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Lynn Gauthier Hill

CRYSTAL TOWERS ◦ 1600 SO. EADS ST. ◦ ARLINGTON, VA. 22202
703/892-5229

Mr. J. Carmen,
Reagan for President
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Va. 22204

Dear Mr. Carmen:

It was so nice to talk with you yesterday and I shall call you on Monday morning to arrange for an appointment for Monday afternoon if that is possible for you.

I am enclosing the returned letter that was sent to Ms. Crispen — I can't understand it!!!!!! However, I thought you might have an opportunity to read same before our meeting. I have opened it as I felt you might not be willing to open someone else's mail.

Hope your time is available for Monday afternoon, and thanking you in advance

Sincerely

Lynn Gauthier Hill

July 29th. 1980

Lynn Gauthier Hill

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Ms. Elaine Crispen
Secretary to Governor Reagan
Suite 1430
Los Angeles, California 90045

Dear Ms Crispen:

Many thanks for returning my memos re the Foreign Situation. This will be my last letter to do with what you will BUT I sincerely hope you will show it to Mr. Carmen,

This is not being arrogant for I know the Governor believes in much of this himself and some of the other thoughts he might have had if he had been able to think for himself instead of many of the so-called Republicans trying to take his freedom away from him. He must be his own man!!!!

I sincerely hope the recent papers are not quoting the Governor when they say that Bush is likely to be his Vice President and that Kissinger will probably be some part of his team. That would be t\$agic!!! Please read the attached on Alexander Haig. I listened to him each time I could when he appeared on the Committee re Salt 2. I was most impressed with his knowledge, integrity and consistency.

Attached are clipped together clippings re the Governor: They are out for his soul; He is a simple man; Is he intelligent? etc. My answers are --- Of course they are out for his soul but they wont get it for he is an ADMINISTRATOR who knows he cannot know everything but one who will get the men around him who do know. A simple honest man he is - NOT DEVIOUS - who believes in God and his country and desires to use his energy in "putting AMERICA back on its feet". Of course he is intelligent but by the same token anyone who wants to be President over a country in such a bad shape could be called crazy unless his Faith is very strong.

In his nominating speech I know he will stand by the Republican Platform of wanting less, Government, Free Enterprise, curtailed spending with savings a very strong part and the elimination of waste and fraud. Also I hope he tells his voters what he intends to do if they make him President - Of course, this would have to have Congressional approval. In this way they will know what they are voting for instead of just promises.

Lynn Gauthier still

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For instance:

- 1- Foreign Policy Everyone knows this is tragic. AND I MEAN EVERYONE - The Republicans; the Democrats; Our Enemies; Allies, etc. This we must change but I can't tell you how now as I don't have enough information and will not have until I get in office as there are too many secretive details. Our word must again mean something and our Country must have respect. We must have understanding with our own Hemisphere and neighbors as well as abroad.
- 2- Here is another bad situation but again until I know more about it I cannot rightly say what must be done. There are so many parts that none of us know about - even Congress. However, who knows that something is drastically wrong with a situation where our Country is practically bankrupt while our American oil Companies are making billions!! However, I don't believe our citizens should pay an extra ten cents a gallon for gas which would be a hardship to them just to bail out an administration for errors made by them.
- 3- Oil - Here is another bad situation but again until I get in office and know more about it I cannot say what should be done. There are so many parts that none of us know about - not even the Congress - BUT I know there must be something drastically wrong where our Country is practically bankrupt while our American Oil Companies are making billions!!! Regarding taxing the public an extra TEN CENTS per gallon would be a hardship to its citizens and they should not have to pay this way to bail the Congress out of their many mistakes.
- 3- Draft - I believe in this but not just registration and it should be for persons from 19 through 35. This does not make me a hawk but just a sensible person. I don't want war but believe in being prepared!! In this way and in this way only can we protect our country in case some power tries to fight us for then we would have the right equipment and properly trained people. Any true American who loves his FREEDOM must know that without America there will be no world. These draftees must receive good salaries and benefits (they are not getting proper remuneration now) and the Government will give them room; board; clothes; a healthy body; a healthy mind and a vocation for the future B U T above all it will give them dignity and pride in themselves!!!
- 4- Balanced Budget - I don't think a balanced budget is the outstanding thing we need today BUT I do know we have to stop printing money and running up our deficit and stop spending money on unnecessary items such as "Pet" issues for the Senators to please their constituents; giving awards for those who fleece the Government the most; go through the appropriations thoroughly and eliminate fraud, duplication of effort, manipulation of figures by borrowing from Peter to pay Paul, etc. This would not mean any reduction of our social programs but just giving the taxpayers their money's worth!!!
- 5 - Law and Order - We have too many laws today and most of them are not enforced - In fact, many of them could not be enforced. How

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can ~~we~~ tell our people who put ~~us~~ in office that ~~we~~ have to retire at 65 or 70 but this does not apply to the Supreme Court or Congress? How about a man who is caught stealing --- he is put in jail and rightly so b u t officials in Government and the Congress are caught and they are just "slapped on the wrist" and can still remain in office to uphold our country!!!! AND the amounts these gentlemen take are in the thousands!!!! This is not LAW AND ORDER - We must put some force in back of our laws to take this fraud out of our Government. One sees it in the papers every day in every part of the Government. We must get back to JUSTICE for all.

6-Automobiles - So we bailed out Chrysler and that is in back of us - good or bad - but I firmly believe the automobile dilemma has been brought about by too many Government regulations and by the UNIONS who have priced themselves out of the market making the Automobile manufactures produce more volume to keep in business. No Country can support companies who put out a new model each year --- they have glutted the market. Instead these companies should be making railroad cars instead of buying them abroad - Particularly as WE NEED RAILROADS today --- How was the U S united ? with RAILROADS, and there would be no Siberia except for railroads. Also the steel companies could start making rails etc and stop closing plants BUT our Congress has to be sold on this and help the railroads instead of regulations that are actually strangling them. Also re energy and using COAL - This would not be economically feasible without railroads to transport the coal. per usual the Congress has the horse in back of the cart!!!!

7-Post Office - Let's get it in the black. It's possible!!! For the time being stop all second and third class mail (most of which is subsidized by the Government) and let our mailmen deliver the mail on time and have it loaded with useless magazines and printed material that clutters our waste baskets!!! Here again we will SAVE MONEY!!! and this money saved will be put in a special place again to pay back the money our Government owes on which the tax payers are paying a daily interest of over TWO MILLION DOLLARS.

8-Social Security - Something has to be done here and it can be done. I have many ideas but first I must get more information on how it is presently run. To begin with there must be a separate SS office where all the money comes to this one spot and is taken from this spot. In this way there will be no juggling of figures which I believe are being done now. The people on S S today must be sure of their money AND the new people coming into the program must also have this assurance BUT this will not be as the system is set up!!!

9-TAX CUT - I am for the tax cut - our citizens deserve this and it does not have to cost us extra money!!!! We can pay for this by getting rid of fraud and corruption. All tax money received should be in a separate place again so we know what comes in and our spending is governed accordingly. Put a tax on cigarettes; (10 cents a pack) liquor (10%); all luxuries such as furs jewelry etc (10%) and this money when received to be put in paying off our loans- Here again we are saving money for the taxpayers for the interest as I have mentioned before is costing over TWO MILLION DOLLARS a DAY/

+ extra

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Another saving A N D SAVING is the word we must keep in mind!!!!
Let's put the Government on a business-like basis for, after all,
it is the biggest business in the world!!!! We have told everyone
that cigarettes and excessive liquor is bad for them -- they know
this - and if they still wish to smoke and drink let them AND
stop spending money trying to stop it through appropriations in the
millions - after all, these bad things were here before Christ!!!!
I also believe our citizens would like to live their own lives to
a degree and not being told how to do it. This could also apply
to our Foreign Situation today - STOP telling countries how to run
their own country but instead assist them when necessary.

10- Savings - There is now a bill that has been passed by Congress
that gives \$100 exemption from taxes on interest earned. - \$100
for a single person or \$200 for a couple. This should have some
real "Teeth" in it. Make the amount \$500 for each individual on
their savings. Here is some incentive that is worth while and
will help the economy. This should only apply to people making
\$25,000 and less.

Dear friends, these are a few of my platform - I am giving you
solutions and not promises. Thank you for listening." THE END.

I, as a voter would like my President to be to give me solutions
instead of promises so I am stating the above - Many of these
suggestions may be wrong BUT the idea is very very good. Please
understand and forgive me if I have over-stepped my rights. AND
believe it or not, I have many other suggestions!!!!!!

So sincerely

L. Gauthier Hill

Lynn Gauthier Hill

June 29th, 1980

Please forgive errors — Signing the
essence!! — Oh for a
moral earthquake!!!

Thinking Things Over

By Vermont Royster

Lesson From "Mein Kampf"

Hardly anybody, so it seems, reads "Mein Kampf" any more. There's a 1962 edition still in print but it isn't stocked by two local bookshops and at the town library no one could recall when there last was a request for it.

That's not too surprising. Adolf Hitler's prose was prolix, his narrative rambling and his rhetorical style ranting. For the modern reader, Hitler's ravings must now seem totally irrelevant. After all, we all now know how the story came out. So there's not even suspense left in the account of this Austrian house painter planning to rule the world.

Yet it's a pity "Mein Kampf" has been so completely forgotten. For there remains in it a lesson that is very relevant indeed to our own times.

Published in 1924, "Mein Kampf" ("My Struggle") was written while Hitler, then in his mid-thirties, was in prison for an abortive effort to overthrow the Bavarian government. The story of his life up to that point, even as he tells it, is that of a misfit who failed in almost everything he tried. But by the time the world began to pay attention, a decade later, this Adolf Hitler was the Fuhrer of the German Reich, soon to be the conqueror of all Europe.

What is fascinating about that prison-written book is that in it Hitler told the world exactly what he intended to do and how he intended to do it. He told how he would undermine the Weimar Republic, arouse the German people demoralized in the aftermath of World War I, seize control of the government and, using the Nazi Party of his own devising, make himself absolute dictator.

He explained how, once master of Germany, he would proceed to divide and conquer Europe. He outlined the technique of advancing boldly in small but increasing increments of conquest, no one of which—as he foresaw—would seem to the European powers worth a war to halt. After each one he would pause, publicly forswearing further ambitions, until ready for the next step. It worked from the seizure of the Rhineland, to Czechoslovakia to Austria.

He was equally frank about his internal plans for Germany. Foreshadowed there was even what became his "final solution" of the "Jewish problem."

What was astonishing about all this is that the world—including its statesmen—read "Mein Kampf" avidly and hardly anybody believed him. Few believed him because nobody wanted to believe him. In France, in Great Britain, in the United States there was no effort to prepare for war until it was too late to avoid the holocaust of world war.

What remains astonishing is how slow the world has been to learn the lesson of Hitler.

At any rate the rulers of the Soviet Union have never made any secret about their ambitions for conquest. In Marxist theory communism need only wait for the "internal contradictions" of the capitalist West to cause its collapse. In practice the men in the Kremlin, without any dissimulation about it, have built a huge military force with the intention of speeding the Western collapse by force whenever and wherever the opportunity presents.

Thus far they have skillfully used Hitler's incremental technique. In the chaotic aftermath of World War II they seized half of Western Europe, including much of Germany, and all of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. They missed Austria only by a miscalculation and Yugoslavia only because of Tito.

Elsewhere they have extended their reach wherever opportunity presented, from Cuba to Afghanistan. They assumed that if they followed each nibble with peace-loving words none would arouse peace-loving peoples to their own defense. If imitation is the best form of flattery Hitler would admire his former foe.

For those of a certain age this is bound to leave a sense of déjà vu. A traveler in Europe this spring, for example, found himself amid ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of Hitler's "blitzkrieg"; in Holland there was a special celebration of the 35th anniversary of its liberation at war's end. Everywhere the prayers said "never again." Yet almost everywhere too there was a reluctance, as there was 40 years ago, to man the ramparts against another formidable foe.

Of course as before there are warning voices. In Britain Sir John Hackett, former British commander in NATO, has drawn a familiar scenario for World War III. In West Germany Franz Joseph Strauss, leader of the opposition, cries the danger in the Soviet arms buildup. In our own country there are those, including a former Secretary of State and a former President, who urge us to those ramparts that we not tempt a foe by being weak.

But in many quarters all who speak so are branded as "hawks," a pejorative term. Its intended implication is that anyone who argues the need to build up the military defenses of the West is someone who would lead us to war. Anyone who suggests that Soviet ambitions are what they have always said they were, that their huge rearmament program is not purposeless, is decried as an alarmist.

This mood is, I recognize, understandable. You cannot look at the well-tended fields of France and Germany, or the tulip fields of Holland, without a feeling of horror that they might be overrun again by tanks and marching troops as they have been over and over. And when all is serene the temptation is to believe that earthquakes never come, that volcanoes never erupt.

All the same I find it surprising, in Europe especially, that so soon after the agony of World War II the lesson of "Mein Kampf" should be so quickly forgotten.

Preservation Copy

6/16/80
Wash Post

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.
**The One Man
For the Job
At State**

"The trouble with the future," French essayist Paul Valéry sagaciously observed, "is that it is not what it used to be"—a sobering thought that, and one that commends itself to all Ronald Reagan's foreign policy advisers and to Reagan himself. In pursuit of a peaceful and prosperous future, Reagan's most important cabinet appointment—if he ever makes one—will be his secretary of state. An American president can indulge the pols' traditional lust for tomfoolery in almost any other area and all it costs his loyal subjects is money, convenience and liberty. In the area of foreign policy, it costs lives, nowadays millions of lives.

At the State Department, America must have a man who commands respect in Europe, Moscow and Peking. The next secretary of state will be presiding over a department demoralized in some areas and trivialized in others. He will have to be able to administer and revise it. During the next four years, the American military will, for the first time in the postwar period, be inferior to that of the Soviet Union. The next secretary of state must, therefore, understand diplomacy, strategy and military balance. Finally, he will have to understand the tensions and communications channels that exist between the White House and Congress.

Who is the man for this job? Alas, George C. Marshall is dead. John Quincy Adams is in the same unfortunate condition. In America today, the pickings are slim. Yet I have a recommendation. I recommend Alexander Haig.

In Europe, Haig is respected at every governmental level. Moreover, as former supreme commander of NATO, he is esteemed by large numbers of ordinary citizens. He himself has a deep knowledge and understanding of the Soviet Union, the Middle East, China and Europe. There is none of the sophomoric dreaminess in him that characterizes Jimmy Carter's foreign policy geniuses, and when in Poland he would bring along a proper translator.

Haig knows the military. He understands geopolitics and has a solid grasp on diplomacy. That he was an understudy with Nixon and Kissinger only increases his heft in foreign policy circles abroad. In the 1960s, he made his way up through the Pentagon bureaucracy and the National Security Council, proving his understanding of bureaucratic ways. During his last years in Washington, he worked both in the executive branch and with Congress. In an era when Congress has arrogated a large role in foreign policy-making, such firsthand knowledge of the honorable representatives' touchy ways is invaluable. Finally, Haig has carried himself through a long public life with dignity, displaying strength and flexibility that does no violence to principle.

The inhabitants of the world's foreign ministries have become increasingly alarmed by America's eccentric performance on the world stage. They are coming to see us as a nation abounding in bizarre enthusiasts. Haig is the only candidate for State who might instantly set our allies' apprehensions to rest without creating an enormous furor at home.

The only other candidate for State possessed of this urgent attribute is, of course, Henry Kissinger. Yet somehow Henry, the fabled charmer of all Georgetown, has managed the amazing feat of becoming *persona non grata* to half the liberals of the republic and to half the conservatives. Were he to be returned to his old chair in the State Department, conservatives and liberals might promptly begin killing each other.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, I give you Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Every columnist should make it a practice to say something constructive at least once a year; here is my stab at it. The case for Haig strikes me as intelligent and compelling; I therefore do not wince at making it.

Naturally, given the novel standards of American politics, my case would be strengthened if I could report that Haig is a woman, for it seems to be a desideratum of the utmost urgency with many pundits that Reagan choose his cabinet on the basis of sex. Alas, all available evidence suggests that Haig is a male, nothing more. This shortcoming can only be overcome with the greatest difficulty and, if it were, I am not sure that foreign diplomats would understand.

For a change, the American pundits are going to have to take the world as it is. Haig would bring dignity, prudence and professionalism to the conduct of American foreign policy. That is, at this point in our history, quite enough.

Editor-in-chief of The Amer.

Preservation Copy

Wall Street Journal

Stop the Battle for Reagan's Soul

By LEWIS LEHRMAN

There is intellectual combat going on in Governor Reagan's camp. Some call it a struggle for Reagan's soul. The subtle arguments of the opposing sides make a battle ground of many editorial pages, for it is clear that Governor Reagan may be our next President. But the primary goals of his national policy, and the means to achieve them, are not yet crystal clear. The disputes arise over both national security and economic policy.

The fundamental issue seems to be whether the greater threat to our country comes from abroad or from within. There are essentially two points of view. Both agree that we must restore America's position as a preeminent world power, but they disagree on the source of the primary threat to our insecure position. One group asserts that the most fundamental threat to America today is the decline of the economy and rising unemployment at home. The deterioration of American productivity, the enervation of American enterprise, the disincentives of our tax system, the inordinance of the federal budget and the depreciation of the dollar preoccupy these advisers. In their view, renewed vitality of American capitalism is a precondition for restoring the security of the nation.

The other group argues that threats from the Soviet Union and other foreign enemies constitute the fundamental challenge. In this view the elementary cause of America's decline abroad is defective national leadership at home. The problem lies not so much with our people but with our elites who, during the past decade, have suffered a failure of nerve. The consequences of our moral collapse have been catastrophic.

We now risk Finlandization of Europe, loss of our economic oil life-line in the Persian Gulf and demoralization of our allies in the Middle East, Egypt and Israel. And because of our inferior military position and weak leaders, every vital American interest is threatened by the intimidating policies of an aggressive Soviet imperialism. From this standpoint, it is necessary to change our leaders, chase the fallen elites from power, steel our national nerve, rebuild our fighting forces and assert America's interests abroad. Such a forward foreign policy itself would do much to protect American values at home while upholding and extending Western civilization abroad.

Terms of the Struggle

In economic policy it appears that the struggle for Reagan's soul consists, in part, of a fight between two groups over tax policy. On the one hand, many well-known economists believe that the path to economic stability is lined with sign posts leading directly to reduced government spending and a gradually balanced budget. To reduce the rate of growth of government spending, they plausibly argue, is an indispensable condition of tax rate reduction. Republican leadership, it is argued, must re-establish discipline in America and, in particular, fiscal discipline in the spending habits of Congress.

On the other hand, there is a group of Republican advisers who argue that substantial reduction of personal income-tax

rates is of paramount importance. They believe in increasing after-tax rewards for work—thus leaving the sweat on a worker's brow rather than draining it into the government trough in Washington. They support the Kemp-Roth Bill, a 30% reduction in tax rates over a period of three years. Only thereby, argue these advisers, can we create the incentives to work, to save and to invest, and thereby restore the necessary conditions for economic growth and full employment.

Another dispute is over how to stop the depreciation of the dollar at home and

The tax-cutters say theirs is the real economic issue; the currency stabilizers say theirs is the fundamental issue; the budget balancers say theirs is the popular and crucial issue.

abroad. In a word, how do we end inflation? This is the issue of monetary policy. One group of advisers argues: Let the Federal Reserve System regulate the quantity of bank reserves and the money stock so as to provide a steady rate of increase in their supply, say 4% to 6% for M1A or M1B. By establishing a steady, long-run relationship between commercial bank reserves and the supply of money, the rate of inflation may be brought down. These experts say, moreover, that the discretionary authority to manipulate bank reserves through buying and selling government securities, so as to provide a certain quantity of money, should belong to government officials at the Federal Reserve System.

On the other hand, there is another group which argues that the monetary problems of the last 50 years—deflation in the 1930s and inflation in the 1970s—have been caused by the fact that the discretionary management of the money supply has been in the hands of politicians and civil servants (the Federal Reserve Governors). Often they try to achieve conflicting economic and political goals rather than reasonable stability of the price level. These advisers argue that the key to restoring the stability of the dollar is to make the value of the currency subject to the rule of law rather than to the rule of men. To do this, they reason, it is necessary to limit the power of the Federal Reserve Governors, politicians and bureaucrats who make monetary policy.

They assert that the only effective instrumentality for achieving a stable price level over the long run is to make the value of a paper dollar equal by law to the value of a unit of a real commodity. The dollar would be made convertible into a weight of gold, as it was for most of the 200 years of United States history. Gold, unlike paper currencies, has preserved its purchasing power for hundreds of years. As a result, the value of the dollar and the variations in its supply would be stabilized, because the quantity of dollars would be linked by law to the historically stable growth in the long run supply of gold

(about 2% per year). Thus would inflation come to an end.

Each of these views is put forth by the advocates as the vital issue. The tax cutters say theirs is the real economic issue; the currency stabilizers say theirs is the fundamental issue; the budget balancers say theirs is the popular and crucial issue. And the national security strategists say making American number one abroad again is the enduring issue. All of them struggle for Governor Reagan's soul.

End Inflation Now

But in reality all four of these views are of a piece. Alone, each is unavailing. If in order to restore incentive we reduce the tax rates on the American people, what do we really achieve as the dollar depreciates and inflation continues? For inflation merely transports all working people into higher and higher progressive tax brackets, even though we may delude ourselves by reducing the tax rates on rising nominal incomes. Therefore in order to give lasting incentive effects to reduced tax rates, we must end inflation now by limiting permanently the excessive expansion of money and credit.

If we reduce the tax rates and also end inflation, the incentives to work and save may be restored; but if we do not gradually balance the budget, the federal government may still come into the market and preempt all the new savings for its deficit spending programs—the very capital which we need to develop new energy sources, create new jobs and rebuild our nation's beleaguered economy.

If we achieve only one or two of the following—(1) a stable currency and an end to inflation; (2) lower tax rates on work, savings, investment and, therefore, increasing employment opportunities; and (3) a gradually balanced budget, thereby releasing capital from the public to the private sector for new job creation—we shall not create all the necessary conditions for stable, long-run economic growth. But only substantial economic growth and full employment will provide the required resources with which (4) to rebuild our national defense in order to secure our vital interests. In the absence of economic growth, we cannot finance a forward foreign policy worthy of the name. And without a national defense capability second to none, we cannot insure our economic interests and opportunities at home and abroad. In truth national security and economic growth are indissolubly joined.

In the interest of our country's future, this struggle for Governor Reagan's soul must cease. Instead, the task before us must be the development of a coherent and comprehensive economic and national security policy, linked together by mutually compatible goals and sustained by the will to achieve them. For in our economic policy at home and in our relations abroad, we must try to achieve all four necessary goals together or we shall not achieve them at all.

Mr. Lehrman is former president and currently chairman of the executive committee of Rite Aid Corp. and president of the Lehrman Institute, an institution dedicated to economic and foreign policy research.

Reagan: Better Than His Advisers

Ronald Reagan's decision to keep William Brock as Republican national chairman after all corrects two widespread misconceptions, showing that Reagan is a better politician than supposed and that his political operation may be worse than its severest critics imagine.

Shortcomings of his political high command were revealed in unanimous advice that he needlessly outrage party moderates by dumping Brock. Besides failing to recognize these consequences, Reagan's senior advisers were guilty of naiveté. While dumping Brock, they were trying to hire his closest friend and associate, William Timmons.

In overriding this advice, Reagan is not the marionette liberals take him for but a politician who covets the presidency. "I never appreciated before," one moderate Republican deeply involved in the Brock affair told us, "how much Rea-

gan wants to be president." That lesson has been learned during the past two years by longtime associates heaved overboard by Reagan as excess baggage.

These lessons are intrinsically more important than who occupies the office of national chairman, which is mainly intramural politics. Although Brock's ability either to hurt or to help Reagan's campaign is minimal, his fate was closely watched by politicians as a test of Reagan and his campaign staff.

Whatever they may say now, all Reagan's senior staffers urged him to renege on his month-old promise to retain Brock. Apart from failing to anticipate the firestorm within the Republican Party, their ineptitude is reflected in the simultaneous effort to enlist Bill Timmons as Reagan's national political director. Timmons was invited to California the same week Brock was

to be administered the *coup de grace*.

That would be asking Butch Cassidy to join the posse before it lynched the Sundance Kid. Timmons, a senior White House aide under former presidents Nixon and Ford and now a Washington lobbyist, was Brock's lieutenant in national Young Republican politics (in the right-wing Syndicate faction) in the early 1960s and later was his congressional aide. The two Tennesseans remain intimate political collaborators.

In Los Angeles last week, two of the Reagan campaign triumvirs—William Casey and Edwin Meese—urgently sought Timmons' expertise and prestige (the third, Dr. Richard Wirthlin, was ill.) Reagan insiders believe the decisive thrust was delivered by Timmons when he made clear to Casey and Meese that whatever slim prospect they had of getting him to walk away from

his business would disappear the moment Brock was axed.

Simultaneously, Gerald Ford, about to undergo knee surgery, told a friend he would consider it "a personal affront" if his endorsement of Reagan were followed by Brock's purge. Party liberals and moderates, never before known as Brockaphiles but looking for an excuse to desert Reagan, declared solemnly that this would alienate them, irrevocably. Early Reagan backers in Congress (Rep. Jack Kemp, Rep. Tom Evans and Sen. Orrin Hatch) pleaded for Brock.

Yet all such advice seemed futile in the face of a contrary position by Sen. Paul Laxalt of Nevada, the Reagan campaign's national chairman in 1980 as in 1976 and a man much beloved by Ron and Nancy Reagan. Backed by such stalwarts as Meese and Lyn Nofziger, Laxalt seemed certain to carry

the day. That certainty derived from Reagan's presumed manipulability.

Ideology was not the issue in the Brock affair. But while ideological strife is declining in the Grand Old Party, factions formerly based on ideology endure. Reagan's choice, in spurning Laxalt's advice, was strictly a political one. Although Brock's foes were interested in avenging old grievances and achieving new party control, Reagan followed a different agenda: to get elected.

This has been the pattern for two years during which Reagan fired trusted aides at the insistence of campaign manager John Sears, who branded them liabilities, and then fired Sears when he himself became a liability. Once Reagan perceived the furor inside the Republican Party that would be set off by Brock's purge, he did not hesitate in keeping him.

This clashes with the myth, held by friend and foe, of a Reagan no better than the men who advise him. If few critics would agree publicly that Reagan is, as one respected reporter recently wrote, "an ignoramus," many would agree in private. The benign side of the indictment is the assumption by many pro-Reagan economists that he would dilute and downgrade his 30 percent, three-year tax cut once they intervened—and their disappointment that he has not done so.

In sticking to conservative-populist economic views that helped get him nominated and in retaining Brock, Reagan showed that the problem is not Reagan but his advisers. While he staved off disaster in the Brock affair, it enlarged the doubts about the campaign's readiness for Jimmy Carter.

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~~Handwritten signature~~
L/13/80

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Carter Cinches Grip on Texas; Drinan Endorses a Successor

President Carter swept aside a broken challenge from Sen. Edward M. Kennedy yesterday and captured two-thirds of the Texas delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

At their state convention in San Antonio, Texas Democrats chose a delegation that will include 104 Carter supporters, 88 Kennedy backers and 10 uncommitted delegates.

Tip outcomes roughly paralleled the results of the first caucus in Texas that blunted moves to repudiate Carter.

West Virginia's delegates split 21 for Carter, 12 for Kennedy, one uncommitted, and one for Sen. Robert C. Byrd, New Mexico Democrats picked 11 for Kennedy, nine for Carter.

Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, calling the proposed Equal Rights Amendment a "divisive symbol," has suggested that the Republican Party reconsider its long-standing support of ERA.

Reagan, long an opponent of the amendment, stopped short of calling formally for GOP opposition to ERA, but he said in a Chicago speech that he would support the platform committee at the upcoming Republican National Convention in Detroit should consider substituting a plank that opposes discrimination on various grounds, including sex, without supporting the amendment.

Sen. Edward Kennedy's presidential campaign has closed its field office in the eight states that held primary elections June 3, but has expanded its national convention staff.

Spokesman Jim Flug said Friday's paycheck may have been the last for some staff members in the primary states. Some of them have switched to the section of the staff studying strategy for the August convention. Flug said the staff working in that area is being expanded that 125 to 150 people are employed by the Kennedy campaign.

Rep. Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.), a Jesuit priest forced by the Vatican to vacate his congressional seat at term's end, yesterday endorsed Barney Frank, a liberal Democratic state legislator from Boston, as his successor in the 4th District.

Drinan's endorsement is expected to help Frank's campaign for the Sept. 16 primary in the more conservative blue-collar western sector of the district, where the Jesuit is still politically popular and Frank suffers from an image as a cigar-smoking, big-city wag with a left-wing Boston bent.

Mayor Arthur Clark, a conservative, is a strong opponent in those sections.

Nancy Reagan said she wasn't looking for a political debate Friday during her one-hour visit to some of the children's wards at Chicago's Cook County Hospital.

Her two men were hospitalized, headed discussion in a hallway with the wife of the probably Republican

Reagan Staff: Hesitant, Faction-Ridden

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, June 21—As Ronald Reagan campaigned throughout the East this week describing the deficiencies of President Carter, some of the problems of Reagan's candidacy became increasingly evident.

Reagan demonstrated he could meet astern politicians and publishers and merge intact, but his campaign organization here remains hesitant, faction-ridden and financially hard-pressed.

A month after he clinched the Republican presidential nomination, Reagan is still without a full-time political director. His campaign plan for the fall is incomplete. His schedule is uncertain, and there are conflicts between the scheduling office and state political directors. The candidate remains poorly briefed on issues he has been discussing throughout the year.

A political bromide says a campaign isn't any better than its candidate. In Reagan's case, there is little doubt that the candidate has been much better than his campaign.

"The candidate has been carrying us," acknowledged a Reagan aide this week. "The question is whether he can carry us very far against a president who knows how to use his incumbency and has a top campaign staff."

Some worried Republicans here could trade the electoral votes on a safe Rocky Mountain state for a little of the political expertise that surrounds Carter. "We don't have a Ham-ordan, a Bob Strauss, a Jody Powell," says one well-placed Reagan worker. They would be tough to compete against even if he had an experienced political team. And we don't."

In many respects, Reagan's organizations still suffers from the after-effects of a series of staff shakeups that began last year and culminated with the firing of campaign manager John P. Sears and two other top aides in Feb. 28, the day of Reagan's win in the New Hampshire primary. Since then, various aides and factions have

been jockeyed for key positions in the campaign.

The main concern of those familiar with the Reagan campaign is that valuable organizational time may have been squandered, wasting the advantage that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's still unresolved challenge to Carter would seem to have given Reagan and the Republican Party.

Reagan political operatives in the field have had no leader since field director Andy Carter quit a month ago, and state campaign organizers still don't know where Reagan will concentrate his efforts.

Because the spending limits of the federal campaign law make it difficult for any presidential challenger to compete everywhere at once, Reagan's state campaign organizers want to know the target states as soon as possible.

"It's obvious you can't run a full-fledged campaign in 50 states on \$30 million," says Lyn Notziger, a long-time Reagan trouble-shooter who has been brought back into the campaign to reorganize the candidate's communications division.

Others in the Reagan entourage say that the problems of the campaign, while serious, have been exaggerated because the campaign is near the spending ceiling for the primaries. As a result, the campaign has not been able to hire some of the new people it needs.

These optimists predict that the political operation will be on track when William Timmons, a former Nixon White House aide directing Republican National Convention operations for Reagan, is named political director of the campaign near the end of the month. And they say that some of the present difficulties arose from a circumstance that could not have been foreseen — the sudden surgery needed by Reagan pollster-strategist Richard B. Wirthlin at a time the campaign plan was being completed.

Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), a Reagan cochairman, believes that many of the campaign's organizational problems will be resolved by relocating the Reagan headquarters from Los Angeles to the Washington area. This week, the Reagan campaign took over John B. Connally's former headquarters in Arlington, and the organization is moving there in stages. Reagan and his wife, Nancy, will move to a temporary residence in the Washington area in late August.

Laxalt last week brought together a dozen congressional issues committees to advise Reagan and said he expects them to provide quick-response assistance on issues, frequently lacking in the Reagan campaign.

Whatever the deficiencies of his organization, Reagan was in a happy mood as he returned Friday night from what might have been called "Eastern Establishment Press and Republican Unity Week."

Reagan met with the editorial boards of major East Coast publications, met with congressional supporters in Washington, spoke at rallies in New York and Chicago and conferred with 13 Republican governors who pledged their support for the fall campaign.

potential president," says Reagan chief-of-staff Edwin Meese.

Reagan has a light campaign schedule this week and will follow it with a six-day vacation at the ranch of an old friend, investment counselor William Wilson, south of Nogales, Mexico.

Reagan will return July 8 to what both he and his staff believe will be a difficult campaign.

The expectation is that Carter will effectively use his incumbency and that "some unanticipated major event," as Laxalt calls it, will benefit

the president politically in October. When Meese was asked in Washington whether he thought such an event would occur, he replied with a smile, "You mean the day they release the hostages, cap Mount St. Helens and find oil in the White House?"

Both Laxalt and Meese say that Reagan has to go into the last weeks of the campaign well ahead if he is to win the election.

As yet, however, there are few signs in California that Reagan has put together an organization that will help him get the lead.

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Afghan Week Set for July

United Press International

The week of July 21-27, when the Moscow Olympics open, will be "Afghanistan Relief Week" in the United States, six members of Congress announced yesterday.

President Carter agreed to proclaim the special week to honor American Olympic athletes and to help raise funds to aid Afghan refugees, they said.

The presidential proclamation was requested by Reps. Lester Wolff (D-N.Y.) and Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) and Sens. Jacob Javits (R.N.Y.), Charles Percy (R-Ill.), Clark Borne Pell (D-R.I.), and James Exon (D-Neb.).

Ronald Reagan, a loose-knit consensus suggests, is bright but isn't a deep or introspective thinker. He is a thorough conservative whose policies and appointments would seek to veer the country to the right, but he isn't a rigid ideologue. He generally surrounds himself with men—he has very few women aides—of fairly high quality, but he doesn't always demand excellence from them.

He is a devotee of the work ethic and the value of family—beliefs that play a large role in fashioning his conservative political philosophy. Mr. Reagan is exceptionally close to his wife, Nancy, one of his most important political counselors. But relations are strained with several of his more modern-minded children; his autobiography is full of adulation for Nancy but barely mentions his four children.

"He Isn't a Hater"

On a personal level, Ronald Reagan is undeniably a nice man. Political opponents say he is charming company, full of humorous stories and anecdotes stretching back to his days as a movie actor. "He isn't a hater," Mr. Deaver says. "He believes there's good in almost everybody."

By most accounts, he is comfortable with himself, in contrast to the last Californian to occupy the White House. "The difference between Nixon and Reagan is like day and night," says Caspar Weinberger, who served as Gov. Reagan's finance director and President Nixon's budget chief. "Gov. Reagan is a very secure man."

Thus, unlike the case with many other recent presidential aspirants, the central questions about Ronald Reagan are less about his character than about his capacity. Does he possess the intellectual depth to handle the demands of the Oval Office? Can his conceptual grasp of foreign and domestic difficulties go beyond his effective, but superficial, one-liners? Is he so rooted in the simplicities of the past that he is blind to the complexities of the present and the future?

"There are simple answers, just not easy ones," Mr. Reagan is fond of saying.

Is Attitude a Virtue?

To supporters, this attitude is a virtue; he has an ability to talk about tough problems in an understandable, common-sense fashion. But critics, who agree that with Mr. Reagan "what you see is what you get," fear that this is the sign of a shallow and simple-minded parson.

Mr. Reagan's autobiography, "Where's the Rest of Me?" is so full of banalities that it leaves the impression there isn't much else. On race relations, for instance, he suggests: "Among extremists, you'll find no one who ever participated in athletics on a team that numbered among its personnel both Negroes and whites." More than anything else, this kind of statement reflects a naivete stemming from Mr. Reagan's personal compassion for most individuals. This compassion, he says, he inherited from his mother, whom he describes as a "natural, practical do-gooder."

Earlier he embraced the New Deal—he still frequently refers to his old idol Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous "rendezvous with destiny" remark—recalling his father's unemployment during the Depression and subsequent job with the Works Progress Administration. During Mr. Reagan's highly paid public-relations stint with General Electric

Please Turn to Page 30, Column 1

The Inner Reagan Likely Nominee Strikes People as a Secure Man With Simple Values

But Some Wonder if He Has Depth of Understanding Needed to Be President

Is He or Is He Not Rigid?

By ALBERT R. HUNT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Ronald Reagan, in his autobiography, waxes nostalgic about his boyhood days in Dixon, Ill.: "There was the life that shaped my body and mind for all the years to come. . . . It was a good life. I never asked for anything more; then or now."

Today, Ronald Wilson Reagan is asking for more: the presidency. But those sentiments from a book written 15 years ago still ring true. The 69-year-old Mr. Reagan, who in Tuesday's primaries just about sewed up the Republican-presidential nomination, embodies the old-fashioned values and beliefs of those simpler times. On the campaign trail, he dwells as much on the salad days of the past as on the uncertainties of the future.

"It's important to see Ronald Reagan as a kid growing up in the 1920s in small-town Illinois," says Fred Dutton, a Washington lobbyist and a liberal Democrat. "He has the genuine American virtues of verities of that period." As a member of the California Board of Regents, Mr. Dutton clashed with then-Gov. Reagan, but he admires him as a political performer.

In conversations with dozens of Mr. Reagan's allies and adversaries and with personal as well as political acquaintances, a picture emerges of a shrewd but simple and straightforward man devoid of hidden motivations. "What you see is what is," says a longtime Reagan adviser, Michael Deaver.

This simplicity makes Mr. Reagan unusual among recent presidential candidates. And it draws a stark contrast with his probable chief rival in the general election, President Carter, a man of considerable political and personal ambiguity.



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The Inner Reagan: Likely Nominee Seen as Open Man of Simple Values

Continued From First Page

Co. in the 1950s, his philosophy began shifting sharply to the right, and he became a registered Republican in 1962.

When he was California governor, though, some analysts questioned the depths of his new philosophy. Former State Sen. Peter Behr, a liberal Republican, once mused: "If you walked through Ronald Reagan's deepest thoughts, you wouldn't get your ankles wet." Today, Mr. Behr describes the former governor as a "very quick study but not a man of any depth."

Similarly, Democratic Congressman Anthony Beilenson, a state legislator during the Reagan years, between 1967 and 1975, asserts that Mr. Reagan "came into office with certain biases and left eight years later with the same biases."

A more detached perspective is offered by Alan Post, once the respected legislative analyst for the California legislature and now retired. "Ronald Reagan is an intelligent guy, though by no means brilliant," Mr. Post says. "But sometimes he hangs on to his simple preconceived ideas. For example, during the welfare fights, the facts sometimes would point to a totally different direction, but he was absolutely determined that he was right."

Moreover, Mr. Reagan isn't a man of diverse interests; his three self-described loves are drama, sports and politics. Aides indicate that his reading is limited almost totally to current events. "Politics dominates most discussions with Rommie," says his close friend Charles Wick, a Los Angeles investment counselor.

Newspapers and Human Events

Mr. Reagan is a voracious reader of newspapers and conservative periodicals, such as Human Events, the entertaining but shrill bible of right-wing Republicanism. Between campaign stops, he is seen carefully clipping and undelimiting Human Events commentaries. One aide laments, "He even believes most of that stuff."

This causes some critics to suggest that the former movie actor's curiosity is limited to conservative dogma. But Reagan defenders object to any portrait of a narrow man. They contend that he loves to discuss ideas on a wide variety of topics and that he now is avidly following the economic dialogue between conventional conservatives and the neoconservative economists.

"Ronald Reagan is really stimulated by economics," says Rep. Jack Kemp, the New York Republican who popularized the massive-tax-cut theory. "He grasps complicated economic theories easily." (Mr. Reagan graduated from Eureka College, Illinois, in 1932 with an economics degree.)

Supporters also note that he mastered many of the difficulties of state government during his years in Sacramento. "He quickly learned you just can't push buttons to solve problems," says one Reaganite. And Alan Post says, "While he came in with only a rudimentary understanding, he did learn a great deal about state government."

Mr. Reagan has a truly absorptive mind. He is able to toss out myriad facts and fig-

ures—often relating to the evils of big government or the Soviet threat abroad—without benefit of his celebrated four-by-six inch index cards.

But there is a stubbornness in Mr. Reagan that causes him sometimes to with these memorized facts even when they are patently false. For example, he continued to insist he won reelection in 1970 by most one million votes even after it was pointed out that the actual margin was half that. This is stubbornness, not deceit; even most of Mr. Reagan's enemies acknowledge his rock-ribbed integrity.

To some people such stubbornness combined with Mr. Reagan's firm views, and Mr. Reagan's conservative camp rhetoric deepens those fears. In the general election Mr. Reagan might stick to rhetoric especially in the national-security area, which could alarm some voters. "I have nightmares of the White House charging that Reagan wants to blow up Poland," says a supporter, "and he'll get his back up; leave the impression that he only wants to hit Krakow."

Yet it's widely agreed, based on his terms as governor, that Ronald Reagan campaigns a lot more conservatively than he governs. Nobody argues that he is closet liberal or even a moderate, but many Reaganites say he isn't a hard-line, unyielding right-winger.

Away From Shoals

"Gov. Reagan has a philosophical rudder and it guides him," Mr. Weinberger says. "He holds his beliefs very deeply. But if his rudder is going to drive him into some rocky shoals, he steers away. He recognizes that in government you can't have everything you'd like."

As governor, in opposing a state withholding tax, he insisted that his position was "locked in concrete," but subsequently advisers persuaded him to accept the tax. In other major tax and welfare measures, he gave the Democratic-dominated legislature as much as he got from it.

The Reagan rhetoric also can mislead. In California, he constantly railed against the state universities, but his policies were far more supportive and moderate.

Mr. Reagan fancies himself a superb negotiator, according to aides. He has a genuinely congenial personality, but he doesn't revel in the give and take of politics. "He doesn't dislike politicians the way I think Jimmy Carter does, but neither does he identify with them," one aide says. Another aide suggests:

"If you give Ronald Reagan the choice of sitting around with some gas station attendants or a bunch of state legislators, he'll take the gas station attendants every time."

The Eisenhower Approach

If his performance as governor serves as a guide, a President Reagan would be more like a corporate chief executive, delegating much authority to his Cabinet. "Reagan's approach to governing is probably nearer to

that of Dwight D. Eisenhower than to that of any other recent President," says Lyn Notziger, Mr. Reagan's former secretary. Generally, even some of his Sacramento foes concede, Mr. Reagan surrounds himself with more-than-adequate and largely conservative advisers. But some say that Mr. Reagan sometimes isn't so demanding of his subordinates. "On occasion, his staff work has positively sloppy," one California politician contends.

And Mr. Notziger, while intending it as a compliment, suggests: "Ronald Reagan may be too nice a man; he doesn't kick ass enough." (Mr. Reagan occasionally shows flashes of temper, throwing his glasses on the table, but he usually quickly gets over it.) Although his top aides insist he enjoys genuine inner-circle debate, there is more evidence that he doesn't like much strife. As governor, he sometimes vacillated on both

legislative decisions and appointments. But when Mr. Reagan reaches a decision, he rarely broods about it afterward. "I can't imagine Ronald Reagan going through any agonizing reappraisals," says former State Sen. Behr. "That's a wholesome personal quality, but it's a mixed blessing for a politician."

Some argue that Ronald Reagan's simplicity can be both his most important virtue and his most serious vice. In a book on Mr.

Reagan published over 10 years ago, journalist Lou Cannon observed: "The ability to see any issue, no matter how complex, in personal terms helps him to communicate but blocks his understanding of problems that do not readily lend themselves to personification. He decides quickly, and the courage of his conviction when he is knowledgeable becomes the courage of his ignorance when he is misinformed."

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Stephen Miller

How Intelligent Does a President Have to Be?

In recent weeks, as the nomination of Ronald Reagan has become certain, the way the press writes about him has changed subtly. Rarely is he described as an ideologue; rarely is he described as a man too old to be president. Rather, it is often hinted that he is not bright enough for the job. He is a nice man who means well, it is often said, but he does not have the intellectual capacity to grasp the complex issues of the day—both domestic and foreign.

These hints do not mean that the press is out to get Reagan. To some degree, such insinuations are inevitable, given Reagan's background and political stance. Both his academic record, which was undistinguished, and his subsequent career as a movie actor, do not reassure people that he is a man fit for the highest office. Moreover, Reagan belongs to the right wing of the Republican Party, and journalists have always regarded Republicans as generally stupider than Democrats—with right-wing Republicans usually considered the stupidest of them all. "Neanderthal" is an epithet often applied to right-wing Republicans, whereas left-wing Democrats are never thought to be stupid—only naive and misguided.

Perhaps Reagan is not intelligent enough to be president, but how intelligent does a president have to be? No one would want a stupid man to be president, but it does not follow that the smartest men are always the most prudent and discerning political thinkers or actors. Martin Heidegger and Jean-Paul Sartre, two of the most intelligent men of the century, are not known for their political acumen; the former waxed enthusiastic about Hitler, and the latter—until the last days of his life—was insistent that the Soviet Union was a "progressive" state. Brilliant people—from Bertrand Russell to Anthony Blunt—have often been politically foolish. As Saul Bellow has said, "A great deal of intelligence can be invested in ignorance when the need for illusion is deep."

Have the best American presidents been noted

for their intelligence? A look at the historical record gives us no clear answers. Lincoln probably had the most profound mind of all American presidents and he clearly was a great president. Wilson was highly intelligent, but I can think of several less intelligent presidents whom I would rate above him—Eisenhower, for one. Washington was a great president, but he was not nearly so brilliant as some of the men who surrounded him, especially Hamilton.

One of the most brilliant Americans of his day, Hamilton would have made a poor president. Why? Because he did not possess a trait that I recall being graded for in public school: works and plays well with others. Hamilton lacked the political temperament; his manner was such that he was

rarely persuasive. He was held in high esteem by a band of devoted admirers, but he was hated by many others—eventually by many in his own party. He was also a man of poor judgment, often choosing to associate himself with men who damaged his own reputation.

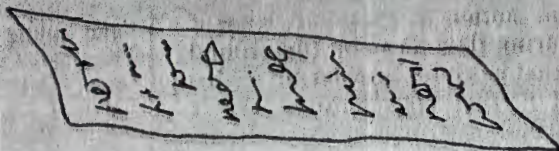
Intelligence, then, is only one of a number of characteristics that a man should possess in order to be a good president. He needs to be a man who is comfortable with himself, so that he can take advice from those who are his intellectual superiors. He needs also to be a man of prudence and courage—knowing when to court public opinion and when to ignore it.

Finally, he should be an experienced politician—well versed in the art of political maneuvering, as Franklin Roosevelt was. Politics, as Michael Oakeshott has said, is an art, not a science. It cannot be taught, and the skills needed to perform it successfully cannot even be carefully defined. It is an art that one learns slowly after practicing it for many years.

William Buckley once said that he'd rather be governed by the first 100 names in the Boston phone book than by the Harvard faculty. I'm not sure about that; they might be equally bad. I would put it another way: I'd rather be governed by professional politicians than by political scientists. The latter may contribute to our understanding of politics, but it is doubtful that they would be good political actors.

All things being equal, a president who reads history and philosophy is to be preferred to a president who reads mysteries and westerns, but all things are never equal. We should remember that many ingredients go into the making of a good president, and intelligence is only one of them.

The writer is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy and Research.



By Tom Gibson for The Washington Post

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Joseph Kraft

Can Reagan Control His Own Right?

How bad can a man be whose idea of a fun evening is to go home, put on his 'jamas and watch "Little House on the Prairie"?

I have been asking myself that question about Ronald Reagan for some time, and I now have an answer in the form of another question. The other question is: can Ronald Reagan control his own right wing?

By himself, Reagan makes a pretty poor excuse for a menace. He comes on warm and friendly and with the decent instincts of the Midwestern small town. While he seems to lack truly intimate friends, nothing in his record announces that he is—to cite qualities associated with three recent presidents—mean, vicious or megalomaniacal.

As governor of California, he was far less silly than he sounded. His appointments were on the whole good appointments. He did no serious damage to the university. If he saved money on welfare, as he claims, it was in large part because he accepted provisions made by the Democratic majority in the legislature that—by funding abortions—drastically reduced the number of children on the public assistance rolls.

Even though he is often misinformed on details, his errors of fact turn out to be insignificant. For example, he was wrong in asserting that Vietnam veterans are not eligible for the benefits of the GI Bill of Rights. But the general point he sought to make was right on—namely, that the country needs to do more to keep up its reserve forces.

FOR all those reasons, the critics to paint Reagan as a black villain don't come off. They turn into quibbles about what he really said and really meant. They convince only the already convinced.

Still if Reagan-as-bad-guy is a myth, there really and truly is such a thing as the far right wing of the Republican Party. Its members adhere to a wide range of ideas obnoxious to a just government and a decent society. They are dead serious in their beliefs, and they line up behind Reagan with an intent to assume mastery of government and shape national policy.

In the economic field, the far right position is well defined. It is the position associated with Prof. Arthur Laffer of the University of Southern California. The "Laffer Curve" purports to demonstrate that the tax system is so inefficient that big cuts in business levies would actually yield more revenues.

That proposition is repudiated by almost all serious economists, including—on "Meet the Press" this past Sunday—former secretary of the Treasury George Shultz. As Shultz pointed out, unless tax cuts are closely linked with spending cuts, they would generate ruinous inflation. But the absolute need for such linkage is not acknowledged by the far right.

In foreign policy, too, there is an established right-wing position. It is a position rooted in blind ideological anti-communism and favored by many of Reagan's advisers. It finds expression in several disastrous notions.

One is the idea that this country should forget about easing tensions and deliberately engage the Russians in an all-out arms race designed to run them into the ground. Another is the notion that the United States should give Communist China the wet mitten because Peking lacks ideological purity. Then there is the conceit that the United States should resume development of anti-ballistic missiles—a step sure to yield an unchecked arms race.

Reagan is not himself irrevocably committed to those ideas. If elected president, he could probably count on a Democratic Congress to kill some of the wilder follies. But he too would have to play a role. The president does, after all, make all the big appointments and initiate most of the policy, especially in foreign affairs.

So far, the evidence is that Reagan is not going to be particularly good at holding his right wing. He is easygoing and congenial and hates bickering. He is given—as the case of the almost successful effort to unseat former senator Bill Brock as national Republican chairman demonstrates—to letting things happen. Those are just the qualities to make a president the prisoner of a determined minority in his entourage.

As the campaign wears on, accordingly, Reagan bears close scrutiny. There is a need for him to show that he has the acumen, the physical vitality, the instinct for picking the good men required to hold in check the truly malevolent forces he would bring with him to what is still the most powerful office in the world.

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land Evans and Robert Novak

Reagan's Need: An Unawed Adviser

*Unawed
Ford*

LOS ANGELES—Ronald Reagan concluded the first day that the Republican presidential nomination was undeniably his with a singularly uninspired performance pointing to this harsh reality: he is far from ready to take on Jimmy Carter and his resourceful Georgia politicians.

The event here was a \$500-a-plate fund-raiser before sleepy-eyed Republicans, including a goodly number of Sacramento lobbyists, at the palatial Beverly Hills Hotel. Only the day before, George Bush had finally quit. Yet not one word came from Reagan about reaching his once impossible dream of 12 years' standing. As he had in two earlier speeches that day, Reagan dispensed the usual homilies; the Beverly Hills faithful stifled yawns.

They would have appreciated hearing the hopes and fears Reagan felt at that moment of triumph (which he confided only to friends at the head table). But no staff aide so advised the candidate; indeed, no such advice was expected. Reagan that night was a lone eagle saying what he felt like saying, just as he had been the last three months. The image of Reagan as the marionette manipulated by clever assistants could not be further from the truth.

From the moment the autocratic John Sears was sacked as campaign manager Feb. 26, Reagan has functioned on his own as major-party candidates seldom do. While that did not disrupt his march toward the Republican nomination, it could prove fatal against President Carter.

Important questions have not been answered: Who will tell Reagan not to alienate the blue-collar vote by senseless union-baiting? Who will tell him that proclaiming his unrequited love affair with corporate business, particularly big oil, can only hurt him? Who will convince him to turn the other

cheek to Carter campaign attacks on Reagan's record as governor of California, making sure the spotlight stays on Carter's record as president?

Nobody has replaced Sears in fulfillment of these functions. Local politicians who visit the Reagan campaign plane come away worried that his aides seem afraid of him. What frightens them is not their even-tempered chief but the history of bloody staff purges the last two years, unprecedented in a successful presidential campaign.

New York lawyer William Casey, Sears' nominal successor as campaign manager, is far removed from the candidate. At Reagan's side is Edward Meese, a sleek San Diego lawyer who was his chief of staff as governor and whose opinion Reagan values most. When Sears demanded in February that Meese must go, he took on one old survivor too many; Sears was fired instead. But Meese's valued opinions are seldom volunteered. "I would say Ed does not squander his influence," one Reagan insider noted.

When Reagan flirted with disaster by seeming to come out against the minimum wage, Meese did not contradict him; others had to pull him back from the brink. As in Sacramento, Meese on the campaign plane seems more buffer than adviser. His capacious briefcase is becoming famed as the final resting place for myriad memos and position papers sent Reagan.

What Reagan needs for trial-by-combat against Carter is an adviser who is experienced in national politics, has intuitive political skills and is both familiar with and unawed by Reagan. The exact fit for that description is veteran Los Angeles political operative Stuart Spencer, who managed Reagan's first campaign for governor in 1966 but was Gerald R. Ford's chief tactician against Reagan in 1976.

Spencer was more than willing to come aboard

the Reagan plane as traveling adviser. But a rancorous debate within Reagan's inner circle included attacks on Spencer that, in the tight little world of politics, inevitably got back to him. By the time word finally was given Spencer that Ron and Nancy would be thrilled to have him back after all these years, it was too late. Spencer had signed on for an independent anti-Carter operation this fall.

Two longtime Reaganites purged last year by Sears are back. Mike Deaver last week began traveling with Reagan for the first time in nearly a year. Lyn Nofziger is signing on as press chief, the job he first held in the 1966 campaign. Both bear the scars of rejection by their chief, but that may reduce reluctance to offer Reagan uncongenial advice.

Reagan often this year has risen above his available advice. Instinctively realizing the political potential of tax reduction, Reagan has rejected pleas by establishment economists that he modify his proposals. He understands that his attack against using unemployment to fight inflation, while abrasive to country-club Republicans, is catnip for Democrats.

But Reagan may be enticed into the political abyss if he lets Carter's experts at negative politics change the campaign's frame of reference to the 1960s in Sacramento. Reagan's automatic response will be to defend his own record, rather than attacking Carter's. Whether a skilled, unafraid adviser is at his side to prevent him from doing so may determine the immediate course of American history.

In a recent column, we inadvertently reported that public employee unions had raised \$1 billion—not \$1 million, as was the case—to fight tax reduction in California.

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Wally St. Journal

An Interview With Ronald Reagan

ALBERT R. HUNT and THOMAS J. BRAY

Last Thursday, Ronald Reagan, the Republican presidential candidate, was interviewed aboard his campaign plane by Albert R. Hunt, a member of the Journal's Washington bureau who is covering Campaign '80, and Thomas J. Bray, associate editor of the Journal's editorial page. Here are excerpts from that interview:

Tax Cuts and Spending

WSJ: There are reports of disagreements in your camp over how to present the tax cut issue. You backed the Kemp-Roth 30% income tax cut over three years, and have indicated you believe it would not result in reduced government revenue, and hence would not worsen the deficit. But many of your top advisers say that's claiming too much for the so-called supply-side model. Where do you stand at this point?

Reagan: I believe in the supply-side model, and I don't think that there are all that many opposed to it. I think there has been a spate of articles, and sometimes people—some of those have given the impression that I have two rival schools of thought. I have never sought to get people of only one viewpoint to advise and consult. I have a broad band of economists who have been most generous with their help to me, and they range all the way from an Arthur Laffer to Milton Friedman, and I like to get this variety of viewpoints.

WSJ: Governor, the disagreement here is over degree, not direction, and some people who are advising you say: We ought to have a supply-side model, we ought to have a tax cut, but to wed yourself to a 30% tax cut over three years, given the inflationary environment today, may be a bit much. Does that worry you?

Reagan: No, because I've also seen viewpoints that say that with the gigantic increase in taxes for next year—maybe we're not cutting enough, but actually we're only whittling away a little bit of the increase.

WSJ: Are you suggesting that you might go for an even larger tax cut?

Reagan: Well, I would want a lot more study of that, and a lot more input. But right now I think that this bill, which has secured a great deal of support, official support of the Republican National Committee, and has been amended to include something else that I believe in, which is that you accompany this with cutting government spending. I feel secure that there is support for you could do one or two ways: you could set a limit to begin with, that where we are there could be no increase, and then, as we tried to do in California, by a small percentage over a period of years, reduce that back down to a more optimum figure.

WSJ: If you couldn't get a spending cut, would you still want to cut taxes?

Reagan: Well, to begin with, some cuts in spending could be accomplished administratively by Executive Order. But because tax cuts are essential to increase productivity and provide a stimulus for expansion of the economy, yes, I still would want tax cuts. It is hard for me to believe that Congress—faced with the high degree of inflation now plaguing this country—would be unwilling to control federal government spending. I do not accept the premise that government spending cannot be controlled. If I'm wrong, there is always the presidential power of veto.

WSJ: You had an ebullient economy in California when you were governor, and at least then people would have seen who was trying to curb something and who was doing the spending.

I can think of one that the former President admits to as a mistake now—wage and price controls, in the 1970s.

WSJ: You've called for examining a return to the gold standard; it was under a Republican administration that we went off the gold standard, wasn't it?

Reagan: Yes, and that could be one, too.

Now, I have to say today I asked this to be examined, a kind of a de facto gold

standard, which is the minting of coins, and I've asked advice and the ideas of a number of economists on this.

I have to say I believe that it has to wait for some of these other things we've done first, more stabilizing of the money value, the economy, inflation, before you could do this, because gold is a kind of a wild card right now.

'Maybe (the tightening of the money supply) shouldn't have been done as drastically as it has been done. The highest interest rates since the Civil War are something to wonder about.'

Iran and Afghanistan

WSJ: On the current situation in Iran. Do you think the most important issue or priority now is that of the hostages themselves, or the overall strategic situation in the area?

Reagan: Well, I don't think you can divorce the two. I think you have to weigh the importance of those hostages and their continuing being held, to what it means to the United States—the possible threat to the United States, and to other Americans, when seemingly someone with so little power can get away with this.

Is anyone safe in an American Embassy anywhere?

That's why I just—I think that, you know, I just don't understand the President's words about now the burden isn't so great; it's as if, with this failed mission, is he washing his hands of it? Is he saying: "Well, we'll continue to think about them, but there isn't anything we can do about them"?

WSJ: Do you fear that the Iranians are either being driven or are moving more and more into the Soviet camp? And if so, what would you propose to do about that?

Well, there's confusion about the Communist Party in Iran, which has been a factor.

WSJ: If it became evident that they were, though, moving directly more into the Soviet camp, do you think the United States should take action, covert or overt, to stop that?

Reagan: I think the United States—we have to recognize, all of us, that this would be one of the most serious threats to the Middle East, and to our security and that of our allies, of anything that has been done so far.

Blockade Cuba?

WSJ: You have suggested some sort of action against Cuba in retaliation for the Soviet move in Afghanistan. As President would you pursue a series of counteractions to make the Russians pay a price for moves like that?

Reagan: Well I've suggested that hypothetically. What I suggested about Afghani-

had to have a draft. This must be done and should be done right away, and it is not as expensive as it might sound.

WSJ: Give us one or two other priorities, Governor.

Reagan: The Soviet Union has opened a gap; it is a widening gap between us. We need a fast on-line deterrent that would prevent them from reaching some place here in the near future in which their margin of superiority would be great enough for them to think in terms of an ultimatum. Now I don't know what that deterrent could be. It might be a new offensive weapon that would give us apparently a second strike capacity, which the Soviets could not afford. Many of the other weapons that we suggest, like reinstating the B-1 bomber, might well be necessary in the rebuilding of our military, but I don't think we can get it on line quickly enough to fill that gap.

WSJ: On the question of alliances, you have said that you thought that absent government controls, we could be energy self-sufficient in five years, or at least some people thought that. Assuming for a moment that that's correct, what would you do about our allies, who would be just as dependent upon foreign oil?

Reagan: Well, maybe we could be of more help to them than we are right now. This is one of our great weak points today, in that they are so totally dependent there on the Middle East oil.

It is not only what we ourselves can find, but there are—there's three fourths of the world that has never been thoroughly or properly explored for oil.

WSJ: You are probably as strongly pro-Israel as anybody running for the presidency right now. What would you do, though, to assuage the Saudis?

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WSJ: Could you envision any situation whereby you would ask Henry Kissinger to be Secretary of State?

Reagan: At the moment, no. I think I would rather—when that time comes, I'd rather look at the whole field of who is available.

Criteria for Running Mate

WSJ: You have listed at least one litmus test for your running mate, namely that he or she would have to be a general supporter of Kemp-Roth.

Reagan: Well, let me say that was in the (Houston) debate. I regretted saying it. I thought—all that was in my mind was it was kind of a humorous line in finishing up the answer to that question from the audience.

WSJ: Would support for the Panama Canal treaties exclude someone?

Reagan: Well, I don't know: I don't know. Well, I don't know: I don't know. Well, I don't know: I don't know. Well, I don't know: I don't know. Well, I don't know: I don't know.

WSJ: What would be your criteria for Supreme Court appointees?

Reagan: I think there's been a great deal of politics in judicial appointments. I had tried, when I became governor, to get the legislature to approve a plan that would take politics out of the appointment of judges: It's a plan called the "Missouri Plan," whereby you use a variety of committees and then base your appointment on the rating of these various committees.

WSJ: Talking specifically of the Supreme Court, is there anything you would like to see, any particular philosophy you feel is not adequately represented on the Supreme Court at this point?

Reagan: Well, I think for a long time we've had a number of Supreme Court Jus-



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By Henry Fairlie

THIS IS NEITHER a lament, although it could well be that, nor an exercise in nostalgia, which it could also be. The story of the neglect and continuing decline of America's railroads is a subject for outrage. It is also a fable with a moral, and it is the moral I want to demonstrate.

I was sitting at lunch the other day with an English journalist who is visiting America. He was haranguing me over the rockfish about the condition, unreliability and slowness of Amtrak's trains in the Northeast Corridor, from Washington to New York, from New York to Boston, which Congress intended to be not only clean, efficient and fast but even something of a showpiece of what is possible. I hung my head in shame for America, inquired mischievously if he had ever tried the Long Island Railroad, and then asked him how our trains were doing in Britain.

His eyes brightened: "Better and better." His eyes brightened still more and his voice quickened: "They are one thing which goes on getting better and better." This was not prejudice. I always tell American friends who are about to visit Britain to use the railways, and they return in a month speaking of them with the thrill of delight.

Anyhow, you can cross the English Channel — if you must — where the French trains are splendid. I received my first hint of what modern trains can be like — and how they can meet the challenge of the automobile and the airlines — when I used to travel by rail between Paris and Marseilles. It was called le Mistral after the cold breeze which sweeps hard along the Mediterranean coast, and like the Mistral it sped — although not in squalls — at speeds which even then touched 100 m.p.h. At those speeds it took the curves so steadily that the glass stayed in one's hands.

From Paris to Dijon to Lyons to Marseilles — four major cities of France — one was swept in comfort, safely, and on time. Yet what did one read in the papers not so long ago? The French have just finished modernizing (yet again) the stretch which runs from Paris to Lyons, and the trains travel it as smoothly as ever but at speeds now which would otherwise defy one's credulity.

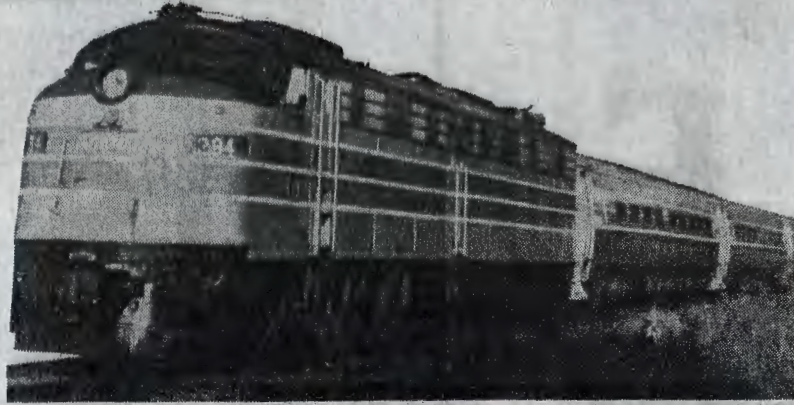
Then one returns to the United States, and journeys to the Midwest, as I recently did for a couple of weeks. One sits in the Wisconsin state capital of Madison, and thinks of all the cities which lie not all that far away, and to which one might want to go as resident or visitor. Even if one stays within the area set by Milwaukee-Minneapolis-St. Paul-Des Moines-Chicago, there is an abundance of inter-city traffic which ought to be carried by rail. And there is no reason why one should not cast the net as far as St. Louis in one direction and Cleveland in another. One is still within distances which in Europe are served by the railways.

But instead one has to go through all the palaver and pother of getting to an airport, checking in before one's seat is given to someone else as a result of overbooking, waiting in the pens to be herded on board, climbing bumpily to the height where one will cruise for 20 minutes before bumpily coming down, and then having to get transport again from the airport at one's destination.

There are still one or two passenger trains — dirty and unreliable and slow — which lurch between some of the cities. But in effect one has no alternative to traveling to them except by flying, as inconvenient, uncomfortable, and wasteful a form of inter-city travel as

Bring Back the Railroads

America needs government-owned, tax-supported trains



Amtrak

a misanthrope could dream up. There are some buses, it is true. But they have none of the advantages or comfort of a good train, they are horrible to ride when the traffic grows heavier round the cities, their schedules are more subject to the weather, and they belch out their fumes where trains leave no trace.

One could make a different, but as powerful, case in America for bringing back the transcontinental trains. It is enough to say here that there is no sadder sight in the whole country than to stroll into the huge railroad station at Cheyenne, which of course used to be one of the great junctions on the journey across the continent, and find it all but deserted, with only two trains listed on the great board in the ticket hall, one Amtrak train a day going west and one Amtrak train a day going east. There can be no justification or sufficient apology for such a spectacle of waste.

One searches for the explanations — in this land which is made for trains as it was made by them — and there are many to be offered. But in the end one comes down to one which Americans do not like to face. Here is the moral.

Let us take 16 more or less industrialized nations in four continents: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. In 13 of them all the railways are publicly owned. In Canada and Japan about 75 percent of them are publicly owned. Only in the United States are as small a proportion as 25 percent under any form of public ownership. It is only in America that the railroads are not generally regarded as a responsibility which must today be undertaken by the state.

But there is more to be said than that. In an extensive survey of the public-private frontier in the major free economies of the world a year and a half ago, The Economist of London, which cannot be accused of ten-

enterprise societies may go to ludicrous lengths to disguise nationalization (e.g., the United States). . . . Nationalization is an un-American activity. . . . But, instead of nationalization, Washington uses regulation for not very different purposes." This means in the case of the railways that Americans get the worst of both worlds.

"Profitable railways in the United States remain privately owned," The Economist went on. "Lossmakers steam into the public sector." Conrail was set up by the American government four years ago to take over six bankrupt railroads. It cannot operate without government subsidies (like all the nationalized railways of Europe), but the fiction is preserved that it is a "private, for-profit corporation."

"Tripe, of course," snapped The Economist. But it is that tripe which deprives Americans of efficient railroads while still costing them the subsidies. It may be considered seditious in America to say that Conrail is

nationalized. But its efforts to make itself more efficient are constantly frustrated by the Interstate Commerce Commission,

through which regulation takes the place but does not offer the benefits of outright nationalization. The ICC is the final arbiter on routes, services, charges, and may even dictate the distribution of wagons on a train.

The chairman of British Rail just now is Sir Peter Parker, a successful businessman in private enterprise, who happens to have been a friend of mine for many years. I spent some time with him when he was in America two years ago — he naturally arrived in Washington by train, but he did take the Concorde to fly the Atlantic — and he had much of interest and even surprise to say. For example, he found that his nationalized British Rail had much greater freedom to make its own commercial decisions than the unnationalized Conrail, operating "for profit."

not allow Americans — government, Congress, people — to acknowledge that free enterprise has failed in running the nation's railroads. This fact was dramatically symbolized in the collapse of Penn Central in 1970. Conrail began operation on, suitably, All Fool's Day in 1976. Since then the railroads have been as neglected and have declined as in the past.

There is no point in griping at Conrail and more immediately at Amtrak. My impression is that they try their damndest against appalling political odds and in the face of unjustifiably unfair competition. Everyone whistles at the subsidies which the railroads receive. Yet they are as nothing to the subsidies which maintain the airports and support facilities for the airlines and the highways for the trucks and automobiles.

From the end of the Second World War until the collapse of Penn Central, the federal government supported only one program to assist the railroads, and that was only a loan guarantee of less than \$250 million. This was the period in which Europe rebuilt its railroads, and in the middle of it the federal and state governments in America were spending \$750 million to support the airlines and airports, and the federal government alone contributed a quarter of the \$10 billion being spent on highways. The list of contrasts could be lengthened; it only tells the same miserable tale.

The case for restoring and reinvigorating the railroads — bringing them openly into public ownership and supporting them openly with adequate subsidies — has never been stronger than it is today. We are talking not of saving something of the past, but of developing one of the ways open to the future.

They are an efficient form of mass transit, using less of our precious fuel than automobiles. They do not pollute. Their roadbeds are for the most part still there, waiting only to be restored and modernized and used. They could provide the cheapest form of taxpayers' subsidies for their own transport which at present can be devised.

They can offer leisure and repose as one travels, comfort and enjoyment, as no airline or automobile can provide. They can offer good food and wine, as many European trains do, and the time and comfort to consume them. They can even offer luxury.

Next spring the Orient Express will begin to cross Europe again. This legendary train of romance and adventure is to be privately owned. (What nationalized corporation in these days dares to make money off providing luxury?) Its 18 carriages are being sumptuously restored and strengthened to meet the safety standards of today. It will be drawn by the most modern locomotive which the nationalized French railways can offer. It will take one from London to Venice in one day's luxurious journey at a cost of \$500 one way.

And it will be — how can it fail to be? — full. (It is planned to carry 170 passengers.) But it is not for this kind of opulence that one is asking, although the very idea of it helps to charge the imagination. It is surely one of the safest bets one can make that transcontinental trains of great comfort and reasonable luxury could become one of the new and changing habits of Americans.

For the down-to-earth daily labor of intercity travel, and for the high enjoyment of being pulled majestically across this fabulous continental land, there is no rival and there never will be to the train. (Unless it is a barge.) America needs to reimagine its railroads in a hundred small and expansive ways, but it will not begin to do this until it abandons an ideology which is inapplicable to them.

Now — in an election year, when there will be so

Fairlie at Large

Henry Fairlie's column appears biweekly in Out-

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...many opposed to it. I think there has been a spate of articles, and sometimes people—some of those have given the impression that I have two rival schools of thought. I have never sought to get people to only one viewpoint to advise and consult. I have a broad band of economists who have been most generous with their help to me, and they range all the way from an Arthur Laffer to Milton Friedman, and I like to get this variety of viewpoints.

WSJ: Governor, the disagreement here is over degree, not direction, and some people who are advising you say: We ought to have a supply-side model, we ought to have a tax cut, but to wed yourself to a 30% tax cut over three years, given the inflationary environment today, may be a bit much. Does that worry you?

Reagan: No, because I've also seen viewpoints that say that with the gigantic increase in taxes for next year—maybe we're not cutting enough, but actually we're only whittling away a little bit of the increase.

WSJ: Are you suggesting that you might go for an even larger tax cut?

Reagan: Well, I would want a lot more study of that, and a lot more input. But right now I think that this bill, which has secured a great deal of support, official support of the Republican National Committee, and has been amended to include something else that I believe in, which is that you accompany this with cutting government spending. I feel secure that there is support for



for either one or two ways: you could set a limit to begin with, that where we are there could be no increase, and then, as we tried to do in California, by a small percentage over a period of years, reduce that back down to a more optimum figure.

WSJ: If you couldn't get a spending cut, would you still want to cut taxes?

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WSJ: You had an ebullient economy in California when you were governor, yet you did raise tax rates. Doesn't that tend to undercut the supply-side theory?

Reagan: No, because—one thing: we don't print money in California. But there was something else that has never been pointed out. Yes, we had two big tax increases, but one of them was not really a tax increase. It was the assuming by the state of a burden to relieve the homeowner tax in California: this was pre-Proposition 13.

The Money Supply

WSJ: You mentioned that California doesn't print money. The federal government, of course, does. Would you consider keeping Paul Volcker on as Chairman of the Federal Reserve?

Reagan: Well, I'd like to know more about the man before I gave an answer to that. Because right now, I think that this interest rate, while I know that we have got to reduce the production of money, and that does also include credit, but that particular interest situation now is literally driving two or three industries into a recession, a depression, and it seems to be flying all by itself.

The tightening of money supply is only part of the whole battle to fight inflation.

WSJ: Are you suggesting the money supply shouldn't have been tightened as much as it has?

Reagan: Maybe it should have been done as only part of an entire program; maybe it should not have been done as drastically as it has been done. The highest interest rates since the Civil War are something to wonder about.

Republican Errors?

WSJ: Republicans have held office for eight of the last eleven years. What were the two or three most serious policy errors by Republican administrations during that period, in your view?

Reagan: Well, you have to recall that it's awfully easy to blame an administration for errors that are the result of Congress, and the Congress had been dominated by the other party for more than 25 consecutive years, and for approximately 42 out of the last 46 years.

Now, they're the ones who pass the tax bills, they're the ones who pass the programs and so forth. Maybe there wasn't enough use of the veto; maybe even the veto would have been overridden, but at

since the Civil War are something to wonder about.

standard, which is the minting of coins, and I've asked advice and the ideas of a number of economists on this.

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Blockade Cuba?

WSJ: You have suggested some sort of action against Cuba in retaliation for the Soviet move in Afghanistan. As President would you pursue a series of counteractions to make the Russians pay a price for moves like that?

Reagan: Well I've suggested that hypothetically. What I suggested about Afghanistan was, if possible, the blockading of their satellite, because let's make no mistake about it; the Soviet Union owns Cuba lock, stock and barrel. We blockade it, how it's a grave logistical problem for them. I'm quite sure they would not come sailing over with a navy and start shooting. But we blockade Cuba, which could not afford that blockade, and we say to them: "Get your troops out of Afghanistan and we give up the blockade."

WSJ: In the same vein, would you be willing, as President, to give direct aid to the Somalis?

Reagan: Well, now here again, you are running the risk of the possible escalation into a conflict that can grow into World War III. I want it understood, I think our prime objective must be peace, the preservation of world peace, and we're the only country that can do it, preserve it. So I wouldn't be able to answer you at this point on that.

WSJ: How about aid to the Angolan rebels, who are fighting the Soviet regime and the Cuban mercenaries?

Reagan: Well, frankly, I would provide them with weapons. It doesn't take American manpower; (Jonas) Savimbi, the leader, controls more than half of Angola. Apparently he's got quite a force there, and he's never asked for any kind of help, except weapons, and I don't see anything wrong with someone who wants to free themselves from the rule of an outside power, which is Cubans and East Germans. I don't see why we shouldn't provide them with the weapons to do it.

Pentagon Priorities

WSJ: You have outlined a whole series of complaints about the Pentagon budget and the Carter administration's military posture. Obviously in the short-run, if you were elected President, the first year or two, there are certain budgetary constraints. In the current budget, if you had another \$5 to \$8 billion to spend on defense, what would be your first two or three priorities?

Reagan: A top priority is the redressing of the pay scale in our military today, which has a large percentage of them moonlighting—some of them are eligible for welfare—and has the greatest majority of them only serving one term and leaving, so quickly that we're not able to develop noncommissioned officers, which would be absolutely essential in the event that we

ernment controls, we could be energy self-sufficient in five years, or at least some people thought that. Assuming for a moment that that's correct, what would you do about our allies, who would be just as dependent upon foreign oil?

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Talking about a human life. I think that the whole abortion question is ignoring one thing that is the simple answer to that problem, and that is: Is the unborn child a human being or not?

WSJ: What would be your criteria for Supreme Court appointees?

Reagan: I think there's been a great deal of politics in judicial appointments. I had tried, when I became governor, to get the legislature to approve a plan that would take politics out of the appointment of judges. It's a plan called the "Missouri Plan," whereby you use a variety of committees and then base your appointment on the rating of these various committees.

WSJ: Talking specifically of the Supreme Court, is there anything you would like to see, any particular philosophy you feel is not adequately represented on the Supreme Court at this point?

Reagan: Well, I think for a long time we've had a number of Supreme Court Justices who, given any chance, invade the prerogative of the legislature; they legislate rather than make judgments, and some try to rewrite the Constitution instead of interpreting it. I would want a constitutionalist.

WSJ: In some of the recent stories about allegations of your misstatements or errors—implicit in those stories—is that you're not quite deep enough to be President. Does that bother you?

Reagan: Well, it bothers me for someone to think that, but first of all, as I've said before, I will really back the overwhelming majority of the facts that I have used against the criticism of those who have run out to find someone to give them another statement and said: "Look, Reagan was wrong; so-and-so says this."

Well, nine times out of ten, we can find out that so-and-so didn't really know what the hell he was talking about.

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