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1. RR Intelligence ✓
2.

November 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: BO, STU, BOB
FROM: PETER KAYE

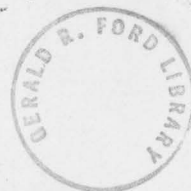
This is how I believe we should conduct the counter-Reagan program next week:

I. Before He Announces

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

II. During the Announcement Time

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



talk and news programs too.

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

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

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

III. Immediately After Washington

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

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

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

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

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



But not divisive
Party liked him as governor

Progress or
System Court?
The news making
action

Don't name cabinet
officials etc.
we ought to be able
to select by others
on the road

What is news line?
is this possible?

Free program?
viable?

IV. Way After.

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

- but not to overdo if Reagan lowers his profile in December.

A few afterthoughts:

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

check out carefully - don't. embarrass

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



Citizens for Reagan For President

Sen. Paul Laxalt
Chairman

John P. Sears
Exec. Vice Ch.

George Cook

H. R. Gross

Louie B. Nunn

Mrs. Stanhope C. Ring

Henry Buchanan
Treasurer

CONTACT: LYN NOFZIGER
202-223-8560

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESS:

Governor Reagan will vary the attached speech slightly
at each stop to meet the local situation.

attachment



SPEECH BY RONALD REAGAN, NOV. 20-21, 1975

There's a passage in the Bible that says, "If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

Well, just to make sure no one mistook the sound of the trumpet, I took it to Washington this morning to announce my candidacy for the Presidency.

I chose Washington because it is such an intimate part of our troubles: inflation, recession, unemployment, bureaucracy and centralized power.

There are times in a nation's history when the people become aware that only a new and constructive course can solve the problems besetting them. America is in such a time now.

Ironically, it was in another troubled time more than four decades ago that we set in motion some of the forces which have brought us to this present time of decision.

Back in the Depression years there were those who promised to overcome hard times. Franklin Delano Roosevelt embarked on a course that made bold use of government to ease the pain of those times. Although some of his measures seemed to work, he was soon moved to sound a warning. He said, "...we have built new instruments of public power in the hands of the people's government...but in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy, such power would provide shackles for the liberties of our people."

Unfortunately, that warning went unheeded. Today, there is an economic autocracy, born of government's growing interference in our lives. Yet Washington, for all its power, seems powerless to solve problems any more.

I am running because I have grown increasingly concerned about the course of events in the United States and in the world.

In just a few years, three vital measures of economic decay--inflation, unemployment, and interest rates--have more than doubled, at times reaching 10 percent and even more.

(MORE)



Government at all levels now absorbs more than 44 percent of our personal income. It has become more intrusive, more coercive, more meddlesome and less effective.

Our access to cheap and abundant energy has been interrupted, and our dependence on foreign sources is growing.

A decade ago we had military superiority. Today we are in danger of being surpassed by a nation that has never made any effort to hide its hostility to everything we stand for.

Through detente we have sought peace with our adversaries. We should continue to do so but must make it plain that we expect a stronger indication that they also seek a lasting peace with us.

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

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

If America is to survive and go forward, this must change. It will only change when the American people vote for a leadership that listens to them, relies on them, and seeks to return government to them. We need a government that is confident not of what it can do, but of what the people can do.

For eight years in California, we labored to make government responsive. We worked against high odds- an opposition legislature for most of those years and an obstructive Washington bureaucracy for all of them. We did not always succeed. Nevertheless, we found that fiscal responsibility is possible, that the welfare rolls can come down, that social problems can be met below the Federal level.

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I am convinced that under the layer of self-doubt that seems to have settled like a fog on our country, the true, strong spirit of the American people still glows, ready to be reignited so that we can once again have a sense of mission; a pride in our capacity to perform great deeds.

Washington seems to have lost track of the American Dream. But you and millions more like you across this land have not. You are determined to be free and independent, to solve your own problems and to help your neighbors solve theirs. Over the last ten months, visiting nearly every corner of America and meeting many thousands of people, I have seen this determination in their faces and I have heard it in their voices.

I have become a candidate because I believe strongly in this American spirit to move forward; to try the untried; to dream the new dream--knowing that our energy and our ingenuity can turn them into realities.

In the coming months I will take this message to the American people. I will talk in detail about responsible, responsive government. I will tell the people it is they who should decide how much government they want.

I don't believe for one moment that four more years of business-as-usual in Washington is the answer to our problems, and I don't think the American people believe it either.

I am here to tell you that I shall be running in your primary. Not just running, but putting all my energy into it. I cannot reach the goal alone. I need your help. Together, we can reach it.

We, as a people, aren't happy if we are not moving forward. A nation that is growing and thriving is one which will solve its problems. As we work toward our goal, we must offer progress instead of stagnation; the truth instead of promises; hope and faith instead of defeatism and despair. Then I am sure the people will make those decisions which will restore confidence in our way of life and release that energy that is the American spirit.

PRESS CONFERENCE BY RONALD REAGAN
ANNOUNCEMENT OF CANDIDACY
November 20, 1975

TEXT OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

REAGAN: And now, for whatever questions you may have. Yes?

Q: Governor Reagan, Senator Goldwater said here at the Press Club last week that he didn't think your policies would be much different than those of President Ford. I wonder what specific differences you could cite there with Mr. Ford, and how specifically you could do a better job than the President in translating your philosophies into action?

REAGAN: I have already said, and have pledged to the people in my party and to others, that I am going to abide by the "11th Commandment", which was given birth in California, and which says, "Thou shalt not speak ill of another Republican". I have made no difference of, or list of the differences between us. I'll campaign on what I think should be done, the proposals that I would make, what I believe the philosophy of government should be; I'm sure the President will campaign in the same way, and then it will be up to you, and the American people to draw the distinction where there are differences, and to make their decision.

Q: Governor Reagan, would you accept the \$40 billion deficit for next year, and if not, what programs or what areas would you cut?

REAGAN: I believe that there are areas where the Federal government has been involved where it should properly be returned to local governments and to the states. I think that this could reduce the Federal budget as some of those things are replaced and administered by the State, obviously would have to result in local increases in taxes, but I believe that it would be run more effectively, more economically at the local and State levels, in those particular areas, than the Federal government can do it, and whatever the exact deficit might be or the attempt to change it, I believe that we have no choice. This government must get back as quickly as possible to a balanced budget. We're -- I think the only difference between the national government at the moment and New York City is the national government has a printing press.

(more)



Q: Governor, in light of your statement about fiscal responsibilities, I wonder whether it is true that during your term as Governor, the California State budget went up by a higher percentage than did the Federal government budget during the same time period?

REAGAN: The California budget did increase during the eight years that I was Governor. But I think you have to understand that every State has its own system and its own way of doing things with regard to budgeting. Some states don't show in their budget the same things that others do. Now the truth of the matter is, in California, I've heard this information around, that California's budget increased in spite of all our talk of economy. It did increase, but a great part of California's budget consists of money that must show in the budget as income and outgo, because it is collected by the State. But it is then, this great coercion of the budget, returned directly in subventions, to school districts, to local government. In the case of California, when we began, nine years ago, only half the California budget was in subvention to local government. When we finished, more than two-thirds of the California budget was going back to local government and to the school districts. The actual portion of the budget which runs the State of California, and over which we had administrative control or legislation control, for that matter, that portion of the budget over a period of eight years only increased thirty percent. Inflation alone over that period was 40%, and you add to that the fact that California was one of the fastest-growing states in the Union, and you have the situation that in constant dollars, the actual administration of the State of California was costing less at the end of eight years than it did eight years before.

Q: Governor, what makes you think that you could knock-off an incumbent President?

REAGAN: Makes me think I could "knock-off" an incumbent President? Well, that's going to be something that the voters and our Party will decide after they've heard both of us and we have run our campaign in a gentlemanly manner, and they will make their decision as to who they think should carry the Party standard.

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Q: Governor, supposing you do "knock-off" an incumbent President, supposing you do defeat an incumbent President, isn't the Party going to be so badly divided because of the passions of the supporters on each side, no matter what you say, that it's going to be very difficult for you, or the Republican nominee to win in November?

REAGAN: Well, I think, Lou, that you have to face one thing, that even if the most united Republican Party that we can muster goes forward on the behalf of any candidate, you're talking about 20% of the voters. And there's about 40% of the voters out there of the other Party, many of them disaffected, but the key to the election, and no Party is going to win without that other 40% of the voters that are now disenchanted with both Parties and decline to state. And so I think what has to happen, is the candidate has to offer a program that is going to bring back into the political process, those Americans who are disallusioned and who are not voting. Actually, there's no need for a Party to be divided. Practicing our "11th Commandment" in 1966 in California, we had a Republican Party that for two years had been more divided than any Party has ever been anyplace in this country, and they came together, and the simple idea is that you campaign on what you believe -- all the candidates do -- and I'm not convinced that there will only be two candidates in this race in the Republican Party, and then you all rally behind the choice of the Party, and go forward with that choice.

Q: Governor, you're asking your Party to choose between you and President Ford. Your "11th Commandment" aside, what's wrong with President Ford?

REAGAN: Well you have made the answer to your question impossible by your one line, 'the "11th Commandment" aside.' I will not put aside the "11th Commandment" for anyone.

Q: Governor Reagan, in addition to your California delegation, one of the biggest of the Republican convention will be that from the State of New York. Do you plan to make any determined effort to pick up delegates in New York, particularly considering that's it's the home state of the Vice President, who says he's supporting Mr. Ford?

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REAGAN: Well, I'm sure that I will be represented, and whether I actively campaign or not in all of them, or whether anyone could actively campaign in all of the primaries, I'm sure that I will be represented in all of them, and I'm going to try to take my message as far and wide as I can, and appeal to as many people as possible.

Q: Governor Reagan, the President will soon have on his desk legislation which would, on this energy bill, which would roll back domestic oil prices, and also, common situs picket legislation. Would you sign either of these bills, putting yourself in office a little bit early?

REAGAN: I hope the President will veto both of them. I believe the energy bill goes backwards as to what we should be doing; it not only discourages conservation of scarce energy supplies, it makes it less advantageous for anyone to try and find new energy supplies, it increases our dependency on outside sources, rather than domestic. And the common situs bill, I think is nothing more than the United States Government putting itself in the position of forcing compulsory unionism in an entire industry.

Q: Governor, I hope as a Veteran leader, that you never, that you don't intend to vote against tax and increases for the Veterans of the United States, do you?

REAGAN: Well, you're asking about something that I haven't had an opportunity to look into at all, so I can't answer your question as yet.

Q: Governor Reagan, Sir, how do you think you can capture the 40% of the people that were dissatisfied to vote Party, given the fact that some of them have traditions that are considerably to the left of yours?

REAGAN: Well, some of them may be considerably to the left -- I, as you know, have never really believed in that "left" or "right" distinction. I have to believe that, and from going around the country as much as I have in the last ten months, that the American people are in a time of discontent. They believe that government is too big and too intrusive in their lives. They believe it's too costly, they finally have discovered who is paying for all of the Federal programs, or all of the government programs for that matter, and I think the people are waiting for some of the things and willing to go forward with some of the things that will reduce that power and size of government

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and make it more responsive to them, and if the polls are any indication, the people believe the government should be returned, in a greater extent, to the local level. They have a greater faith in government at the local level than they do at the national level.

Q: Governor, when did you finally decide to run?

REAGAN: Well, to put my finger on the exact moment would be rather difficult, but I can tell you, not very long ago. I haven't been playing any games; it is a decision that, as I've said so many times, to so many of you, not an easy decision to make, not a decision that the average person thinks he would ever be called upon to make. I wanted all the information I could get -- I wanted to be as sure as I possibly could be, and answers to a number of questions, and it has only been extremely recently that, in my own mind, I felt that I was coming to this particular moment.

Q: Governor, do you respond to President Ford's challenge and enter all the primaries?

REAGAN: Well, as I say, I will be represented in all of them. Yes?

Q: Governor, if you can win the New Hampshire primary, will you be satisfied to come close to President Ford?

REAGAN: Whatever primary I enter, and that decision has been made, I will enter and campaign in the New Hampshire primary and in the Florida primary, the first two primaries, and in the New Hampshire primary, I'm just going to do my best to win.

Q: Governor, Senator Percy doesn't seem to have heard about the "11th Commandment". He's put out a press release that says that your nomination would be "foolhardy", and lead to a crushing defeat for the Republicans, just as George McGovern's nomination was disastrous for the Democrats. Do you have -- he also says you're too far out of the centrist mainstream. Do you have a reaction to Senator Percy's remarks?

REAGAN: Well, yes, and, I also have his personal assurance that he too will abide by the "11th Commandment" while he is not in support of my candidacy, he will campaign in the same way.

Q: Does this then, comply with the "11th Commandment"?

REAGAN: Well, I don't know which came first, his pledge to me, or that. Maybe he's reformed. I will say this, however. When he says that I'm not in the centrist position in the Party, I do have a record, for anyone's inspection, of what we did in the State of California, and anyone who could point to that record and

(more)



suggest that there was anything extreme about any of the positions that we took, I'm very proud of the record, and will hold it up for inspection for anyone that wants to see, and I think it will indicate that it is pretty much in the mainstream of the thinking of the people of this country, because it was approved heartily by a State in which Republicans are outnumbered three-two by Democrats.

Q: Governor Reagan, what are you going to do for Women?

REAGAN: Well, I'm going to continue to support Nancy to the best of my ability -- I believe I think I understand the point of your question. You know Will Rogers once said, and I have to do this, I have to quote him, Will Rogers once said that women were going to try to become more and more equal to men until pretty soon, they weren't going to know any more than the men do. And, I believe that if there are any injustices, if there are still any inequities with regard to difference in treatment of men and women, they should be corrected by statute. I think that they have a place in government, I think they can make a great contribution to government.

Q: Governor Reagan, your opening remarks in regard to reduction in Federal spending in every area except military. Yesterday, the Senate passed a military spending bill of \$90 billion. How much is enough in your view -- are you calling for a massive increase to achieve what you call the military superiority over the Soviets?

REAGAN: Well, I think when you get to the defense budget, you have something different than you have with most other areas of government. It isn't a case of what you decide to spend in military. That is based on what you have to spend -- what is necessary if you are to remain equal in power to any potential enemies in the world. An so, military spending is virtually forced on you as a necessity. Now, this does not mean that we should not continue to look at the military budget, not from the standpoint of whether we need or do not need the weapons, but mainly from the standpoint of are we running it efficiently, and getting the best buys for our dollars. And I think any administration should continue to do that. But the military budget as I say, is forced upon us. It is not something in which you can just decide whether you want to spend it or not.

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Q: Mr. Reagan, \$150 billion, \$200 billion, what do you want to spend?

REAGAN: I didn't say what I wanted to spend. There you have me in a position in which the answer is very difficult. Because I think only when you are in that position of command, do you have access to all the information that is necessary for making that decision, and obviously, I'm not in that position, and do not have that information at this moment.

Q: Governor, how do you stand on gun control?

REAGAN: On gun control, I am against the kind of gun control that is being proposed so much in Congress, that would make it difficult for the legitimate citizen to own a gun and that which I feel would do nothing whatsoever to take the gun away from the criminal. I think that we embarked on a program in California that is the proper kind of gun control. It has nothing to do with taking the weapons away from legitimate citizens. What we did do, is pass a law for one thing that any criminal convicted of committing a crime, who had a gun in his possession carried with him at the time of the crime, whether he used it or not, add five to fifteen years to the sentence. We now have a law also in California, that says that no judge can take a criminal convicted of a crime and turn him out on probation if he carried a gun in connection with the crime, he must go to prison -- he must serve a mandatory prison sentence. I think these are the kind of gun controls that we need. It is naive and foolish to believe that there is anything you could do in the nature of gun control that would prevent the criminal from having a weapon. He would simply disarm the citizenry.

Q: Governor Reagan, if the choice were yours to make, whom would you name to replace Justice Douglas on the Supreme Court, and also would you tell us what kind of a judicial philosophy you might have in naming Justices to the Supreme Court? Do you share former President Nixon's view that so-called "strict constructionists" should be named to the court?

REAGAN: I don't have any name in mind, at the moment, because it's not my decision to make, with regard to the appointment that is now open in the Supreme Court. I do believe that yes, you should have someone who is a constitutionalist, whose philosophy and belief is to interpret the Constitution, and not to legislate. I think there has been too much legislation by the courts, not only there, but in other areas of the country and in other levels

(more)



of the court, but I would look for the best person I could find with understanding of the Constitution, and as I say, who would interpret that Constitution.

Q: Governor, what is your stand on the Equal Rights Amendment?

REAGAN: On the Equal Rights Amendment. I should have quit with the first answer over there. I originally started out, it sounded like a very simple thing, and why not? I have to say that as we progressed, and as I found myself with a position where I had to know more about it than that, like many others, 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. I believe the answer is by statute, that the Constitutional amendment, once in the Constitution, can be by strict interpretation, used to deny women many of the advantages they now have. I would prefer to resolve things by statute.

Q: What advantages?

REAGAN: Well, I think you open up the question then of special provisions in say factory work, industrial work, for employees that take cognizance of the fact that there are physical differences between men and women; I think you open up the whole role of individuals in time of emergency being able to challenge their own call to duty on the basis that now it was their Constitutional rights that were being denied because others were not being called, and I don't care how some women may feel about it, but I would hate to see a nation that's going to rely on women in the combat forces.

Q: Governor Reagan, do you see in the anti-bus movement a special constituency for yourself?

REAGAN: See in what?

Q: Anti-bus -- school busing of children, forced school busing of children, a special constituency for yourself?

REAGAN: No, but I have to say this, that I think forced busing has failed signally in its purpose; it has added to the bitterness that it was supposed to cure, and has solved none of the problems of prejudice or bigotry, and when you find that evidently Coretta King and I are on the same side, that she too is opposed to busing, I think we find that it must be pretty widespread among the people -- their objection to it. I think

(more)



the greatest definition that I've heard of the evil of forced busing was made by the very highly respected Superintendent of Education of the State of California, Wilson Riles, who himself is black, and Wilson Riles said that he considered it insulting and demeaning, and I do also, to tell a Negro child that the only way he can learn something is if you put him in school between two white kids.

Q: Governor, if the President next week should decide to support a policy of some aid to New York City, of any kind, would that become an issue between you and him and the campaign?

REAGAN: This would depend on what kind of program we're talking about. I don't think anyone wants to see the people, the hard-working, tax-paying people of New York, who have been victimized by their own political leaders, back over the years, in a way that lead to this situation, to see them penalized. But any situation for help to New York must be predicated on a reorganization that stops the process that has lead to this situation. We see in New York a very simple situation, that for many years back, politicians wanting to never say no, but always say yes to everyone, have been increasing spending in New York City almost twice as much as the increase in their revenues each year. They have been creating independent authorities with bonding power, in which they did not have to ask the consent of the voters, but then the bonding power was distorted and abused in that bonds sold to create one-time capital improvements, the borrowed money was used instead on top of the tax revenue to pay for ongoing government expenses. And so we find that New York City today, in providing the basic services, has a per capita cost of \$1446, all the other major cities in the United States of a million population or over average less than half of that -- \$670. That has to be corrected as a premise for any program for helping the New York citizens.

Q: If you should bomb-out in the early primaries, contrary to your plans, would you withdraw?

REAGAN: If I should "bomb-out" in the early primaries, that's a hypothetical question, and it's a hypothesis that very frankly I ruled out in my own mind before I ever stood up here, and I don't bother to think about that.

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Q: If we can go back to the New York City question -- what specific plan do you advocate concerning the New York City fiscal problem, at what point would you recommend federal assistance, and in what form?

REAGAN: Well, I can't answer that again, because I have to say that this is a little bit like the defense question, that until you have access to all of the information, which I don't have, I don't think that you can come up with a specific plan. All I can give you is the generalization, that you do not want to see distress imposed upon the hard-working people of New York City who are not to blame for this, but you do want to see that before anything else is done, that New York City has adopted a plan that they will not find themselves down the road doing the same thing over again.

Q: Mindful of the generalization again, what you're saying is that if New York City did meet these requirements, move toward a balanced budget, whatever the requirements are, that federal dollars moving into help New York City would then be alright? As far as you know?

REAGAN: It may not necessarily be Federal dollars. As I understand it, there's consideration of nothing but assurance and a backing by the Federal government of loans that might be made whatever the solution is, but I would want to look at that very carefully, and I don't have one in mind myself right now.

Q: Governor, you said that this issue was difficult and compared it to the defense budget. But certainly nothing about New York City's finances is very, has a classification stamp on it. You're running for President, this is a large national issue, why don't you have the specifics and the details at your command?

REAGAN: Well, because, I don't think that when you are not a candidate and you're as busy as I have been going around the country, you have an opportunity to get as deeply into every single subject that might confront you in the days ahead as you'd like. And I don't have that answer.

Q: Governor, on the same point, do you intend to go through the whole primary campaign taking the position that you cannot make recommendations on the defense budget because you don't have access to information?

REAGAN: Well, now wait a minute. When you specify defense, let me say I will have positions, of course, and will be speaking in detail on those in the months ahead. I must say, however, in that particular area, one always has to face the fact that there are facts not known to you and which cannot be known to you because

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of classification, and this is always, must be kept in mind as a reservation about any opinion that you might render. No, I will be taking positions. First of all, as I've said before, I'll take one flat position -- I don't believe that the United States can afford to be second to anyone in the world militarily. There is no such thing as second -- if you're second, you're last.

Q: Governor, you say "second, you're last" -- would this also apply to you if you took the Vice Presidential slot?

REAGAN: I have given no consideration to that -- I'm not interested in that.

Q: Governor, will you support whoever the Party's nominee is, and if your candidacy is as healthy as you say, would it also be healthy if some other people would enter the primaries against President Ford?

REAGAN: Well, as I said, I would not be surprised if others did, now that someone has broken the ice. This is a part of the "11th Commandment", that you submit yourself to your Party's voters and then you'll abide by their decision and rally behind the winner.

Q: Governor, what is your reaction to the recent disclosures that the FBI (tape ran out) ...

REAGAN: ... is news, the paper in the news this morning, and I've had no opportunity to read the paper as yet, all I saw was the headline, and haven't had a paper in my hand to find out what those revelations or what that story is.

Q: Now you have said that there will probably be other Presidential candidates...

REAGAN: No

Q: ...besides Nelson Rockefeller, who do you think it will be?

REAGAN: Well now, I didn't say besides him, and I didn't say probably. I said that possibly, and I would not be surprised if there were others. I don't know that there are going to be others, I don't know whether it's going to be probable, and I'm going to make no speculation as to who they might be.

Q: Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

REAGAN: Gentlemen, the time is up.

####

Citizens for Reagan For President

Sen. Paul Laxalt
Chairman

John P. Sears
Exec. Vice Ch.

George Cook

H. R. Gross

Louie B. Nunn

Mrs. Stanhope C. Ring

Henry Buchanan
Treasurer

CONTACT: LYN NOFZIGER
202-223-8560

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE UNTIL
9:30 a.m., Nov. 20, 1975

STATEMENT BY THE HON. RONALD REAGAN
NOVEMBER 20, 1975

Thank you for coming.

I have called this press conference to announce that I am a candidate for the Presidency and to ask for the support of all Americans who share my belief that our nation needs to embark on a new, constructive course.

I believe my candidacy will be healthy for the nation and my party.

I am running because I have grown increasingly concerned about the course of events in the United States and in the world.

In just a few years, three vital measures of economic decay--inflation, unemployment, and interest rates--have more than doubled, at times reaching 10 percent and even more.

Government at all levels now absorbs more than 44 percent of our personal income. It has become more intrusive, more coercive, more meddlesome and less effective.

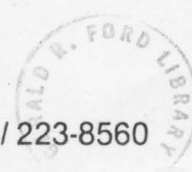
Our access to cheap and abundant energy has been interrupted, and our dependence on foreign sources is growing.

A decade ago we had military superiority. Today we are in danger of being surpassed by a nation that has never made any effort to hide its hostility to everything we stand for.

Through detente we have sought peace with our adversaries. We should continue to do so but must make it plain that we expect a stronger indication that they also seek a lasting peace with us.

(MORE)

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

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

If America is to survive and go forward, this must change. It will only change when the American people vote for a leadership that listens to them, relies on them and seeks to return government to them. We need a government that is confident not of what it can do, but of what the people can do.

For eight years in California, we labored to make government responsive. We worked against high odds--an opposition legislature for most of those years and an obstructive Washington bureaucracy for all of them. We did not always succeed. Nevertheless, we found that fiscal responsibility is possible, that the welfare rolls can come down, that social problems can be met below the Federal level.

In the coming months I will take this message to the American people. I will talk in detail about responsible, responsive government. I will tell the people it is they who should decide how much government they want.

I don't believe for one moment that four more years of business-as-usual in Washington is the answer to our problems, and I don't think the American people believe it either.

We, as a people, aren't happy if we are not moving forward. A nation that is growing and thriving is one which will solve its problems. We must offer progress instead of stagnation; the truth instead of promises; hope and faith instead of defeatism and despair. Then, I am sure, the people will make those decisions which will restore confidence in our way of life and release that energy that is the American spirit.

THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE'S REACTION TO R. REAGAN ANNOUNCEMENT ✓

November 20, 1975

Despite how well Ronald Reagan does or does not do in the early primaries, the simple political fact is that he cannot defeat any candidate the Democrats put up. Reagan's constituency is much too narrow, even within the Republican Party.

Now that he has finally ended his indecision and declared his candidacy, it does nothing to change our plans to run an aggressive, grassroots campaign for President Ford.

Although former Governor Reagan's announcement was not unexpected, it is disappointing to many Republicans. While not unmindful of his ability, he does not have the critical national and international experience that President Ford has gained through 25 years of public service, first in the House of Representatives, then as Vice-President and as President.

We have an incumbent president who is doing an effective job in dealing with the tough problems confronting our nation. I am confident that Republicans throughout the entire nation recognize this fact and overwhelmingly support the President.

The President Ford Committee is a broad-based group working for President Ford's nomination. We want a united party going into the General Election. Any motion against unity is counter-productive and damaging to our prospects next November.



✓
November 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BO CALLAWAY

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT

SUBJECT:

Reagan Newspaper Editorials

I have completed a brief analysis of Ronald Reagan's weekly newspaper column and find that throughout his editorials, he has addressed a variety of subjects involving questions of policy, types of programs currently in action, direction of government in the future, etc. Only in several of these editorials has Reagan actually discussed or directed his criticism directly at the President. In general, his commentary has referred to the government or to the United States, as a nation.

On the domestic issues, Reagan's criticism of the President has focused primarily on economic matters. His most direct challenge has been to the President's budgetary program. It is Reagan's contention that it is poor economic policy to grant a rebate or a tax cut to taxpayers, while at the same time refusing to insist on cuts in existing and proposed Federal budgets. The President's recent \$28 billion tax cut coupled with a \$28 billion cut in Federal spending would seem to address this criticism very effectively.

In a second domestic area, Reagan has criticized the President for his failure to veto the pay increase that Congress voted for itself, and for senior governmental officials. He went on to add that as a result, the President "blew" a golden opportunity to both strengthen his position with the Congress, and to show his concern for the economic plight of many Americans.

In the area of foreign affairs, Reagan's strongest direct criticism of the President involved the latter's failure to meet with Soviet author Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Reagan cited Ford's fear of endangering detente as his motive for snubbing the Soviet author. Reagan further suggested that Solzhenitsyn's concerns should have been addressed directly to the President, and in turn, the President should have listened carefully to the expatriot's expression of viewpoints.

Reagan indirectly criticized the President by finding fault with Secretary Kissinger's handling of the Turkish and Panamanian problems. Initially, Reagan attacked Congress for their embargo of



arms to Turkey. However, he felt that this was their way of punishing both the President and Kissinger for their support of detente on the one hand, and the Solzhenitsyn imbroglio on the other. With regard to Panama, the former California Governor totally disagrees with Kissinger's plan of negotiation concerning the gradual turning over of control of the Canal to Panama. Reagan firmly believes that acquiescence to the dictatorship in Panama would lead to a total takeover of the Canal, which in turn would have a disastrous effect on our economy, and would also have ramifications on national security.

I currently have on file each of Reagan's editorials (except one) for the period of January 24 through November 17. The missing October 3 column should be obtained within the next two weeks. With his official announcement yesterday, these articles have terminated. These items may be very helpful in keeping Reagan "honest" once he is drawn out into the open after the first of the new year.

cc: Stu Spencer
Peter Kaye

bcc: Bob Marik ✓



November 25, 1975

Our Opinion

Nazhuan Telegraph

Mr. Reagan's Record

Ronald Reagan, or so the ultra-conservative legend runs, brought the yeasty state of California to the brink of perfection during his two terms as governor.

Since his tenure as governor constitutes his first and only governmental service and experience, Mr. Reagan and his flacks make much of it; too much, in fact.

When he announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination last week, Mr. Reagan performed the obligatory "mess in Washington" routine and promised to clean it up tidily, using the techniques he employed as governor of California to "manage government more efficiently."

"We found that fiscal responsibility is possible, that the welfare rolls can come down, that social problems can be met below the federal level."

So much for the rhetoric.

Now for the record:

While Ronald Reagan was governor of California the state budget soared from \$4.6 billion to \$10.2

billion — a more than 100 per cent increase.

While Ronald Reagan was governor of California the state sales tax was increased from 4 per cent to 6 per cent, the corporate income tax was increased from 5.5 per cent to 9 per cent, and the top personal income tax was increased from 7 per cent to 11 per cent.

While Ronald Reagan was governor of California the number of state employees increased by 5.7 per cent.

This is the man who promises to cut armies of employees off the federal payroll, who promises to balance the budget, who promises to begin paying off the national debt and who, to top his program of conservative delights, promises to cut taxes to boot.

Some people may be charmed by Ronald Reagan's pitch; some people may even be persuaded, but the difference between promises and performance, between the Reagan rhetoric and the Reagan record is a difference that should be made plain to the voters of New Hampshire and the rest of the nation.



December 9, 1975

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Ronald Reagan's '\$90-Billion Scheme'

Although Ronald Reagan should be starting his challenge for the Republican presidential nomination unencumbered by the thorny issues plaguing President Ford, he needlessly carries one heavy burden that has become the secret worry of his political managers.

That burden is his proposal for turning back to the states federal programs spending some \$90 billion annually. Conceived last summer to pump life into what seemed Reagan's hopeless prospects, it now threatens to be an albatross around his neck. Mr. Ford's political operatives hope and some Reagan insiders fear it will do to Reagan what the \$1,000-for-everybody scheme did to Sen. George McGovern in 1972.

Having ignored the plan for three months, national political reporters are now fully aroused and will press Reagan to defend and explain it when he begins full-scale campaigning in January. Some Reagan advisers feel he should cut his losses and abandon the scheme now, but the consensus within the campaign is that the humiliating cost would be too high. Instead, maximum efforts are scheduled this month to polish Reagan's defense of the plan and, if possible, refine the program to make it more plausible.

This poses an early test for Reagan in coping with a difficult problem. But to some disappointed conservatives, the existence of the needless burden means candidate and campaign have already failed in leadership and organization.

The \$90 billion scheme, however, must be viewed in the climate of last summer, when Mr. Ford appeared unbeatable and Reagan seemed to be playing Hamlet. Managers of Reagan's unannounced campaign sought not only an exciting idea to energize conservatives but a new standard stump speech for Reagan, who seemed no less tired than everybody else of the script he had used all year.

The result: A program to return social welfare programs to state and local governments, embodying Reagan's philosophy but devised by his bright young idea man, Jeff Bell. It was unveiled as a speech to the Chicago Executives Club Sept. 26, written by journalist M. Stanton Evans, chairman of the American Conservative Union, with contributions from John McClaughry of Lyndonville, Vt., a nationally known Republican operative.

So many Reagan insiders today disclaim advance knowledge of the speech that one aide suspects "infectious amnesia." In fact, Bell cleared the speech with all political advisers. Nobody dissented. Far from dissenting, Ronald Reagan was enthusiastic. To prevent internal bickering today over responsibility, campaign manager John Sears has laid down this line: "We were all involved."

The Sept. 26 speech was ignored generally and hailed on the right. By late October, Reagan had mastered the speech

and was enchanting conservative audiences. Nobody in his campaign considered it a problem.

But outsiders did. Dr. Martin Anderson of Stanford University's Hoover Institute, preparing to join Reagan fulltime in January, found the program so vague that it contained the seeds of serious political trouble.

Neither Reagan nor the program's drafters had answered these questions: How could so radical a change ever get through Congress? Would the transfer be sudden or gradual? Would poorer states get equalization money from Washington? How would federal tax relief be coordinated?

Such questions were not sharply presented to Reagan during his first two days as an announced candidate, Nov. 20 and 21. But when he appeared on ABC's "Issues and Answers" Nov. 30, two network correspondents interviewing him were ready. Reagan was not. He seemed surprised, vague and unable to discuss the program with authority.

When ABC's Bob Clark asked whether Reagan's program might force the key primary state of New Hampshire to newly enact a sales or income tax to assume federal programs, Reagan replied lamely: "But isn't this a proper decision for the people of the state to make?" Astonishingly, he said nothing about reduced federal taxes more than compensating for higher state taxes.

Such lack of preparation provided the first scent of Reagan's blood for the Washington press corps. When Democratic Presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter breakfasted with political correspondents Dec. 2, he answered a question about Reagan's program with one word: "ridiculous." The danger for Reagan is that Carter's answer will become the public perception and, like McGovern's \$1,000-for-everybody fiasco, the program will be seen as an outlandish blunder reflecting on the candidate's good judgment.

Dr. Anderson has been assigned to revise the program, emphasizing perhaps that programs transferred from the federal government would be phased over years. Other Reagan aides talk about underlining tax relief aspects by writing in federal tax credits for citizens of states assuming federal programs. When Reagan and his high command meet in California the week of December 15, what to say about the program will be high on the agenda.

The need for this makes clear that the Reagan campaign embraced, needlessly in hindsight, a proposal bearing high political risks. Even if the risks are ultimately avoided, Reagan must begin his campaign partly on the defensive—losing the non-incumbent's greatest advantage.

Field Enterprises



STATEMENT DECEMBER 11, 1975

The poll obviously reflects the publicity which Ronald Reagan received from his announced candidacy.

As soon as voters find out the record behind his rhetoric and are able to compare it with the President's solid accomplishments in office, the results will be much different.

We are confident this will happen before the first primary election -- February 24 in New Hampshire.



December 12, 1975

Reagan Surges In Poll

Tops President By 8 Points In GOP Survey

By David S. Broder

Washington Post Staff Writer

Challenger Ronald Reagan has surged ahead of President Ford as the choice of Republican voters and independents for the Republican presidential nomination, the Gallup Poll reported yesterday.

The survey—showing that the former California governor has moved from 23 percentage points behind Mr. Ford in mid-October to an 8-point lead among Republicans in late November—was greeted with shock and some skepticism by Republican leaders.

No incumbent President has trailed a challenger or potential challenger in his own party in a Gallup Poll since September, 1967, when Robert F. Kennedy took a brief 2-point lead over Lyndon B. Johnson.

The survey, taken Nov. 21-24, after Mr. Ford's Cabinet shakeup and Reagan's formal declaration of candidacy, asked voters to indicate their first choice among 10 possible Republican contenders for President.

The standings of Mr. Ford and Reagan in the latest survey and in the previous mid-October poll:

Republicans		
	Nov	Oct
Reagan	40	25
Ford	32	48
Independents		
Reagan	27	20
Ford	25	26

The runners-up, in both categories, were Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.), Vice President Rockefeller and Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.).

The survey was answered by 352 Republicans and 497 independents, and the statistical margin of error was 6 per cent, according to George Gallup Jr.

That means the true percentage for each candidate is 95 per cent certain to be not more than 6 points higher or lower than the figures given in the preceding table.

Gallup said the shift in standings of the rival Republicans was the most dramatic change reflected in his poll since Rockefeller's remarriage in 1963 sent him spinning below Goldwater in their race for the 1964 nomination. Another comparable, but temporary, drop came after the 1969 Chapquiddick incident involving Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

Neither Gallup nor any other pollster contacted by The Washington Post could venture a guess as to what "cataclysmic" event would account for the sudden drop in Mr. Ford's support or the surge in Reagan strength.

The major events between the two polls were Mr. Ford's Cabinet shakeup, including the firing of Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, and Reagan's announcement. There was major television, newspaper and magazine publicity for Reagan during the five days the interviews were being conducted.

Even with those factors, Gallup called the change "extraordinary," and private pollsters agreed. It was reliably reported that private polls taken for both the Ford and Reagan campaigns have shown the Republican race growing much tighter. One man involved in such polling said the Gallup results "are not inconsistent" with the trends in recent weeks in polls in several of the states with early primaries.

Others—including close political advisers of the President—said they were more surprised by the dimensions of the shift than by its direction. "I would have said it's about 50-50 now," said one such adviser.

The immediate concern in the Ford camp was to reduce the psychological damage of the poll's disclosure.

William I. Greener, deputy White House press secretary, after talking with the President, said that "In any campaign, there are ups and downs in the polls . . . As the President has said many times, he will continue to deal with the nation's problems, and, by doing his job, he will win both the nomination and the election."

Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, the Ford campaign manager, said, "The poll obviously reflects the publicity which Ronald Reagan received from his announced candidacy. As

soon as voters find out the record behind the rhetoric, and are able to compare it with the President's solid accomplishments in office, the results will be much different."

Privately, many of Mr. Ford's supporters conceded, as former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird said, that the poll "certainly is not helpful." Plans were reportedly being discussed to launch a strenuous counter-attack on Reagan's record in California when the former governor begins active campaigning in the primaries in January.

At the Reagan headquarters, however, the poll news was taken as confirmation that the challenger's campaign is well ahead of schedule.

John P. Sears, the campaign manager, said the Gallup figures showed "the weakness of support for an unelected President and the very strong attractiveness" of Reagan to party regulars.

"When it begins to look like Ford isn't up to the challenge and that Reagan can win," Sears said, "a lot of snowballing can take place."

But he added that "Reagan still has the responsibility of showing he has the capacity to win the election and to run the government."



Reagan 'Clean Sweep' Predicted

TALLAHASSEE (AP) — With Republicans adopting winner-take-all delegate selection rules, Ronald Reagan will score a "clean sweep" victory over President Ford in the Florida primary, Reagan's state campaign chief predicted Monday.

"The way it looks to us right now we'll pick up all the marbles, because we feel we're winning in every congressional district," said L. E. "Tommy" Thomas, Reagan's Florida campaign manager and former state Republican chairman.

BUT OSCAR Juarez, Ford's Florida campaign manager, said he was confident that the President was ahead and would reap most of the state's delegates in a winner-take-all primary.

"We feel that the President is going to win and win it big," he said.

The state Republican Executive Board adopted winner-take-all

delegate selection rules Nov. 22, rejecting proportional representation according to each candidate's share of the vote.

UNDER THE winner-take-all system, the front-running candidate wins all of the delegates allotted statewide and to a particular congressional district.

There will be 66 Florida delegates to the 1976 Republican National Convention: 16 to the statewide winner, 45 in blocs of

three to the leader in each of the 15 congressional districts and five more split according to the congressional district votes.

"We say we can get 66," Thomas said.

REAGAN supporters pushed for a winner-take-all rule, contending it would boost his chances to beat Ford in the March 9, 1976 presidential primary.

Juarez said at that time he had no preference.

The Harris Survey

For Release December 4, 1975

AMERICANS WILLING TO CHANGE LIFESTYLE

By Louis Harris

If faced with a choice between a more modest lifestyle--buying fewer products, not raising their standard of living, working fewer hours, receiving lower pay--and the prospect of continued inflation, shortages and repeated recessions, a 77-8 percent majority of the American people would opt for a very different style of life in this country.

A majority offers the following main reasons for this choice: "It is better to change the way we live than to risk economic trouble," "such a change is the only way to cut down inflationary pressures," "we don't need all we now buy to still live well" and "we're too materialistic, spoiled and waste too much." Under the pressure of the energy crunch and inflation, there are real signs that the era of unlimited material acquisition in America may well be coming to an end.

A substantial, 61-23 percent majority thinks it is "morally wrong" for the people of the United States who comprise 6 percent of the world's population, to consume an estimated 40 percent of the world's output of energy and raw materials. Plus, the public reports that it is ready to undertake a number of drastic cutbacks in consumption to correct what 68 percent feel are "wasteful" buying habits.

To reduce grain and meat consumption, a 91-7 percent majority is willing to "have one meatless day a week," an identical 91-7 percent would agree to "eat more vegetables and less meat for protein" and a 78-15 percent majority would agree to "stop feeding all-beef products to pet animals."

--A 90-7 percent majority would be willing to "do away with changing clothing fashions every year," and a 73-22 percent majority would agree to "wear old clothes, even if they shine, until they wear out."

--In housing, people appear to be ready for quite radical changes: By 73-19 percent, a majority would favor "prohibiting the building of large houses with extra rooms that are seldom used"; a 66-27 percent majority would support "doing away with second houses where people go weekends and vacations"; a significant 57-34 percent majority would like to see it "made much cheaper to live in multiple-unit apartments than in single houses"; an 86-8 percent majority would support "giving home owners tax cuts for better insulating their homes."

It is apparent that much of the country is prepared to abandon some of the thrust for luxury housing and to settle for multiple-unit dwellings in the future.

--The paper and packaging area is also one that the public views as being filled with waste. By 92-5 percent a nearly unanimous public reports it would be willing to "reduce the amount of paper towels, bags, tissues, napkins, cups and other disposables to save energy and to cut pollution." A 90-7 percent majority would support "cutting down sharply on the plastic bags and packaging that most products are sold in," and an 83-9 percent majority would opt for "using wood and natural fibers for packaging products."

--In the automotive area, a 92-5 percent majority would be willing to "eliminate annual model changes in automobiles," and a 79-13 percent majority would agree to "drive cars to 100,000 miles before junking them."

--Significantly, by 82-11 percent, the American people would back steps to "sharply reduce the amount of advertising urging people to buy more products." If taken literally, of course, such a development could seriously affect the vast marketing and merchandising structure that has grown up in this country and in the modern world. This public attitude could have a major impact on commercial radio and television as well as newspapers and magazines.

To see just how serious these anti-materialistic feelings of the American people are, the Harris Survey posed two likely consequences of cutbacks in consumption of physical goods--shorter hours and a shorter work week on the one hand, and less pay on the other:

--When faced with the argument that "if people buy less, then less will be produced, and that could mean fewer jobs," a decisive 68-21 percent majority said they would be willing to work shorter hours to share the work that would remain.

--But by 48-40 percent, a narrow plurality balks at the notion of taking a cut in pay for their shorter work week. Among union members, a cut in pay for less work meets with a closer 48-43 percent rejection.

--And when the alternatives are posed as "a very different style of life in America--buying fewer products, not expanding our standard of living, not working as long hours or weeks and having less income" or "higher inflation, more shortages and more recessions," by 77-8 percent, the American people opt for a change in lifestyle.

If only half of the changes that people seem to favor in this latest Harris Survey became reality in the next five years, lifestyles in America will have undergone a radical alteration. Probably the major change would be a burgeoning of service industries that are essentially dependent on people rather than on raw material power. What we must ask is whether those leaders running the many institutions in this country have begun to anticipate the impact of such change.

-OVER-



TABLES

The Harris Survey recently asked a cross section of 1,497 adults nationwide:
 "One answer to the problem of high U.S. consumption suggested by some people is that as a nation we cut back on some of the things we buy. Let me ask you how much you and your family would be personally willing to cut back on some of the things you now buy and do in order to reduce the proportion of the world's energy and raw materials we consume. Would you be willing to cut down a lot, only somewhat or hardly at all?"

WILLINGNESS TO CUT BACK ON PURCHASES FOR OWN FAMILY

	Willing to Cut Back			
	A Lot	Only Somewhat	Hardly at All	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%
Nationwide	31	54	11	4
By Sex				
Men	27	58	12	3
Women	34	51	10	5
By Occupation				
Professional	38	51	8	3
Executive	28	61	9	2
Skilled labor	30	53	13	4
White collar	30	57	11	2

Then, the Harris Survey asked about specific cutbacks in consumption: "Now let me ask you about certain specific areas which have been suggested for people to cut down on the amounts they consume. Would you personally be willing or not to (READ LIST)?"

SPECIFIC CUTBACKS IN CONSUMER PURCHASES OF PRODUCTS

	Willing	Not Willing	Not Sure
	%	%	%
Have one meatless day a week.	91	7	2
Eat more vegetables and less meat for protein.	91	7	2
Stop feeding all-beef products to pet animals.	78	15	7
Do away with changing clothing fashions every year.	90	7	3
Wear old clothes, even if they shine, until they wear out.	73	22	5
Prohibit the building of large houses with extra rooms that are seldom used.	73	19	8
Do away with "second homes" where people go on weekends and vacations.	66	27	7
Give homeowners tax cuts for better insulating their homes.	86	8	6
Make it much cheaper to live in multiple-unit apartments than in single homes.	57	34	9
Reduce the amount of paper towels, bags, tissues, napkins, cups and other disposables to save energy and curb pollution.	92	5	3
Cut down sharply on the plastic bags and packaging that most products are sold in.	90	7	3
Use wood and natural fibers for packaging products.	83	9	8
Eliminate annual model changes in automobiles.	92	5	3
Drive cars to 100,000 miles before junking them.	79	13	8

One consequence of lowered consumption could be fewer jobs, requiring work sharing, so the cross section was asked: "Now it will be argued that if people buy less, then less will be produced and that will mean fewer jobs. One answer suggested to this problem is to have people work fewer hours a day and a shorter work week. Would you (or head of household) be willing or not to work shorter hours and a shorter work week?"

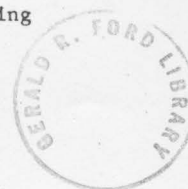
However, when it comes to receiving less pay, a 48-40 percent plurality balked. The Harris Survey also asked: "Suppose shorter hours and a shorter work week meant less pay. Would you (or head of household) then be willing to work shorter hours and shorter weeks or not?"

WILLINGNESS TO WORK SHORTER WORK WEEK

	Total Public
	%
Willing	68
Not willing	21
Not Sure	11

WILLINGNESS TO WORK SHORTER WORK WEEK IF RECEIVE LESS PAY

	Total Public	Union
	%	%
Willing	40	43
Not willing	48	48
Not Sure	12	9



TABLES (cont'd)

Finally, the Harris Survey asked the cross section:

"Of course, what we have asked you about here would mean a very different style of life in America. It would mean buying fewer products, not expanding our standard of living, not working as long hours or weeks and having less income. But the alternative might mean higher inflation, more shortages and more recessions. If you had to choose between those two--a change in lifestyle or the risk of more inflation and more recessions--which would you choose?"

CHANGE IN LIFE STYLE VS. MORE INFLATION AND MORE RECESSIONS

	<u>Total Public</u>
	<u>%</u>
Change in Lifestyle	77
Risk of more inflation and recessions	8
Not Sure	15

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December 22, 1975

TO: BOB MARIK

FROM: FRED SLIGHT

F.Y.I.



THE WASHINGTON POST

December 19, 1975

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Reagan Hires Former Nixon 'Spy'

**By Jack Anderson
and Les Whitten**

Ronald Reagan has signed on a key member of a Nixon campaign "spy" team, Kenneth Rietz, and assigned him a major role in his campaign.

During the 1972 campaign, Rietz ran a junior Watergate operation. He formed a network of young spies and dirty tricksters who came to be called the "Kiddie Corps."

One of his undercover operatives, a George Washington University student, was paid \$150 a week to infiltrate a peace vigil at the White House and set up the demonstrators for arrest on drug charges.

Rietz also directed the colorful John (Fat Jack) Buckley, who planted a spy in the headquarters of Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine). For \$1,000 a month, the spy slipped folders full of intra-office memos to Buckley, who photographed them and delivered the film strips to Rietz.

Like a couple of characters in a spy thriller, Rietz and Fat Jack would meet on street corners near the White House to transfer the clandestine negatives. This was how President Nixon kept tabs on the man who was then considered the most likely Democratic rival.

Nixon's righthand man, H.R. Haldeman, was so pleased with the results that he began grooming Rietz to be the next Republican national chairman. Rietz actually was preparing to take charge of the 1974 Republican congressional cam-

paign when his spy activities hit the headlines. He resigned under fire.

Now Reagan has brought him back into politics. At age 34, Rietz is a shrewd political operator, who handles special events for the Reagan campaign and is also Reagan's chief organizer in California. In fact, Rietz' home is the temporary Reagan headquarters in the state.

Footnote: Reagan's press adviser, the able, affable Lyn Nofziger, also has a slight Watergate-type aroma. In 1972, he slipped \$10,000 of Nixon's ill-gotten campaign cash to a political promoter who used the money to hire members of the American Nazi Party to woo George Wallace supporters into the Nixon camp.



✓
December 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BO CALLAWAY

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT *FSL*

SUBJECT:

Reagan's Proposed \$90 Billion
Plan

For your information, I attach an outline listing of the specific programs and general areas affected by Reagan's proposed reduction in the Federal budget for FY '76.

The categories are Reagan's own as are the dollar amounts "saved" which are indicated in parentheses. The programs themselves are taken largely from the Stout, Ottenad, and Buchanan articles and encompass both "Plan I" and the revised "Plan II". Noone outside the Reagan campaign, except selected members of the media, apparently have seen either of these proposals.

I am now seeking to identify Federal outlays to New Hampshire and Florida for these categories, however the complexity of this task combined with the very short time frame in which we have to operate is not very encouraging for obtaining specific dollar amounts.

Attachment

cc: Stu Spencer
Bob Marik ✓
Peter Kaye

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS & GENERAL AREAS
AFFECTED BY PROPOSED REDUCTIONS & TRANSFERS

I. Education, Manpower & Social Services (\$13.7 billion)

- Elementary education
- Secondary education
- Vocational education
- Head Start program
- Full range of "social services" (including total elimination of some special rehabilitation efforts for the severely retarded and those with cerebral palsy)
- Federal-State Employment Service (totally eliminated, including \$50 million in special funds to help veterans find jobs)
- Meals for elderly (some 200,000 persons receive one/day)

II. Community & Regional Development (\$5.5 billion)

- Community Action Agencies
- VISTA
- Legal services
- Economic Development Administration
- Community Services Administration
- Regional Action Planning Commission

III. Commerce & Transportation (\$10 billion)

- Mass transit
- Postal Service subsidies
- Airlines, ship operators and builders, & airport subsidies
- Non-interstate highway construction
- Army Corps of Engineers (suspend most domestic projects of Corps)
- Bureau of Reclamation
- Soil Conservation Service

IV. Income Security (\$22 billion)

- Food Stamps program
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children program
- School lunch program
- Certain housing assistance for the needy
- Certain funds for unemployment benefit

V. Law Enforcement & Justice (\$1 billion)

- Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (totally eliminate)
- Legal Services Corporation (erase current plans to create agency)



VI. Revenue Sharing (\$6.3 billion)

- Cut program altogether

VII. National Defense (\$2 billion)

- Military personnel pensions (require employee contribution to retirement fund -- initial savings of \$2 billion would not lead to a net reduction as savings would be applied elsewhere)

VIII. Health (\$10.3 billion)

- Medicaid
- Hospital construction
- Health service scholarships
- Grants and contracts for medical schools' special training and education funds
- Grants to state-administered centers which provide maternal and child health care, family planning services, alcohol and drug abuse treatment, migrant, and mental health care



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Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

UNEMPLOYMENT # 1 (:60 Radio)

V.O. MAN: Governor Reagan, it's well known in this country that as unemployment goes up... (Fade under)

V.O. ANNOUNCER: An important part of Ronald Reagan's campaign is the Citizens' Press Conference which gives the people a chance to ask the questions...

V.O. MAN: Do you have any plans for full employment in this country?

REAGAN: Yes, there should be a plan, and I think there should be measures to help those who bear an unfair burden of the recession by being involuntarily unemployed.

But I think the long range solution is an end to the 40 years of the new philosophy of economics that has told us we can spend our way to prosperity and that a deficit doesn't hurt us.

SFX: Applause

REAGAN: The long range answer to the unemployment and recession that beset us is to end deficit spending and balance the budget.

This is the single cause of inflation...and inflation is the cause of the recession.

SFX: Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER: Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

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GOVERNMENT (:60 Radio)

SFX: Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER: Recently, Ronald Reagan gave a group of citizens in Conway his views on the roll of government.

REAGAN: Politicians in Washington are slow in catching on to something that people out in the states feel every day. That's a reawakening of the American spirit of independence and self reliance.

I think the people of this country today want more than anything for government to get off their backs and out of their pockets.

SFX: Applause

REAGAN: And I think they want government closer at hand, not far away in the hands of a self anointed elite in the nation's capitol.

Some jobs only the Federal Government can do. National Defense, for example, is one of them. But domestic programs should be managed at the local level where we can do the job most efficiently.

The closer the program is to the people who pay for it, the more they will take an active interest in it.

Our need is for a government that is confident not of what it can do for the people, but of what the people can do for themselves.

SFX: Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER: Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

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INFLATION (:60 Radio)

REAGAN:

Today, governments, federal, state and local, are taking more than 44¢ out of every dollar earned by the people of this country, and Washington is getting the lion's share.

No nation in history has ever imposed such a burden on its people and long survived, but even this...(Fade under)

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

Ronald Reagan discusses one of our most serious problems at an upstate Citizens' Press Conference...

REAGAN:

Washington's refusal to operate its affairs as you and I have to operate ours, making income and outgo match, causes the run-away inflation that we've known for these last several years...which is the cruelest tax of all.

It robs you of your savings.

It makes a mockery of the stable-fixed income that has been promised to retired citizens.

It is time for the federal government to adopt a schedule for balancing the budget so that the people know that the dollar next month will buy as much as it did last month and the months before.

SFX:

Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

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SOCIAL SECURITY (:60 Radio)

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

At a recent Citizens' Press Conference, Ronald Reagan talked about a problem of concern to retired persons.

REAGAN:

I know that some of you here today paid-in for months and years into the Social Security Program, in the belief that you'd have a monthly benefit check as long as you live.

Now even Washington is admitting that there's a great imbalance in Social Security.

It's been as badly handled as all their other money affairs, but any reform must have as its first priority the guarantee that those who must depend on Social Security for their livelihood will continue to receive their monthly check and that their benefits will not decline in purchasing power but will keep pace with inflation.

It is time for the Federal Government to adopt a schedule for balancing the budget so that the people on a fixed retirement income know that the dollar next month will buy as much as it did last month and the months before.

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

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TAXES (:60 Radio)

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

It happened at one of Ronald Reagan's Citizens' Press Conferences.

A small boy stood up and... (Fade under)

V.O. BOY:

I'm from Lancaster, New Hampshire. I think the taxes should be lower because I don't think all that money goes to good use.

SFX:

Applause

REAGAN:

You've just got your answer right there, son, and I tell you, I wish you were old enough to go to Congress because you're talking sense.

SFX:

Laughter

REAGAN:

You bet. There is too great a percentage of the people's earnings being taken by governments at all levels in this country.

But I believe that it is time for a study in this country that would set a limit on the percentage of the people's earnings that can be taken by government without the people's consent.

That only in time of emergence would they vote an increase in it.

SFX:

Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

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1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

UNEMPLOYMENT # 2 (:60 Radio)

V.O. ANNOUNCER: Here's another question for Ronald Reagan asked the other day at a Citizen's Press Conference.

V.O. MAN: For quite some time, 8% of the labor force has been without work. The present administration is apparently mistaken in its belief that the economy can correct itself.

If elected President, what steps would you take to cut back the persistent 8% unemployment?

REAGAN: The private sector is the source of jobs and I believe that far more could be done if the Federal Government would explore the possibilities while we're fighting recession, as well as inflation, of where tax incentives could be used to persuade industry to put on more people.

But the only answer of any duration to unemployment, to recessions of the kind we're going in, is going to be the elimination of inflation.

SFX: Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER: Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

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FOREIGN AID (:60 Radio)

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

Ronald Reagan was asked this question at a Citizens' Press Conference he held recently in Whitefield.
(Fade under)

V.O. MAN:

Governor, we've been spending a lot of our money: billions and billions of dollars every year on aid to foreign countries. I'd like to know, what are your views on this?

REAGAN:

I think that with our foreign aid we've been very foolish. We're a great and a generous country and we've done some pretty wonderful things that we're not getting credit for.

I think that if our foreign aid over the last few decades had been dedicated more to exporting American know-how and telling them how to solve some of their own problems, instead of making them dependent on us...

It's like feeding a deer up in the woods. If you feed him long enough he'll never be able to take care of himself again, and that's what we've done to an awful lot of people in the world.

And I think we need some more common sense in the application of foreign aid.

SFX:

Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

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Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

January 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BO CALLAWAY
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER ~~B~~
SUBJECT: REAGAN RADIO COPY (NEW HAMPSHIRE)

Attached, please find Ronald Reagan's :60 radio copy being used in New Hampshire. We have tapes if you want to listen.

This advertising uses the local Citizens' Press Conferences and is just about what we had anticipated in terms of style and content.

My guess is that the television advertising will be similar.

The baseline ("he'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs") appears to be an appropriate claim for Mr. Reagan, given available research and judgment.

While the copy ideas are simple and straightforward, the specific copy presentation is somewhat garbled due to the fact that Reagan is speaking extemporaneously and loses his syntax on occasion.

Finally, we don't see any hint of a major difference with the President over the issues in this copy.

We'll keep you advised as we develop more information.

cc: Stu Spencer
Bob Marik ✓
Fred Slight
Bob Visser
Peter Dailey
Peter Kaye



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DEFENSE
(:60 Radio)

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

An important part of Ronald Reagan's campaign are the Citizens' Press Conferences which give the people a chance to ask the questions.

V.O. MAN:

As President, how would you deal with the Congressional Democrats who are calling for still further cut-backs in Defense spending?

REAGAN:

Well, here again is where I believe a President must take his case to the people. And, the people must be told the facts. I think the people will not make a mistake if they have the facts.

Today there's confusion. None of us are quite sure what the situation is. We hear someone saying, "Oh, they're just saying that to get their budget up" and someone says something else.

But the one thing we must be sure of is the United States must never be second to anyone else in the world in military power.

SFX:

Applause

REAGAN:

But the purpose of weapons is not to go to war. The purpose of weapons is to convince the other fella that he better not go to war.

SFX:

Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

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1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

GUN CONTROL (:60 Radio)

V.O. ANNOUNCER: Here's another question for Ronald Reagan... (Fade under)

V.O. WOMAN: Since New Hampshire is a supporting state what about your gun control?

REAGAN: I am against the kind of gun control that is being talked in the Congress of the United States.

I see it as only something that would make it difficult for an honest citizen to own a gun, but would do nothing at all to impede the criminal in his getting a gun.

I think the type of laws that we had in California that we instituted while I was Governor, and one that we recommended that now has been passed, control the criminal in the use of the gun.

And to do this, we passed a law that anyone convicted of a crime if he had a gun in his possession when he committed the crime, whether he used it or not, you can add five to fifteen years to his sentence.

I think this is the proper approach, but I don't think you're going to serve any good purpose at all in disarming the honest citizens and leaving the other ones armed.

SFX: Applause

V.O. ANNOUNCER: Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

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Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

NUCLEAR POWER (:60 Radio)

V.O. WOMAN:

Mr. Reagan, in light of the recent upsurge of interest in the energy proposals for this country...
(Fade under)

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

All over our state, Ronald Reagan has been answering your questions like this one...

V.O. WOMAN:

I'd like to know how you feel about nuclear power.

REAGAN:

I think it offers us the greatest opportunity to meet our energy shortage and to get out from under the monopolistic control of the OPEC nations.

SFX:

Applause

REAGAN:

But with regard to the safety factor, the truth is that danger of a nuclear fatality in a nuclear power plant is about one in 75 million.

The one accident involving a nuclear power plant for the surrounding area is one in 5 billion.

I think the case has been made for the safety of nuclear power plants, and I think we absolutely have to have them if we're going to have clean air and if we're going to have to add the energy this country needs.

V.O. ANNOUNCER:

Reagan. He'll provide the strong, new leadership America needs.

Paid for by Citizens For Reagan.

1/23/76



Reagan Disparages Own Funds Shift List as 'Some Stuff the Economists Gave Me'

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ
Times Political Writer

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—Ronald Reagan said Tuesday that he had had no intention last September of providing details concerning his plan to shift certain federal programs to the states.

In an exclusive interview with The Times during a campaign stop here, the former California governor said, "I simply announced a broad program last September. I made no pretense of fleshing it out."

As for a detailed list of federally funded programs he gave to newsmen at the time he disclosed his proposal—a list designed to show the scope of his plan—Reagan snorted:

"I never did pay any attention to that list. That was just some stuff the economists gave me. I didn't even agree with all the things on that list."

He suggested that newsmen should discard the September list of prospective targets for the shift of programs from the federal government to the states, and he explained that he probably would not express his own opinion on which of the programs should be junked rather than continued by state and local governments.

In September, when he announced the plan, Reagan talked about balancing the federal budget by cutting up to \$90 billion from federal expenditures by transferring programs to the states.

Today, he talks about the shift only in general terms.

And he no longer talks about achieving a balanced budget as a direct result of the shift, or of granting an average 23% personal income tax cut or of making a \$5 billion payment on the national debt.

What caused him to change his approach?

"You can't expect a man to have a plan all worked out in detail," he said Tuesday. There are more than 1,000 separate programs in the social welfare field, and there may be some he would want to continue under Washington's control, he added.

When he first disclosed his program, Reagan said, his objective was "to tie spending and taxing functions together wherever feasible, so that those who have the pleasure of giving away tax dollars will also have the pain of raising them."

But today, he steadfastly refuses to discuss how the states would pay for the programs now funded by Washington, except to suggest that some taxes now levied and collected by the federal government might be collected at the state and local levels "without making the roundtrip to Washington and back minus a heavy freight charge."

Last September, Reagan said, "An immediate (federal income) tax cut, some of which might have to be balanced by tax rises in the states, would only be the beginning of the savings that could be achieved."

Today, Reagan admittedly gets explosively angry when his critics suggest that the Reagan plan inevitably would result in higher state and local taxes.

"That's the same kind of crap I heard when I proposed welfare reform when I was in Sacramento," he said. His critics then feared a sharp rise in local general relief costs if welfare recipients were cut off by the state, and it proved to be a groundless fear, he said.

Similarly, Reagan added, there is a broad fear in the states today that, if he becomes President, state and local governments will be stuck with tough decisions on how to pay for programs currently financed by Washington—or whether to finance them at all.

would involve persuading Congress to give up the current revenue yield and persuading the states that this was the proper way to meet their own new costs.

"There might have to be a bridge of continued federal funding until the people (in the states) decide," Reagan said.

When asked how, as President, he would balance the federal budget if revenues declined as the programs were shifted, Reagan simply said: "I recognize that we must go along with a planned balancing of the federal budget, a systematic schedule for achieving a balanced budget."

But he did not offer details on how he would achieve this. Social Security would not be one of the programs shifted to the states in the Reagan plan, but the Californian has made Social Security part of his current campaign rhetoric.

He got into the issue last December when, in a Houston speech, he lauded Barry Goldwater for questioning the validity of the Social Security system during the 1964 presidential campaign. Reagan mentioned also that Goldwater had been right and then said there are several plans worth studying involving a form of voluntarism.

This prompted at least one newspaper to suggest Reagan was flirting with the "voluntarism" issue.

Since then, Reagan has insisted in almost every speech that, although the system is badly out of actuarial balance, no changes should be made that would deprive present beneficiaries of their monthly checks.

When President Ford in his State of the Union message last week proposed another increase in payroll deductions to pay for higher Social Security benefits, Reagan said, "I think we can demand more than the small increase in the payroll tax to deal with the short-range problem of cash flow."

Fearful that this might suggest he wanted an even bigger bite out of the payroll tax, Reagan then shifted his position to say that "resolving this problem will take more than a continued piecemeal increase in the payroll tax; fundamental reform is needed."

When next questioned as to what he would do, Reagan responded, "I think you start by getting a team of experts to look at the problem."

At the same time, he blasted what he called "demagogues" who were talking about Social Security system changes that frighten beneficiaries.

"Nothing can be more despicable than taking political advantage of those who have earned better treatment from us all."

When asked how he was going to deal with this fear of his program, Reagan responded:

"I'm going to keep doing just what I'm doing, and put the monkey back and let those bastards in Washington tell me how they can keep on talking about decentralization and never come up with any way of doing it."

He blamed President Ford's supporters and campaigners for spreading these fears.

"All of our polls show that the people want control of these programs at the local level," he said.

He named Carla A. Hills, secretary of housing and urban development in the Ford Administration, as one of the fear-spreaders because she criticized the Reagan plan in a Washington news conference earlier this month.

But he became particularly excited and angered when he accused Ford campaigners of preceding him (Reagan) into a campaign state and giving local politicians or officeholders figures supporting to show what the Reagan plan would mean in each particular state.

Reagan said he was angered by "the thing of going into a state and getting a state senator and priming him then before I arrive to hold a press conference and to say that I'm going to raise his state's sales tax by 12%."

His major premise, in his current campaigning, is that perhaps the cost of the shifts programs could be met by state and local governments by simply subtracting their cost of the programs from taxes currently levied and collected in the states by the federal government.

A federal excise tax, such as on alcohol, might be used in some instances, he said, although he conceded that this



Why Go to Chipley or Live Oak? Callaway Courts Country Cousins

By TOM FIEDLER
Herald Staff Writer

CHIPLEY, Fla. — Howard (Bo) Callaway, the drawing architect of President Ford's national election campaign, stood slump-shouldered and weary in the flashing glare of the Chipley Motel-Restaurant sign.

At the end of his three-day campaign through North Florida in such places as the Dixie Dew Restaurant, the Gadsden County Farm Bureau and this Panhandle town restaurant, the President's campaign manager was ready to admit two things:

First, Republicans in such towns as Chipley, Quincy, Live Oak and Lake City (not to mention Pensacola, Fort Walton Beach and Tallahassee) are about as rare as auto dealerships that don't sell tractors or natives who don't say "Co-Cola."

"WE HAD A MASS mailing to all the Republicans in one county," said a young Ford aide, Michael Carr, while explaining how the campaign intended to bring the Ford message to voters before the March 9 presidential primary.

To which Callaway quipped: "Both letters came back stamped 'undeliverable.'"

Second, and perhaps more significant, of Callaway's admissions: What few Republicans there are in these Democratic bastions are being daily baptized in the fiery sermonizing of Ronald Reagan disciples. Most, even Callaway concedes, are ripe for conversion.

Nevertheless, on these pessimistic notes and in these unlikely towns, Callaway kicked off Ford's first effort to win — not just lose graciously — the Florida primary. It's a contest Callaway everywhere admits will be Ford's toughest.

BUT THE FACT that Callaway would spend three days stumping in towns in search of those two hypothetical Republicans who missed the "mass" mailing signifies a shift in Ford's election strategy and the role Florida will play in it.

"I don't think there is any question," Callaway repeated before several audiences last week, "that Florida is Ronald Reagan's best southern state."

"And we believe if we can beat him here, it's all over. And I want to get this campaign over with by April 1."

That early-knockout plan — including a total budget nearing \$1 million — apparently has superseded the earlier Ford strategy to let Reagan win in Florida and perhaps New Hampshire, girding instead for the long primary schedule and fastening Ford's hopes on victories in the midwestern and northern states as spring turns into summer.

WHERE FORD HAD previously downplayed Florida's significance — even saying initially he probably couldn't appear in Florida personally before March 9 — the new strategy not only calls for the President himself to spend three full days in the state but also relies on a first-string roster of surrogates headed by Callaway.

That list, according to informed speculation, might include Mrs. Ford — who reportedly is softening her earlier stand against campaigning without her husband. And the Ford campaign is hoping to pick up the support of Sen. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.), the dean of congressional conservatives.



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To fill whatever lulls might develop in the campaign effort, Callaway has lined up Treasury Secretary William Simon, Sen. John Tower (R., Texas) and popular San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson to stalk primary votes for the President.

A large chunk of the Florida budget — which Ford Florida campaign official Oscar Juarez says will be "close" to the \$954,000 federal spending limit — will be devoted to at least two direct mailings. A similar chunk will be spent on media advertising in the closing weeks.

WHATEVER AMOUNT remains will be devoted to a person-to-person telephone and walking effort at the precinct level orchestrated by U.S. Rep. Lou Frey Jr. (R., Winter Park), Ford's Florida campaign manager.

"I would like to have said that in some way or another," says Juarez, "that we touched every Republican in the state of Florida by March 9. I think we can."

But whether "touching" Florida's GOP voters will be enough to unseat favorite Reagan remains a big question. Reagan's Florida campaign manager, effusive Chevrolet dealer Tommy Thomas, has traveled the state crowing about a 2-1 Reagan landslide.

The former California governor has supporters zealously campaigning in the Panhandle, holding fund-raisers and taking out individual

ads in North Florida newspapers urging conservative Democrats to switch parties and vote for Reagan in the primary. That campaign, many counties report, has been somewhat successful.

REAGAN IS planning to capitalize on this Panhandle buildup with a trip over much of Callaway's route this coming week, starting in Pensacola tonight and swinging westward into the lower part of the state.

En route he will address a \$5-a-plate breakfast in Pensacola, which has almost sold out its 800 tickets, and a \$15-a-plate luncheon in Fort Walton Beach, which has sold out its 380 tickets.

Callaway told crowds last week that, as a result of these indicators, Thomas has boosted Reagan's potential victory margin to 3-1, although few in Reagan's Panhandle organizations were eager to subscribe too heavily to that.

To date the most reliable poll comparing the strengths of the two Republican contenders was completed a month ago. That poll showed Ford and Reagan almost dead-even, with one-third of those polled undecided. The Ford camp admits that the margin in the Panhandle would lean toward Reagan's favor and beating him will require a "real tough fight."

INDEED, IT'S the undecided bloc and a nebulous thing called "momentum" that Callaway said he hopes to capitalize on beginning with the Panhandle tour.

These are the same factors, he adds, that are making the difference in New Hampshire's primary.

"There is no question in my mind," Callaway says, "that we will win — and it will be a delicious win because of everything going against us — in New Hampshire. I say we'll win categorically."

He told the kaffeeklatches, farmers, supporters and newsmen across North Florida that the same momentum can be achieved in this state.

"**I BELIEVE** like Vince Lombardi did that his team (the Green Bay Packers) never lost a football game, even though the clock sometimes ran out while they were behind," Callaway told a breakfast audience in Tallahassee.

"We'll win in Florida if we don't run out of time."

The key to this victory, according to Callaway's strategy, will be his ability to persuade the wavering Florida Republican to discard stereotyped impressions of Ford as an amiable but ineffective, if not bumbling, president and look instead at his record.

Similarly, he urges them to look beyond Reagan's polished speech delivery and demand that he provide solid solutions to the problems he attacks.

"I think President Ford will compare favorably against Gov. Reagan on every point — except speech-making," Callaway says.

The common theme running through each impromptu presentation has Ford depicted as the calm, strong, silent leader who listens to

all opinions before quietly issuing a decision at every opportunity and in an obvious reference to Reagan's comments on Angola, Callaway describes the President as "a man who wouldn't go off the deep end in foreign policy."

THE PROBLEM in getting people excited about Ford, he concedes, is that this low-key image doesn't fit with what Americans have come to expect of their presidents.

"But I believe it's just a question of style," he says. Ford's style is not to bark orders or issue edicts from the sanctity of the Oval Office, Callaway adds.

Throughout his Florida trip last week, Callaway urged audiences and newsmen to contrast Ford with Reagan, both in temperament and performance.

He rarely missed an opportunity to mention Reagan's partially repudiated proposal to eliminate \$90 billion from the federal budget by transferring social programs from the federal to state level.

"Reagan has become paranoid about that (proposal). He won't tell us anything about what it means," Callaway says. "We think this plan



Callaway's Small-Town



CAMPAIGN
'76

will eliminate the Coast Guard. But we can't get an answer from-Reagan."

IN ANY EVENT, Callaway says the initial transfer plan would cost Florida taxpayers "several billion dollars."

Sooner or later, Callaway tells crowds that the same adversary press focusing now on Ford's fumbings will turn on Reagan's proposals and expose their flaws. Reagan, he notes, already has canceled two press conferences planned during his visit this week and, he says to listening newsmen, "You shouldn't let him get away with it."

Despite the size of the crowds between Live Oak and Chipley, Callaway's message took some effect. Some people who came to the meetings wearing Reagan buttons left their names at the end as potential Ford workers.

"I'll have to admit," whispered one young female attorney at the Fort Walton Beach appearance, "I really like Reagan. But if somebody asked me to, I'd work for Ford because Reagan doesn't have a chance."

That night, standing outside the Chipley Motel, Callaway looked back over his three-day visit and conceded that he didn't attract any cheering crowds or ignite fiery support for the President.

"But we at least let these people in North Florida know that somebody close to President Ford cares about them. And every vote counts."



—United Press International

Callaway Addresses Tiger Bay Club in Tallahassee
... sees good chance of victory for Ford in Florida. N.H.



A
Chicago
TRIB

Ford proves he's still foe of big government

BY STANDING fast in his State of the Union message against big government getting bigger, President Ford demonstrated he is not only an honest man but a consistent one.

His 25-year record in the Congress always displayed that conservative philosophy and he didn't say anything before a joint session of his former colleagues on Capitol Hill to dilute it at all.

Ford happens to be a man who believes that government should not intrude on Americans and that things are better left for solution by the private sector.

HE'S NOT A power grabber. He proved that, too. For though he is the leader of the most powerful government on earth, he made it clear that government should maintain a low profile in keeping with his conviction that Americans neither need nor deserve a Big Brother in Washington controlling the mainstream of their lives.

"We must introduce a new balance in the relationship between the individual and the government, a balance that favors greater individual freedom and self-reliance," the President declared.

A few paragraphs later he added: "And in all that we do, we must be more honest with the American people, promising them no more than we can deliver and delivering all that we promise."

"The genius of America has been its incredible ability to improve the lives of its citizens through a unique combination of governmental and free citizen activity."

TO US, THOSE words were a forthright declaration for a free and open society, stripped forever, it is hoped, of the kind of high level deceit and duplicity that has marked too many administrations.

It enunciated the same philosophy to which he has adhered through a quarter-century of public service, an approach he obviously has no intention of changing.

Some of his own staff thought Ford's address a trifle too cornball, too laced with appeals for a positive approach and a resurgence of pride in country. To some, the speech was more rhetorical than substantive.

BUT WHAT ELSE could Ford have said if he was to keep faith with his belief that state and local governments have the right to determine their own destinies without constant and overwhelming intrusion from Washington.

In the first place, it is difficult to frame huge federal programs when you are convinced it is better to have fewer federal programs.

In the past, activist Presidents like

Bob
Wiedrich



Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson found their success measured by how many bold, innovative, and imaginative federal programs they proposed, many of the give-away variety. All of these, naturally, cost money.

And Ford obviously does not believe that many of them have been worth the cost of Washington's poking its nose, almost always with strings attached, into the affairs of individual Americans and local governmental entities. And that further, leaving more cash in the coffers of private enterprise is a better approach to solving the nation's problems.

CERTAINLY THERE are cynics who will accuse the President of trying to scoot to the right of Ronald Reagan, the only fellow challenging him for the Republican nomination to date.

But we do not believe any of the things he said in his State of the Union message were at odds with the basic conservative philosophy he always has expounded.

Many Americans agree with Ford that there is too much government today. It seeks to offer too much to too many with the result that some citizens want their government to solve everything.

They fail to recognize that big government, in time, can sap the initiative and vitality of a people. And that its very size can make it so cumbersome it becomes unresponsive to the wishes of the citizens in whose name it acts.

EVEN THE LATE John Kennedy, certainly one of our most socially conscious Presidents, was alert to that.

"And so, my fellow Americans," Kennedy said in his inaugural address of Jan. 20, 1961, "ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country."

Those were stirring words. They were vitally pertinent words. They remain so today. So are these uttered 15 years later by Gerald R. Ford:

"I see these United States of America moving forward as before toward a more perfect Union where the government serves and the people rule."

That is what our founding fathers had in mind. We should be thankful President Ford remains faithful to that today.



Bot Marik fyi

February 23, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PETER KAYE

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT

SUBJECT:

Impact on Texas of
Reagan's \$90 Billion
Program

Attached are excerpts from a management study which the Texas PFC commissioned on the potential impact of Reagan's proposed \$90 billion plan on the state.

I had worked initially with Phil Barnes of Barnes & Crow Public Management Consultants as their project got off the ground. You might be particularly interested in the general findings presented on pages 1-2 as well as the tax implications discussed on page 14.

→ A copy of the full report is on file should you wish to review it following the New Hampshire and Florida primaries.

Attachment

cc: Bo Callaway
Stu Spencer
Skip Watts



March 22, 1976

Mr. Arthur Finkelstein
President
Dir-Action Services
13 3rd Street
Rye, New York 10580

Dear Arthur:

On the basis of the enclosed, one can begin to understand why the good guys are winning.

Best regards,

Robert H. Marik
Deputy Chairman
for Administration

RHM:mh



Ronald Reagan

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

March 16, 1976

Ms. Nancy Brat A. As
839 10 1/2 St SW
Rochester, Minnesota 55901

Dear Ms. As:

I asked Congressman Vander Jagt, Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee if I could write to you today about a serious and urgent matter.

Frankly, the Republican Party needs your renewed financial support in the 1976 Congressional elections as never before.

Make no mistake about it. Liberal Democratic candidates and their political allies such as the AFL-CIO's COPE, are already amassing a huge war chest in Minnesota and across the nation for their drive to maintain their 2 to 1 control of Congress.

Union reports filed in Washington show big labor has already raised over \$4,000,000 in ready cash. When their "official" election fundraising drive begins later this year, they expect to amass 29 millions of additional dollars. Most of which will be used against conservative Republican candidates.

I don't believe we can break this liberal Democratic stranglehold unless you help the Committee in it's effort to elect responsible candidates who stand up for fiscal sanity, the free market system and a strong U. S. military defense.

As you know, Democrats have controlled Congress lock, stock, and barrel for 40 of the past 44 years. There isn't one penny spent by your government that hasn't been mandated by the Democrat majority. No bureaucrat has been hired, no rule or regulation has been issued without approval by the Democrat majority in Congress.

They have caused galloping inflation which wipes out your savings and your buying power. They have enthusiastically voted for every spending bill that has produced the highest Federal budget deficits in our history.

In 1975, the Democrats introduced bills to nationalize our oil industry, to allocate our energy supply and to sharply reduce our military defenses that, in my opinion, would jeopardize the very safety of this country.

Ms. Nancy Brat A. As

In order to return control of Congress to the Republicans, the Congressional Committee has established a comprehensive program and launched a special emergency fund drive.

The immediate need for funds is critical because the Committee must raise a minimum of \$750,000 in early money to make cash contributions to candidates and fund political action programs Republican candidates need for victory in 1976.

This emergency fund, if raised, will be used to defeat entrenched Democrats in Congress and to elect and reelect Republicans who will support the programs designed to stop inflation and recession.

I know from talking with hundreds of Republicans at meetings across the country, that the Committee's support is invaluable. There are many Republicans sitting in Congress today who owe their election to the efforts of this important and hard-hitting Committee.

It's time for a fundamental change in Washington that can only come from a Republican Congress.

Thanks to the Democrats, welfare, like government spending, has gotten out of hand; programs such as food stamps have become a national disgrace; a bloated government bureaucracy, with its endless rules and regulations, harasses our citizens and threatens to bury business in a sea of red tape.

The situation in Washington is critical. But no change can, or will, be made without your financial help and support.

I hope, therefore, you will respond today to my special appeal by sending a contribution for as much as \$15, \$25, \$50, \$100 or more.

If the Committee can reach this goal, it will help us defeat entrenched liberal Democrats and elect Republicans who will oppose the shocking abuses I have mentioned.

If you want to help offset union domination of the upcoming Congressional election, I strongly urge you to support the Committee's fund-raising effort.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan
Ronald W. Reagan

P.S.

At my request Congressman Vander Jagt enclosed a contribution form and a reply envelope for your use, Ms. As. I have asked him to give me a list of donors who respond and I certainly hope your name is on this list.



Campaign '76
Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950



April 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: ROGERS MORTON
FROM: BRUCE WAGNER 
SUBJECT: REAGAN IN TEXAS

The attached note indicates a very heavy Reagan television schedule for two weeks in Texas.

We're developing an estimate of the costs.

cc: Stu Spencer
Roy Hughes
Peter Dailey
Peter Kaye



Campaign '76

Media Communications, Inc.

1828 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-8950

April 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: BRUCE WAGNER
FROM: DAWN SIBLEY *DS*
SUBJECT: REAGAN COMPETITIVE ACTIVITY IN TEXAS

We have just been informed that Reagan is buying 30 second spot schedules in major markets in Texas to begin April 17. It appears that he will be buying the maximum weight per week available - approximately 350 - 400 points per week. He has requested availabilities for 30 second, 5 minute and 1/2 hour units, however, nothing has been ordered other than the aforementioned 30 second schedules.

These schedules are being placed by Goodwin, Dannebaum, Littman, Wingfield, Inc., a local agency in Houston. We are informed that additional orders will probably be placed on Thursday or Friday.

cc: Clayt Wilhite
Peggy Pilas
Carol Karasick
Denise Considine



Media Communications, Inc.

April 7, 1976

ROGERS MORTON

BRUCE WAGNER

RONALD REAGAN

Advertising Objectives

1. Reinforce the leadership perception of President Ford as the leader of all the American people.
2. Expose the shallowness of Ronald Reagan's negative appeal.
3. Ensure continued momentum for the President's campaign effort just prior to Election Day by providing a dramatic focal point for media and voter consideration.

1. cast the Reagan candidacy in a more "Presidential" communications posture,
2. created an effective dialogue with the voter,
3. perhaps improved Reagan's image as a knowledgeable critic of the Ford Administration, and
4. crystallized his contrasting stance on certain campaign issues, particularly defense.

Rogers Morton
April 7, 1976
Page Two

Through this effective change in campaign tactic, it appears that Reagan has begun to seize the campaign momentum that had previously belonged to President Ford.

Nevertheless, it is our judgement that Ronald Reagan's apparent success using lengthy commercial messages does not hinge exclusively on the specifics of a defense argument. Rather, these messages capitalize on an existing perception of indecisive leadership with President Ford, and the lack of clear voter comprehension of current defense/foreign policy.

As such, a dramatic response and argument on the limited focus of national defense is insufficient...a continuing argument may even provide credibility to the charge while quietly recalling the existing impressions of indecisive leadership. Rather, we must assert a strong leadership stance by the President.

Recommended Message

The message must be that the American public is being misled by ambitious, irresponsible campaign rhetoric. The President must deliver a personal message to the American public...and communicate his saddened, somewhat righteous indignation with his challenger. Importantly, Ronald Reagan must not be mentioned or singled-out of the group of Presidential aspirants, but it must be implied that:

- . He is an irresponsible and ambitious man. He has sacrificed his principles for ambition.
- . He must be depicted as naive.
- . He would commit our young men to another "Vietnam war" in Africa or elsewhere.
- . His "eyeball-to-eyeball" diplomacy really means nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

In a nutshell, we must go for the jugular and eliminate the credibility of the Reagan candidacy.

It is recommended that the President carryout this responsibility with a five-minute Presidential message to the American people from the Oval Office. The commercial will be aired one week before the May 1st Texas Primary. This timing will allow dramatic impact during the crucial days just prior to Election Day with sufficient time for non-paid media coverage and voter assimilation.



Discussion

1. The Texas Primary offers us the opportunity to cut the Reagan candidacy down once and for all. Ronald Reagan has the capacity to do a great deal of damage to the President's autumn election effort...and recent events indicate he will not be swayed by discussions of Republican Party unity. Clearly, Reagan believes his hard-hitting campaign against the President will enable him to gain the Republican nomination.

He must be stopped in Texas. A loss in Texas will most likely end his challenge...a win in Texas will most likely allow him to go into Kansas City via California with momentum.

2. The concept of jeopardizing Republican Party unity is not as valid as it once was. Rather, the message should be that irresponsible criticism, particularly without specific counter-proposals, can jeopardize the national interest.
3. President Ford should not attempt an itemized response to each criticism or allegation of candidate Reagan. It would demean the prestige of the Office and the President. In addition, it could begin an endless, no-win debate since some criticisms, particularly those relating to defense, do not have simple, obvious answers. The results could be increased publicity for Reagan contrasted against a spectre of over-reaction by the President.

Conversely, President Ford has a responsibility to correct false allegations that jeopardize the national interest and mislead both the American people and foreign governments. He has the obligation to draw the line between responsible criticism and irresponsible political opportunism, whether it relates to domestic policy or America's role as a world power.

4. We must respond promptly to the Reagan attack on a national basis prior to the Texas Primary simply because an unusually strong response by President Ford will be too late in the California Primary -- the impression of a hard-hitting Ford campaign in California would be one of a last-ditch, desperate effort by the President. Clearly, Texas is the place for aggression and initiative.

Let's discuss this subject as soon as possible.

cc: Stu Spencer
Roy Hughes
Peter Dailey
Bob Teeter



FACT SHEET

Keeping the size of the California state government constant

TAXES DURING REAGAN YEARS

Fiscal Year	Local Taxes (in billions)	State Taxes (in billions)	Total State & Local Taxes (in billions)	Total Per capita Tax Load (in dollars)	Adjusted for Inflation (in dollars)
1966-67	\$4.3	\$3.8	\$8.1	\$426.26	\$426.26
1967-68	4.7	4.7	9.4	484.66	466.92
1968-69	5.2	5.2	10.4	529.56	489.88
1969-70	5.7	5.4	11.1	556.49	489.01
1970-71	6.6	5.6	12.2	605.29	508.65
1971-72	7.3	6.6	13.9	682.98	555.72
1972-73	8.0	7.2	15.2	739.82	577.98
1973-74	8.4	7.6	16.0	768.44	556.84

Source: Board of Equalization

BUDGET GROWTH UNDER REAGAN

Fiscal Year	State Operations	(in billions)		% of Total	Total Budget
		% of Total	Local Assistance	% of Total	
1966-67	\$2.2	48.0	\$2.4	52.0	\$4.6
1967-68	2.3	45.6	2.7	54.4	5.0
1968-69	2.5	43.9	3.2	56.1	5.7
1969-70	2.7	42.8	3.6	57.2	6.3
1970-71	2.6	39.2	4.0	60.8	6.6
1971-72	2.6	39.3	4.1	60.7	6.7
1972-73	2.9	39.4	4.5	60.6	7.4
1973-74	3.4	35.6	6.2	64.4	9.6
1974-75	3.5	34.5	6.7	65.5	10.2

Source: Department of Finance



0466-2265

From Hall
Walter Wells

Garry Wills

Reagan's facts just aren't there

Was it a greater mistake to say part of his plan was a mistake, or to say that reports that he had called all of it a mistake were mistaken?

Reagan's dance looks like an attempt to swallow himself. He thinks it is mean of people to pounce on the figure \$90 billion just because he happened to use that figure.

Would he be happier if the press used other figures, on the grounds that he had not mentioned them? What figure did he expect them to discuss, once he brought it up?

Reagan thinks he is being unfairly treated by the press, and he is probably right. It is unfair to expect accuracy or depth from him.

Someone told him a soupy fable about the integration of the United States armed forces — that this took place during World War II as a result of comradeship in arms. He draws various morals from that TV show of a tale.

But the story is all wrong — the military was integrated, over howls of protest, by President Truman after the war. I don't know what moral Reagan will

draw from the real facts, if he ever gets the facts straight.

When asked how he might work with a Democratic Congress, Reagan trots out another story made of thin air. He tells us that Franklin Roosevelt had a balky Congress, yet achieved his record "hundred days" of legislation by speaking over the Congress to the people in his fireside chats.

In fact, Roosevelt came into office with a desperate Democratic Congress clamoring for new laws — even more than Roosevelt provided. Congress pressed him for the NRA and National Labor Relations Act.

The fireside chats did not begin as a way of speaking over or around Congress. It is true that Congress later got restive, but only because Roosevelt gave it good cause with things like his court-packing scheme; and then Congress did thwart Roosevelt for a while, fireside chats and all.

It is hard to see how Reagan could have got things more entirely wrong. Yet this is the story Reagan chooses to tell, about his first political hero.

If he cannot get even one

aspect of that story straight, on his own chosen ground, what right have we to expect him to sort out inconsistencies in the big spending cut which he assures us is not quite a slash? The only way to be fair to such a man is not to ask him questions.

Reagan's finest moment, the one that brought him into politics, was his glib hard-line talk delivered for Goldwater in 1964. The talk did nothing at all for the Goldwater campaign — it thrilled the people who already loved Barry, and just confirmed others' suspicion that Goldwater was an extremist.

But the speech did everything for Reagan. It was well-rehearsed, and he could have gone on giving it forever, like James O'Neill playing *The Count of Monte Cristo*. But now he had to speak for himself, and that meant answering some questions — as when he said a "bloodbath" might be the solution to California's campus problem.

Reagan, so wrong on Vietnam, on Nixon, has already shown his political skill by coming out for right-to-work laws — at just the time when the right

wing hopes to win blue-collar workers away from the union leadership on issues like busing. Reagan seems destined to keep playing second lead, even to a bungler like President Ford.

As for the other candidates — well, Harris offers a more genuine populism; Carter economized more as governor; Bayh has labor; Jackson has money; Shriver dresses better, and Wallace is even more ignorant.

