

The original documents are located in Box 164, folder “Reagan, Ronald (2)” of the Robert T. Hartmann Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Robert T. Hartmann donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

TERHORST

By J. F. TERHORST

Ford Means What He Says

Washington—White House watchers have become so convoluted in their political forecasting that the product

in so doing, they also provided the clues that White House watchers look for. And the clues generally meant that the occupant of the Oval Office was hungry for another term.

What the political prognosticators are doing wrong is attempting to read Ford the same way. He doesn't track like that.

This particular President believes in calling a spade a spade. The recession is a bad one, so he said so. Energy prices are going to skyrocket so he said so. Federal deficits this coming year will be worse than any red-ink year since World War II; inflation will continue and unemployment is going to increase for a while. In sum, the economic outlook is not rosy and there is not much good news to relate—which is precisely what Ford told Congress and the

From the desk of _____

DONALD BALDWIN

File
Reagan Campaign

Bob -

I hope you will
take a few minutes
to read this.
It underscores what
we were discussing
at lunch today.

The last sentence
should be especially
noted.

Respectfully,
[Signature]



WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1975

David S. Broder

Frustration On the Right

The Republican Right is a headless horseman. If the liberal Democrats have a surplus of candidates, the conservatives have just the opposite problem. They are ready to rise against the Ford-Rockefeller policies of deficit

Ever since their wild fling with Barry Goldwater in 1964, they have been counseled by most of their leaders to be "practical," i.e., agreeable to compromise. It was on that basis that they supported Mr. Nixon, despite their personal misgivings. Now, they find they are being asked to accept deficits and detente, Mr. Ford and — worst of all — Nelson Rockefeller. And they ask, "Is this the party we're supposed to control?"

Yet the third-party course is fraught with uncertainty and huge organizational problems — which were described to the delegates in vivid detail. By the end of the meeting, the *de facto* decision was to delay any breakaway movement — at least for now.

That decision was reinforced by the obvious fact that there is no conservative political figure of stature to lead a third party movement. There is an abundance of pamphlet writers and some pop-gun politicians. But the big names of the conservative movement — especially Ronald Reagan — wouldn't even wink at the idea.

> It would be a mistake for anyone to take these people for granted.

WASH. Post 2/19/75



41-2
THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1975

Reagan on the Road: Easy Smile and Hard Rhetoric

By R. W. APPLE, Jr.

Special to The New York Times

LAS VEGAS, Nev., Feb. 19—
When Ronald Reagan was
forced to retreat from his oft-

"Santa Fe Trail" — and the
problems of laying asphalt tile
at his new ranch near Santa
Barbara.

A series of questions elicits
the cautious comment that he

Vegas, he answered the rhetori-
cal question he had been asking
about the need for a third party
with the comment, "I don't
think so."

fight against what he calls the
"Godlessness of the socialist
antheap."

He also does a weekly news-
paper column for 160 papers

last night and said I was so in-
spiring that I owed it to God
and my country to run," Mr.
Reagan said with some embar-
rassment. "About all I could do
was sign my name and tell her."

LEON W. PARMA

File
Reagan
Bob —

Here are
some clips you
may find of interest.

Sean



2-25-75

SD Union 2-25-75

NIXONS RETURN TO VILLA AFTER PALM DESERT STAY

SAN CLEMENTE (AP) — Former President Richard M. Nixon and wife Pat were back at their seaside villa yesterday after spending five days in the desert at the estate of Walter H. Annenberg.

Nixon and his wife left Palm Desert by car Sunday.



les
S

1975

Reagan on Mission to Move U. S. Right

Says He Would Like to Spend Time at Ranch but Has Duty to Travel, Talk

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ
Times Political Writer

"If, at a time in history, growing numbers of people express belief that a particular person holds the right set of principles to be President, events will find a way of setting themselves in motion which he must accept or pass by."

—Ronald Reagan

"You've just GOT to run for President," gushed the wife of a businessman at a rally in the Grand Island, Neb., senior high school auditorium.

To the comfortably middle-class citizens of Pekin, Peoria and other mid-Illinois communities, he was introduced as "our candidate" and "the leader of the majority of the country."

When he finished his speech and left the rostrum at the ornate Grand Ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, the jam-packed crowd picked up the chant, "We Want Reagan, We Want Reagan."

Each incident illustrates the willingness—it would be unkind to suggest the eagerness—of Ronald Reagan, former governor of California, former actor, to create the "events" which he says will "find a way of setting themselves in motion."

Just turned 64, with a reasonably secure financial base including a state pension, Reagan looks somewhat longingly at a private life which permits him to spend his days on his new ranch in the coastal mountains north of Santa Barbara.

That's what he says he wants to do—rebuild an old adobe house on the ranch, ride horses, enjoy the solitude.

Then why doesn't he? Why, instead, does he find himself in drafty high

school cafeterias or at dreary businessmen's lunches, meeting airline schedules and forever changing time zones?

Because, in missionary terms, he has the call. He says the country has to move to the right, to a sort of fundamental conservatism. And he sees it as his duty to make this clear to people.

To the woman in Grand Island and to the many others at various campaign stops, Reagan responds that he is not now running for President. And, if pressed, he repeats the bit about "events" reaching the point where the job seeks the man, not the reverse.

It is a neat balancing act. He moves like a campaigner, he talks like a campaigner, he has national identity and "star" status of a campaigner, but all the while insists he is simply a missionary for political conservatism—he used the term "John the Baptist" in the conservative movement.

The balancing act also involves keeping the political machinery open to him.

A lifelong Democrat who turned Republican in 1962, Reagan now considers the GOP his political home, and as such, he seeks to mold the

Please Turn to Page 2 Col. 1

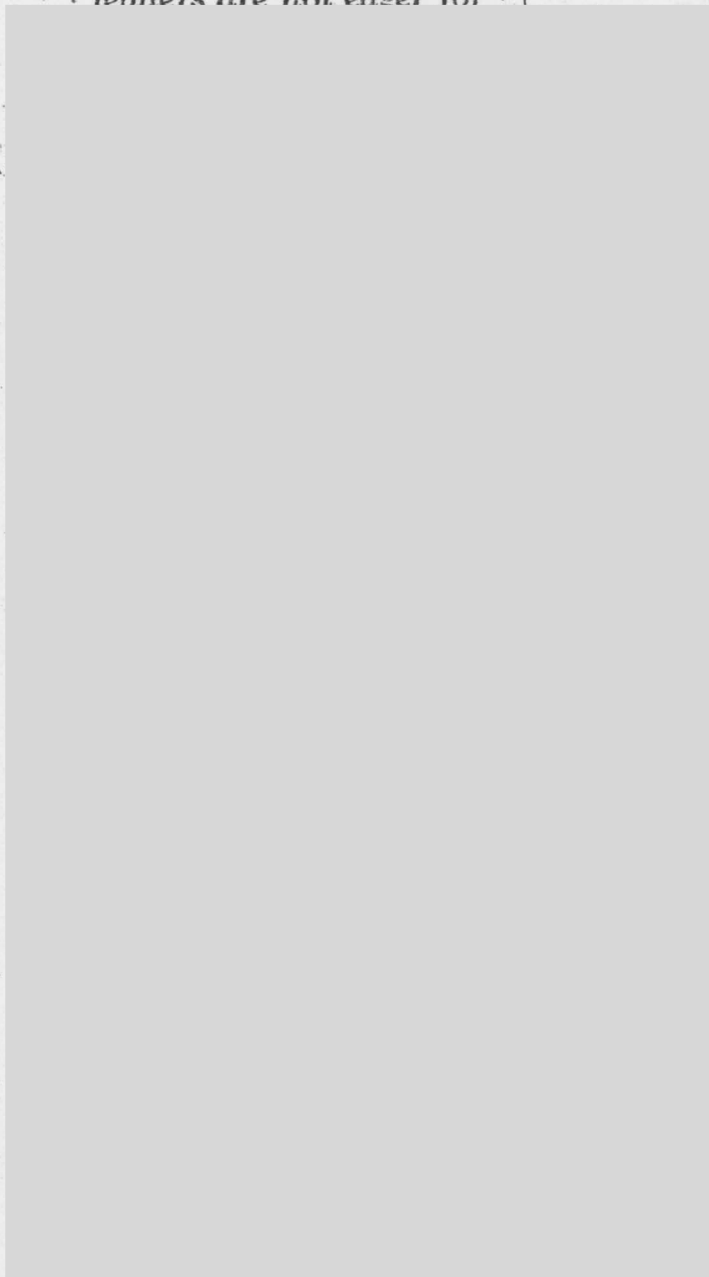
— OVER —

He
math
them
ord.
them
duck
move
signa
mori
wool
For
tested
some
A MIS



That is the core of the Republican problem. There are so few choices because the conservatives set such rigid standards for personal and ideological conduct within the party.

The core of the Republican problem is that party leaders are not eager for



So Few Choices for GOP

Wash. Star-News

3-2-75

'Party of the Comfortable' Battles Extinction,

By Jack Germond

Washington Star Staff Writer

Watching the Republicans these days is enough to make the most calloused politician weep for the two-party system.

But the alternative may be more damaging. If Ford were to retire, as so many party leaders expect that he will, it is now clear he would not do so until some time next year, which

cause the party's progressives are, as they have demonstrated in convention after convention, both outnumbered and inept. But the Republican left is also vocal and uncompromising about those it perceives as plotters against the 20th

that Hubert Humphrey has been running since the Year of the Big Wind. But there have been other Democrats along the way. — Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy in 1968, George McGovern and Edmund Muskie in 1972, Henry Jackson and a half dozen





MARIANNE MEANS

Baltimore News

America 3/4/75

Will Reagan Run In '76?

Despite his repeated public disclaimers, former Gov. Ronald Reagan is moving slowly but steadily toward a presidential candidacy in 1976. He rejected the strategy he used in 1968, when he pretended to be disinterested in the presidency until convention eve. He had hoped to dazzle the delegates with his last-



3-9-75 41.2

Keep Principles of 1972, Reagan Tells Republicans

By Arnold B Sawislak

United Press International

Ronald Reagan told more than 2,000 delegates to a party-building conference yesterday that the GOP can

mer president's victory three years ago, "in the 1972 election we had a new majority — a long overdue realignment based not on party labels but on basic philosophies."

REAGAN GOT enthusiastic applause and several standing, cheering ovations as he attacked the Democrats for "40 years of social tinkering and economic experimentation."



6 Aug 3-9-75

Reagan bids GOP keep principles

By PETER J. KUMPA
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington. — Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan told a cheering Republican leadership conference here yesterday that the GOP must

REAGAN, from Al
other speakers, the Californian avoided any call for support of Mr. Ford.

The two-day conference of the party was designed to raise ideas for the Republican direction in the future. It ended on a divided note with moderates proposing a broader and more open party, while conservatives were rejecting compromises, although GOP fortunes are at their lowest

"If we give up the fight against inflation and turn to fighting recession," Governor Reagan said, "we'll go right back to the inflationary spiral and eventual destruction of our system."

"Only by enduring a market adjustment, a recession if you will, can we stop inflation and restore the stability of the dollar," he went on.

"Inflation has one cause and one cause only: government spending more than govern-



Analysis

3-10-75

4112

GOP cheered Ford, but Reagan stirred it

Baltimore

By PETER J. KUMPA

Sun

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—As the two-day Republican Party Leadership Conference that ended Saturday demonstrated, President Ford faces a formidable challenge from the right on con-

at this time not too likely—scenario that could push Mr. Ford out of the 1976 political picture.

First, the economy lags on at its present desultory, stag-

Mr. Reagan can win enough Republican votes to make President Ford's position untenable.

If we take the example of President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1968, the Reagan forces would not need a majority.

What are the chances of such a battle within the Republican ranks?

The odds depend on how well Mr. Ford performs in his main



TOUGHEST CHALLENGER

Reagan: More and Less Than Meets the Eye

BY ROBERT SHOGAN

Times Political Writer

One recent Saturday afternoon found Ronald Reagan in a room in Washington's Madison Hotel in a familiar posture. Hunched over a coffee table, he scribbled barely decipherable notes on a pack of 4-by-6 cards.

A few hours later, in a banquet hall filled with 1,000 ardent conservatives, Reagan gracefully translated his cryptography into a stream of statistics, punchy anecdotes and patriotic battle cries which brought down the house.

Probably no other politician around does this so well. In 10 years, Reagan's mastery of live and television audiences has greatly helped to carry him to where he is today. With President Ford, having only a wobbly hold on his party, Reagan is widely regarded as the GOP's most likely replacement if Mr. Ford should step aside in 1976, and the most formidable challenger if Mr. Ford seeks the nomination.

But there is more—and also less—to Ronald Reagan than meets the eyes of his audiences.

He combines a gift for sensing the troublesome anxieties shared by factory hands and suburbanites with a pragmatism which has helped him, while in office, avoid the worst excesses of right-wing rigidity.

But his frequent indulgence in slogans and simplism reflects a lack of intellectual discipline. And even some of his supporters question whether he has the will and nerve to exploit the opportunity that looms before him.

Reagan is the latest inheritor of a rich political legacy, the conservative forces who form the backbone of the Republican Party. Among their modern heroes, Reagan has the broadest appeal; he is warmer and more personable than the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, blander and smoother than Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

On the face of it, he has an impos-

ing public record. Elected and re-elected to govern the nation's largest and perhaps most diversified state, he emerged personally free of scandal, and left behind a treasury surplus, to which he can, and does, point with pride.

Liberal critics recall his early bungling in Sacramento and complain that his tax policies favored big business and the well-to-do. But Reagan's out-of-state audiences like to hear him tell of his relentless, if not always successful, efforts to hold down the size and cost of government.

Recounting his battles with liberal legislators, Reagan told the conservative group in Washington: "Unable to make them see the light, we often took our case to the people, who made them feel the heat."

Now Reagan feels that all America may be receptive to the kind of ideas and rhetoric that won him success in California.

There's certainly a polarization taking place among people and philosophical differences are becoming pretty clear-cut," he told a visitor at the Madison.

The "new majority" that reelected Richard M. Nixon in 1972 was mainly a reaction against the Democratic Party's program, Reagan said. The need in 1976, he said, is for Republican leadership and a program in which those same people dissatisfied with the other choice can say, "This is what we've been looking for."

Not all Republicans are convinced that Reagan is what the GOP and the country are looking for. Kentucky state GOP Chairman Charles Coy, no flaming liberal, once pronounced him to be "thinner than spit on a slate rock."

Reagan's record in California, and the testimony of those who know him best, suggest that his mind is quicker and keener than his severest critics believe. He worked hard in Sa-

Please Turn to Page 3, Col. 2

cramento to overcome his previous limited experience in public affairs.

But he has yet to prove that he can draw on his conservative tenets to find feasible solutions to a broad range of complex national problems.

Reagan's line that "the painful fact is we can only halt inflation by undergoing a period of economic dislocation—a recession if you will," didn't even get applause from the conservative meeting in Washington. In a time of soaring unemployment, it is not a vision likely to help build a new majority.

In international affairs, where he

has little firsthand knowledge, some of Reagan's utterances are flavored with jingoism. He remarked that Harry S. Truman, whom he otherwise admires, didn't "see far enough down the road" during the Korean war.

"He should have said at the Yalu River what the farmers said at Concord bridge: 'If they mean to have a war, let it start here.' I don't think it would have started," Reagan added.

Reagan's temperament stirs misgiving among hot-blooded ideologues and cold-eyed politicians. Some see him as overly conventional and cautious, too concerned about allowing himself to look foolish.

Mindful of stories that Reagan prefers a quiet evening at home to appearing at a rally or strategy session, some party professionals question whether he has the drive to take on the burdens of a national campaign.

At the moment Reagan is still pondering his course for 1976. Some of

LA Times
3-16-75



HOLD MEETING IN CULLMAN

Reagan, Wallace cool to third party ticket

BY AL FOX, News staff writer

CULLMAN—Two of the nation's major presidential contenders in the 1976 races Friday threw cold water on predictions of a third party ticket as they met in the north Alabama city.

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California said he was "more interested in a new second party" but Gov. George C. Wallace did not say whether he would support such a ticket.

where the event was a sold-out crowd of 1,600 persons at \$10 per person. His task was to introduce Reagan to Alabama. In doing so, he praised the governor's record while in office for eight years.

Reagan returned the praise and said that, "Few men have ever been called upon to show the courage of Gov. Wallace."

Reagan, the former movie star who was in 51 feature films before getting into politics, is an ardent supporter of private

that he had his doubts as to whether Wallace could win his party's nomination.

As to himself being the nominee of the Republican Party, Reagan said that "is way down the road. Why don't you ask me about a year from now."

Reagan would not get into any details on the Central Intelligence Agency's attempt to raise a Soviet submarine from

file
for Calif Reagan
info 2

GOP elements seriously talking of Buckley as party candidate in '76

BY DEAN REED, News Washington staff
WASHINGTON — The big new name now being talked of seriously as a potential Republican presidential nominee in 1976 is Sen. Jim Buckley, the Conservative from New York.

Buckley is suddenly being pushed by right-leaning GOP elements—partly to force President Ford into a more conservative political posture, and partly because former California

Birmingham News, 3-23-75



Birmingham News, 3-23-75

AS HEAD OF STATE DEMO CHAIRMEN

Vance was too effective to suit Strauss

BY JAMES FREE, News Washington correspondent
WASHINGTON — "I shouldn't have tried to stretch a two-bagger into a home run," said Robert Vance with a rueful smile.

The Alabama Democratic chairman had just lost a hard-fought battle for re-election as president of the Association of Democratic Chairmen. He got 40 votes to 63 for Donald Fow-

most in many minds and told the caucus that it might be a "new and revitalized second party," rather than a third party, that is needed.

Edwards said that on the final day, Democratic State Rep. Louis Jenkins of Louisiana, "a member of Wallace's inner-circle" said: "Wallace is not doing anything at this time to encourage a third party. He is trying to capture the Democratic

come, invariably, from sources not at all close to Wallace. Any one even fairly close to Wallace would doubt that the Alabama governor would take second place on anything but the Democratic presidential ticket.

After making a most respectable showing at the head of an independent party ticket in 1968, Wallace would hardly be tempted to play second fiddle to anyone in another such at-

old / - must not GOF
 recip receipt SF - 3 1/2 hrs
 trip eng / rd sit Wash / Fpe
 net of Rep party
 From: Robert T. Hartmann

THE WHITE HOUSE
 WASHINGTON

To: _____

Date: _____ Time _____

1. Ladies to Sit. trip

1. French msg

2. Reagan - London

3. Friedman / Thundervind
 Kathy Wooten w Orben & Ken
 Venture Inn
 no faults (war among them)

~~4. Polster coming Sat.~~

5. Phil Worden / Jerry Waven

6. Wessen - Reagan

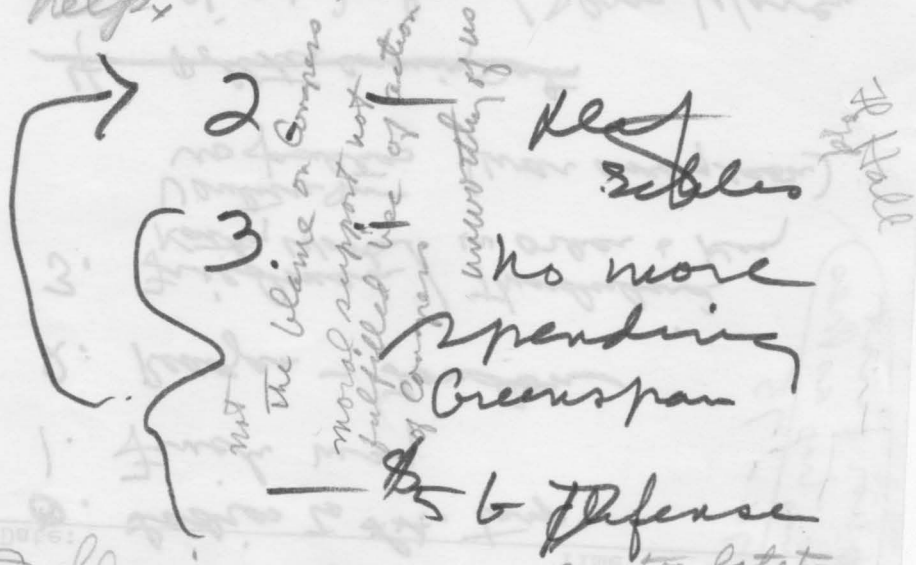


Orben - grip at SD

PC - all happy - on the hoof
 am plucky Ron Barnett UPI photo
 but am not stupid

first first
 plan spring trip as per
 winter 74-75

Really touch w K & other, studying
 reports, many diff not done by for
 but by Am doing it to themselves, no
 enemies think Am, can be safely
 challenged, no friends shed worry
 abt an American
 commitment. Will couple yrs
 congress for
 Maximum of human relation
 help.



Schlesinger PC
 VP - too late to stop reds, refugees trapped
 in 73 grey boat will to die in order
 V/N being US Comm use force
 did at that time, I see Proc
 Aug 9 - Congress had voted Summer 73
 Next 30 days C forces into Saigon area, test of govt's ab-to platitudes
 def plain - not to snuff out hope -
 govt up to V/N - evoc going 15 to 45 nonlessentia US
 with rem personnel from P
 emergency all up

April 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: JACK CALKINS
RE: Governor Reagan's visit to London

Governor Ronald Reagan and Mrs. Reagan will depart New York on Saturday, April 5, via TW 702, arriving London 8:55 p.m. that evening. Scheduled return is on Wednesday, April 9, via TW 761 direct to Los Angeles.

Governor Reagan has written Ambassador Richardson requesting an appointment with the Ambassador. Reagan's advance man, Dennis LeBlanc, arrived in London today and is staying at the Grosvenor House on Park Lane, telephone: 499-6363. He has the details of Reagan's schedule. Suggest Richardson's aide or secretary telephone LeBlanc to reach a mutually agreeable time for Reagan's meeting with Richardson.

I am informed that all of their evenings are scheduled in addition to the Pilgrim Society Dinner on Monday evening.

Bob Hartmann advises me the President would like every appropriate courtesy extended to Governor Reagan by Ambassador Richardson and his staff and this can be coordinated with LeBlanc.

The above information was obtained by me from Peter Hannaford in Los Angeles, telephone: 213-477-8231. Hannaford will accompany the Reagans to London and will remain a week following their departure on April 9.

JTC:nm

cc: RTH



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1975

General Scowcroft: I spoke with Mr. Hartmann on the phone and he says Gov. Reagan is leaving the end of the week. Is to speak in London on April 7th.

Thinks you can surely reach the Gov. in California through the W.H. switchboard.

Neta Messersmith

*Greenup
Early aft
tomorrow*

✓

a.m.
p.m.

*Margaret Thatcher, new
head of Conservative Party
offer diplomatic courtesy*



Both ways
] THE WHITE HOUSE [
WASHINGTON

Greenwich
Early apt
tomorrow

From: Robert T. Hartmann

To: _____

Date: _____ Time _____ a.m.
p.m.

London, April 7

Appt to Pilgrim Society
has appt with
Margaret Thatcher, new
head of Conservative Party
offer diplomatic courtesy



UP-108

(REAGAN)

FORT WORTH, TEX. (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN ADDRESSED A CROWD OF 4,500 IN THIS CITY ON THE EDGE OF THE WEST TEXAS PLAINS TODAY AND AFTER HIS SPEECH ACCEPTED A PRISONER OF WAR BRACELET FROM THE FAMILY OF A PILOT MISSING IN INDOCHINA.

"NEVER AGAIN WILL THIS COUNTRY ASK YOUNG MEN TO FIGHT AND DIE FOR THIS COUNTRY UNLESS IT IS FOR A CAUSE THIS COUNTRY INTENDS TO WIN," REAGAN TOLD SUPPORTERS IN MAGNOLIA-SHADED BURKEBURNETT PARK ON THE EDGE OF THE DOWNTOWN DISTRICT.

LATER REAGAN, CAMPAIGNING AS THE FAVORITE FOR THE STATE'S 100 GOP DELEGATES IN THE MAY 1 GOP PRIMARY, SLIPPED ON HIS RIGHT WRIST A CHROME POW BRACELET PRESENTED TO HIM BY MRS. PAULA HARTNESS, THE WIFE OF A MISSING AIR FORCE PILOT.

THE BRACELET READ, "MAJ. GREGG HARTNESS 11-26-68," THE DATE HARTNESS, WHO WOULD NOW BE 39, WAS REPORTED MISSING IN LAOS.

"HE SAID WE SHOULD HAVE DEMANDED MORE INFORMATION FROM HANOI," MRS. HARTNESS SAID, QUOTING REAGAN.

REAGAN WAS NEARING THE END OF A THREE-DAY SWING ACROSS TEXAS, THE SECOND OF THREE CAMPAIGN TOURS.

MRS. HARTNESS, HER CHILDREN AND THE MISSING PILOT'S PARENTS, COL. AND MRS. WALLY HARTNESS, TALKED WITH REAGAN AND SAID THEY WANTED HIM TO REMEMBER GREGG.

DURING HIS SPEECH, REAGAN REPEATED HIS CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT FORD'S MILITARY STRATEGY AND THE ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION, USING FAMILIAR LINES.

HE SAID SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER WAS "BOWING AND SCRAPING" IN HIS DEALINGS WITH THE RUSSIANS.

"THE USSR IS SPENDING 50 PER CENT MORE ON WEAPONS THAN THE UNITED STATES," HE SAID.

"IF WE WERE TO GO TO WAR TOMORROW WE COULD EQUIP ONLY HALF OF OUR 16 DIVISIONS. WE ARE NO. 2 IN A WORLD WHERE IT IS DANGEROUS, IF NOT FATAL, TO BE SECOND BEST."

IN HIS TREK ACROSS SOUTH TEXAS, REAGAN SAID HE HAS NO INTENTION OF BOWING OUT OF THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL RACE AT ANY STAGE.

"I INTEND TO BE IN THIS RACE ALL THE WAY TO KANSAS CITY AND BEYOND," HE TOLD 600 CHEERING SUPPORTERS AT A BREAKFAST IN HOUSTON. "WE'RE IN THIS TOGETHER. I'M JUST HOPING AND PRAYING I'LL BE WHISTLING 'THE EYES OF TEXAS.'"

UPI 04-15 05:18 PES

UP-109

RTA
To: Chicago Tribune--New York News Syndicate, Inc.
220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, April 17, 1975

Not Before

BY LOUIS HARRIS

Ronald Reagan could be the spoiler for President Ford in 1976. If the former California Governor were to bolt the Republican Party and run as a conservative candidate, he could receive as much as 21 per cent of the vote. This would destroy any chance of the President winning the White House in his own right.

When pitted in a trial heat against Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine as the Democratic nominee for 1976, President Ford ends up in a flat-footed tie at 45-45 per cent. But when likely voters were asked to choose between Mr. Ford, Sen. Muskie, and Gov. Reagan as a third party nominee, the results were: Ford - 29 per cent; Muskie - 39 per cent, and Reagan 21 per cent.

This could mean serious trouble for President Ford. If he runs on a very conservative platform and the recession is still on, he would probably not even hold his present vote. On the other hand, Republican conservatives have often said that they would punish Mr. Ford if he veers toward the liberal side and the possibility of Reagan running puts muscle behind their threats. Of course, Reagan has not yet said he would bolt the GOP and make such a run, but he has openly courted discontented Republicans on the right. He also has visited Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, sparking rumors of a Reagan-Wallace or Wallace-Reagan third party ticket in 1976.

(MORE)



While it is unlikely that Ronald Reagan could win, the 21 per cent recorded for him equals the high water mark recorded in the Harris Survey for Gov. Wallace back in September of 1968.

Between April 1 and 4, a national cross section of 1,274 likely voters in 1976 were asked:

"If the 1976 election for President were being held today, and if you had to choose, would you vote for President Gerald Ford for the Republicans or for Senator Edmund Muskie for the Democrats?"

FORD-MUSKIE TREND

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Not</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sure</u>
			<u>%</u>
April 1975	45	45	10
Nov. 1974	49	42	9
May	44	43	13
March	48	46	6

Muskie was chosen for the test, not because he has in any way indicated he would run in 1976, but because he has consistently run a strong race as a Democrat in trial pairings. A comparable cross-section of likely voters was asked:

"Now suppose in 1976, President Ford ran for President as the Republican candidate, Senator Muskie as the Democratic candidate, and former Governor Ronald Reagan ran on an Independent Conservative Party ticket. If you had to choose right now, would you vote for Ford the Republican, Muskie the Democrat, or Reagan the Independent?"

FORD, MUSKIE, REAGAN RACE

	<u>Total Likely Voters</u>
	<u>%</u>
Ford	29
Muskie	39
Reagan	21
Not Sure	11

(MORE)



The real clue to the Reagan threat can be seen in the following table which shows the Ford vote with and without the former California governor in the race:

FORD SHOWING AMONG KEY GROUPS
WITH REAGAN IN AND OUT OF THE RACE

	With Reagan	With Reagan	Net
	Out	In	Shift
	%	%	%
<u>Ford Vote:</u>			
<u>Nation</u>	45	29	-16
South	50	32	-18
West	51	24	-27
Small towns	51	31	-20
Rural	52	28	-24
Conservatives	60	35	-25
Republicans	83	57	-26
1972 Nixon voters	65	42	-23

It is clear that a Reagan run as a third party candidate would go straight to the heart of the constituency that Gerald Ford needs to win in 1976: conservative, small town voters in the South and the West, particularly those who cast their ballots for Richard Nixon in 1972. There is little doubt now that the conservative rumblings on the right are an ominous sign for President Ford as he assesses his political future in 1976.

(C) 1975 by the Chicago Tribune

World Rights Reserved



RTA
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 25, 1975

TO: Jack Calkins

FROM: JERRY WARREN

FYI

Reagan file



APR 25 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: JERRY WARREN
FROM: JON HOORNS TRA
SUBJECT: RONALD REAGAN



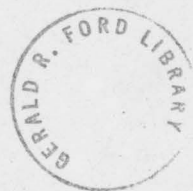
The attached is a list of cities in which Human Events pays the bills for Reagan's new broadcast commentaries.

I think it is notable that HE is sponsoring fully four stations in Florida alone--which is the second state in the series of Presidential primaries.

A bit less significant, though interesting, is that HE is carrying the program in two Ohio cities (which I think follows the Wisconsin primary) and two California cities (the last primary before the convention).

For those who believe Reagan plans to seriously challenge the President for the nomination, this looks like good supporting evidence.

Note: Jim concurs.



Reagan Broadcasts

HUMAN EVENTS is now sponsoring former Gov. Ronald Reagan's radio commentary, "American Viewpoint," in the following cities. Broadcast times vary from place to place, so interested listeners should check with their local stations.

Albuquerque, N.M.
Boston, Mass.
Casper, Wyo.
Charleston, S.C.

KOB (770Kc)
WCOP (1150Kc)
KTWO (1470Kc)
WOKF (1340Kc)

Human Events

4-26-75



RTA
W

CHARLES G. BAKALY, JR.

611 WEST SIXTH STREET

LOS ANGELES

April 29, 1975

The Honorable Robert Hartman
Counselor to The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

Enclosed are three pieces of literature I received in one day.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Chuck

Charles G. Bakaly, Jr.

CGB:gg
Enc.



REAGAN RADIO PROJECT

OF YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION



Fellow American,

Let's put Ronald Reagan on national radio and TV!

Ronald Reagan's common sense message needs to be heard by every American. His solutions to the welfare mess, our economic woes, rising crime, and bulging bureaucracy must be aired into every nook and cranny of this great land.

The words of this man can lead this nation out of the domestic crisis we face. His wisdom can turn this nation around.

In January of this year former Governor Reagan began syndicating a national radio program. Within one month 200 stations were airing his program and 30 more stations each week are picking up the broadcast.

Unfortunately the Reagan Radio Program is still not being aired in many major cities. Millions of Americans do not have an opportunity to hear the message of former Governor Reagan.

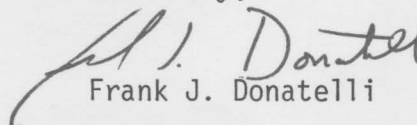
You can help Young America's Foundation put Ronald Reagan on the air in these major markets and in your local community by making a tax-deductible contribution to the Reagan Radio Project.

If we receive strong support for his radio broadcast and demand is great enough former Governor Reagan may syndicate a national TV program.

PLEASE...we must put Ronald Reagan on the air in every community across the nation including yours. In order to purchase time on 20 stations in major markets we will need nearly \$100,000.

Whatever you can send, a few dollars, perhaps as much as \$100 (or even more if possible) will be used to put Ronald Reagan on the air!

Sincerely,


Frank J. Donatelli



P.S. Be sure and include the name of your local station. Also, everyone who responds to this appeal will receive transcripts of recent broadcasts by former Governor Reagan.

IF YOU RECEIVE MORE THAN ONE COPY OF THIS APPEAL
Please understand that we are using many mailing lists in this important project
and that occasional duplications will occur.
Won't you share any extra copies you receive with a friend? Thanks for your
understanding and continued support.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

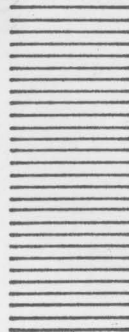
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY

REAGAN RADIO PROJECT
% YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION
Route 2, Box 65
Woodland Road, Suite B
Sterling, Virginia 22170

FIRST CLASS

Permit No. 35

Sterling, Va.



4 62



THE SHARON STATEMENT

"Adopted in Conference at Sharon, Connecticut, September 9-11, 1960."

IN THIS TIME of moral and political crisis, it is the responsibility of the youth of America to affirm certain eternal truths.

WE, as young conservatives, believe:

THAT foremost among the transcendent values is the individual's use of his God-given free will, whence derives his right to be free from the restrictions of arbitrary force;

THAT liberty is indivisible, and that political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom;

THAT the purposes of government are to protect these freedoms through the preservation of internal order, the provision of national defense, and the administration of justice;

THAT when government ventures beyond these rightful functions, it accumulates power which tends to diminish order and liberty;

THAT the Constitution of the United States is the best arrangement yet devised for empowering government to fulfill its proper role, while restraining it from the concentration and abuse of power;

THAT the genius of the Constitution—the division of powers—is summed up in the clause which reserves primacy to the several states, or to the people, in those spheres not specifically delegated to the Federal Government;

THAT the market economy, allocating resources by the free play of supply and demand, is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and constitutional government, and that it is at the same time the most productive supplier of human needs;

THAT when government interferes with the work of the market economy, it tends to reduce the moral and physical strength of the nation; that when it takes from one man to bestow on another, it diminishes the incentive of the first, the integrity of the second, and the moral autonomy of both;

THAT we will be free only so long as the national sovereignty of the United States is secure; that history shows periods of freedom are rare, and can exist only when free citizens concertedly defend their rights against all enemies;

THAT the forces of international Communism are, at present, the greatest single-threat to these liberties;

THAT the United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, this menace; and

THAT American foreign policy must be judged by this criterion: does it serve the just interests of the United States?

First Class
Permit No. 34
Sterling, Va.

Business Reply Mail No Postage Necessary If Mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by

Young Americans for Freedom
National Headquarters
Route 2, Box 65
Woodland Road
Sterling, Virginia 22170



"GOVERNMENT, LIKE FIRE,
IS A DANGEROUS SERVANT
AND A FEARFUL MASTER."

—George Washington

NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Rep. Leslie Areeda, IL
Rep. William L. Armstrong, CO
Rep. John M. Ashbrook, OH
Rep. L. A. Baffa, FL
Rep. Lamar Baker, TN
Rep. Robert E. Bauman, MD
Rep. Robin Beard, TN
Rep. Mario Biaggi, NY
Rep. William G. Bray, IN
Rep. William E. Brock, IL, TN
Rep. Joel T. Broynhill, VA
Rep. John H. Buchanan, AL
Rep. James L. Buckley, NY
Rep. Clair Burgener, CA
Rep. J. Herbert Burke, FL
Rep. Omar Burton, TX
Rep. John N. Happy Camp, OK
Rep. Elford Cederberg, MI
Rep. Donald D. Clancy, OH
Rep. Don H. Clausen, CA
Rep. Del Clawson, CA
Rep. Thad Cochran, MS
Rep. Harold Collins, IL
Rep. James Collins, TX
Rep. Philip M. Crane, IL
Rep. Carl T. Curtis, NE
Rep. Robert W. Daniel, Jr., VA
Rep. W. C. Dan Daniel, VA
Rep. Samuel L. Devine, OH
Rep. William Dickinson, AL
Rep. William J. B. Dorn, SC
Rep. Thomas N. Downing, VA
Rep. John J. Duncan, TN
Rep. James O. Eastland, MS
Rep. Paul Fannin, AZ
Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr., NY
Rep. O. C. Fisher, TX
Rep. Walter Flowers, AL
Rep. Benjamin Gilman, NY
Rep. Barry M. Goldwater, AZ
Rep. Barry M. Goldwater, AZ
Rep. George Goodling, PA
Rep. James R. Grover, Jr., NY
Rep. James F. Hastings, NY
Sen. Clifford P. Hansen, WY
Rep. James F. Hastings, NY
Rep. Jesse Helms, NC
Rep. Elwood Hillis, IN
Rep. Marjorie S. Hoid, MD
Rep. Craig Hosmer, CA
Rep. Robert J. Huber, MI
Rep. William H. Hudnut, IL, IN
Rep. Edward Hutchinson, MI
Rep. Richard Ichord, MO
Rep. Jack Kemp, NY
Rep. William Keckhurn, CA
Rep. Carleton J. King, NY
Rep. Earl Landgrave, IN
Rep. Delbert L. Latta, OH
Rep. Norman R. Lent, NY
Rep. Trent Lott, MS
Rep. Manuel Lujan, NM
Rep. Bob Mathias, CA
Sen. James McClure, ID
Rep. Robert H. Michel, IL
Rep. Clarence Miller, OH
Rep. Wilmer D. Mitchell, OH
Rep. Wilmer D. Mizell, NC
Rep. Carlos J. Moorehead, CA
Rep. Bill Nichols, AL
Rep. Stanford E. Parfitt, VA
Rep. Peter Peyser, NY
Rep. Walter E. Powell, OH
Rep. Bob Price, TX
Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, VA
Rep. Paul G. Rogers, FL
Rep. Angelo Roncallo, NY
Rep. John Rouselet, CA
Rep. Earl B. Ruth, NC
Rep. Charles Sandman, NJ
Rep. William Scherle, IA
Sen. William L. Scott, VA
Rep. Richard Stimp, MT
Rep. Gene Snyder, KY
Rep. Floyd Spence, SC
Rep. Sam Steiger, AZ
Rep. Robert L. F. Syme, FL
Rep. Steven D. Symms, ID
Rep. Charles M. Teague, CA
Rep. Strom Thurmond, SC
Rep. Victor Vesecky, CA
Rep. Joe D. Weggott, Jr., LA
Rep. William Walsh, NY
Rep. John Ware, PA
Rep. G. William Whitehurst, VA
Rep. James L. Whitten, MS
Rep. Charles Wiggins, CA
Rep. Lawrence G. Williams, PA
Rep. C. W. Young, FL
Rep. Edward Young, SC
Rep. Roger Zion, IN

YAF SPONSOR PROGRAM

As an American interested in preserving America and her institutions you are invited to join the YAF Sponsor Program. Established to put Young Americans for Freedom on a continuing sound financial basis, Sponsors place their trust in YAF by giving their pledge of continued financial support.

The only way YAF can counter the tactics and projects of the radical left is to build chapters and attract members across the nation . . . and these chapters must be given services to aid them in their front lines struggle. They must have books, films, magazines and publications targeting the fallacies of radical liberalism. If you and other concerned Americans pledge your support on a continuing basis, it will insure that these young patriots will be given the supplies and information necessary to expose the doctrine of permissiveness pouring forth from America's colleges and universities.

The pressures of skyrocketing rent, oppressive taxes and an unrestrained crime rate in Washington D.C. have forced Young Americans for Freedom to move the YAF National Headquarters to Sterling, Virginia. The quiet, rolling countryside of Virginia once frequented by such great Americans as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, provides the ideal atmosphere for the patriotic efforts of Young Americans for Freedom.

Young Americans for Freedom appreciates and needs your continued support.

Young Americans for Freedom



"Building Leadership for a Conservative America"

I would like to become a Sponsor of Young Americans for Freedom. I have enclosed my monthly pledge in the amount indicated and understand that I will receive a monthly reminder and pledge envelope from Young Americans for Freedom.

☐ \$5 ☐ \$7.50 ☐ \$10.00 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ other \$ _____

I do not wish to participate in the YAF pledge program at this time, but have enclosed my contribution for the area designated.

☐ \$10 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$1000 ☐ \$5000 ☐ \$10,000

☐ other \$ _____

☐ Campus Action ☐ Mortgage Retirement Fund ☐ Community action ☐ other _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make your personal, or corporate check payable to Young Americans for Freedom _____

YAF FREEDOM CENTER

A Freedom Center, created to preserve the ideals of individual liberty and constitutional government for this and future generations, is being planned by Young Americans for Freedom. Already an existing building on an eight acre tract near Sterling, Virginia has been purchased and renovated. This building now serves as the National Headquarters of Young Americans for Freedom. Much more than a physical setting, this Center will serve as the focal point for services and inspiration for young Americans. The Young Americans who are striving to maintain a prosperous and moral, free society.

The Freedom Center will increase YAF's effectiveness in thwarting plans by well financed and trained leftist revolutionaries to bring anarchy and chaos to America. These committed young Americans have won time and again, thanks directly to the services and facilities your dollars have made possible. YAF must continue to have your support as the struggle for individual freedom intensifies.

Plans call for more than existing operational facilities, but also a Freedom Library, lecture halls, meeting facilities for conservative gatherings, an expanded film library and audio-visual areas. Efforts are being made to locate other patriotic organizations in the Freedom Center, greatly reducing costs to YAF, and maximizing the talents, resources and ideas available in the tasks ahead.

You can be a part of this really exciting event by contributing to the YAF Mortgage Retirement Fund. Perhaps you would like to donate specific items such as desks, projectors, printing equipment or library furnishings. The Freedom Library or another special service area could be dedicated in honor of your family or a person you designate; a gesture that will live for decades. We need your donation now to the YAF Freedom Center, no matter how large or small, to start this dream toward reality. The Freedom Center could so firmly plant the ideals of individual freedom and responsibility that generations will pass before America is again threatened by the ideology of tyranny. You can help make that goal come true by deciding now to help establish the YAF Freedom Center.

Board of Directors

FRANK DONATELLI

Executive Director

Young Americans for Freedom

RONALD PEARSON

Former Executive Secretary

World Youth Crusade for Freedom

WAYNE THORBURN

Chairman, Young

America's Campaign Committee

National Advisory Council

(Partial Listing)

JOHN ASHBROOK

U.S. Representative

LLOYD M. BUCHER

Former Commander, USS Pueblo

DR. GEORGE W. CAREY

Georgetown University

DR. JOHN P. EAST

East Carolina State University

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

U.S. Industrial Council

HERBERT PHILBRICK

Author, "I Led Three Lives"

DR. MAX RAFFERTY

Troy State University

JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

U.S. Representative

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Publisher, National Review

FLOYD SPENCE

U.S. Representative

STEVE SYMMS

U.S. Representative

(Titles for Identification Only)

**THE REAGAN RADIO PROGRAM IS NONPARTISAN,
NONPOLITICAL IN NATURE. SHOULD FORMER
GOVERNOR REAGAN AT ANY FUTURE DATE DE-
CLARE HIS CANDIDACY FOR ANY PUBLIC OFFICE,
YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION MUST DISCON-
TINUE THE REAGAN RADIO PROJECT.**

☐ Yes, I want to help put Ronald Reagan on radio stations in all 50 states.
I am enclosing my tax-deductible contribution in the amount of:

☐ \$5000 ☐ \$1000 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$____other

☐ I am especially interested in hearing Ronald Reagan on a radio station in my community. _____.

(Please make necessary corrections in address shown below.)

NOTE: Young America's Foundation may accept contributions from corporations and tax exempt foundations.

CHARLES G BAKALY JR
611 W 6TH STREET
LOS ANGELES, CA 90017

Make all checks payable to: Reagan Radio Project and return in enclosed pre-paid envelope. ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE.

Conservative Conference Considers New Party



Concerned about the radical politics of the Democratic Party, and the leftward rush by the Republican Party, conservatives from virtually every state in the nation met in Washington, D.C., from February 13-16, 1975, to consider the future course of the movement and of the country.

The Conservative Political Action Conference, co-sponsored by Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union, brought together over 700 conservatives to hear the views of their national leaders and to discuss themselves what needs to be done to preserve or revamp the national political party structure.

At the opening session, Robert Bauman, former national chairman of YAF and present U.S. Representative from Maryland's first district, set the stage by pointing out the liberal track record of the Republican Party, which has, under recent and present leadership, abandoned the principles of lim-

ited government, balanced budgets, a strong national defense. He urged a realignment of the two major parties into liberal and conservative parties, ones which clearly state the principles on which they build their policies and run their candidates.

This question was considered again and again throughout the conference, by such acknowledged leaders as Congressman Philip Crane of Illinois; M. Stanton Evans, chairman of the American Conservative Union; Jeffrey Bell, former aide to Governor Reagan; national YAF chairman Ron Docksai; Mississippi GOP chairman Clarke Reed; Senator Jesse Helms; Congressman John Ashbrook; noted political analyst Kevin Phillips; F. Clifton White, architect of the Goldwater nomination victory; *National Review* publisher William Rusher; professor and party specialist Dr. Thomas Ireland.

Continued on Page 2

BOX 65, STERLING, VA. 22170

disillusion

ON LIBERTY

SPRING, 1975, VOLUME V, NO. 2

a
quarterly
publication
of
Young Americans
for Freedom



Conservative Conference Considers New Party

Continued from Page 1

In addition to the debate over a new party, conservatives heard from Dr. William Schneider of the staff of Senator James Buckley and Dr. James Dornan of Catholic University on the critical state of our national defense. U.S. Commissioner of Welfare Robert Carleson, and the head of the Philadelphia Society, David Mieselman, analyzed and proposed welfare reform, and Congressman Jack Kemp and Washington economic consultant Dr. Norman Turé led the discussion of the causes and cures of inflation and recession.

At the Conservative Awards banquet Friday, February 14, Senator James Allen of Alabama, Representative Sam Steiger of Arizona, and author/editor Robert Barron were chosen as the award recipients for their outstanding and consistent contributions to the cause of freedom.

Saturday panels included Congressmen John Rousselot and Sam Steiger; economist Yale Brozen; and head of the National Taxpayers Union, James Davidson on "The Regulated American"; as well as state Senators Buz Lukens, James Inhofe, Louis Jenkins, and Donald Totten, on the role of the states in our federal system. Saturday's activities were climaxed by the banquet which featured remarks by William Rusher and James Buckley, and a major address by Ronald Reagan.

In his speech, Reagan pointed to his own impressive record in California as a model for bringing government bureaucracies under control. He also urged that the Republican party raise a new standard, a standard which affirms the principles which made this nation great, the standard of fiscal integrity, the free market, self help,

strong defense, and sound money. He closed with the admonition, "and if there are those who cannot subscribe to these principles, let us go forward without them."

At the resolutions session on Sunday, chaired by New York Conservative Party leader J. Daniel Mahoney, the conference participants passed overwhelmingly a resolution which established the Committee on Conservative Alternatives. This group, whose members include John Ashbrook; Robert Bauman; Ron Docksai; M. Stanton Evans; Jesse Helms; Eli Howell, former assistant to Governor George Wallace; Maine Republican National Committeeman Cyril Joly; James Lyon, Harris County (Texas) Republican Finance Committee Chairman; J. Daniel Mahoney; William Rusher; Phyllis Schlafly; Robert Walker, and Thomas Winter, will "review and assess the current political situation and develop future opportunities", and will "report back to the attendees at the conference and other interested conservatives and call another national meeting, if deemed necessary, to chart more explicitly the future course of conservatism".



Bumper 5 for \$1.00, 35 for \$5.00, 100 for \$10.00 or
Stickers \$65.00 per thousand. Add 10% for postage and
17 x 3 1/2, Red, handling. Order from: Alpha Associates,
White, & Blue 10409 Ballsford Rd., Manassas, Va. 22110.

Introduce A Young American to THE NEW GUARD

THE MAGAZINE OF

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM, INC.

Please send me a subscription to New Guard for:

- ☐ 1 year at \$5.00 (10 issues) ☐ 2 years at \$8.00 (20 issues) ☐ send me a sample issue.

Send to: New Guard, Woodland Road, Sterling, Virginia 22170

Enclosing check or money order for \$ _____

Spring, 1975, Volume V, No. 2

Editor: Mary Fisk

Publisher: Frank Donatelli

Second class postage paid at Woodland Road, Sterling, Va. 22170 and at additional mailing offices.

DIALOGUE ON LIBERTY is published quarterly by Young Americans for Freedom, Inc., Woodland Road, Sterling, Va. 22170. (703-450-5162)

Address all editorial matters, letters to the editor, subscription inquiries, and changes of address to DIALOGUE ON LIBERTY, Young Americans for Freedom, Woodland Road, Sterling, Va. 22170.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Send old and new address (including either the mailing label or envelope from previous issue) with Zip Code number.

COPYRIGHT, 1975 in the U.S. by Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.

Subscription Rates \$1.00 per year.

Every two years, YAF members hold regional conventions in the eight geographic areas of the country. At these conferences, the members have the opportunity to elect their representative to the Board of Directors of YAF, the organization's policy-making body.

In addition, they can hear key conservative leaders speak on timely issues and strategy for effective action. Workshops and seminars provide for the exchange of ideas on projects, media relations, recruitment of new members, and a host of other topics necessary for continued growth.

The first conference was that for the Southwest region, held in Houston. Featured speakers included Anthony Harrigan of the United States Industrial Council; YAF chairman Ron Docksai; and Terry Quist, editor of *Right-On*, an outstanding independent student newspaper.

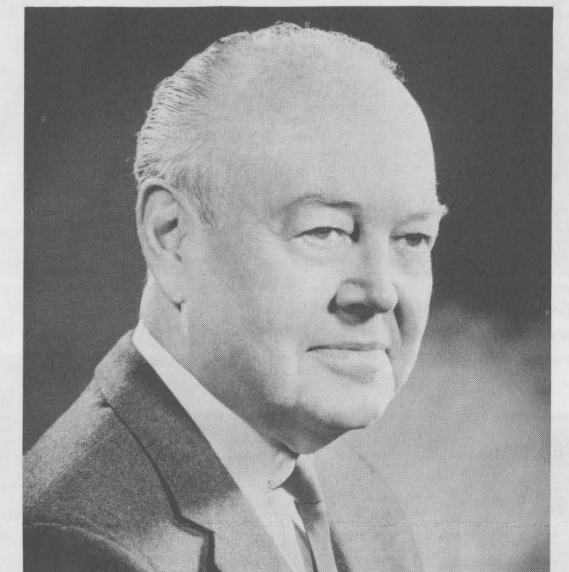
The Plains Conference was held the following week, March 14-16, in Lincoln, Nebraska. Reed Larson of the National Right to Work Committee was one of the major speakers.

The Southern regional was one of the finest, with such leading conservatives as Harry Byrd Jr. highlighting the weekend's activities.

The Mid-Atlantic Convention will be held April 4-6 at the Marriott Motor Hotel in Philadelphia. The Western conference is scheduled for April 11-13 at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, with Senator Jesse Helms as the invited Keynote speaker. Bellevue, Washington, will be the site of the Northwest Convention, with John Ashbrook and M. Stanton Evans as featured speakers.

The final conference will be at Boston College in Chestnut Hill, MASSACHUSETTS, on the weekend of April 25-27. The distinguished list of speakers includes New Hampshire Governor MELDRIM THOMSON and syndicated columnist DAVID BRUDNOY. A banquet is scheduled for Saturday, April 26, at the Sidney Hill Country Club. Dan Rea is conference chairman.

YAF



Dean Clarence Manion

Holds



John Ashbrook

Regional

Conventions



M. Stanton Evans

NEW GUARD

April 1975

60¢

CHARLES G. BAKALY JR.
611 W 6TH STREET
LOS ANGELES, CA 90017



reactions & rebuttals

To the Editor:

Some misguided leftists are trying to have capital punishment ruled unconstitutional, basing their argument on the "cruel and unusual punishment" clause of the Constitution. To a careful student of the Constitution, this argument is patently specious.

The 8th Amendment indeed does state, "nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." To determine whether capital punishment qualifies as such, it is instructive to see whether the Constitution itself gives any indication. The 5th Amendment states, "No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury. . . ." This reference in the 5th Amendment to capital crimes is an obvious indication that capital punishment is an accepted and legitimate practice. For certain crimes and for certain criminals, the death penalty is the most suitable answer.

The 5th and 8th Amendments were adopted concurrently, and therefore neither takes precedence over the other as to its Constitutional force. It is apparent that if capital punishment is to become Constitutionally a "cruel and unusual punishment", an additional Amendment will be required to abrogate the 5th Amendment's provision. Moreover, it is also apparent that, lacking such a future Amendment, the issue should be closed to judicial review.

Carl Olson
Woodland Hills, CA.

To the Editor:

The defense budget of the United States is inadequate because of inflation. Nevertheless, many members of Congress, our TV networks, and self-styled liberal papers are assaulting our entire defense system, while the military strength of Soviet Russia is increasing by leaps and bounds daily.

Wide circles of American citizens, including those of the Eastern European descent, are alarmed to see that

our machinery and wheat are sold to Soviet Russia. These sales strengthen the deficient Russian economic system and military potential.

These who advocate the detente between the United States and Soviet Russia disregard the warnings of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn that the Russian Communist leaders have no intention to honor any agreements with the United States, and that they do their very best to achieve the destruction of the United States. The facts should not be ignored that Soviet Russia has violated many international agreements and has occupied Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other countries in Eastern Europe.

Therefore, informed persons should ask the members of Congress to increase our defense budget considerably, and to do their best to oppose the selling of our machinery and wheat to our arch-enemy—Soviet Russia—and likewise refrain from making any concessions of credit to Russia. Besides, the Congress should be urged to encourage the explosive forces of nationalism of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, and the other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union—the large-scale prison of peoples—and weaken the Russian imperialism, colonialism, and aggression considerably.

Dr. Alexander V. Berkis
Professor of History

To the Editor:

The few individuals who have taken up the defense of traditionalist teachings on freedom have largely come out poorly by allowing the libertarians to define the nature of the debate. "Liberty," as Lord Acton observed, "is not the freedom to do what you want, but the freedom to do what you ought." Conservatism is not an exercise in maximizing freedom qua freedom, but in defining, preserving, and incorporating the ought into individual's life.

The debate should not center around which laws infringe upon an

individual's free will. They all do. The question is that defining a certain ideal as good, which for us is the Judeo-Christian heritage, how can we maximize individual adherence so that external compulsion is unnecessary. Hence, the primacy of prejudice as defined by Burke and the central role of family and church as providing restraints in man's relations to man, not as an adjunct, but as a necessary usurper to the encroachment of the state as a parent often stands between the state and his minor child.

Secondly, traditionalist immediately lose their creditability if they decide that the issue is "decriminalization" where the issue is the elimination of the concept of sin. As the socialists emerge from the proposition that not they themselves or God was responsible for their position in society and hence developed the apologia of exploiters and the oppressed, so too do libertarians insist that the state and its historical tradition are infringing upon their personal prerogatives. As freedom is allowed to be defined as free will, we come ever closer to Sweden or Brave New World where the most acceptable and acquirable freedom among any group of men is soma and pneumatic women.

To the Editor:

In January *New Guard*, both Henry Camden and William Rusher based part of their advocacies of a "conservative" majority party on Kevin Phillips' absurd work, *The Emerging Republican Majority*.

Interesting. Some of the policies implied in that book for the aspiring majority party include:

- expansion of public power.
- continued farm price supports.
- federal 'job creation'.
- retaining and raising the minimum wage laws.
- planned inflation.
- continued compulsory collective bargaining, and possible repeal of right-to-work laws.
- a high level of public works expenditures.

To some people, such a party may be worth the efforts of forming it and getting it on the ballot. But I'll not waste my shoes and knuckles circulating petitions, nor my time and travel in its founding conventions. It has been my impression that the goal of YAF is to move the center, not move into it.

Jack R. Patterson
Roanoke, Va.

(Continued on inside back cover)

IN THIS ISSUE:

The 1975 Conservative Political Action Conference held in Washington, D.C., in February was a major political event. Participants came from across the nation to hear conservative leaders and to discuss the possible formation of a new major political party.

NG's own political analyst **Henry Camden** explains the significance of CPAC, p. 6 . . . Former YAF National Chairman and current U.S. Representative from Maryland, **Robert Bauman**, kicked off the exciting conference with a ringing denunciation of the two major parties as they are presently structured, and offered realignment as a desirable reform, p. 7 . . . American Conservative Union Chairman, **M. Stanton Evans**, explored new party options, p. 11 . . . Ohio Congressman **John Ashbrook** presented a first-hand view of life within a party which has misplaced its principles, p. 13 . . . Photographs of the highlights of the Conference begin

NEW GUARD

THE MAGAZINE OF
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

EDITOR

Mary Fisk

PUBLISHER

Frank Donatelli

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

David Brudnoy
Jameson G. Campaigne, Jr.
Robert Moffit

ASSOCIATES

Phillip Abbott Luce
R. Gaines Smith
John Snyder
David Pietrusza

CORRESPONDENTS

Richard Bocklet
Eric Brodin

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

Pam Dutton

APRIL 1975

VOL XV, No. 3

on p. 16 . . . The most important task of the Conference was the initiation of the formal mechanism for exploring the alternative of a new party. The resolution which created this body and the other twelve policy statements of the CPAC participants are on p. 18 . . . North Carolina Senator **Jesse Helms** repeated his criticism of the major parties, and called for grass roots organization and a platform convention, p. 15 . . . Political analyst **Kevin Phillips** reported on the results of survey data, and found them promising, p. 25 . . . New York Senator **James Buckley** urged the return to principle, p. 27 . . . YAF Chairman **Ron Docksai** affirmed the need for the new party, p. 28 . . .

The conference was climaxed by the major address by **Ronald Reagan**, whom many view as the candidate to effect the change which is so urgently needed, p. 30.

(ED. note: because of the special nature of this issue, and the limitations of space, the *Books, Arts, and Things* section has not been included. It will return with the next issue.)

New Guard is published ten times a year, monthly, with combined issues in January/February and July/August by Young Americans for Freedom. Second class postage paid at Woodland Road, Sterling, Virginia 22170 and additional mailing offices. Copyright 1975 in the U.S. by Young Americans for Freedom. All correspondence, manuscripts, circulation orders and changes of address should be sent to *New Guard*, Woodland Road, Sterling, Virginia 22170. Telephone: (703) 450-5162. Subscription rates \$5 a year. (*New Guard* is also available in a microfilm edition from University Microfilms, 313 N. First St., Ann Arbor, Mich.) The editors welcome unsolicited manuscripts but request the enclosure of a self-addressed return envelope. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or of Young Americans for Freedom.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN O. MARSH
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

THRU: VERN LOEN VL

FROM: DOUGLAS P. BENNETT DPB

SUBJECT: Reagan-Wallace Ticket

Joe Waggoner told me this afternoon that an informal check was being taken on the Hill as to what sort of support conservatives would have for a 1976 Reagan-Wallace ticket.

cc: Donald Rumsfeld
→ Robert Hartmann
John Calkins

RTA

GERALD R. FORD

Ronald Reagan's column for
Copley News Service distribution, 5/19/75



Last fall, when two U.S. Senators visited Havana they had to sit through a long anti-U.S. speech by Cuban dictator Fidel Castro before he sat down to dinner with them.

Far from complaining, they came home confidently predicting and extolling "normalized" relations between the United States and Cuba --without so much as a word about quid pro quo conditions to be placed on any negotiations.

Castro doesn't seem as naive. Two weeks ago, Senator McGovern and a troop of newsmen went to Cuba and Castro was expansive by comparison to his earlier performance. He submitted to a wide-ranging news conference and intimated that he would consider releasing nine American prisoners and \$2 million of impounded airline hijack ransom money as a "gesture" toward better relations with the U.S. All this underscores the fact he needs us more than we need him.

Since 1962, the trade embargo of the Organization of American States has had a marked effect on Cuba. The island's economy is not much above the subsistence level. Even if the O.A.S. should vote to lift the embargo, allowing member nations to decide on trade individually, it is the potentiality of trade with the United States which is most important to the Cubans. If our diplomats hold this card in their hand it can bring important concessions of freedom for the Cuban people by their dictator.

Since the success of his 1959 revolution, Castro has managed
more--more

Ronald Reagan 2-2--2

to reduce his people to a level of egalitarian serfdom, all working for the state. Personal freedoms are non-existent, and there hasn't been a single election in all the Castro years. What many Cubans thought would be "paradise" turned out to be something far different.

Castro's proposed gesture to return the prisoners and the ransom money is a beginning, but there are at least six other points which should be candidates for any quid pro quo:

1. Recognition of the property rights in Cuba of Americans whose property was confiscated by the Castro government, as a first step toward full compensation.

2. Free movement of Cubans and U.S. citizens (including former Cubans) between the two countries, especially insuring visits between families now separated.

3. Concrete steps toward the restoration of personal freedoms in Cuba, including the freedom to worship.

4. Denial of Soviet base rights anywhere in Cuba.

5. Written guarantees that Cuba won't intervene in the affairs of other Western Hemisphere nations.

6. Recognition by Cuba of U.S. naval base rights at Guantanamo.

After all these years we should be in no hurry for a "thaw" in relations with Cuba. We can afford to go slowly and carefully.

####



RT14

Jayne Brumley
The Shorsham West
Washington, D.C.
20008

... 'Nice Guy' Reagan Seen Writing Political Death Scenario for Ford

WASHINGTON — Sources close to Ronald Reagan are convinced that he will be a candidate for the presidency by the time of the convention next summer and that there will be a real contest

Washington



anathema to the right wing of the Republican party. If the President replaced Nelson A. Rockefeller as vice president, would that pacify the conservatives?



Reagan
File
GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY