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1980 DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

SUMMARY

I. ECONOMY

This was one of the most difficult sections to develop in the way we wanted, for there was considerable support among the Platform Committee members for a stronger anti-recession program than we have adopted to date. Senator Kennedy's \$12 billion stimulus proposal was very attractive to many Committee members, but in the end we were able to hold our members. Another major problem concerned the frankness with which we wanted to recognize our current economic situation. We ultimately decided, correctly I believe, to recognize that we are in a recession, that unemployment is rising, and that there are no easy solutions to these problems. Finally, the Kennedy people repeatedly wanted to include language stating that no action would be taken which would have any significant increase in unemployment. We successfully resisted this by saying no such action would be taken with that intent or design, but Kennedy will still seek a majority plank at the Convention on this subject.

A. Economic Strength -- Solutions to Our Economic Problems

1. Full Employment. There is a commitment to achieve the Humphrey-Hawkins goals, at the currently prescribed dates. We successfully resisted efforts to move these goals back to those originally prescribed by this legislation.
2. Anti-Recession Assistance. The language in the Platform restates our current position. The key sentences repeat the theme you used in Seattle:

"Unless unemployment abates quickly these programs [fiscal assistance, trade adjustment assistance, etc.] will need to be expanded and strengthened, and further programs may be necessary. The Democratic Party is committed to this effort because of our concern about putting people back to work.

Unless we have taken increased action in this area by August, we might have a hard time at the Convention holding the Platform to this relatively vague language. Kennedy will be making a floor fight on his stimulus proposal.

3. National Accord. This is recognized as an important part of the effort to fight inflation.
4. Tax Reductions. The language in this area is largely what we wanted, for Senator Kennedy made no effort to push a stronger or more specific commitment to tax reductions. This was written, of course, before the recent Reagan and Senate Democratic announcements about tax cuts this year. Depending on how events unfold, this language may be dated by August. In any event, it reads as follows:

"We commit ourselves to targeted tax reductions designed to stimulate production and combat recession as soon as it appears it will not have a disproportionately inflationary effect. We must avoid untargeted tax cuts which would increase inflation. Any tax reduction must, if it is to help solve pressing economic problems, follow certain guiding principles:

- The inflationary impact must be minimized;
- Reductions provided to individuals must be weighted to help low and middle income individuals and families;
- Productivity, investment and capital formation must be encouraged;
- Incentives must be provided to spur targeted investment to much distressed industries;
- The effect on our economy must be one which encourages job formation and business growth."

5. Federal Spending. We succeeded, over the opposition of the Kennedy forces, in including spending restraint as an important economic weapon. The key sentences read as follows:

"Spending restraint must be sensitive to those who look to the federal government for aid and assistance, especially to our nation's workers in times of high unemployment. At the same time, as long as inflationary pressures remain strong, fiscal prudence is essential to avoid destroying the progress made to date in reducing the inflation rate."

6. Interest Rates. This language merely restates the Party's interest in low interest rates, and states that the government should be sensitive to special areas of our economy particularly affected by high interest rates.
7. Regulatory Reform. This language emphasizes the importance of deregulating over-regulated industries and removing other unnecessary regulatory burdens, consistent with our basic health, safety and environmental goals.
8. Targeting and Regional Balance. This section, which restates large parts of the 1976 Platform, emphasizes the importance of the Federal government's ensuring that all regions, States and localities share in the benefits of national economic prosperity, and that none bears more than its share of economic adversity. To help effect those goals, the section emphasizes the importance of targeting those programs to those most in need.

9. Rebuilding American Industry. Along with the section on Anti-Recession Assistance, this is the heart of the economic part of the Platform. The fight with the Kennedy forces was over how specific we could be; generally, we decided to be more specific than our original presentation, but not so specific as to include support for an American Reindustrialization Corporation.

Because this section is so important, and this area will receive so much attention in the coming months, I am repeating it in full below:

"To revive productivity and revitalize our economy, we need a national effort to strengthen the American economy. It must include new tax depreciation rules to stimulate selective capital investment; a simplified tax code to assist business planning; removal of governmental regulations which stifle business initiative; effective incentives for saving that do not discriminate against low and middle income taxpayers; reform in patent rules and new incentives for research and development, especially by small business, and cooperative efforts with labor and management to retool the steel, auto and ship-building industries; and strengthened worker training programs to improve job opportunities and working skills.

Encouraging investment, innovation, efficiency and downward pressure on prices also requires new measures to increase competition in our economy. In regulated sectors of our economy, government serves too often to entrench high price levels and stifle competition. In unregulated sectors of the economy, we must increase antitrust enforcement; greatly improve the speed and efficiency of antitrust litigation; and renew efforts to prevent the concentration of economic power -- both in specific industries and across the economy as a whole -- which operate to stifle growth and to fuel inflation.

United States non-farm exports have risen 50% in real terms in the last three years. A Democratic President and a Democratic Congress have recognized and strengthened the export trade functions of the federal government. To

create new markets for American products and strengthen the dollar, we must seek out new opportunities for American exports; help establish stable, long-term commercial relationships between nations, offer technical assistance to firms competing in world markets; promote reciprocal trading terms for nations doing business here; and help insure that America's domestic retooling is consistent with new opportunities in foreign trade.

One of our main goals in this effort will be to enable American industry to compete more effectively with foreign products. We must intensify our efforts to promote American exports and to ensure that our domestic industries and workers are not affected adversely by unfair trade practices, such as dumping. We must make international trade a major focus of our domestic and international policy. We must ensure that our efforts to lower tariff barriers are reciprocated by our trading partners. We recognize the superior productivity of American agriculture and the importance of agricultural exports to the balance of trade. We support continuing efforts to promote agricultural exports."

We defeated efforts to include the Senator's \$12 billion spending program and wage and price controls.

B. Economic Equity

1. Budget. This section discusses the importance of restraint, provides statistics about our progress in holding down the rate of growth in Federal spending, and includes a discussion of the increased funding levels over the past four years in a number of key domestic programs. As might be expected, this is one of the sections the Kennedy forces had the most difficulty in accepting, and as a result we included language recognizing the importance of continuing (we insisted on this word) to avoid drastic cuts in social programs which could impose unfair burdens on the poor and disadvantaged.
2. Worker Protection. As in 1976, this section was largely the product of our negotiations with the AFL-CIO. We tried to be as accommodating as possible (I had a long negotiating session with Ken Young and his staff), and I believe the AFL-CIO is content with the final product

though they would naturally like greater specificity and stronger commitments in a number of areas. The main provisions are:

- Labor Law Reform - Restates our existing commitment.
- OSHA - States strong opposition to legislative or Administration actions to weaken OSHA.
- Hatch Act - Restates our commitment to reform in this area.
- Common Situs Picketing - States support for this type of legislation.
- Fair Labor Standards Act - States importance of continuing to enforce the protection of these Acts, such as Minimum Wage and Davis-Bacon.
- Section 14-b - Seeks repeal of this section (this is in every Democratic Platform and is not likely to cause much of a stir because of that fact).
- Distressed Industries - Special assistance (undefined) is supported for unemployed workers in distressed industries, such as the automobile, steel and building industries.
- Trade Adjustment Assistance - Commitment to improve and strengthen this program.
- Sudden and Unexpected Plant Closings - The AFL-CIO, along with Senator Kennedy, sought support for very specific legislation to help workers affected by sudden and unexpected plant closings. We resisted these efforts for specificity, which would have committed us to a very expensive piece of legislation, but we did include language indicating support for equitable legislation to mitigate the effects on workers of these types of plant closings. Precisely what this language means is uncertain.
- Workers Compensation Program - Language is included seeking legislation to enact minimum Federal standards for workers compensation laws (this is a position already taken by the Administration).

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- Unemployment Insurance - Language is included seeking a strengthening and expansion of the unemployment insurance program (this is consistent with Administration policy).
- Minimum Wage - Opposition is included to a sub-minimum wage for youth and other workers, and support is included for a future increase in the minimum wage. We would have preferred not to include a provision on the sub-minimum, but opposition was impractical given the views of our own members.

*problem if
change in law* *

3. Small Business. This section simply restates our accomplishments in the areas of small business and provides relatively modest goals for the 1980's.
4. Minority Business. This section also describes Administration accomplishments in the area, but it is somewhat more specific in terms of goals for the 1980's. The Kennedy forces were successful in including a commitment that we triple the 1980 level of Federal procurement from minority-owned firms (though the date by which this tripling is not stated).
5. Women In Business. This section is included at the request of the Kennedy members of the Drafting Subcommittee; it merely restates what we have already done to help support women-owned businesses.
6. Women And The Economy. This section was also included at the strong urging of the Kennedy members of the Drafting Subcommittee. It discusses the discrimination that women suffer in our economy and commits the Democratic Party to the principle of equal pay for work of comparable value.
7. Economic Inequities Facing Minorities. This section deals with the economic problems that minorities, particularly youth, face in getting jobs. It contains no new commitments.
8. Consumer Protection. This is a very strong consumer section. It was drafted largely by Esther Peterson and her staff, and it restates our accomplishments and our current consumer goals.
9. Antitrust Enforcement. This section was added at the suggestion of the Kennedy staff, and it commits us to nothing beyond that which we are currently committed to support -- such as the Illinois Brick legislation, improved antitrust procedures, actions to prevent anti-competitive pricing, etc.

II. GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN NEEDS

This section raised two types of problems. First, the Kennedy forces wanted to be much more specific in programmatic details and in funding commitments than we thought advisable. But generally, we succeeded in keeping this section of the Platform from being too specific, though in many areas we did incorporate the more detailed presentation favored by Senator Kennedy's forces, and we did indicate commitments to increase funding levels (though without specifying what "increase" actually means). Second, we worked to defuse the difficult social issues that always arise in platforms -- abortion, gay rights, gun control, drug abuse. In these areas, the Platform is generally more specific than our submission, but did not contravene our policies.

A. Human Services

1. National Health Insurance. We preferred simply to repeat relevant parts of the 1976 Platform. The Kennedy forces wanted a very detailed presentation of what the National Health Insurance plan would contain. The Platform leans in the latter direction, though we deleted from the proposed Kennedy description any references which would indicate a Party preference for the Kennedy Plan over the Carter Plan. Specifically, we deleted references to full enactment at once and to prospective budgeting by States.
2. Mental Health Systems Act. We included a strong call to the enactment of the Mental Health Systems Act.
3. Abortion. At the Subcommittee level, Senator Moynihan succeeded in watering down the language opposing a constitutional amendment to overturn Supreme Court decisions on abortion. That did not stick in the Full Committee. Our members, as well as Senator Kennedy's, favored a much stronger pro-choice statement, and a much stronger statement opposing a constitutional amendment. That provision succeeded and, because of its importance, I have set forth the entire provision below:

"We also recognize the belief of other Americans that a woman has a right to choose whether and when to have a child.

The Democratic Party supports the Supreme Court decisions on abortion rights as the law of the land and opposes any constitutional amendment to restrict or overturn those decisions.

A problem for me X

Furthermore, we pledge to support the right to be free of environmental and worksite hazards to reproductive health for women and men.

We further pledge to work for programs to improve the health and safety of pregnancy and childbirth, including adequate prenatal care, family planning, counseling and services, with special care to the needs of the poor, the isolated, rural, and the young."

Gloria Steinem and others sought to go beyond this statement and to include a statement favoring government funding of abortions for low-income women. That failed, but it will be raised again at the Convention in a minority plank.

4. Substance Abuse. There is strong language against alcoholism and drug abuse. There was no effort to include language seeking decriminalization of marijuana possession, which was somewhat surprising.
5. Social Security. This is an area where we had to compromise more than we would have preferred, but the language in the Platform still gives us the flexibility to modify the way in which Social Security inflation adjustments are determined. The Platform states that Social Security benefits should keep pace with increases in the cost of living (but without saying how that determination is to be made). On the Floor of the Platform Committee, an amendment was adopted that stated the Party's opposition to capping Social Security inflation adjustments. Thus, from the Party's point of view, adjustments in the way benefit increases are calculated can be made as long as they are not the result of a flat cap on benefit increases. This would provide the flexibility needed to develop an alternative index to the CPI.

Two other important planks in the Social Security section are worth noting. One indicates the Party's opposition to any taxation of Social Security benefits (which follows a statement you made recently in Parma, Ohio). A second places the Party on record as opposing raising the age at which Social Security benefits will be provided.

6. Low Income Energy Assistance. This section merely commits the Party to an adequate funding level for this program.
7. Pensions. This language calls for improved pension benefit safeguards and for the elimination of discrimination imposed on women in pension plans.
8. Welfare Reform. This section commits the Party to welfare reform along the lines we have proposed. The most difficult problem in this area related to fiscal relief. Our own delegates, principally from New York, wanted stronger language on fiscal relief than we initially recommended. We agreed to repeat and make more specific the 1976 Platform language, to the effect that our goal should be to eliminate the burden of welfare costs on local governments and to reduce the welfare burden from States. Our supporters recognized that this language did not commit us to change our welfare bill on the Hill (which does not go quite this far), but they needed language like this for their own political purposes. We had to go this far to keep the Kennedy forces (and Moynihan) from inserting language supporting complete Federal assumption of AFDC payments.
9. Veterans. This section was virtually untouched from our original draft, and points out our accomplishments in the area, as well as our commitment to future benefit improvements.
10. Education. This section bears the strong imprint of the NEA, with whom we worked closely in developing it. The most important commitments relate to full funding for Title I Concentration Grants; increased Head Start programs; full funding for the Basic Education Opportunity Grant program; increased funding for Black colleges and other developing institutions; and assistance to private schools, consistent with constitutional requirements.
11. Child Care. This section calls for the enactment of a comprehensive quality child care program.
12. Housing. This section also was almost unchanged during the process from our submission; it describes the Administration's housing accomplishments and its commitment to strengthening the housing market. The only addition was language seeking policies in the area of condominium conversion that will protect tenants against unfair and unreasonable conversion practices.

13. Transportation. This section is also largely as we proposed it initially; the only real change is to strengthen the language on mass transit. The Platform supports increases in subsidies for mass transit, though no specific dollar figure is mentioned.
14. Urban Policy. This section largely recounts our progress in developing an urban policy and commits the Party to seeking enactment of the types of urban-related legislation we are already seeking: expansion of funding for the Economic Development Administration; improved and consolidated grants-in-aid programs; and youth employment legislation.
15. Neighborhoods. This is a strong section in the importance of neighborhoods and on the need to follow through on the progress already made over the last several years.
16. Rural Development. This section describes the Administration's rural development policy and urges that efforts be made to build on that record.
17. Science and Technology/Arts and Humanities. These sections are almost identical to those contained in our Platform submission, and present no problems.

B. Basic Rights and Liberties

1. Equal Rights Amendment. There is, of course, strong support for the Equal Rights Amendment. The major issue involved in the Equal Rights Amendment section was the extent to which the Party wanted to enforce a boycott against States which had not yet ratified ERA. We successfully resisted efforts to involve the government in any type of boycott efforts. However, the Platform language does commit the Party not only to continuing its practice of not holding its Conventions in non-ratified States, but also to encouraging other private organizations to engage in a similar type of effort. Too, there will be a minority plank at the Convention seeking the cut-off of DNC support for any Democratic candidate opposed to ERA.
2. Civil Rights. This is a very strong section, strengthened in part by the suggestions of the Kennedy members of the Drafting Subcommittee. The only new commitments (all of which are consistent with the Department of Justice's policy) are those seeking Federal uniform guidelines and penalties for the use of undue force by local law enforcement agencies; the establishment of civil rights units at appropriate U.S. Attorneys' offices; and swift Federal implementation of the dual prosecution policy. In addition, this section expresses strong condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party.

The most publicized provision in this section is certain to be the one dealing with gay rights. The gay organizations have concentrated heavily on lobbying for a gay rights plank in the Platform, and there was almost no opposition at the Platform meeting. The language which has been included is consistent with our policy and does not commit you to an Executive Order barring discrimination in the military or other parts of the Federal government not covered by the Civil Service Reform Act. The full language states:

"We must affirm the dignity of all people and the right of each individual to have equal access to and participation in the institutions and services of our society, including actions to protect all groups from discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, sex or sexual orientation. This includes specifically the right of foreign citizens to enter into this country. Appropriate legislative and Administrative actions to achieve these goals should be undertaken." [We have already supported Senator Cranston's bill on immigration.]

3. Civil Liberties. This is largely a restatement of our own submission in this area. There is one provision to note, though its meaning is somewhat uncertain. The provision calling for intelligence charters says that those charters should provide "full protection for the civil rights and liberties of American citizens living at home or abroad". Arguably, our charter legislation does not provide the same rights for American citizens abroad as it does here, but this does not seem to be a major problem.
4. Privacy. This section is a repeat of our own submission, which emphasized the importance of enacting our proposed privacy legislation.
5. Appointments. The Kennedy forces, as well as a number of our women members, sought language requiring the next Supreme Court vacancy to be filled by a woman. That language was defeated and replaced by language committing the Party to a policy of appointing more women and minority judges at all levels, including the Supreme Court.
6. Handicapped. This section repeats our own policies on helping to eliminate discrimination against the handicapped.

7. Martin Luther King. This section calls for a holiday to commemorate Dr. King's birthday.
8. Domestic Violence. This section calls for passage of legislation to provide assistance to victims of domestic violence.
9. American Indians. This section simply restates the importance of the Federal government's dealing effectively and compassionately with Indian tribes and individuals.
10. Americans Living Abroad. This section recognizes the particular problems of Americans living abroad and urges the elimination of a number of disincentives toward living abroad. It does not, however, call for changes in the tax laws, which is probably the most controversial of the current disincentives.

III. GOVERNMENT OPERATION AND REFORM

This section presented the least problems in part because it was the shortest section and in part because in these areas we have very few disagreements with Senator Kennedy.

The relatively non-controversial sections included in this part of the Platform are Regulatory Reform, Management, Government Openness and Integrity, Paperwork Reduction, and Election Reform. There are two sections which caused some problems -- Tax Reform and Law Enforcement.

- A. Tax Reform. We sought to keep the Tax Reform section relatively vague, out of a concern that we would only alienate certain groups by specifying our support for certain reforms which we know will never pass. For instance, we did not want language seeking a repeal of intangible drilling cost reductions and the percentage depletion allowance. That type of language would only hurt in the general election in Louisiana and Texas. We succeeded in this effort although Kennedy will seek a minority report to add this language at the Convention. We did accede to the inclusion of two specific reforms -- elimination of the marriage penalty and the three martini lunch deduction. We acceded to the latter reform because you are clearly identified with it (and it would have been difficult to explain why you opposed its inclusion), and most of our delegates appeared to want it included.
- B. Law Enforcement. We initially did not include any provision for gun control, but at the Subcommittee decided to repeat the 1976 Platform language. The Kennedy

forces wanted us to commit in the Platform that a new gun control bill would be sent to Congress next year; we defeated that effort. The gun control language reads as follows:

"Handguns simplify and intensify violent crime. Ways must be found to curtail the availability of these weapons. The Democratic Party must provide the leadership for a coordinated Federal and State effort to strengthen the presently inadequate controls over the manufacture, assembly, distribution, and possession of handguns and to ban Saturday night specials.

The Democratic Party, however, affirms the right of sportsmen to possess guns for purely hunting and target-shooting purposes."

IV. ENERGY, NATURAL RESOURCES, ENVIRONMENT AND AGRICULTURE

- A. Energy. This section was one of the most difficult for us, for our energy policies differ so clearly from those advocated by Senator Kennedy. At the Convention, he will seek the adoption of several minority reports in this area.

The Energy section essentially follows the framework we proposed -- a discussion of the problems we inherited; a review of the actions we have taken; an accounting of the progress made in reducing consumption and dependence on foreign oil; and a discussion of the effect of the OPEC price increases.

In discussing the future, the Platform, like our submission, emphasizes the need for solar and renewable energy sources; gasohol; coal; conservation in energy efficiency; standby gasoline rationing; and expanded mass transit. As a result of suggestions by the Kennedy forces, we strengthened the sections on Energy Conservation and Solar and Renewable Energy Sources, though the basic thrust of those sections remain the same as we proposed.

The most controversial provision in the Energy section, and indeed the most publicized provision in the entire Platform, related to nuclear energy. Initially, we had proposed language calling for safer nuclear energy, without any reference to the long-term future of nuclear. In the Drafting Subcommittee, it was clear that the Kennedy people regarded nuclear power as one of their best issues, and would seek language calling for a phase-out of nuclear power. We resisted those efforts at the Subcommittee level, but found at the Full Committee that many of our own delegates favored a complete phase-out.

In fact, had we not proposed compromise language, we clearly would have lost on the nuclear issue. Therefore, we negotiated a compromise with our own members, which the Kennedy members also decided later to support. This compromise is not inconsistent with our basic position, though the Press interpreted the language contrary to the Venice communique.

At the time when we were considering whether to offer this compromise, I checked with Jody, who told me about your comments at the press conference following the Summit. (You were unavailable at the time; I was told you were at a dinner.) Jody and I agreed that we would be better off offering this compromise, instead of allowing a much stronger anti-nuclear plank to pass (which it had done in the task force of the Full Platform Committee, with the leadership of one of your delegates). The language contained in the Platform is as follows:

"We must make conservation and renewable energy our nation's energy priorities for the future. Through the federal government's commitment to renewable energy sources and energy efficiency, and as alternative fuels become available, we can retire existing nuclear plants in an orderly manner.

We must deal with the nuclear waste disposal problem. Current efforts to develop a safe, environmentally sound nuclear waste disposal are being intensified.

The NRC shall not issue licenses or permits for new nuclear plants until the Kemeny Commission recommendations are fully implemented. No plant unable to meet these standards can be allowed to operate."

There are two critical parts to this language. The first seeks to retire nuclear power plants as alternative energy sources become available. But this does not have any date specifying when adequate alternative sources are likely to become available, nor does it ban construction of the 90 nuclear plants now in the pipeline. The second important passage was that the NRC should not issue permits or licenses until the Kemeny Commission recommendations are fully implemented. This is our policy, though word of it does not seem to have filtered into the anti-nuclear community.

Kennedy sought, unsuccessfully, to have amendments adopted which would have imposed gasoline rationing; sought a commitment to solar from the Federal government equal in dollar amounts to that going to synthetics; sought re-control of oil prices; sought a moratorium on all acquisitions of competing coal companies and solar energy companies; sought Federal chartering of oil companies; sought an increase in the Windfall Profits Tax; sought to oppose any increases in gasoline taxes; and sought to give States veto power over nuclear waste disposal sites. Of these issues, Kennedy will seek minority planks at the Convention on the level of Federal funding for solar energy, the re-control of oil prices, and opposition to an increased gasoline tax.

B. Environment. The Environment section escaped any serious modifications throughout the process, and it now is almost identical to what we proposed. It discusses our environmental accomplishments and lists our environmental priorities:

- 20% of our energy from solar by the year 2000
- New efforts to attack global environmental problems.
- Passage of Superfund legislation.
- Efforts to reduce the acid rain problem.
- Development of sufficient transportation alternatives to the automobile.
- Offshore energy leases, consistent with environmental and marine concerns.
- A strong water policy -- one designed to meet the needs of the West as well as one designed to take into account the very different concerns of the East.

C. Agriculture. This section also bears a great similarity to your submission to the Platform Committee. Our greatest problem in this area was fighting the efforts by Kennedy and some of our own supporters to increase loan rates to levels which reflect the current cost of production, and which prevailed in the month preceding the imposition of the embargo. As you know, that type of commitment, if enacted, would be extremely expensive, and for that reason we opposed it. There was great agitation, even among our delegates, against the embargo, which is extremely unpopular.

There were three changes in the Agriculture area that we made. One, we recognized that farmers are now suffering from a serious drop in prices and a decline in income. Second, we included language saying that there should be no further embargoes except in times of war or national emergency. And third, we included sections on Forestry and Fisheries, which were not in our own submission.

V. FOREIGN POLICY (Reviewed and approved by David Aaron)

This section presented, in the end, fewer problems than might initially have been expected. The section now is largely an expanded version of the basic document prepared by the NSC for your Platform Statement. While we did have a good number of differences with the Kennedy forces, all but two were successfully negotiated with them. In fact, at the Full Committee session, both sides talked about the near total agreement which had been reached on this section. The two areas of major disagreement, registration and the MX missile, will be contested by Kennedy at the Convention.

A. Goals. These remain as we wanted them stated:

- Strengthen relations with industrial democracies.
- Improve relations with the Third World.
- Achieve peace in the Middle East.
- Strengthen our military security, and that of our Allies.
- Achieve arms control limitations.

B. Defense. This section discusses the progress the Administration has made in strengthening our defense forces, in part by increasing real defense spending. The two problems just mentioned, registration and the MX missile, were contained in this section.

On registration, the language approved by the Platform Committee states that registration has been instituted in order to enable the U.S. to mobilize more rapidly in the event of an emergency; that women should not be excluded from registration (and the Committee disapproved a plank saying women should be excluded from combat); and that the Party does not favor a peacetime draft. Kennedy will seek at the Convention to have language adopted which is highly critical of registration.

On the MX, the Platform discusses the importance of that system to enhancing the survivability of our ICBM force. One of our own delegates led the effort to delete all

favorable references to MX and to indicate the Party's opposition to the system. That failed. The Kennedy forces then sought to modify the Platform to indicate that the accelerated development and deployment of the MX should be halted pending an impartial analysis of all feasible alternatives. That barely failed, 74-69. Kennedy will offer the same amendment at the Convention.

- C. U.S.-Soviet Relations. This section includes a strong condemnation of the Soviet Union's action in Afghanistan, and strong support for the Administration's response to that action.

The Kennedy forces wanted to include language seeking to have the U.S. offer the Soviet Union every opportunity to enter into good faith negotiations in a wide range of issues. The tone of that language would have sent the wrong signals, and we compromised on the following:

"We stand ready to pursue good faith negotiations with the Soviet Union at every opportunity on a wide range of issues including strategic arms, forces in the European theater, and other matters which would contribute to peace and a more genuine and reciprocal detente."

- D. Arms Control. This section speaks very favorably about SALT II, and indicates support for abiding by the Treaty terms pending ratification:

"To avoid the danger to all mankind from an intensification of the strategic arms competition, and to curb a possible acceleration of the nuclear arms race while awaiting the ratification of the SALT II Treaty, we endorse the policy of continuing to abide by the provisions of that Treaty and taking no action which would be inconsistent with its object and purpose, so long as the Soviet Union does likewise."

In addition, the section seeks a pursuit of other arms control opportunities, such as a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and expanded adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; and a continued effort to limit our conventional arms transfers and to other suppliers to accept mutual restraints.

As part of this section, a Kennedy delegate will seek a Minority Plank calling for a halt in all nuclear arms deployment and testing. That should not be difficult to beat.

- E. Human Rights. This section emphasizes the Administration's strong record and continuing commitment in a strong human rights policy. The section also indicates support for measures designed to restrict trade with the Soviet Union until Soviet emigration policy is made fair and non-restrictive; and for denying all but humanitarian assistance to governments violating fundamental human rights (unless there are overriding security purposes).
- F. Refugees and Immigration. This section reviews the Administration's record in the area, including the passage of the Refugee Act and the establishment of a Refugee Coordinator at State. It also defers any recommendations about undocumented aliens until the Hesburgh Commission reports. On the Cuban/Haitian problem, the section follows the Administration's position -- there should be no discrimination in treatment between the Cubans and the Haitians; future Cuban immigration must be handled in an orderly way; and special fiscal assistance must be provided to the areas in the country affected by the recent influx.
- G. Middle East. This section now should cause us no political or other problems. But, until the final day of the Platform process, it presented serious problems, and unquestionably risked losing significant Jewish support in the Fall.

Essentially, this section recounts the Administration's successes in the area and repeats our current policy on the principles that must be part of a peace agreement:

- U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, unchanged, and the Camp David Accords are the basis for peace in the Middle East;
- We support Israel's security, and will continue to provide generous military and economic aid to that end;
- Jerusalem should remain forever undivided, with free access to the holy places for people of all faiths;
- We oppose creation of an independent Palestinian state;
- We will not negotiate with or recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization, unless and until it accepts Israel's right to exist and

U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and 338. It is also long past time for an end to all terrorism or other acts of violence against Israel;

-- We have not and will not use our aid to Israel as a tool for bargaining; and we will never permit the policies of oil to influence our policy toward peace or our support for Israel.

The problems arose principally over the language dealing with the moving of our Embassy to Jerusalem, and to a lesser extent two other amendments sought by the Kennedy forces and some of our own supporters. In the 1976 Platform (as well as the 1972 Platform), the Party indicated that as a symbol of Jerusalem's status as the capitol of Israel, our Embassy should be moved there.

While this is not an immediate or burning issue outside of the Platform process, inside the process -- particularly because of the precedents -- it is such an issue. Since moving the Embassy is not our current position, and in 1976, you indicated that you did not support this particular plank, NSC sought to protect your position with a sentence to follow the 1976 Platform language which reads:

"At the same time, it is recognized that the Democratic Administration has to proceed with special care and sensitivity resulting from its deep engagement in the delicate process of promoting a wider peace for Israel."

This additional language was seen by the Kennedy supporters, many of our own supporters, and large parts of the Jewish community, who quickly became aware of the situation, effectively negating the 1976 language. For that reason, and because of the storm brewing over this one sentence, David Aaron agreed to move it to the beginning of this section, making clear that it applied to the whole of the Middle East plank.

The result, of course, is a repeat of the 1976 language. Because of our greater problems with the Jewish community this time, I am concerned about again taking the position we did in 1976. I also think it unnecessary since we can point to the additional sentence as recognizing our need to act discreetly on such issues. Secretary Muskie and Zbig should be asked for their views about Arab reaction. My guess is that the Arab nations can understand the non-binding nature of the Platform, and will not be unduly upset. Unless we flag the issue from this point forward, I think it will be a non-issue in all quarters.

In return for our dropping the caveat language, the Kennedy forces agreed to drop their efforts to include language saying we will never again join in a U.N. resolution such as the March 1 resolution condemning Israel and will in fact veto such a resolution. That language clearly was designed only to embarrass the Administration.

Finally, David Aaron agreed to accept language that Kennedy supporters, and some of our supporters, sought to include:

"We pledge not to provide Israel's potential enemies with sophisticated, offensive equipment that could endanger the security of Israel."

While the sponsors of this language might disagree, David Aaron felt that this statement merely embodies our current policy, and we should not appear to give a different signal by refusing to accept it.

With the above-described changes, there should be no problems in the Jewish community with the Platform.

- H. Europe and Japan. This section principally discusses the progress we have made toward, and the importance of, a stronger NATO and a cooperative relationship with Japan.

There were two issues of contention in this section, Cyprus and Northern Ireland. The language developed, agreed to by Senator Kennedy's side, is satisfactory to the Greek and Irish communities, but it should cause no international problems. The language is as follows:

"We will press strongly for full implementation of U.N. Resolution 3212, in order to bring about an agreed resolution to the tragic conflict in Cyprus, including withdrawal of all Turkish military forces from Cyprus, return of all refugees to their homes in safety, full cooperation of all parties with a negotiated solution, and full peace and respect for human rights in Cyprus."

"We will encourage progress toward a long-term solution based upon consent of all parties to the conflict. We take note of the St. Patrick's Day Statement '...that the solution offering the greatest promise of permanent peace is to end

the division of the Irish people' and its urging of '...the British Government to express its interest in the unity of Ireland and to join with the government of Ireland in working to achieve peace and reconciliation.' New political structures which are created should protect human rights, and should be acceptable to both Great Britain and Ireland and to both parts of the community of Northern Ireland."

- I. International Economy, Trade, Monetary Affairs, International Energy Cooperation. These sections are non-controversial; they state the Administration's record and goals in the areas. The Trade section is satisfactory to the AFL-CIO, in that it emphasizes fair trade and the importance of enforcing antidumping laws, but it does not seek import quotas or other similar restraints.
- J. Developing World. This section emphasizes the Administration's progress in dealing with the problems of the Developing or Third World. It includes commitments to continue substantial U.S. programs of direct development assistance to low-income countries, particularly those countries addressing the basic needs of their people; to increase U.S. and multilateral assistance to oil-importing nations for the development of their energy resources; to continue promoting human rights; to continue cooperating with developing nations in areas of mutual security; and to avoid stimulating regional arms races or needless diversion of resources from development to armaments.
- K. Latin America. This section emphasizes the improved relations the United States has developed with Latin America, highlighted by the Panama Canal Treaties. The section also includes a strong condemnation of Cuba:

"We will oppose a spiral of confrontation for its own sake with Cuba, but we will not evade the real issues between that country and the United States. Under no conditions will we accept an offensive Soviet military capability based in Cuba, or anywhere else in the hemisphere. Cuba should stop its disorderly movement of those seeking to leave; it should cooperate with the international community to develop a fair and orderly emigration program; it must withdraw its armed forces from Africa; and it must cease subversive activities throughout the hemisphere."

The section goes on to say that normal relations with Cuba can be pursued only in the above context.

The only area of contention in this section focused on the specificity with which human rights problems in Latin America should be mentioned. The language we finally agreed upon states:

"In our relationships with Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and others throughout the Hemisphere, we will press further for respect for human rights and political liberalization."

- L. Asia. This section discusses the Administration's accomplishment of normalizing relations with China. In terms of future relations, the section states Administration policy:

"The Democratic Party commits itself to a broadening and deepening of our relationship with China in a way that will benefit both our peoples and the peace and security of the world. We will continue to seek new areas where the United States and China can cooperate in support of common interests. We have not and will not play "China cards" or other dangerous games; nor would we allow our relationship with any other country to impede our efforts to continue the process of "normalization" of relations with China."

- M. Africa. This section reviews the Administration's record in improving relations with African nations and in helping to bring about a settlement in Zimbabwe.

The section also includes pledges of active support for self-determination in Namibia; for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola (following which normalized relations will be sought with Angola); for a negotiated settlement to the conflict in the Western Sahara; for exerting our influence to promote progress toward the end of apartheid in South Africa; and for increased diplomatic sanctions in South Africa, including ultimately legal economic sanctions.

On Iran, the Kennedy people wanted language concerning the hostages which would have tacitly accepted their captivity at least until the time of the Democratic Convention. We finally agreed upon time neutral language that strongly condemns Iran for having seized the hostages and calls upon all nations to respect international law affecting diplomatic personnel. We also agreed that we might modify this language as appropriate at the time of the Convention.

Finally, we incorporated a number of minor language changes sought by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (the Moynihan-Jackson group). These may soften their opposition to the Platform, though I doubt they will praise it.

Esquire

In association with Warner Bros., the state of California, and the Republican party, Esquire proudly presents, in a third-run engagement and fresh from his latest American tour,

RONALD REAGAN

starring in PRESIDENTIAL PLAYHOUSE

SAY, WHAT'S A democracy for, anyhow? Get to know the candidate! You've already seen his challengeably uncomplicated self, his history of being a glass of Ovaltine on the Hollywood hooch bar, his schoolboy's strength in hurling sincerity off the screen. He's a nice guy, all right. But there's more. There's an entire personality to master, fast. Hello, citizens! Read on. —P.W.K.

DUTCH REAGAN, ALL-AMERICAN



A documentary history of the growing boy from Dixon, Illinois

BY JOEL KOTKIN AND PAUL GRABOWICZ



LIFE IS JUST ONE GRAND SWEET SONG. SO START THE MUSIC." HE WROTE IN 1928.

Lincoln slept one night. A good place to raise your children, and a place that those children could look back on and say, "I realize now that we were poor, but I didn't know it at the time." Did that world exist? Was there in that universe of 10,000? It's important to know because it's that little town, more than any other place, to which Ronald Reagan would like to return us. He lived there once, in Dixon, Illinois. He re-created it once, in Hollywood, California. It is the home of all the fresh young patriots imitating decency and honesty that Reagan made a career of playing in the movies. It's his idea of America.

DIXON, ILLINOIS, NINETY-FIVE MILES WEST OF CHICAGO, CIRCA 1920

A sunny day in a nineteenth-century town entering the twentieth century. Victorian houses, small factories, boys in straw hats, girls in party dresses, summer afternoons at the creek. Wise town doctors, hard town villains, small-town government. Hard work, school plays, chores to get done, civic ethics, football as worshipful activity. Galena Avenue, the war memorial, the house where

"It was a pleasant town," says Dr. J. Frazer, who came to Dixon in 1914 to teach English and the social sciences at Dixon High School, and who had known Reagan as a student that year. Ronnie was short (five feet three inches), wore thick glasses because he was myopic, was shipped football players, and wanted to act. "He played in *You and I*, which was a play about a kind of contest between the young kids and the adults," says Frazer. "And he played in *Captain Applejack*, as the head of an English family who was worried because he traces his roots back to old Applejack the pirate.

"Now, you gave Ronnie a chore, and he did it right," says Frazer. "He was all of a good citizen. In those days a lot of acting was done mechanically, but we did

SCENE 1: Dutch Reagan, All-American ... p. 25
SCENE 2: Life Begins at Seventy ... p. 33
SCENE 3: Ron and Destiny, by Garry Wills p. 36

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF NANCY REAGAN; COLOR REALIZATION: SALLY SLIGHT



**“THAT’S A HOT ONE, ISN’T IT?
Where did he think I lived—in my legs?”**

—AS DRAKE McHUGH, AMPUTEE, IN *KING’S ROW*

something different. I would sit Ronnie and the cast down and ask, Why? Why were they doing what they were doing in the play? And they would have to think about it. Ronnie was very, very good.”

RONNIE REAGAN NEVER SAW THE INSIDE OF A POOLROOM

There were two boys, Moon and Dutch. Moon was Neil Reagan, and he was the extrovert. Dutch was Ronnie, the loner, who listened to his mother, Nelle. “If there was anyone behind Dutch, it was his mother,” says his boyhood pal Edward O’Malley. “She was the guiding force in the family.” Nelle was strong; she held her

own family together and helped out other families. She taught Ronnie how to read, and he trudged regularly back and forth to the Dixon public library, taking out the maximum allowed number of adventure stories, Tom Swift and the like.

The boys’ father, Jack Reagan, was a bluff, good-natured shoe salesman who drank. His children loved and respected him, even if young Ronnie once had to drag him off the front porch by his lapels and put him to bed. Neil says Dutch wanted to associate only with the good kids from the more affluent north side of town. “Ronnie hung out with the north side kids, whom we considered a bunch of sissies,” Neil says, smiling. “I don’t think he ever saw the inside of a poolroom.”

WAS DIXON REALLY THAT STRAWBERRY-FLAVORED?

During the Depression, hard times came to the farm belt surrounding Dixon. Neil Reagan says that jobs were always hard to come by in those days. Sometimes gangs of toughs ranged through the town looking for someone to blame, and one time, Dixon exploded into a full-fledged race riot: white men terrorized black children, pulling them out of their homes and tossing them into freight train boxcars to be carried hundreds of miles out of town.

Economic uncertainty tramped regularly through Reagan’s young world, and it sent Jack Reagan on frequent drinking binges. In the pit of the Depression, Ron-

me watched with pain as his father was forced to take a job with the Works Progress Administration, the New Deal agency, supervising relief for the needy.

RONNIE AT EUREKA

"I had never bothered to do much more in Dixon than remain eligible for the athletic teams," Reagan says in his 1965 autobiography, *Where's the Rest of Me?* However, with the help of his girlfriend's father, a minister, he gained entrance to Eureka College, a 250-student church-affiliated school outside Peoria, Illinois. At Eureka he was president of the student council, worked on the student newspaper, swam for Eureka, acted for Eureka, debated for Eureka, and was president of the Boosters Club.

He also helped launch a student strike protesting budget cutbacks and the stringent moral code imposed by the president of Eureka, and got the president forced out of office. He was a regular flaming youth.

THE VOICE OF THE CHICAGO CUBS

After graduating from Eureka with a degree in economics, Reagan landed a spot as a sports announcer for WOC and later for WHO, a powerful 50,000-watt radio station in Des Moines, Iowa. He became a radio name in the territory for broadcasting Chicago Cubs games secondhand: he would sit behind the WHO box microphone and re-create the game for the radio audience as the baseball news came over the Western Union wire. An engineer would sit behind him and slap a stick on a piece of wood, and Reagan would say, "There's a hit! Hartnett's off to first, rounding second..."

In the spring of 1937, Reagan traveled with the Cubs to southern California. Joy Hodges, a singer from Des Moines, arranged for him to meet an agent named Bill Meiklejohn. Meiklejohn arranged for a screen test. Joy Hodges had Reagan take off his glasses. Meiklejohn called Max Arnow, the Warner Bros. casting director: "I have another Robert Taylor in my office," he said. Joy Hodges wired the Des Moines *Register* and *Tribune*: MAYBE SCOOP YOU DO HAVE POTENTIAL STAR IN YOUR MIDST DUTCH REAGAN LOCAL SPORTS ANNOUNCER SIGNED LONG-TERM WARNER BROS CONTRACT FRIDAY THEY CONSIDER HIM GREATEST BET SINCE TAYLOR WITHOUT GLASSES I DON'T MIND TAKING SOME CREDIT MY OWN IDEA AND EFFORTS HIS TALENT CINCHED IT HOWEVER.

Reagan signed a \$200-a-week contract with Warner Bros. He made a picture called *Love Is on the Air*, playing a sportscaster. His mother went to the movies and cried. "That's my boy," she told the reporter from the Des Moines *Register* and *Tribune*. "That's my Dutch. That's the way he is at home.... He's no Robert Taylor. He's just himself."

NEIL REAGAN GETS TO THE POINT

"Ronnie always played Ronnie," Neil Reagan says. "He was typecast—the young American, the boy from the Midwest. He was always the good guy." Neil, seventy-one years old, talks at his home in Rancho Santa Fe, north of San Diego. If Ronnie's career was conditioned by anything, Neil maintains, it was the movie business. The movie people didn't change him, they just captured his essence, polished it, and presented it over and over on the screen. "He still plays it today," Neil says, smiling. "If he'd played a gangster, hell, it would have ruined his box office."

WHAT WAS JACK WARNER SUPPOSED TO HAVE SAID WHEN HE HEARD THAT RONALD REAGAN WAS RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR IN 1966?

"No, no, no, no. You've got it all wrong. Jimmy Stewart for governor, Ronald Reagan for best friend."

FIVE PICTURES THAT MADE RR BOFFO AT B.O.

Brother Rat, 1938, with Eddie Albert.
Angels Wash Their Faces, 1939, with the Dead End Kids.
Dark Victory, 1939, with Bette Davis, George Brent, and Humphrey Bogart.
Knute Rockne—All-American, 1940 (a role Reagan talked his way into), with Pat O'Brien: "Go in there and win it for the Gipper."
King's Row, 1941, with Robert Cummings, Ann Sheridan, Claude Rains, Betty Field, Charles Coburn, Harry Davenport. This is the one Reagan calls "my best picture." He plays the blithe, independent, decent, and frivolous Drake McHugh, who has his legs amputated by a sadistic physician and yells, "Where's the rest of me?" Reagan is very good.

WE HARDLY EVER SEE PICTURES OF RONALD REAGAN IN MILITARY UNIFORM. HOW COME?

Usually, presidential candidates release photographs of themselves in uniform: JFK in the Navy, Goldwater as a pilot, Carter graduating from Annapolis. Ronald Reagan was in the Army Air Corps during World War II, but because of his bad eyesight he was disqualified from combat. He fought the war from behind a camera as part of the Culver City Commandos, the first motion-picture unit of the Army Air Corps. He narrated training films at the studio known as Fort Wacky, syncing his lines with the battle action on the screen and signing off with a line that indoctri-

nated thousands: "Bombs away."

Frustrated by his inability to serve his country in combat during the war, Reagan kept looking for ways to participate in public movements. "I found him totally changed after the war," remembers Reagan's friend Frank McCarthy. "He had gotten so serious, to the point that he was talking about the world and politics all the time. People started listening to him at parties." During the war Reagan had catapulted into a huge seven-year \$1,000,000 contract with Warner Bros., based on the triumph of *King's Row*; but Warner's discovered that the good-guy midwestern innocence Reagan projected on the screen didn't seem to work in the more sophisticated postwar era.

SEVEN REASONS WHY REAGAN'S FILM CAREER COLLAPSED

Stallion Road, 1947, with Alexis Smith.
That Hagen Girl, 1947, with Shirley Temple.
Night unto Night, 1949, with Viveca Lindfors.
Bedtime for Bonzo, 1951, with Bonzo.
She's Working Her Way Through College, 1952, with Virginia Mayo.
Cattle Queen of Montana, 1954, with Barbara Stanwyck.
Hellcats of the Navy, 1957, with Nancy Davis.

RONALD REAGAN, UNION LEADER

With his career in a sleepwalk, Reagan saw within reach something worth his attention: the political wars racking Hollywood. From 1945 to 1947, the movie industry was ripped down the middle by a battle between the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, a union with past ties to the studios and the mobsters, and the Conference of Studio Unions, which stood to the left. The two unions were fighting over the right to represent decorators on movie sets. In 1946, as a member of the Screen Actors Guild board, Reagan had to take a stand. If SAG sided with the CSU, it would be a threat to the power of the studios. The giant moguls—including Louis B. Mayer, at MGM, and Reagan's boss, Jack Warner—pursued their strategy in the power struggle: they would discredit the CSU by claiming it was dominated by Communists.

WOW! WHAT DID REAGAN DO?

Up until that point, Reagan had been—he has written of his preconversion days—"a near-hopeless, hemophilic [sic] liberal." His greatest hero had been Franklin D. Roosevelt. Even among the Illinois Republicans, Reagan's father had raised him to vote Democratic; and Reagan had

signed up with a number of the antifascist organizations that were plentiful in Hollywood just after the war. He seemed to be a liberal through and through, and so articulate about his convictions that the Screen Actors Guild, with the support of leftist actors, elected him its president in 1947.

In fact, Reagan was becoming increasingly disenchanted with the liberal Left. He decided to throw in with the big boys—with Jack Warner and the moguls—and with the anti-Communists of SAG, led by Robert Montgomery and George Murphy.

"He woke up to the fact that there was a conspiracy of radical liberals in the industry," says Jack Wrather, an old Reagan friend. "He woke up to the fact that their values weren't his." Reagan saw the split as the good guys nosing down the bad guys—the responsible spokesmen against the leftist conspirators and their fellow travelers. He carefully steered SAG into an alliance with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees against the Conference of Studio Unions.

HOW DID THE UNION TAKE TO REAGAN'S STAND?

For a while after the controversy Reagan carried a .32 caliber Smith & Wesson revolver. His brother, Neil Reagan, also recalls that he went to Screen Actors Guild meetings accompanied by several armed companions. Some in the union said they saw an enemy.

FRIENDLINESS WAS HIS TRADEMARK, SO HE BECAME A FRIENDLY WITNESS

The FBI had declared the ferreting out of alleged movie Reds to be a priority, and Reagan cooperated, supporting public, but not secret, blacklisting.

In 1947, the House Un-American Activities Committee called its hearings on Communist influences in the motion picture industry, the hearings that divided Hollywood into camps for or against the group of writers known as the Hollywood Ten, who refused to testify before the committee. Among those supporting the Hollywood Ten were Humphrey Bogart, Katharine Hepburn, Danny Kaye, and Groucho Marx. Among those testifying as friendly witnesses for the committee were Robert Montgomery, Adolphe Menjou, Robert Taylor, Gary Cooper ("I don't know the basis of Communism.... From what I hear, I don't like it because it isn't on the level"), and Ronald Reagan.

The chairman of the committee was Congressman J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey. Among the four members of Congress on the committee at the hearing was

Richard M. Nixon of California, then serving his first term in the House. Reagan's testimony was an amazing show of agility: he managed simultaneously to acknowledge Communist conspiracies in the movie industry, show approval of the committee, and discourage a witch-hunt among his colleagues.

PIECES OF REAGAN'S 1947 TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Mr. Reagan: Well, sir... there has been a small group within the Screen Actors Guild which has consistently opposed the policy of the guild board.... That small clique referred to has been suspected of more or less following the tactics that we associate with the Communist party.

Mr. Stripling: Would you say that this clique has attempted to dominate the guild?

Mr. Reagan: Well, sir, by attempting to put over their own particular views on various issues, I guess you would have to say that our side was attempting to dominate, too, because we were fighting just as hard to put over our views....

Mr. Stripling: Mr. Reagan, what is your feeling about what steps should be taken to rid the motion-picture industry of any Communist influences?

Mr. Reagan: Well, sir, ninety-nine percent of us are pretty well aware of what is going on, and I think, within the bounds of our democratic rights and never once stepping over the rights given us by democracy, we have done a pretty good job in our business of keeping those people's activities curtailed. After all, we must recognize them at present as a political party.... As a citizen, I would hesitate to see any political party outlawed on the basis of its political ideology.... However, if it is proven that an organization is an agent of a foreign power... that is another matter.

LIFE AND ART

In *King's Row*, the old lawyer played by Harry Davenport says of Reagan's Drake McHugh: "That young man's bold as brass, but I like him. He's the only young man in this town with the good sense to call his elders sir." Testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Reagan called his questioners sir no fewer than eighteen times in twenty-nine responses.

REAGAN AND THE MOGULS

Reagan began to associate more and more with the businessmen who ran Hollywood, frequently attending meetings to discuss the Communist menace with studio heads like Louis B. Mayer, Jack Warner, and Dore Schary. His coziness with the studio heads seemed to many of his colleagues to be an effort to save his own acting career at the expense of the

victims of the witch-hunt. Karen Morley (*Scarface, Our Daily Bread*) says that when she appealed to the Reagan-led guild to fight her blacklisting, she got no help from her union. An aging lady now, her blond hair in curlers, Morley only shakes her head when she thinks of Ronald Reagan today. "It isn't that he's a bad guy, really," she says. "What is so terrible about Ronnie is his ambition to go where the power is. I don't think anything he does is original; he doesn't think it up. I never saw him have an idea in his life. I really don't even think he realizes how dangerous the things he does really are."

WHY RONALD REAGAN'S FIRST MARRIAGE, TO JANE WYMAN, CAME TO AN END

If his role as the benevolent leader of anti-Communism in Hollywood saved Ronald Reagan from movie obscurity, it also exacted a heavy personal price. Jane Wyman, whom Reagan had married in 1940, felt cut off from his SAG activities and his new political obsession. "It got so bad that Ronnie was going around talking, haranguing everyone all the time," says one friend close to her at the time. "Jane finally had to admit he was a crashing bore, and that's why, I think, she wanted out."

"Finally," Jane Wyman testified at her divorce hearings, "there was nothing between us." In 1948, one of Hollywood's glamour couples was divorced. Reagan told friends he was "shattered." That year Jane Wyman did the best work of her career and won the Academy Award for Best Actress in *Johnny Belinda*.

RON LOVES NANCY

One day the director and producer Mervyn LeRoy (*Little Caesar, Random Harvest*) sat listening to the complaints of a young actress named Nancy Davis. Communist-front groups, she told LeRoy, were placing their literature under her door. Not only that, she said, but they had put her name in a left-wing advertisement in the Hollywood *Citizen-News*.

LeRoy suggested that Reagan straighten things out: "I told him she was single," LeRoy says, delighted with himself. "She was getting letters under the door, which wasn't right. I said, 'Ronnie, why don't you call her and see if you can help? She's awfully cute, and you're a single boy now.'" "I knew right away," Nancy said later. On March 4, 1952, they were married. William Holden was Reagan's best man.

NANCY DAVIS REAGAN: THE TOUGH COOKIE TAKES HER PLACE

Nancy Davis, the adopted daughter of a right-wing Chicago doctor, was a Smith girl, a child of society with a firm sense of

the kind of life she wanted to live. It wasn't that she was the upwardly propelling type; she was already up and was only determined to stay there. Under Nancy's tutelage, Reagan moved even closer to the Hollywood power stratum of producers and businessmen and increasingly away from his old "Dutch" identity.

Friends close to Reagan believe that Nancy has had a greater influence on his life than anyone else—steering his rise as a public person, closely controlling access to him. "If someone wants something from him and she doesn't want him to do it, she complains, 'Somebody's using my Ronnie!'" says Pat Hillings, a prominent California Republican leader who has known the Reagans for years.

OTHER OPINIONS ON NANCY REAGAN

Nancy's presence counts both for and against the 1980 Reagan candidacy: for it among the big crowds who adore her, and against it among those who have worked for the governor. Hillings, a longtime Nixon crony and the former Reagan campaign director in Florida, believes, for example, that Nancy Reagan led the movement to have John Sears fired as her husband's campaign director in early 1980.

"I feel more unhappy about Nancy Reagan being First Lady than about Ronald Reagan as President," says one former Reagan associate in a growl. "She's a bitch and she's a snob. She's even more of a wealthy west side L.A. type than he is. She's a user. When it's to her advantage to use you, she turns on the charm. She cuts you off when it's not."

THAT WAS A HARSH EVALUATION OF NANCY REAGAN! WHAT DOES SHE DO FOR HIM?

She gives him security and support. He worships her. She campaigns magnificently. She loves public life, perhaps more than he does—rare among political wives. She has established herself at the center of a large, wealthy crowd of aging business executives. They are the people with whom Ronald Reagan feels most comfortable, and they are the people to whom he turns for friendship, advice, campaign money. Nancy's position among them gives him a certain kind of California status, a status that has been both uncontested and tremendously useful.

THE REAGAN CROWD

"The common factor in our crowd is that we're all successful, we all like economic stability, and, in essence, we all like to live lives—it sounds dull—like quiet, family people," says onetime producer Jack Wrather. Wrather produced *The Lone Ranger* and *Lassie* on television beginning in the mid-1950s. He identifies some of the

members of the Reagan crowd: former Diners Club president Al Bloomingdale; actress Irene Dunne; Sears, Roebuck heir Armand Deutsch; business tycoon Justin Dart; and Reagan's best friend, real estate developer William Wilson.

TWO CROWD MEMBERS EXPRESS THEIR WORLD VIEWS

"I don't read much," William Wilson says. "None of us do. We like to ride, look at western art, Andrew Wyeth, that sort of thing." To the Reagans, friends say, an ideal weekend is one spent on Wilson's sprawling ranch in Sonora, Mexico, or hanging around at the Rancheros Visitadores riding club near the Reagan hacienda, north of Santa Barbara.

Wilson, a tall aristocrat of sixty-five, says most of the people in the Reagan crowd, including Ronnie, prefer the quiet elegance of their private existence to the chaos of political participation. "None of us are really that politically minded," Wilson says, sitting in his pastel-shade den. "Most of us just play tennis, ride horseback. We don't overindulge; the group we associate with doesn't drink much. Very few of us drink beer. We'd all be square in the eyes of some people, particularly young people."

"This whole goddamn country is based on the business community," Al Bloomingdale, an heir to the New York department store fortune, says in his high-rise office in Century City, Los Angeles. "These guys who attack business, these Naders, are full of it."

THE GE LESSON: REAGAN IS HIS MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCT

By the early 1950s, Reagan's acting career was fraying at the seams, and he was in debt, facing heavy mortgage payments. He picked up a nightclub act in Las Vegas with a comedy dance team called the Continentals, in which he emceed and played in a comedy skit. Nancy and he didn't like the smoky rooms, the late nights.

Suddenly, in 1954, his fortunes changed. Reagan was chosen by General Electric to host the weekly *General Electric Theater* for \$125,000 a year. As a television regular, Reagan learned how to be effective in the medium and how to speak convincingly to a live audience. "Progress is our most important product," he said. More important, GE sent Reagan on promotional tours. (He preferred not to fly, so he took the train around the country.) During the eight years in which he spoke to 250,000 General Electric employees, he developed *The Speech*. It was, in many ways, the same speech he is giving this year—it dealt in abstracts, in freedom from government and individual initiative—and he learned to give it brilliantly.

Once, in 1959, he got into trouble with GE by attacking the Tennessee Valley Authority: "The annual interest on the TVA debt is five times as great as the annual flood damage it prevents," he said, until he heard that GE—which was doing \$50 million worth of business with the federal government—was having problems because of his remarks. As usual, Reagan's flexibility dictated his professional behavior. Although GE didn't ask him to, he dropped the lines. But because of the debut of *Bonanza*, *GE Theater* was pulled off the air in 1962, and Reagan was out of a job.

LANDMARKS OF A POLITICAL CONVERSION

1950: Reagan campaigns for Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas against Richard Nixon for U.S. senator from California.

1952: He votes for Dwight Eisenhower over Adlai Stevenson.

1959: He boycotts Twentieth Century-Fox's banquet for Nikita Khrushchev.

1960: He gives two hundred speeches for Richard Nixon as a "Democrat for Nixon."

1962: He manages right-winger Loyd Wright's campaign to unseat moderate Republican senator Thomas Kuchel. Wright gets 15 percent of the vote.

HEADING THE BORAX TEAM

In 1962, his future uncertain, Reagan seemed, at age fifty-one, almost ready for retirement. He and Nancy were spending more and more time relaxing on the ranch they had bought in the Malibu Lake area, but Neil Reagan, Ronnie's hard-driving older brother, had other ideas. A senior vice-president of the McCann-Erickson advertising agency, Neil needed a host for the TV show *Death Valley Days*, to be sponsored by his client the U.S. Borax Corporation. After some coaxing, Ronald Reagan agreed to take the job and, later, to make commercials for the sponsor. The results were startling. "We brought these women off the street and let them see this commercial," Neil Reagan says. "We asked them what they thought of Ronald. They said"—he pauses for a short chuckle—"they'd buy anything from him. They even said they'd vote for him for office, and we didn't even ask them that."

UP FROM DEATH VALLEY: A STAR IS REBORN

Neil Reagan saw he had something. He arranged for his brother to speak for Barry Goldwater in the Arizona senator's 1964 presidential drive. Only days before the Goldwater-Johnson election, Reagan gave *The Speech* at a fundraiser in the San Fernando Valley. Henry Salvatori, an oil tycoon who was the finance chairman for Goldwater's California campaign, says,

"After that speech, we decided we better put this fellow on TV. We realized Reagan gave the Goldwater speech better than Goldwater."

By early 1965, young right-wingers were asking the new hero to run against Democratic governor Pat Brown in 1966, and the Republican machinery began to rumble for Reagan. A meeting was held at which Henry Salvatori, Holmes Tuttle (a right-wing Los Angeles automobile dealer), and Cy Rubel of Union Oil decided to test Reagan as a speaker around the state. "The reception was so great," says Salvatori, "we decided to run him."

THE CALIFORNIA CANDIDATE

Reagan's primary opponent was former San Francisco mayor George Christopher. The Reagan forces hired Spencer-Roberts, a political consulting firm in Los Angeles. Psychologists from the L.A.-based Behavior Sciences Corporation schooled the novice on the issues. A fundamentalist preacher, the Reverend W. S. McBirnie, came up with a slogan: "A Creative Society"; Spencer-Roberts and Neil Reagan began to create an image for their next governor. They decided that Ronald Reagan would be the Citizen-Politician, a variation on the honest midwesterner he had always played in the movies. "I knew how to sell him," Neil Reagan says. "I sold Dutch not as my brother but like a piece of soap."

Everyone waited for Reagan to be demolished. First he crushed George Christopher in the Republican primary, but the press wrote it off as a spasm of the lunatic fringe in the party. Pat Brown was a wily party heavyweight and a two-term governor. Before the first televised debate, Brown adherents predicted that the B-picture actor would be eaten alive, but it was the governor who was demolished: all those television hours logged on *General Electric Theater* had paid off. One of the questioners asked Reagan what the best thing was about Pat Brown. Reagan paused and said, "Well, I know he's fond of his family, because he's put so many of them on the state payroll." The audience applauded. They wanted the new boy.

"It's a sense of mission," the Reverend McBirnie says. "He wants to drive the barbarians out. He's El Cid." On November 8, 1966, Reagan beat Pat Brown by almost one million votes.

EL CID IN SACRAMENTO

Walt Disney Studios prepared Ronald Reagan's inauguration, and it included five bands, a massive motorcade, a huge ball, and a city-sized choir singing "America the Beautiful." "We are going to squeeze and cut and trim," the governor told the audience of 15,000 at the ceremony, "until we reduce the costs of government." Within two weeks, Reagan had announced

his plans to cut the state budget across the board by 10 percent. Then he found out that the Brown administration had left him with a deficit of nearly \$200 million.

That, combined with what some say was Reagan's complete disdain for the legislative process, made his first years as governor a major disappointment. Reagan could hardly hide his aversion toward the business of government and toward politicians themselves. Pat Brown's legislative dinners at the governor's mansion had been free-spoken, boisterous evenings. Early Reagan administration dinners resembled kennel feedings: legislators were funneled into chow lines, picked up plates of catered food, and retired to card tables in the back yard. At one dinner, a legislator who had inadvertently walked into an off limits area of the mansion ran into Nancy Reagan, who agitatedly ordered him out.

At five o'clock each day, the governor would get in his limousine and go home to Nancy and his favorite television shows. He was crazy about television, and he had been useless—he and his aides knew—if he worked late into the afternoon without his rest. He was a nap man. Once he broke down and exploded during the 1966 campaign at an event he attended after having been denied his afternoon nap.

Nor could Reagan stand the daily pressures of political battling in state government. He once confronted a state senator during a legislative session, enraged over the senator's failure to deliver a promised vote. "To the shock of the legislator and the governor's staff," an eyewitness says, "the governor pointed to a baseball bat he had just been given as a souvenir by a local little league team. He turned to the senator. 'If I had the strength,' he said, 'I'd take that bat and place it in a certain orifice of yours and break it off.'"

EL CID JOINS THE BARBARIANS

Reagan came around after a while. In a throwback to the way his father, Jack, had handled himself, he learned to get good and raucous with the resident tobacco spitters. He also learned how to handle the press. In 1970, Reagan wanted to slash by 40 percent a program that provided in-home care for the aged and disabled. Ralph Abascal, a poverty lawyer, responded with a lawsuit to block the move. The judge who heard the suit quickly agreed, Abascal says, that the governor had no right to issue that kind of directive without legislative approval, and the young lawyer went to bed that night satisfied that he had beaten back the governor of California. The next day, he turned on the radio to hear a furious Reagan charging the state social workers with having misinterpreted his order and having attempted to "cut off essential services to those most in need." He stated that he would refuse to "join them in cruelly using these helpless

people as pawns." "It was," Abascal says, "a classic example of Reagan's ability to turn a defeat into victory." Reagan had learned a thing or two.

It was in Sacramento that Reagan also learned that he had to do very little himself if he relied on his advisers—Ed Meese, Don Livingston, Peter Hannaford, Caspar Weinberger—to make all but the crucial decisions. "It's fair to say," says former California Republican assembly speaker Robert Monagan, "that his style of operation is to have people around him do the day-to-day work. The key question is the kind of people he is going to have in his cabinet and on his staff if he's elected President."

THE BUSINESS OF RONALD REAGAN IS BUSINESS

"At the risk of sounding just a bit partisan," Reagan said in what might have been the understatement of 1967, "let me point out that my administration makes no bones about being business-oriented." Business dominated Reagan's "kitchen cabinet," and his state government was guided by the advice of a business task force he had established. During his administration, he named as state real estate commissioner a past president of the California Real Estate Association. He named as resources administrator a lumberman. He named a former utility company consultant to the state Public Utilities Commission. All in all, he engineered a massive merger of state government and private interests.

He also opened the doors for a series of rulings resulting in huge windfalls for corporate California. At the state's Public Utilities Commission, Reagan's appointees reversed the strong proconsumer position of the Warren and Brown administrations, and by 1971 had increased the rate of return paid to Pacific Telephone from 6.3 percent to 7.8 percent—an increase that contributed to a total rate increase of \$193 million.

REAGAN'S FINANCES: NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS

Ronald Reagan hates questions about his personal life, and when reporters press him on his personal fortune, he says it's a private matter.

In the early 1950s, Reagan was having hard times. Since then he has amassed a considerable fortune, mostly through shrewd real estate deals that have made him a millionaire. For example: Reagan bought the Yearling Row Ranch in the Santa Monica Mountains in the 1950s, paying an average of under \$300 an acre. Just after his election as governor, he sold 236 acres of the land to the Twentieth Century Fox film corporation for more than \$8,000 an acre. An \$85,000 investment had yielded a return of nearly \$2 million in fifteen years. Two years later, Reagan sol



PHOTOGRAPH BY COURTESY OF NANCY REAGAN. COLOR REALIZATION: NALLY SLIGHT

“I MUST SAY, THE LOVE SCENES IN this film were the easiest I ever had to do.”

—NANCY DAVIS, ON *HELLCATS OF THE NAVY*

fifty-four more acres of his ranch for \$165,000, this time for a price five times the assessed value of the property.

In 1971, a local television reporter named John Jervis, relying on a flimsy thirdhand tip, dropped a grenade at the governor's May 4 press conference when he asked about a report that the governor had paid no state income taxes at all in 1970. "I guess he thought I was going to ask him a question about a mental hospital we had discussed several times before," Jervis says. The question caught Reagan off guard: a target had been hit. "If he'd had time to think," Jervis says, "he would have used his standard line that he never talks about anything having to do with his private life. If he had, that would have

been the end of it." The governor responded, however, with a confused, contradictory monologue.

Later that day, Reagan's office was forced to issue a one-sentence statement: "Because of business reverses of Governor Reagan's investments, he owed no state income tax for 1970." An ensuing investigation by the *Sacramento Bee* alleged that the governor who said that "taxes should hurt" ("I just mailed my own tax return last night, and I am prepared to say 'Ouch' as loud as anyone," Reagan had said in April 1968) had paid, excluding taxes paid on his profitable ranch sales, an average of \$1,000 a year in income taxes on more-than-\$50,000-a-year earnings in the four years 1966 to 1969.

REAGAN RUNS FOR PRESIDENT, 1968: THE EXPERIMENT

Reagan's backers had already grown tired of the limitations of state politics by 1968, and they saw their governor as a more desirable commodity than either Richard Nixon or George Romney. Reagan found himself the favorite son of the huge California delegation to the upcoming Miami Beach convention, but he was tied to the promises he had made in the 1966 campaign not to use the governorship as a stepping-stone to higher office.

Nevertheless, his backers, such as Henry Salvatori, public relations consultant Clifton White, and Tom Reed, the

governor's former appointments secretary, were stealthily rounding up support. Reagan stood on the sidelines and pressed his toe into the dirt, feigning innocence. "I walked into this meeting with the California delegation, and there [Reagan aide] Cap Weinberger asked us to support Reagan," one Republican leader close to Reagan remembers. "Then twenty minutes later I was asked to see the governor, and he kept telling me he wasn't a candidate. I just shut up. It was either out-and-out deceit or total self-deception. Nixon at least knew when he was lying to you."

When Reagan finally stumbled into the race as an announced candidate at the Miami Beach convention, it was a misguided disaster. His delaying tactics had undermined the devotion of the southern conservatives, who wanted Reagan but had watched in frustration as Richard Nixon lined up Strom Thurmond, John Tower, and the idol of the states' rights pack, Barry Goldwater.

And although Reagan went to the podium on August 8, 1968, and encouraged the delegates to support the next President of the United States, his self-promotion in the previous weeks had already effectively ensured his exclusion from Richard Nixon's inner group.

THE CONSERVATIVE MYTH: REAGAN CREATES HIS NEW PRIORITIES

Governor Reagan had learned how to keep his constituency solid without holding it down to the Orange County right-wingers. When he was elected in 1966, he had told the state he would not increase taxes and would cut government spending, clean up the welfare system, overturn a state fair-housing law, and stand firm against increasing immorality and promiscuity.

The dream began wearing thin in spots, showing patches of the world beyond right-wing fantasy, when in 1967 Reagan showed complete indecision over—and then refused to veto—a state bill to facilitate legalized abortion, at that time the most liberal abortion law proposed in the United States. For the next six years, Reagan—who by 1980 was likening abortion to murder—governed a state in which 600,000 legal abortions were performed.

Reagan was reelected nicely, in 1970, by half a million votes—some half a million fewer than he had won by in 1966. He was generally respected by his old constituency, although, in broadening the field of his supporters, he left some of the old right-wing purists seething on the sidelines. State Senator John Schmitz and the United Republicans of California called him a "liberal sellout."

The right-wingers began noticing more evidence that they hadn't been restored to paradise. By 1974, state income taxes had almost tripled, and corporate taxes had

gone from 5.5 percent to 9 percent. Reagan often cites the \$5.7 billion he rebated to California taxpayers, but he rarely mentions his big tax increases that created the surplus. During Reagan's terms in office, the California state budget went from \$4.6 billion annually to \$10.2 billion—a 122-percent increase.

Reagan's 1971 Welfare Reform Act remains the base of his claims to conservative administrative expertise. He says that by sharply reducing the welfare caseload his administration saved the state \$2 billion in three years. Independent studies, however, show that the actual savings traceable to the Reagan reform came to about one-fiftieth of that figure, and that most of the caseload reductions had to do with an upswing in the economy.

REAGAN RUNS FOR PRESIDENT, 1976: DRY RUN FOR A NEW BASE

In 1975, Reagan hired John Sears to run his 1976 campaign. Sears was Nixon's old law partner and his chief delegate hunter in 1968; but most of all, he represented the middle ground of the Republican party.

Reagan had not yet established himself with the entrenched Republican businessmen of the East. To them he was still an unknown quantity, perhaps only another Pacific growth to be avoided. In addition, Reagan hadn't counted on the strength of the President of the United States. Jerry Ford had influence in the West, and he had even begun to pick up such California corporate leaders as Robert Fluor, David Packard, and Henry Salvatori.

Reagan lost New Hampshire and Florida. His situation was starting to look like a disastrous rerun of 1968. But the candidate discovered a new power base. Abandoned by the corporate leaders, Reagan began moving toward the "white-shoes crowd," the car dealers and oil jobbers of the Sunbelt, and the new younger conservatives.

THE SONS OF LIBERTY

The new followers were different from the Reaganites of 1968. These weren't tired, embittered reactionaries. These were *kids*—children of conservatism, young people of vitality and of nearly passionate vision—and they were all his. He turned to Jeff Bell, an issues adviser who would soon unseat veteran senator Clifford Case in the 1978 New Jersey Republican primary; he turned to Jude Wanniski, a former editorial writer for *The Wall Street Journal*; he turned to Jack Kemp, the protégé nearly custom-made for Reagan: a conservative and a former quarterback. He began to learn about supply-side economics, which calls for massive tax cuts to stimulate the economy.

In an explosion of political inspiration, these young rightists did something that Republicans had not done since the nine-

teenth century. They began to convince people that the GOP was actually the people's party, that it had some life to it, that it was... that it was *populist*.

"Supply-side is more than just another cue card for Reagan," Wanniski says. "It really does take off from his native optimism. He has a small-town boy's confidence in people, their wisdom and energy."

Reagan beat Ford in North Carolina and then began a sweep of states all across the West, culminating in triumphs in Texas and then, in June, at home in California. By the time he won his home state, some of the old friends who had jumped ship had returned to their hero.

As his corporate support returned, Reagan began to replicate the unity-gear mistakes of the early part of the campaign. Sears and Reagan tried to make the kind of deal that the evangelical rightists had been afraid they would make all along: they offered the vice-presidency to liberal Pennsylvania senator Richard Schweiker. The move didn't do Reagan much good at the convention, and it infuriated the passionate faithful, but it softened the candidate's image throughout the party.

1980: UP AGAINST THE WALL OF TIME

The 1980 campaign was conceived with none of the flaccid "Let them come to me" reticence that had guided the 1968 and 1976 efforts. Sears was at the wheel from the beginning. Corporate leaders were courted, and so were politicians and Republican officeholders from each state. A new campaign image began to emerge after Reagan's people consulted with University of Southern California economist Art Laffer, Representative Jack Kemp, Jude Wanniski, and Jeff Bell. The tone of the campaign was to be set by Kemp's proposed 30-percent-tax-cut bill, pending in Congress, and by the supply-side economic theory of Laffer and Wanniski. The campaign exuded commitment to ordinary Americans. It was upbeat, young, inclusive, aggressive, constructive, revolutionary.

"Populism has now come to the Right," says Jeff Bell. "Reagan is running a populist campaign. He doesn't sit around waiting for the boardrooms to come to him. The votes are coming from the lower ends of the economic spectrum."

It was true. Thousands of the same people who were voting for Reagan might have voted for John F. Kennedy. The corporate leadership went panting after Connally; the old-line Henry Cabot Lodge country club Republicans adored George Bush. Reagan was left with the middle and lower-middle classes. The strategy worked magnificently: Reagan crushed Bush in New Hampshire, beat him in Massachusetts, finished off Connally in North Carolina, and that was that.

The night Reagan ascended the moun-

tain and won in New Hampshire, John Sears was shoved. The coup against Sears, some say, represented a rebellion by the Reagan crowd and by Nancy, who resented his domination of the candidate.

Sears's departure intimidated the populist contingent he had brought in and struck the fear in them that they would soon be sold out, as the crowd consolidated its power in the center. The Kemp-Bell-Wanniski-Laffer fringe boys were fading, and old pugs like Sacramento aide Ed Meese, issues adviser Martin Anderson, economists Arthur Burns and Herbert Stein, and former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon were forcing their way in to take over the planning.

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK: RETURN OF THE NIXONIANS

"I can tell you what's happening," said one source close to Sears last spring. "They're shutting off Reagan, keeping away confrontations and new ideas. Kemp is losing his hold. Anderson and the traditional old-time religion are coming back—cut and squeeze and tight money." William Simon confirms that the greatest triumph a Reagan administration can have is to complete the coitus interruptus of the abbreviated Nixon years.

Indeed, according to several sources, the former President has privately blessed Reagan's efforts, forgiving him for the indiscretion of his 1968 race. Over the last few months, the Nixons and the Reagans have had at least two private dinners together, one source says. "Nixon remembers that of all the politicians in the country, Reagan is the one who never went after him [during Watergate]," says Pat Hillings, a friend of Richard Nixon's. "The fact is not lost on him."

Nor has it been lost on the friends of the former President who convened at Perino's Restaurant in Beverly Hills in February to say good-bye to Nixon when he was about to move to New York. The gathering was organized by Maurice Stans and attended by Hillings, Herb Kalmbach, Robert Finch, Roy Ash, Bob Haldeman—the core of the original 1968 Nixon team. They sat around the table, and they asked their old commander who his choice was to carry the torch of the Nixon era: who could finish the work, so that Nixon's White House farewell would indeed have been just an *au revoir*?

Then Richard Nixon, the legend of Whittier, rose and spoke to his friends. "I think Ronald Reagan has the strength and the will to be President," he said. "Yes, he could do it—if he took advice from some experienced people." When Nixon finished, Pat Hillings reported, the experienced people all knew what he meant. "Yep, I think he was offering his services to the country again."

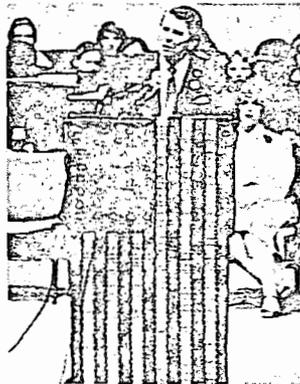
It was time to lead once more.

LIFE BEGINS AT SEVENTY

Scene 2

When you're elected President, the world is your casting couch

BY JOEL KOTKIN, PAUL GRABOWICZ, AND JEFF STEIN



THE BASTION: WHEN HE CAMPAIGNED, HE STOOD FOR MORE THAN JUST HIS IDEAS.

O

NE THING YOU'VE GOT TO KNOW ABOUT A REAGAN PRESIDENCY IS THAT,

like other administrations, only more so, it will represent the ambitions and ideologies of hundreds of others more than those of Ronald Reagan himself.

The struggle among the Reaganites is between those who want to bring a radical new energy to the federal government (the Right-populists of the Wanniski-

Joel Kotkin and Paul Grabowicz, correspondents for The Washington Post, are writing a book on California. Jeff Stein is a Washington reporter who covers foreign policy and defense issues.

Kemp-Bell school) and those who are ready to reassume the power they held during Nixon's administration (the conservative power lords of the Simon-Casey-Schultz-Weinberger school).

For the Right-populists, the Reagan campaign represents the most important onrush to power since Roosevelt brought the bright young men to Washington during the New Deal. For them, a Reagan presidency means counterrevolution. For the Nixonian conservatives waiting in the wings, a Reagan presidency offers the lure of restitution. They can spot a presidency when they see one, and they have mobilized to capture the political legacy of Ronald Reagan. Old Ron, in his last political spasm-contraction, will have spawned a lasting right-wing base of power.

They're some bunch. Not since the Nixon presidency have we had to face types like these. As a matter of fact, in half the cases, not *like* these—*these*.

KENNETH L. ADELMAN, senior policy analyst, worked for Donald Rumsfeld in Defense Department... Influential in Reagan campaign... Recommended last fall in coauthored article that United States start shipping enriched nuclear fuel to South Africa in return for commitments to West... Better aid than alienate the South Africans, says analyst Adelman... RICHARD V. ALLEN, Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser, aka classic Washington intelligence operative, spook, hardballer... Forced from National Security Council by Kissinger in early Nixon years, and the enmity probably holds on... Intrigue wraps itself

around Allen like static electricity: in 1976, the former head of Grumman International testified that in 1971 Nixon aide Allen told him \$1-million campaign contribution could help interest White House in selling aircraft to Japan (Allen issued forceful denial, and the case was not pressed)... Allegedly worked as a \$10,000-a-month consultant for Robert Vesco in 1972... Approached by H. R. Haldeman to deal with Pentagon Papers leak and asked to head the plumbers; turned both down... Called himself "Doctor," implying he had earned Ph.D. at University of Munich; when it was discovered he had not, quietly dropped the title; as he explains now, acceptance of his doctoral thesis was blocked "by Marxists, I think"... Hardest of the hardliners, he rankles at liberals, is vitriolic about "grotesque abuse" of intelligence agencies through reforms, which he would like to overturn... Has traveled with RR since 1978... Mentioned to head National Security Council or some intelligence super-agency... MARTIN C. ANDERSON, liaison between Right-populists and latter-day Nixonians... Powerful fiscal conservative... Author of anti-urban renewal tract *The Federal Bulldozer*... Likes to point to Reagan's undergraduate economics degree as presidential qualification... JEFFREY BELL, theorist behind brilliant ad lines for Kemp-Roth bill, designed to win over working class to tax-cut Republicanism: "Those who have the least will gain the most. If we put incentives back into the society, everyone will gain"... ARTHUR BURNS, he of pipe and sheepdog haircut... Eisenhower economic adviser... Head of Federal Reserve under Nixon... A Grand Lama to reckon with... WILLIAM J. CASEY, former banker and member of Rockefeller establishment... An undersecretary at State under Nixon... SEC head under Ford... Forty-year man in party and number two in Reagan campaign... Guess you could say he's That Eastern Republican Man... Conservative-middle choice for Secretary of State... JUSTIN DART, seventy-two-year-old chairman of Dart In-

dustries, member of crowd that made Reagan, hanging in as adviser... His business benefited from Reagan administration decisions during California gubernatorial years... MICHAEL DEEVER: "In some ways he has been physically closest to Reagan," says RR aide. "During the primary campaign, Mike was with him all the time on the road"... Deaver's PR agency represents Dart Industries, Rockwell International, 3M, information office of Republic of China (Taiwan)... MILTON FRIEDMAN, cuddly bear of the Right... Anti-Keynesian, pro-laissez faire economist... Markets conservatism as trend... Credited with major theorizing behind Nixonian economic policies... Provided ammunition for Proposition 13... EDWIN J. GRAY, Reagan's campaign press secretary, on leave from San Diego Federal Savings and Loan, where he's a vice-president... Quiet corporate type... A mouthpiece—no Jody Powell... HERBERT HOOVER, late thirty-first President of the United States... Not exactly a Reagan adviser, but founded Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace (to investigate "evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx"), from which many Reagan advisers spring... House that Hoover Built home of Sidney Hook, Martin Anderson, Seymour Martin Lipset, Edward Teller, Milton Friedman—nice lineup, all righties... Related farm teams (players follow) include Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Studies (Richard V. Allen)... American Enterprise Institute (Ben Wattenberg, Laurence Silberman, Milton Friedman)... Extracurricular club, Committee on the Present Danger... FRED IKLE, former Rand Corporation analyst, writes that we will see threats of Soviet military dominance, U.S. nuclear weakness, disastrous oil shortages... Swiss-born... Headed Nixon's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, where he was for "just the opposite of arms control," according to a former associate... Ranks high in Reagan's esteem... JACK KEMP, embodiment of an uplifting Reagan scenario: the quarter-

back (for AFL Buffalo Bills) who became a congressman, a story made for Warner's... Sponsor of the Kemp-Roth tax cut bill... Afraid that Reagan is "dropping his populism," that Republicans could end up "like the Whigs"... GOP hero who may be headed for thirty years of power... HENRY KISSINGER can't afford to miss this long march... "No reruns," says Richard Allen, but Reagan needs Ford and middle-of-the-road Republicans, and that means Kissinger... ARTHUR LAFFER, developer of the economic device that has become a household word, the Laffer Curve (the concept that raising taxes results in reduced tax revenue)... Baby-faced... Admires Jerry Brown, real hero was John F. Kennedy... Blasts Carter for "traditional Republican policies"... PAUL LAXALT, senator from Nevada, governor when Reagan was governor of California... Official head of Reagan campaign committee... Former casino owner... ED MEESE, governor's chief of staff and lately most powerful leader in campaign... Disliked by admirers of John Sears, who fear he protects Reagan from dissenting views... But one California Republican says, "I have nothing but A-plus reports on Ed Meese. He's a deep guy"... Likely Reagan chief of staff... THOMAS H. MOORER, admiral, U.S. Navy, retired, World War II flyboy, the quintessential military politician... Former chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff... Supporter of heavy bombing schedules in Vietnam... In 1971 was discovered to have received secret National Security Council memos through good offices of two yeomen assigned to the NSC... LYN NOFZIGER, Republican legend... Forced from chief campaign role by Sears in 1979... Returned post-Sears as overall director of press communications... Reagan's communications director in Sacramento but thwarted by Nancy Reagan, who disapproved of the stubby, unkempt former Copley News Service reporter... Says RR is ideal candidate, "as easily managed as anyone. He'll listen. He doesn't feel he has to manage



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his own campaign. Reagan is not a guy to get mixed up with details.... He knows his role."... RICHARD E. PIPES, Harvard historian and till lately a Democrat ... Likes defense buildups ... Wrote in 1977 that Russians are in pursuit of "not deterrence but victory, not sufficiency in weapons but superiority, not retaliation but offensive action" ... Solzhenitsyn wrote that Pipes's book, *Russia Under the Old Regime*, allows "only one possible conclusion to be drawn: that the Russian nation is antihuman in essence" ... Frequently mentioned to run CIA.... NANCY REAGAN, adviser number one ... Pledged to be no Rosalynn Carter ... When Nancy visited Florida late last year, she found instructions from John Sears's office not to speak to press... "Nancy exploded," says former Florida campaign director Pat Hillings. "She really decided from then on she'd get John Sears.... Strong-willed and tough... the big influence." ... Reagan calls her "Mommy."... GEORGE P. SCHULTZ: Carries more weight than any other moderate conservative... Spoken of with awe by William Simon ... Nixon's director of OMB, Secretary of Treasury, Labor ... A leading contender for Secretary of State.... WILLIAM VAN CLEAVE, defense expert, lately an important aide ... Believes "United States' failure to keep pace with Soviet effort is, first, a direct consequence of SALT."... CASPAR ("CAP") WEINBERGER, former Reagan state finance director, a moderate... In Nixon administration, head of FTC, director of OMB, Secretary of HEW... No favorite of the extremists (yes, you can use that word in 1980).... JUDE WANNISKI, wild man of the camp and author of *The Way the World Works*, a seminal tract for Reagan campaign... A former *Wall Street Journal* editorial writer ... Persuaded Sears to enlist Laffer in 1975 to help indoctrinate a waiting nation ... Sees conflict between the "Republican party of Main Street America and the Republican party of the corporations" ... Insiders say Wanniski's influence has diminished since Sears's departure....

CENTRAL CASTING
for the Reagan administra-
tion. From left to right,
we've got: Young Re-
publican Right-populist
Jeff Bell; national security
adviser Richard Allen;
campaign manager
William Casey; Nancy
Davis Reagan, prospective
First Lady; former Federal
Reserve head Arthur
Burns and pipe; GOP su-
perstar Jack Kemp; former
President Herbert Clark
Hoover; Ronald Reagan;
former Treasury Secretary
and energy czar William
Simon, who said recently:
"I think it's possible we're
going to get a larger man-
date than President
Nixon's. This is going to be
a completion of the presi-
dency that would have
been.... We need a com-
prehensive program to
slam down programs.
Never you mind asking
where we're going to cut
the budget, we've just got
to do it." Absent from
picture: former
President
Richard Nixon.

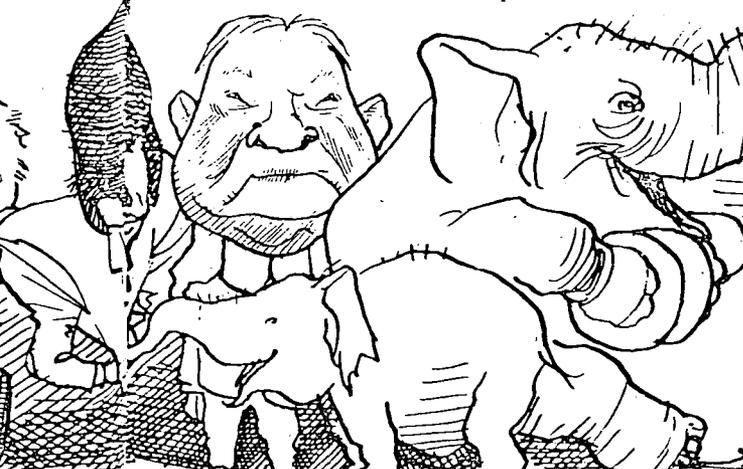
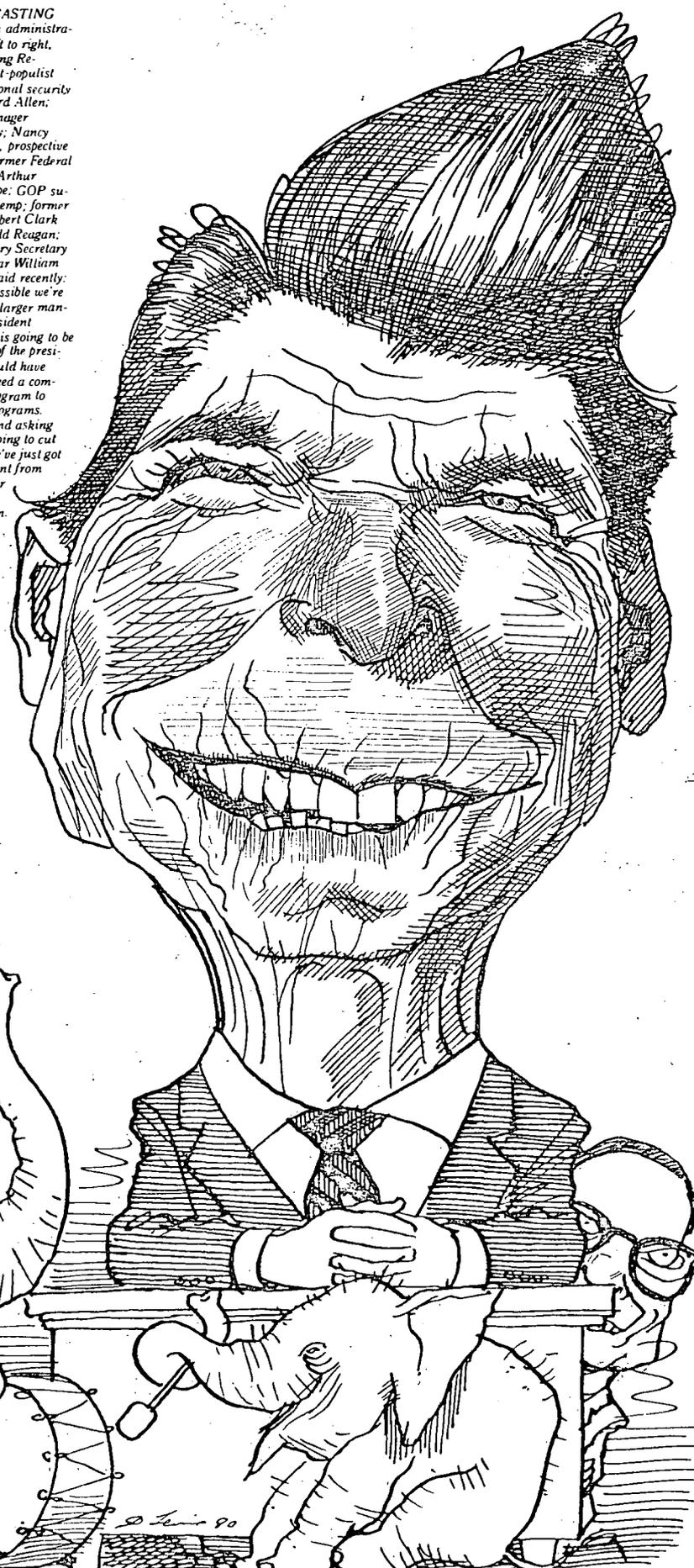


ILLUSTRATION • DAVID LEVINE

RON AND DESTINY

Scene 3

Where will he lead us,
this embodiment of our
everyday experience?

BY GARRY WILLS



A LEGEND OF
HIS OWN
MAKING, OR,
HOW THE REST
WERE WON.

SOME IMP OF
HISTORY SEEMS TO BE
URGING REAGAN ON.

He is the serene beneficiary of turmoil, the amateur foil of professionals, the sane relayer of craziness. There is no way to have at him. His very flaws promote him, and weakness prevails. He wins campaigns by being a noncandidate. His lapses rivet his followers closer to him. There is deep magic here.

But he is *old*? Sure; and that reassures. He is walking evidence that the past perdures—it is out there, ambulatory, defying time. Philip Crane's 1980 campaign was supposed to establish that Reagan's unsound mind could exist in a sound body: as Reagan decomposed along the way, there would still be a handsome head

Garry Wills wrote *Nixon Agonistes and Inventing America*. His new book, *Explaining America*, is being published next year by Doubleday.

swiveling on a mobile body, saying the same decrepit things. How was Crane to know that a modest decomposition was part of the charm? Time softens Reagan, taking sharp edges off. The older he gets, the better he looks, enacting the truth that old values are still viable. Creaky, perhaps, in this joint or that; rambling, not marching. But even the ramble soothes, where marching would disquiet.

So rivals find that age is Reagan's tease, the booby trap he sets for them. Attack his age, and you seem ungallant, the kind of person who would suggest that Mae West's yips of sexual ecstasy have been feigned for the last half-century or so. Who wants to believe *that*, true or not?

Wild inaccuracy is another of the pitfalls he seems to be digging for himself—as he watches others fall into them. But why should his friends care about a fact here, a fact there, when he so obviously does not? Facts come and go; statistics are symbols or persuaders; when they are not lies; reality adjusts to belief, not vice versa. There is a sophisticated calculus to Reagan's naïveté.

Not that he sees all the understructure of his own appeal, girder by girder. That would not fit the very genius of his appeal. He floats above the quibbling because it never touches his self-esteem. He does not, like most politicians, have to defend his arguments. It is his *attitude* that is right, and arguments cannot reach that. His right-wing attitude was unruffled even when he enacted rather left-wing laws in California (such as a permissive abortion program). He rather attended his own administration than became its creature or creator.

Like most politicians, he lacks pride.

But, unlike them, he also lacks the vanity that makes a claim, at least, to discursive consistency on issues. He looks unchallengeable, even in error, because he feels secure. He shrugs off attacks as so clearly benighted they scarcely deserve attention, and certainly not anger. He brings to the Right the thing it always needed most—relaxation. Consider how rare has been sheer friendliness on the right wing of our political spectrum. Robert Taft was loved only by a hard effort of those conservatives who threw their hearts into the arctic blast of his number-citing rectitude. Reagan has a shrugging semirectitude that will not stand on ceremony or split hairs: he tugs hearts out before they can be thrown.

Richard Nixon, unlovable himself, was warmly supported for the enemies he made. A hired gun, his very nastiness could be put to an exterminator's use. But Reagan is a *good* guy willing to take on the baddies; and after the shoot-out, he will not rifle the till, like Nixon; he will not save the town only as a way of lining his own pocket.

Reagan's deepest appeal is to those who cheered George Wallace on but who felt a bit shabby and soiled after he worked them over, massaged their hate glands, made them queasy with acrid emotions sweated out of them. Reagan croons, in love accents, his permission to indulge a functional hatred of poor people and blacks. Nothing personal about it. It is really an act of patriotism not to let the hardworking middle class be dragged down to *their* level. Imagine what a godsend this is for right-wingers with some small claim left them to fastidiousness. Poor William Buckley had to fashion a nine-foot pole for dealing with all those Spiro Agnew types a gentleman should not touch with a ten-foot pole. But Ronnie he can walk right up to and hug. Even the caricaturists have a hard time putting Joe McCarthy's scowl or Agnew's dopey viciousness on Reagan's face.

But Reagan would not be important if he just made the right wing giddy with relief at finding a nontawdry spokesman for its tainted views. Reagan has stronger historical tides running in his favor, tides that affect our whole society and not just the right wing. He is the legitimate-looking heir to our government's illegitimacy. Reagan has some of the show biz glitter that right-wingers hated when they misleadingly called it "charisma" in John Kennedy's time. But Kennedy was not charismatic in any but the *Photoplay* sense. Reagan is the man who combines a superficial glamour with real charismatic function.

Max Weber popularized the concept of charismatic leadership, which he contrasted with rational and traditional authority. Tradition gives a sacredness to office, and reason gives a utilitarian vin-

Education to law. It is only when these comparatively stable and everyday channels of authority break down that an entirely personal and arbitrary authority is needed. This can happen when a new society is coming into being, without prior tradition or magic to rely on; Weber thought, here, of the founders of great religious orders whose private vision fired disciples—Saints Benedict and Francis, Dominic and Ignatius. The charismatic leader occurs, as well, in revolutions, when old patterns of authority are called abruptly into question, or utterly effaced, to give birth to a new nation. George Washington is the exemplar, or Mao Tse-tung.

But we have been witnessing for some time a crisis that Weber did not expressly treat in his discussion of charisma—the gradual inanition of institutions, the evanescence of authority, without conscious revolution or new vision. We see a paradoxical new process at work—the undermining of traditional authority by people who think of themselves as conservatives, as guardians of tradition. The enemies of government, of “the establishment,” have exactly Reagan’s sense of an ideal (unformulated) tradition at war with the actual traditions of our government.

John Kennedy was not a charismatic leader in Weber’s sense. Quite the opposite. He relied on all the institutions of authority—Ivy League ties, press camaraderie, bureaucratic myths of efficiency. He loved the symbols of office and thought of the White House as his palace. Robert McNamara was in attendance to explicate rational authority, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. to weave the rites of tradition stretching from Jackson through Roosevelt. The style was not arbitrary, nor the vision private.

In the common misuse of the term, Nixon lacked charisma. But his was a counterinsurgency presidency, a one-man rule, charismatic in that sense. He occupied the White House as an outpost in enemy territory. He created his secret army of thugs and gumshoes because he did not trust his own official underlings: the bureaucracy, the CIA, the FBI. The hired gun was there to do a job just because the sheriff’s star had lost its luster. But, of course, his very presence further tarnished the authority he wielded. It was something alien, to be turned on itself. Nixon brought himself down as part of the larger demolition job he was engaged in. His principal regret was that he did not have time to level more institutions. He thought of his task as breaking the grip of the bureaucracy; but he could do that only by undermining government itself.

Jimmy Carter consciously offered himself as a restorer of decency to scenes still reeking with scandal. But he felt he could do this only by stressing his own qualities as separate from those of his office. His personal concern was the is-

sue. We were to think more of President Carter than of President Carter. That is why official ceremony was played down. He was just a lone man strolling into town with his wardrobe bag over his shoulder. He would never lie to us, he promised, playing that claim off against implicit recognition that our officialdom lies, and that he could never be part of that officialdom.

This attempt to relegate office in terms of one’s own personal qualities simply delegitimizes. The office is more suspect, in the long run, if it is redeemed only by men who keep their distance from it. That is the deep and disturbing point of cocktail chatter about Carter’s “war on Washington.”

NIXON’S AND CARTER’S FAILINGS HAVE BEEN BLESSINGS IN DISGUISE.

The office of the President has not been totally discredited because the opponents of that office have had a negative appeal, one that could not entirely supplant the utilitarian authority of law (which did in Nixon) or the sacredness of office (which continues to elude Carter). Nixon was hedged in by his own suspicions, which turned even his private army, as well as his public entourage, against him. Carter is limited by the sectional appeal that made him important to the Democratic party, resolving the anomaly of our postwar politics—the fact that Democrats could outregister Republicans two to one or more, yet have not won the presidency without the South. The very thing that gives Carter his marginal purchase on the South—his loyalty to a clutch of Dog-patchers like Bert Lance and Hamilton Jordan—weakens his links to the everyday experience of Americans less regionally marked.

Reagan, by contrast, has *been* our everyday experience through years of popcorn matinees, through decades of relaxed success as a campaigner. He is by now our neighbor as the orator, the hometown boy as a success. Not only the baseball player and soldier and football hero he actually played on the screen, he has become the inheritor of roles played by his coevals—Jimmy Stewart as Mr. Smith, Gary Cooper as Mr. Deeds, even Judy Holliday as Billie Dawn. He is the innocent as celebrity, and the celebrity as the real authority behind all screens and shams of officialdom. He is the first serious counterauthority with an *air* of authority; the charismatic leader without a vision, just a role. He is the perfect denier, the double negative that comes out, somehow, as a positive. The disinherited air of his predecessors made us let them into the American psyche through some trapdoor (like Joe McCarthy and Nixon) or side entrance (like Agnew and Carter).

But Reagan strides confidently in through the front door.

That, of course, is the scary thing about Reagan: that he does not scare us. He so obviously means well that it is gauche (like mentioning his age) to notice that he means nothing; that he has no alternative vision; that his war on authority is neither radically *founding* (like Ignatius Loyola’s) nor revolutionary (like George Washington’s). He represents that stage of our government’s inanition of authority where it is no longer a wild claim, but mild dogma, to say that the rule of tradition and reason has ended in Washington—that everything depends, now, on one man’s personal qualities, on charisma. Facts and evidence are not important in the time of a private vision publicly yearned for. In that situation, to claim authority is to profess illegitimacy, to be one of “them,” of “the gum-mint” that must be got off “our” backs.

This process—ridding American backs of encumbrance—is entirely negative in logic; but Reagan’s approach is not obviously denigrative. He does not mean the meanness of his views. He does not scowl racism at us, like Wallace, nor leer hatred of Ivy League types, like McCarthy or Nixon. He does an actor’s walk-through of those men’s lines without losing his unruffled air of meaning well—just as he walked through the animosities of both sides in the Hollywood Red-hunt days, coming out an ambiguous half-hero (or at least non-villain) to all sides. He uses ideology without being trapped inside it. The very thing that frees him of authority keeps him clear of what others take so seriously. If the authority of facts and argument matters so little, how should ideology itself confine its wielder? With Reagan, we get Vietnam defended without Goldwater’s bluster, blacks put in their place without Bull Connor’s dogs, patriotism defended without Lyndon Johnson’s oleaginous defensiveness. Reagan is so patently unmalicious as he speaks for war and divisiveness that he may, indeed, kill us with kindness. He is the wholesome hometown sort who can drop the bomb without a second thought, your basic American Harry Truman.

In a world being emptied of authority, Reagan has some of authority’s characteristics. Continuity, for instance. His age does not bother people; rather, it suggests a rootedness in essentially deracinated views. He is unmenacing because he is always around, so much a part of us (and how could *we* be menacing?). He is both Henry Aldrich and Grandpa Walton, our remembered and our present selves, our fantasy of afternoons with popcorn and the “real” world of TV politics. Where so little is stable, the emptiness at the center looks eternal. Reagan is the calm eye of history’s hurricane; and we hope, by moving with it, never to slip toward the edges and to chaos. But we will. ☉

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The Republican Challenge





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