convnetion will show whether Mr. Reagan's early choice of Sen. Schweicker is an act of dispair on the edge of defeat, or a bold stroke aimed at victory. But on first blush, it looks like the latter, a gain for Reagan.

Sen. Schweicker is a little-known, but altogether constructive liberal northern senator. The argument that the choice of such a man will hurt Reagan with his ultra-conservative supporters seems weak. Since George Wallace was destroyed by Carter, which incidentally, by crossovers of Wallace supporters, rescued Reagan from early elimination in the primaries, since then, that conservative constituency has had no place to go but to Reagan.

The argument that Reagan needed a southern team mate to counter-balance Carter may be stronger, but not very strong. Liberal and moderate southerners are likely to go for Carter no matter what and conservative southerners for Reagan no matter what. After all, most elections show the people vote for presidential candidates and not vice presidential ones.

No, Reagan's supreme problem is to prove to delegates that he is electable. His obstacle has been his identification, fair or not, with Sunbelt Birchites, whose support -- as was the case with Goldwater -- is the kiss of death. The choice now of a liberal from the third most populous northern industrial state helps to meet that problem and, incidentally, gives Reagan a leg up in the region where most elections are still lost and won.





THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/26/76

TO : *Ron Nessen*

FROM: DAVE GERGEN

FYI

July 26, 1976

SOME BACKGROUND ON SENATOR RICHARD SCHWEIKER

Senator Richard Schweiker is known in Pennsylvania as a maverick. Former Democratic Senator from Pennsylvania, Joseph Clark, says of Schweiker, the Republican who beat him:

"It's a mutual admiration society. I think Dick's doing a great job. I couldn't have lost to a better guy. (He is) a first-class senator -- courageous, liberal, understanding, and capable."

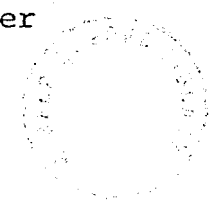
Those sound like strange sentiments coming from a defeated political opponent of the opposite political party. But there is much in Richard Schweiker's background and voting record to justify a Democrat feeling the way Clark does.

Schweiker was elected to Congress in 1960. In his early years in Congress, Schweiker supported Medicare, federal rent subsidies, a \$1.8 billion cut in defense spending (during Viet Nam). In addition, Schweiker refused to support Barry Goldwater when he ran for President in 1964.

When Schweiker ran for the Senate against Clark, he became the first GOP Senate candidate in the state's history to receive AFL-CIO endorsement. In the Senate, he opposed the ABM, called for a bombing halt in Viet Nam in 1967, voted for the McGovern-Hatfield "Amendment to End the War" in 1970. He also voted to override every single veto by President Nixon (14 in all).

More recently, in 1975, Schweiker had as high an ADA as any Republican in the Senate (89%), a rating almost as high as Walter Mondale's , as compared to Barry Goldwater's six. Moreover, Schweiker in 1975 was the only member of the United States Senate -- in either party -- to receive a perfect 100 rating from the AFL-CIO's COPE.

In 1974, Schweiker had an ADA rating of 78, a rating almost as high as those given to Percy and Mathias. His COPE rating of 80 was higher than that given to either Stevenson or Percy.



Reagan's choice of Schweiker came as a surprise to many who remembered Reagan's pledge that he would never choose a liberal. On May 30, 1976, the Los Angeles Times said:

Over scrambled eggs with California-based reporters, Mr. Reagan rejected the idea he might pick a liberal running mate to give the ticket ideological balance. "I never believed in the idea," he said, promising to pick a vice president in his own conservative mold.

Schweiker's decision to run with Reagan also came as a surprise. Until today, Schweiker had been a supporter of President Ford and had been a Pennsylvania delegate for the President.

SCHWEIKER SUMMARY VOTING RECORD FOR 1974-1975

1974

Busing. Schweiker voted for busing when he voted for a motion to table an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that would have banned busing in many instances. Also voting for: Stevenson, Javits, Brooke.

Death Penalty. Schweiker voted against an attempt by the Congress to reimpose the death sentence for certain federal crimes following the Supreme Court rulings. Joining him: Stevenson, Javits, and Brooke.

Government Abortion Aid. Schweiker voted for abortion when he voted for a motion to kill an amendment which would bar use of Medicaid funds except in limited circumstances. Joining him: Stevenson, Javits, and Brooke.

Military Aid to Turkey. Schweiker voted against resumption of military aid to Turkey. Joining him: Stevenson, Javits, and Brooke.

Consumer Protection Agency. Schweiker voted for the Consumer Protection Agency when he voted to invoke the cloture on the Consumer Protection Agency filibuster.

Food Stamps for Strikers. Schweiker voted for Food Stamps for Strikers when he voted against an amendment which would have prohibited the use of food stamp funds in this fashion.

1975

Schweiker Vote

<u>Federal Debt limit extension to \$531 billion from \$495 billion.</u>	Yes
<u>Increased Agricultural Subsidies</u>	Yes
<u>\$6 Billion Emerg. Jobs Bill</u>	Yes
<u>Oil Price Ceilings</u>	Yes
<u>Extended Wage/Price Council Authority</u>	Yes
<u>Agency for Consumer Advocacy</u>	Yes
<u>Symington Defense Budget Cut</u>	Yes
<u>\$2B Health Services Package</u>	Yes
<u>\$2B Public Works Emplmt.</u>	Yes
<u>Aid to Turkey</u>	No
<u>Dole Amendment on Busing (To Table)</u>	Yes
<u>Natural Gas Deregulation (New)* (Table)</u>	Yes
<u>Oil Company Divestiture (Abourezk)</u>	Yes
<u>Oil Company Related Holdings Ban (Kennedy)</u>	Yes
<u>Bartlett Amendment/Ban Medicaid Abortion</u>	No (Table)

The Right Report

AUGUST 6, 1976 • Vol. 5, No. 15

Dear Reader:

REAGAN CAMPAIGN KEEPS "NICE GUY" IMAGE. If Ronald Reagan wins the GOP presidential nomination this month, no media barrage will succeed in casting him as an "extremist," a la Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Reagan's designation of Richard Schweiker undercut the anti-Reagan charges of "extremism."

A word about the Schweiker choice: Virtually all conservatives consider it unfortunate that such a move was necessary. But Schweiker is no liberal ideologue. Granted, there is something of the chameleon about him. If nominated, he just might start attacking the effete corps of impudent snobs.

As to conservative fears that Schweiker might succeed to the presidency: So what? If Gerald Ford with his (undeserved) conservative image is having trouble getting the GOP nomination, imagine how much trouble President Schweiker would have with Republican primary voters.

As we go to press, there has been little delegate movement toward Reagan since the Schweiker announcement, although Citizens for Reagan operatives insist privately that hidden delegates will surface. We shall soon see.

The Reagan strategy, in state after state, has been conciliatory. Where conspicuous liberal or moderate Republicans, like former New Hampshire Governor Hugh Gregg, could be recruited for Reagan, they were thrust into state leadership positions. Indiana conservatives, for instance were particularly enraged when their old nemesis, former GOP national committeeman L. Keith Bulen, was awarded a major campaign role.

Only in states such as North Carolina and Texas, where Ford had already locked up the support of the more moderate wing of the GOP, was control of the state Reagan effort given to hard core conservatives.

Reagan avoided tough conservative stands, to the extent possible, in New Hampshire and elsewhere. Only when the conservative clamor became irresistible (See TRR 2/25/76) did Reagan turn forceful on issues such as defense, Panama and Kissinger. Initiatives such as the half-hour TV programs in North Carolina and the network-TV fundraising appeal had to be forced upon the Citizens for Reagan Committee by conservatives outside the campaign structure. On these occasions, the campaign was saved from itself.

As the convention approaches, we see a continued reluctance to get tough or to bring all available conservative resources to bear in Reagan's behalf. Consider the following:

1. The Reagan campaign could have asked each of the 150,000 Reagan contributors

to contact his state's delegates in Reagan's behalf. This kind of home-town pressure would have been hard for delegates to resist.

2. The Reagan campaign kept secret its list of delegates, refusing to provide copies to pro-Reagan groups such as right to life, right to work, anti-busing, anti-gun control, stop ERA, American Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom, and others. These groups could have activated their members, who would have had a significant impact on delegates. Reagan should have placed lists of delegates in a rack outside his headquarters, urging conservative groups to grab them up for use in his behalf.

3. Reagan has not challenged Ford's campaign abuses, including deferred payments for campaign use of Air Force One, funding for delegates' White House dining with the Queen of England, dispersal of Federal goodies in the state primaries, the gross inequity of GOP convention arrangements. Used properly, these issues could outrage many delegates, and help Reagan.

4. By publicly pledging not to raise any credentials challenges, the Reagan campaign forced Ford to drop plans to challenge, for instance, some Reagan delegates from Virginia. In our judgment, Reagan thus saved Ford from a serious mistake, which would have boomeranged and helped Reagan.

5. Similarly, Reagan is now on the defensive against a Ford proposal to change the convention rules. (As yet Reagan has shown no initiative in either the rules or platform areas. The Ford committee is scared Reagan will make a platform fight over the Panama Canal issue. It would be a good test vote, and one which could humiliate Ford, but we don't know if Reagan will allow it.)

Reagan has well over 1,000 delegates, when most observers predicted he would have been out of the race long ago. We, on the other hand, think he should have won the race by now. If he's going to win it, he must get tough fast, activate all his conservative allies, and grab the initiative to control convention dynamics.

Calendar

Aug. 9: GOP Platform Committee holds first meeting.

Aug. 14: GOP Rules Committee holds first meeting.

Aug. 16-20: 1976 Republican National Convention, Kansas City, Mo.

Aug. 26-28: 1976 A.I.P. Presidential Nominating Convention, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

Aug. 28-29: School for Campaign Youth Coordinators, George Washington University (Washington, D.C.), Committee for Responsible Youth Politics, 703-524-0299.

Sept. 10-12: Texas Workshop, Dallas, Tex., The Conservative Caucus, 703-893-6371.

Oct. 21-23: Annual Meeting Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Camelback Inn, Scottsdale, Ariz., 312-325-7911.

It's generally expected that the GOP House delegation will make a comeback this year, as is usually the case following a big loss such as that of 1974. We don't expect it.

Gallup poll figures show only 29% of those questioned in a national voter sample say they prefer Republican candidates for Congress this year.

Two years ago at this time Gallup data showed 31% preferring a GOP congressional candidate...and the GOP lost 43 seats.

If Gerald Ford is the nominee, we see little chance that this downward trend can be overcome by a significant number of GOP congressional hopefuls. In fact, if Ford is nominated, TRR predicts a net loss for the GOP of about 15 House seats, which would leave only 130 Republicans in the 435-member House.

Conservatives would be wise to concentrate their efforts on electing the strongest candidates. If conservative resources are spread out over a large number of attractive long shots, virtually all non-incumbent GOP conservatives will lose.

THE TOP TEN CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES. Here is our selection of the top ten conservative congressional candidates we promised in the last issue of TRR. These candidates are not incumbents and were picked from an unusually large number of dedicated would-be freshmen. We had to pass over many other good men and women who are philosophically sound and capable of waging strong races. We'll cover incumbents in a later issue.

In our judgment these ten men, if elected, will all be leaders on Capitol Hill. If they all win, they will almost double the number of effective, movement-oriented conservatives in Congress.

Each of these candidates is locked in a close race. Most have been targeted for defeat by the vast AFL-CIO COPE complex of committees. Conservatives must make a special effort to elect these ten extraordinary candidates.

1. California, District 27, ROBERT DORNAN, (Dornan for Congress, P.O. Box 49258, 901 Teakwood Road, Los Angeles, Calif., 90049).

Television personality Bob Dornan's spectacular come-from-behind primary victory puts him in strong contention to win the seat being vacated by Representative Alphonso Bell. Dornan is best known for his invention of the POW bracelet, worn by millions during the Vietnam war.

Dornan, who has been active in the anti-pornography fight and other social issues, is a fiercely articulate speaker whose strong conservatism has an appeal to middle class conservative Democrats and independents. If elected, he has pledged that he will fight to put together a "new majority" coalition in America.

2. Colorado, District 2, ED SCOTT, (Scott for Congress, 3400 S. Reed St., Lakewood, Colo. 80227). Primary: Sept. 14.

Tall, strapping showman Ed Scott is a GOP candidate to defeat tall, strapping Tim Wirth, a radical activist of the freshman class. Scott, a former state legislator, is a widely known broadcast personality.

He is recruiting supporters effectively, running an issues-oriented campaign, and exposing Wirth's record. Candidate Scott is an active Christian and a forceful personality.

3. Indiana, District 6, DR. DAVID CRANE, (Crane for Congress, 615 N. Walnut, Bloomington, Ind. 46750).

A Crane more articulate than brother Phil? Possibly. Physician-attorney David Crane is running against Representative David Evans. Crane was not the party favorite, but managed a 54% primary victory against three other candidates. He has pledged if elected to make his office a center for constructive conservative activity.

4. Indiana, District 8, BELDEN BELL, (Bell for Congress, P.O. Box 76, Evansville, Ind. 47701).

Bell won a convincing primary victory, outdistancing his nearest opponent by 14%. Bell now faces a liberal Democrat, David Cornwell, in the general election. Bell, whose attractive wife Rae and three attractive children have proved to be a campaign asset, has a good shot at victory. Bell is a longtime conservative movement activist who says if elected he will not forget his principles and determination to make an impact against the liberals.

5. Nebraska, District 2, LEE TERRY, (Terry for Congress, 12111 Pacific St., Omaha, Neb. 68144).

GOP nominee Lee Terry is a citizen-politician who won a big upset primary victory over two "moderate conservative" opponents and the local GOP establishment. The seat is being vacated by U.S. Senate nominee Rep. John McCollister (R-Neb.). The Democrat nominee is a "Kennedy-like" local officeholder, John Cavanaugh.

Terry is another popular former TV newscaster. A close observer of Nebraska politics told TRR Terry is "solid on all the conservative issues and tough...very, very tough." With adequate backing, Terry will win.

6. Montana, Senate, STAN BURGER, (Burger for Senate, 3011 First Ave. North, Billings, Montana, 59103).

On filing-deadline day in Montana, Stan Burger had no idea that he would be the GOP nominee for the Senate this year. Conservatives appealed to him because no strong candidate had announced. Burger resigned his post as Executive Vice President of the Montana Farm Bureau, which he had held for 18 years, and jumped into the race. Burger defeated a millionaire and an establishment favorite in the primary. Now conservatives have a dynamic, tough spokesman as the nominee, who intends to expose Democrat Congressman Melcher's extreme liberal voting record. Burger came from behind in the primary and he is behind now, but the energetic candidate is coming on strong.

7. Oklahoma, District 1, JAMES INHOFE, (Inhofe for Congress, 2139 E. 32nd St., Tulsa, Ok. 74105). Primary: August 24.

Jim Inhofe ran for Governor in 1974 and lost to David Boren, Oklahoma's most popular Democrat in decades. Even in losing, Inhofe carried Oklahoma's first district, where he is now running against Representative James Jones. Jones is popular, despite the milk fund scandal and his conviction for a campaign law violation. But Inhofe is a superb organizer and has a real chance of pulling an upset. While in the state legislature the past 10 years, Inhofe has proved to be one of the nation's leading spokesmen for conservative ideas.

8. Oklahoma, District 5, MICKEY EDWARDS, (Edwards for Congress, 3504 N.W. 66th St., Oklahoma City, Ok. 73116). Primary: August 26.

Two years ago Mickey Edwards tried to tell the "pros" that he had a chance to be elected to Congress. They didn't want to hear it. Mickey didn't get money or professional support but he got 48.5% of the vote. This time, the pros take Edwards seriously. His campaign involves thousands of fresh faces. Edwards, attorney, journalist, businessman and activist on the right, has a tough primary against an establishment Republican who supported Rockefeller in 1968. In the fall he'll face determined Democrat opposition, but Edwards is running the kind of people-oriented campaign that gives him a solid chance.

9. Pennsylvania, District 18, ROBERT CASEY, (Casey for Congress, 206 Valley Court Drive, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15237).

Bob Casey beat just about everybody (and their money) in winning his primary this spring. Senator Schweiker's man was in there, so was Congressman Heinz' man. But Casey, with conservative support ranging from Right-to-Life to Right to Work, pulled off what has to be the most spectacular upset of this political season. Now he seeks to be elected against Democrat Doug Walgren, who is so liberal that in past elections labor unions have refused to support him.

Because Casey defeated the local GOP bosses, his task will be difficult. But he has an excellent political name and conservative Democrats, including Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty, like him.

10. Utah, Senate, ORIN HATCH, (Hatch for Senate, 4461 Parkview Drive, Salt Lake City, Utah 84117). Primary: September 14.

Orin Hatch is a successful attorney who made a reputation for himself by repeatedly taking on the Federal bureaucracy in Federal court and winning. No one gave him much chance to win a place on the September 14 GOP primary ballot, but Hatch ran strongly at the state GOP convention. He had sent a well-done cassette tape to each GOP state delegate expounding his strong conservative views.

A poll this week by the Salt Lake City Deseret News shows Hatch now leading in his primary for the right to contest liberal Democrat incumbent Sen. Frank Moss. In a recent visit to D.C., Hatch took the conservative community by storm. He's a find. He's aggressive, articulate and attractive. He has what it takes to unseat an incumbent.

MAXFIELD UPSETS BOLLING. Liberal Democratic Congressman Richard Bolling of Missouri was shocked when he gave some advice to candidate Morgan Maxfield, running in the Democratic primary for the seat which the late Congressman Jerry Litton vacated to run for the U.S. Senate.

Bolling told Maxfield how he would "have to go along to get along" and that he would, if elected, have to vote for things he really didn't approve of. Maxfield quickly told Bolling he would base his votes in congress "first on my conscience, and second on my constituency." Maxfield also said his first priority would be to fight "horrible deficit spending." Bolling washed his hands of Maxfield and endorsed his liberal primary opponent. But Maxfield won the Democratic nomination by a big margin and seems assured of election.

No wonder conservatives are outraged with HENRY KISSINGER and U.S. State Department. An Idaho resident wrote to his U.S. Senators last year asking help in recovering his wife's property in CHILE, expropriated by ALLENDE regime in 1973. Conservative Sen. JIM MCCLURE and liberal Sen. FRANK CHURCH each asked the State Department to assist their constituent. On April 2, Acting Assistant Secretary KEMPTON B. JENKINS wrote Sen. Church, "I am sending our Embassy a copy of his (the constituent's) letter to you, with the request that it continue to be of assistance..." But on April 3, Jenkins wrote Sen. McClure "...I can only suggest that Mrs. _____ may wish to continue to seek, through her attorney in Chile, a solution to her property situation which would be more to her satisfaction."...

Conservative media and campaign consultant PHIL NICOLAIDES (2929 Buffalo Speedway, Houston, Tx. 77006) is now giving 3½ minute commentaries during "drive time" twice each weekday on Houston's all news NBC radio station KLYX. One of America's sharpest young conservative talents, Nicolaides handled media in Sen. JAMES BUCKLEY's 1970 election campaign. Phil hopes to syndicate his program...

An excellent FACT SHEET on 1976 National Democratic Platform has been issued by the AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL, 600 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Suite 204, Washington, D.C. 20003. This revealing four page summary is yours for the asking from ALEC...

We failed in our last issue to credit N.H. Governor MEL THOMSON for his reception of Olympic athletes from TAIWAN, so rudely treated by CANADA. Not only did Thomson host the athletes in Manchester, he upset liberals by having REPUBLIC OF CHINA flag flown over state capitol...

In our August 20 issue TRR will summarize revised Federal Election Law affecting your ability to contribute and participate in politics...

Looking toward A.I.P. Presidential Nominating Convention in Chicago August 26-28, Dr. ARTHUR CAIN, AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY executive vice president, told TRR he expects a ticket of two nationally recognized candidates and a platform speaking directly to the needs of America's middle class. ANDREW WATSON of Pennsylvania, national vice chairman of the AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY, says that REAGAN's choice of SCHWEIKER has "cleared the air" and produced an awareness among his GOP-oriented acquaintances that the Republican Party is no longer useful to conservatives...

Recently Sen. DAN INOUE (D-Hawaii) was seated on a flight to the West Coast beside an attractive young lady. They struck up a conversation. She gushed over him, saying how she has followed his career for years, loves to watch him on TV, etc. Inoue was thoroughly charmed until young lady bade farewell to him at the airport. "It's been lovely talking with you, Dr. HAYAKAWA," she said. S.I. Hayakawa is GOP nominee this year against Sen. JOHN TUNNEY (D-Calif.)...

Yours most sincerely,

Morton C. Blum

EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

August 10, 1976 - No. 265

To: Our Subscribers

From: Evans-Novak

On the eve of the Republican National Convention, the odds on the probable nomination of President Gerald R. Ford have lengthened to 10-to-1, despite the unprecedented delegate struggle between Mr. Ford and ex-California Gov. Ronald Reagan. The major remaining question concerns the ploy engineered by Reagan Campaign Director John Sears to force Ford to name his Vice-Presidential running mate before the convention takes up the nomination of Presidential candidates. It seems a remote possibility in a Ford-dominated convention, but not altogether impossible.

The jury on Pennsylvania Sen. Richard Schweiker, Reagan's Vice-Presidential selection, out at the time of our last Report, is now in with a guilty verdict. Although the losses of conservative Reagan delegates in the South were not as heavy as first seemed likely, neither were the gains in the Northeast delegates anywhere as big as Reagan and Sears had hoped. Our present delegate count: Ford-1121; Reagan-1055; Uncommitted-83.

The most remarkable aspect of all this is the inability of President Ford to pin down the nomination - another sign of his inability to dominate the GOP. The real surprise at this stage is not that Ronald Reagan is now such a long shot, but that he is still in the contest at all.

Ex-Treasury Sec. John Connally has faded in the last two weeks as Mr. Ford's leading Vice-Presidential choice. We now feel that the most likely prospect is Tennessee Sen. Howard Baker, who excites no one but doesn't upset anyone either. The other most-mentioned possibilities are Treasury Sec. William Simon and Iowa Gov. Robert Ray.

GOP

Delegate Chase: Our delegate count, compared with two weeks ago, shows minus-3 delegates for Ford, minus-23 delegates for Reagan, and plus-26 Uncommitted. This essentially reflects a reassessment of Ford's strength and the loss of Reagan-leaning delegates in Mississippi, where RR no longer can count on most of the delegation. The present count is very bad news for RR: 79 delegates behind with only 83 uncommitted.

The chase has essentially boiled down to four states - Mississippi, plus New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the Northeast (where we accompanied RR on his swing there with Schweiker last week).

Mississippi: With the delegation badly divided and bitterness prevailing after Reagan's naming of Schweiker, we believe that the informal unit rule, which once promised to give one or the other candidate a full 30 votes, will be abandoned and that one or the other candidate will win an edge of 17-13 or 16-14. This immeasurably reduces the state's importance and means that far too much time has been devoted to Mississippi.

When we visited there with RR and Schweiker last week, the balance was

tipping toward Ford (with Schweiker not going over well at all). State Chairman Clarke Reed feels he moved too precipitately in endorsing Ford, but it is hard to find a reason to switch back to Reagan. On the whole, the tide may have turned around for RR again, but there is no way he can pull together the 30-0 or even 27-3 sweep that he had once hoped for there.

New York: RR's inability to cut significantly into the 154-member delegation continues to be the biggest disappointment and failure of his entire campaign. The count now stands at Ford-127, Reagan-20, Uncommitted-7. Sears still has hopes of prying out another 10 delegates, but don't count on it with State Chairman Richard Rosenbaum keeping watch. Rosenbaum, now called the Iron Chancellor, has been the most effective Ford lieutenant (although the influence of Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller hasn't hurt). Rosenbaum announced the conversion of one of Reagan's Brooklyn delegates yesterday.

New Jersey: RR's prospects here are a little better. The once-steady Ford count of 60 out of 67 may go down to 58 and could sink even lower. Sears is trying for as many as 15 delegates there, but it seems doubtful.

Pennsylvania: The high estimate of 88 Ford delegates (out of 103) has now dwindled to 76. But we don't think this is Schweiker's doing. Rather, 10 or 12 delegates who have been telling the Party leadership that they are for Ford tell the press they are uncommitted and tell Reaganites that they are gettable. What are they up to? Waiting to see what happens. Our bet is that most of them will end up with Ford.

We reported two weeks ago that the Mission Impossible of the Reagan campaign was to produce visible, important gains in the Northeast while holding Mississippi. It has not really accomplished either (while not totally failing either).

Convention Maneuvers: Having failed to master the Mississippi-Northeast equation, Reagan's mission must now be the task of the convention underdog - attempted quadrennially but accomplished rarely (last by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952) - to create some "incident" at the Convention that will turn things around. Herewith the present Reagan ploys and prospects:

Vice-Presidential Rule: The proposal unveiled yesterday by Sears to require Ford to name his V.P. choice, while a transparent ploy, is ingenious and intricate with a double function: 1) It underlines the pressure and worry of conservative delegates who don't want Ford to name a liberal and are only lukewarm about Baker; 2) It sets up the possibility of a test vote on the convention floor where Ford-bound conservative delegates - particularly from Kentucky and North Carolina - would be free to support the Reagan position.

The problem with the V.P. ploy is that it is too Machiavellian and lacking in the purported call to higher principles - as in Eisenhower's "Fair Play" amendment. But it may stay close enough to keep some element of doubt right down to the wire.

If RR manages to win this fight, the results are clear: 1) He has won a massive psychological victory that could carry over to the next night (Presidential balloting); 2) Ford would be required to name a candidate - undignified and damaging - or defy a convention rule. If RR loses the Tuesday night fight by only a narrow margin, he might be barely alive for Wednesday night's nomination balloting (but we certainly doubt it).

Platform: This is a notoriously bad way to win the nomination, but Reaganites have some hope of causing a stir on two issues: detente and abortion. They really have no chance on the Panama Canal. We think that there is a chance that the Convention would repudiate Ford and back RR on an anti-abortion Constitutional amendment, but that is scarcely any lever with which to win the Presidential nomination.

The Platform Committee is in a state of chaos with no control exerted by

Ford, and no certainty of what happens next. The revolt against Gov. Ray's leadership was masterminded by North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms without checking with the Reagan forces.

"Justice Amendment": This is the Ford proposal to require all delegates to adhere to state law and bar any defections or abstentions on the first ballot. We don't think this is the vehicle for a pro-RR "incident," but the Ford forces - as we go to press - are getting a little egg on their faces for their inability to come up with smooth language. They might have been better advised to have left the matter alone.

Vice-President: This has developed into Mr. Ford's most unpleasant and difficult task - a no-win proposition, which is precisely the reason for the Sears ploy. If Ford is forced into naming somebody, he will offend somebody.

We now fully believe that RR would not take second place, and so do most sophisticated Republicans. One of the lasting impacts of the Schweiker shock is to greatly diminish interest in a Ford-Reagan ticket. The pullout of Sens. Edward Brooke and William Brock further diminishes the field. In addition, we don't take seriously the recurring Rocky rumors. That leaves the present order of probability, in our opinion:

Baker: He has jumped into first place mainly by a process of elimination. Unlike the other leading contenders, he has no fierce opponents, but neither has he any fierce supporters. He is not everyone's second choice but everyone's fourth choice. He is no help in the South and, in fact, it is hard to see what he brings to the ticket. Indeed, Southern delegates tend to be passively negative about Baker, and delegates generally make a face about a Ford-Baker ticket. Such a ticket, it is felt here, is so bland and uninspiring that it is a virtual concession of defeat. To enhance his chances, Baker is now planning to hit Watergate head-on in his Keynote speech, saying that GRF has purged the Party of Watergate and the real sinners now are Congressional Democrats.

Connally: The front-runner in our last Report, he has slipped badly in the last two weeks and is a poor second and going down, thanks to two factors: the assault on his Watergate connections once it appeared he might be the V.P., and the nature of the White House's reaction to him. Connally insiders were amazed by the ferocity of this attack. Connally himself was angered by the White House pouring gasoline on the fire by sending counsel Phil Buchen down to the ABA Convention in Atlanta for his aborted conversation with Leon Jaworski over Connally's milk fund connections. Since Ford is such a great fan of Connally's, why didn't he come up in support of his integrity? Such is the story of the Ford Presidency.

Connally has some high-powered backers in Kansas City - Texas State Chairman Ray Hutchison and ex-Chairman Peter O'Donnell. Furthermore, he is probably the consensus choice of the delegates, so he can't be totally counted out. But the ferocious opposition to him cannot be dismissed either.

Simon: Although a political novice, the fact that he is a popular, articulate conservative from New Jersey and a Catholic make him a high-ranking contender. Negatives are: 1) Enemies galore in the White House and Administration, particularly Defense Sec. Donald Rumsfeld; 2) GRF is a little uneasy around him.

Rumsfeld: GRF's personal favorite, period.

Ray: A sort of Midwestern Baker. But his chances have fallen with his incredibly weak performance as Platform Committee Chairman.

Bond: Missouri Gov. Kit Bond is our choice for a darkhorse. Moderate, but no pariah to the convention, he at least is a new face.

Armstrong: Ambassador Anne Armstrong has two supporters high in Ford's councils, but we don't see Fordians having the nerve to name a lady.

Dole: Kansas Sen. Robert Dole has one asset: he is a good campaigner who

would harass Jimmy Carter.

Domenici: New Mexico Sen. Pete Domenici remains the Catholic darkhorse, and not much else.

Ford: Having stumbled and wandered around the country all year long through primary elections and delegate-wooing, the Ford Campaign has not improved noticeably now that the Convention is at hand. Herewith some observations and conclusions:

1) Incredibly, he still can't lock it up - and this Number One fact is beginning to hurt him psychologically more than ever before.

2) Neither he nor his advisers at the White House or the PFC seem able to make maximum use of his natural assets: incumbency, bringing back honesty and integrity, dealing with recession and inflation, no U.S. war-involvement. Both Rockefeller and Connally, to name two, are incredulous at such incompetence.

3) Mostly, we find no battle plan for victory. The lack of serious long-range strategy is appalling. This is, in part, because of the preoccupation with beating RR. But there is no doubt that some Ford backers seem interested only in the nomination, with no hope for November. If anyone has balanced the Northern-versus-Southern strategy in the V.P. choice, it is Washington's best-kept secret.

4) There is almost a unanimous feeling that Rogers Morton must be replaced at the head of the campaign, and we now feel that he will leave.

5) Even at the last moment, the Ford disorganization is surprising.

6) Nobody can remember an incumbent President moving into a platform with so little preparation. Not only were the Ford forces unprepared for Helms' coup, but there is no draft platform in final form.

7) About three months ago when the Ford campaign was laying off personnel and curtailing travel because it was bumping into the spending limit, we were told that the PFC was buying Ford billboards all over Kansas City. We couldn't believe it. Now that we have arrived, we find not only Ford billboards but posters on buses. Incredible!

DEMOCRATS

Carter: The Democratic Presidential nominee's outburst in Manchester, New Hampshire last week surprised and dismayed not only top-rank Democrats around the country but also his own insiders. The majority reaction to the sudden anti-Ford toughness was swift and by no means favorable. To wit:

1) His blast against "an almost unprecedented, vicious personal attack on me" and V.P. nominee Sen. Fritz Mondale was made for October, not August, particularly in view of the fact that the GOP hasn't got up to bat yet.

2) The tough talk fed worries about him shooting back when he feels embattled, and not always cleanly, in moderation or accurately. How thin-skinned is Jimmy Carter? Is he truly vengeful? Or does he plan these outbursts?

3) Far worse to Carter insiders was that the major effect of his "family-life" speech was blown, love and kindness blurred by anger.

4) Also bothersome was his attack on Alabama Gov. George Wallace, which came in an impromptu remark during an interview. Without realizing what he was doing, he said Wallace was the lowest politician in the country in public trust and then telephoned to him to apologize. All very strange.

Carter's support is still very thin and this behavior doesn't help him.



Robert E. ...
Robert D. Mondale

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR RON NESSEN

FROM: JIM SHUMAN

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SCHWEIKER QUESTIONS

1. Has the President made an additional comments on Reagan's choice, either last night after the Maryland delegates meeting or today?
2. Does the President feel that the people should know a candidates vice presidential choice before the convention?
3. Will the President announce his choice before the convention?
4. If not, will he announce a short list of people he is considering?
5. When does he plan to announce his choice?
6. What process will he use in choosing a vice presidential candidate?
7. Would he consider opening the choice to the convention as Adlai Stevenson did in 1956?
8. Will the President pick a liberal to unify the party, and go for Northeastern votes?
9. Or will the President now go for a "Sun Belt" strategy?
10. Was Schweiker one of the people the President was considering for vice president?
11. Does the President feel Reagan's announcement was a desperate move?
12. Does the President feel Reagan's announcement has thrown his own campaign off-base?

13. Does the President feel Schweiker's acceptance shows secret support for Reagan in the Ford delegate camp?
14. Has the President gotten any pledges of support from Reagan supporters because of the announcement?
15. Did Schweiker talk with the President before the announcement was made?
16. How did the President first learn of the announcement?
17. What was his initial reaction, words, etc.
18. What strategy will the White House use to take advantage of the announcement?



1975 ratings

Schweickert is only Senator
w/ a 100 Cope rating

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1975

	ADA	COPE	NFU	CCUS	ACA		ADA	COPE	NFU	CCUS	ACA		ADA	COPE	NFU	CCUS	ACA		- KEY -					
ALABAMA						IOWA						NEW HAMPSHIRE							ADA	—Americans for Democratic Action				
Allen	6	21	20	80	74	Clark	100	86	100	0	4	Durkin	100	78	100	0	0		COPE	—AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education				
Sparkman	6	26	33	42	28	Culver	100	90	100	7	0	McIntyre	78	65	89	13	12		NFU	—National Farmers Union				
ALASKA						KANSAS						NEW JERSEY							CCUS	—Chamber of Commerce of the United States				
Gravel	78	71	67	46	23	Dole	17	24	78	75	67	McIntyre	89	95	100	49	7		ACA	—Americans for Constitutional Action				
Stevens	33	70	60	53	38	Pearson	33	38	67	56	30	Cass	83	91	100	13	7							
ARIZONA						KENTUCKY						NEW MEXICO												
Fannin	11	20	10	100	95	Ford	56	73	90	31	26	Montoya	44	65	67	38	36							
Goldwater	6	14	0	100	100	Huddleston	50	60	90	25	17	Domenici	22	35	60	63	63							
ARKANSAS						LOUISIANA						NEW YORK												
Bumpers	56	44	100	15	18	Johnston	28	24	40	63	46	Buckley	0	21	0	65	65							
McClellan	6	27	30	63	52	Long	22	47	25	67	48	Gavitts	72	90	90	27	7							
CALIFORNIA						MAINE						NORTH CAROLINA												
Cranston	89	90	100	6	11	Hathaway	94	73	100	6	7	Morgan	17	30	56	36	47							
Tunney	83	71	90	20	13	Muskie	89	81	100	7	0	Helms	0	15	0	94	93							
COLORADO						MARYLAND						NORTH DAKOTA												
Hart	94	82	100	6	11	Beall	44	59	80	69	43	Burdick	67	68	90	19	8							
Haskell	89	64	90	13	7	Malhiel	83	85	88	36	15	Young	0	18	22	88	71							
CONNECTICUT						MASSACHUSETTS						OHIO												
Ribicoff	78	85	90	13	4	Keegan	89	89	100	13	0	Glenn	50	70	89	33	16							
Welcker	72	75	80	69	32	Brooke	89	80	100	7	0	Taft	22	58	44	75	52							
DELAWARE						MICHIGAN						OKLAHOMA												
Siden	78	72	88	23	14	Hart	61	82	100	0	4	Bartlett	6	19	11	94	96							
Roth	33	25	50	80	57	Griffin	6	25	50	87	69	Bellmon	17	26	13	80	67							
FLORIDA						MINNESOTA						OREGON												
Chiles	39	29	60	50	44	Humphrey	84	90	100	8	0	Hatfield	83	57	60	63	39							
Stone	22	36	40	50	32	Mondale	94	95	100	6	4	Packwood	72	45	75	60	41							
GEORGIA						MISSISSIPPI						PENNSYLVANIA												
Nunn	11	27	30	69	68	Eastland	0	17	29	83	67	Scoville	83	100	100	43	8							
Talmadge	6	38	44	69	65	Stennis	0	32	30	58	59	Scott	39	73	80	56	30							
HAWAII						MISSOURI						RHODE ISLAND												
Inouye	56	90	89	13	8	Eagleton	72	85	80	19	4	Pastore	67	91	90	19	7							
Fong	22	30	70	67	48	Symington	72	81	50	27	16	Pell	89	91	100	19	0							
IDAHO						MONTANA						SOUTH CAROLINA												
Church	78	78	100	0	9	Mansfield	83	68	80	13	15	Hollings	44	42	100	27	33							
McClure	6	14	0	88	89	Metcalf	89	90	88	8	9	Thurmond	0	14	20	88	96							
ILLINOIS						NEBRASKA						SOUTH DAKOTA												
Stevenson	72	82	100	6	0	Curtis	0	15	0	92	95	Abourezk	94	76	100	0	8							
Percy	56	86	67	50	23	Hruska	6	18	10	88	88	McGovern	89	81	90	0	0							
INDIANA						NEVADA						TENNESSEE												
Bayh	72	94	100	0	0	Cannon	28	60	80	31	41	Baker	11	33	60	46	54							
Hartke	72	80	100	7	5	Laxalt	22	29	11	93	87	Brook	22	26	25	81	83							

- KEY -

ADA —Americans for Democratic Action
COPE —AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education
NFU —National Farmers Union
CCUS —Chamber of Commerce of the United States
ACA —Americans for Constitutional Action

	ADA	COPE	NFU	CCUS	ACA
TEXAS					
Benenson	39	59	80	50	38
Tower	11	18	10	94	81
UTAH					
Moss	61	84	89	13	8
Garn	11	25	11	94	84
VERMONT					
Leahy	94	71	100	0	0
Stafford	72	90	100	25	19
VIRGINIA					
Byrd	0	23	10	88	93
Scott	22	14	0	93	84
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	61	90	100	6	8
Magnuson	55	95	90	19	12
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	28	50	50	50	43
Randolph	67	59	70	38	14
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	89	55	100	6	7
Proxmire	78	55	70	6	29
WYOMING					
McGee	39	70	75	47	30
Hansen	0	10	0	88	88

Democrats Republicans

*Buckley elected as Conservative.

**Byrd elected as independent.

1 Sen. John A. Durkin (D N.H.) was sworn in Sept. 18, 1975 after the settlement of the disputed 1974 election.

† Scores were compiled by Congressional Quarterly from the votes selected by the organization.

How Special-Interest Groups Rate Senators

ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with or entered a live pair for the ADA position on 18 selected votes of 1975. The percentages were compiled by ADA. Failure to vote lowers the scores.

COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education)—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position on 22 selected votes of 1975. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by CQ.

NFU (National Farmers Union)—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with, was paired for or announced

for the NFU position on 10 selected votes of 1975. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by CQ.

CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the Chamber's position on 16 selected votes of 1975. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by CQ.

ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action)—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with the ACA position on 28 selected votes of 1975. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by ACA.