



Derek Halstead — Liaison

The Republican Convention And Ronald **REAGAN**

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■ THE FIRST national political convention this reporter covered was the memorable Republican shootout at the San Francisco Cow Palace in 1964. Sixteen years later I found myself at the G.O.P.'s 1980 gala discovering why songwriters never rhapsodize over Detroit. Motown is *not* the city by the bay. Hearing that it had been selected by the Republican Na-

tional Committee as the site of the 1980 Convention, potential delegates gasped. Nobody ever left their heart in Detroit. Their purse or wallet, perhaps, but not their heart.

It seemed an odd choice. There may be more Republicans in Leningrad than in the motor city. Apparently it was chosen to show blacks that the G.O.P. really cares.

Conservatives were ecstatic. The nominee would run on their Platform and they had at last defeated the Rockefeller wing of the Republican Party. Or had they? Rumors circulated that Gerald Ford would accept the Vice Presidential nomination if Ronald Reagan would agree to accept Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State.

The Detroit convention facilities are impressive, but beyond the three luxury hotels in the immediate area there are problems. Detroit is simply not equipped to handle a convention of sixteen thousand people (four thousand delegates and alternates and twelve thousand observers from the media). Many were forced to stay at motels in the far boondocks and travel as much as two hours to the Joe Louis Arena. The alternative was to stay at an old hotel deep in the bowels of the Detroit slums. That is where your reporter and his colleague Alan Stang found themselves.

Surprisingly, Detroit proved to be a sound choice for the G.O.P. after all, although it was through no fault of those who had made the selection. Since the site was chosen, a year ago, the automobile industry has been pushed into a disastrous depression. When the car business is in trouble, Detroit is in ruins. It now has twenty-two percent unemployment and suburban Warren, home of Chrysler, is suffering twenty-six percent unemployment.

The Republicans were able to turn all of this to their advantage, making Detroit a symbol of what has happened to the national economy under four years of Carter and the Democrats. The United Auto Workers notwithstanding, the G.O.P. could at-

tract a lot of blue-collar voters this November. Not only do working people hate to see America being used as a punching bag by foreign despots and demagogues, they are afraid for their jobs and their standard of living. The elephants will never have a greater opportunity to break the Democratic hold on labor.

Detroit welcomed the most Conservative group of delegates to attend a G.O.P. Convention since 1964. And they were more politically mature and sophisticated than at San Francisco. The delegates to the 1964 Convention were divided between Goldwater fanatics and anti-Goldwater fanatics. The tensions were so thick only an axe would cut them and everyone brought along an axe. The Goldwater people, all having read Phyllis Schlafly's *A Choice Not An Echo*, were determined not to let the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment steal another convention as they had done three times from Senator Robert Taft. The 1964 Convention developed into a pitched battle between the Rockefeller arm of the party and the Conservative arm. When the Rockefeller forces lost, they attacked the ticket to make sure the Right would go down in flames.

It must be admitted that the Goldwater forces were relatively unsophisticated and played into the hands



What could now be expected of Reagan in the campaign and afterward? Could the Republican nominee be co-opted by the C.F.R. crowd that was already attempting to surround him? Reagan's moving and principled acceptance speech said no, and the cheering delegates wanted more than anything to believe him.

of their opponents. But few thought Barry would actually carry the general election, and even fewer foresaw the debacle that ensued. The Rockefeller Gang let the Conservatives enjoy their kamikaze adventure and then took back the party. The public, much more mesmerized by the mass media than now, could not understand why Conservatives were so disturbed about socialism at home and Communism abroad. Goldwater Conservatives were ahead of their time.

The atmosphere at Detroit was totally different than it had been in San Francisco. To begin with, there are not a whole lot of "Liberals" left within the rank and file of party activists. The Ivy League and Establishment types are still there, of course, but in lesser numbers and treading with great caution. Conservatism has become respectable, and even the most doctrinaire "Liberals" now call themselves moderates. Since the nomination of Reagan was a foregone conclusion, there was little of the rancor engendered by the Left-Right confrontation at San Francisco. The "Liberals" were less than thrilled by the Conservative orientation of the Platform, but they were hoping to get a Vice Presidential candidate over whom they could be enthusiastic.

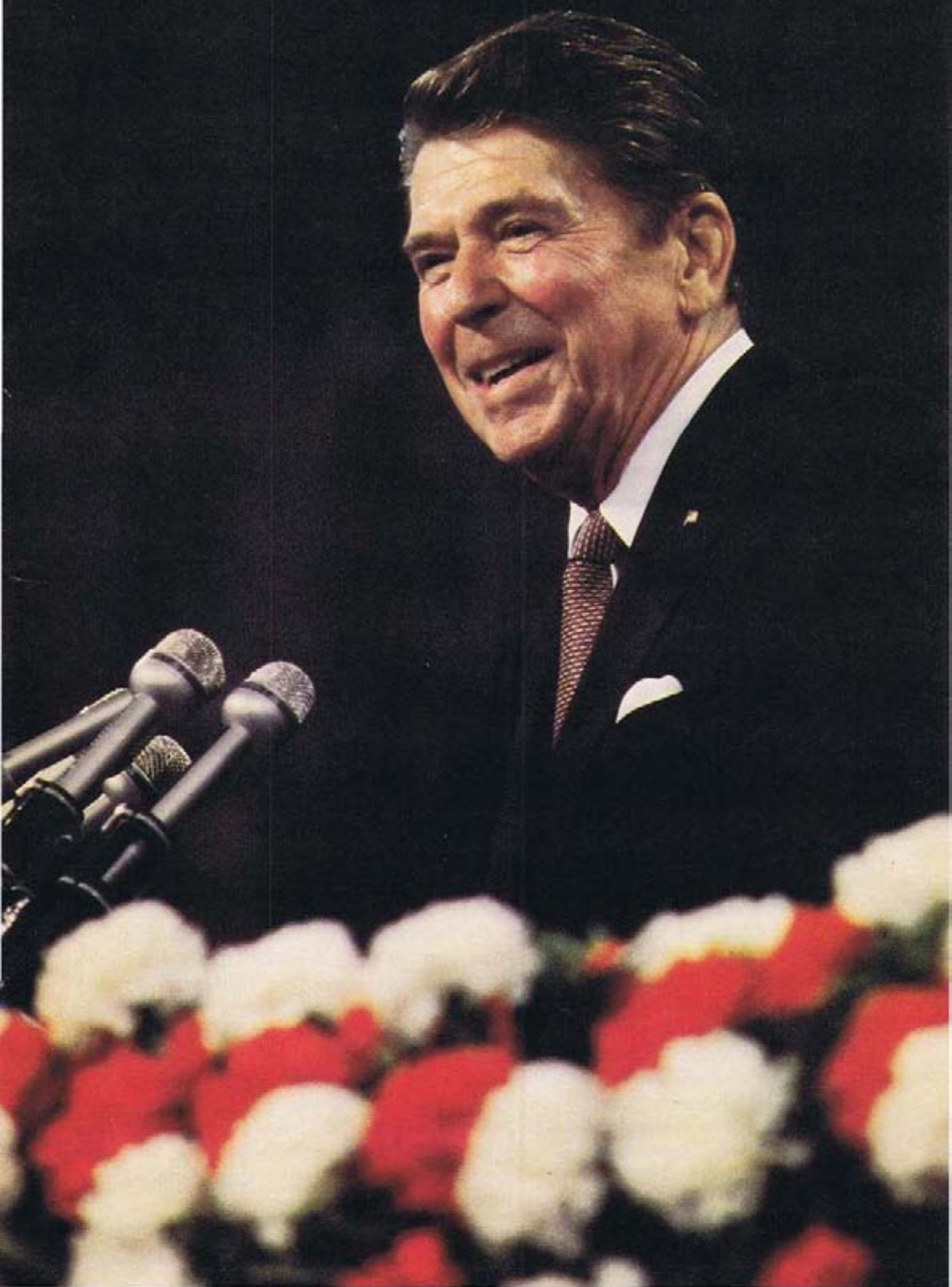
Overriding ideology for many of

the delegates was the realization that this was to be a Republican year, always a strong factor in uniting the party. Another factor compelling unity was fear. Most of the delegates, whatever their level of understanding of the problems facing our country, were genuinely alarmed at the possibility of four more years of Jimmy Carter.

With morale as high as an April kite, speaker after speaker trooped to the microphone to make the case against Carter's disastrous leadership and policies. Making a case against Jimmy Carter is about as hard as convincing a ten-year-old to go to the circus. Congressman Jack Kemp was brilliant. And even Jerry Ford gave what, for him, was a fine speech. Not only did he limit himself to three garbles and a fluff or two, but he got on and off the rostrum without hitting his head.

One of the highlights of the convention was the introduction of Senator Barry Goldwater. As you probably saw, the convention all but went berserk when the Conservative symbol of the Grand Old Party was introduced. The man about whom controversy had been spun like a web in 1964 was no longer controversial. He was now a revered prophet ahead of his time.

This reporter felt conspicuous as



the only journalist in the press gallery standing to applaud as Goldwater was introduced. It is hard not to forgive Barry his limitations. In his humiliation following the disaster of 1964 he made a tragic mistake in handing the party machinery back to the hacks and the Establishment operatives, but it was clear that Barry Goldwater never really wanted to be President. His ego wasn't big enough. He had run because he considered it his duty, and then felt that he had let us down when he did so badly. Actually, it was *after* the election that he let us down.

For a long time after the 1964 election Barry Goldwater did not realize the nature of what he had been up against. In his world, people were divided into Democrats and Republicans. And for years he seemed to seek the friendship of Nelson Rockefeller and his clique as if trying to get them to admit that he wasn't such a bad fellow after all. But in Barry Goldwater's new book, *With No Apologies*, he makes it clear that he has at last caught on to the game and excoriates the Establishment *Insiders* of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission in the strongest language. Goldwater even seemed to refer to them in an ad-libbed remark at the end of his speech to the convention, declaring: "This might be the last Republican Convention, and in two weeks, the last Democratic Convention. There are forces working against our country. There are selfish forces working for their own interest in our country."

The reference was clearly to the C.F.R.-controlled industrialists and bankers who have transferred American technology and capital to the U.S.S.R. with which the Soviets have built their military-industrial complex. Twelve thousand reporters totally ignored the remark.

Following the Goldwater speech came the introduction of Henry Kissinger by Senator James McClure of Idaho. The placement of Kissinger on the program was more than a little embarrassing. While Richard Nixon was "the little man who wasn't there," buried so deeply in the memory hole that nobody so much as spoke of a respectable Republican cloth coat, Henry had survived Watergate and its aftermath. He is as popular as ever with the networks, the *New York Times*, Bill Buckley, and the Chase Manhattan Bank (now his official employer). It was Reagan campaign manager William Casey, a member of David Rockefeller's C.F.R. with service under Kissinger at the State Department, who arranged for Kissinger to be put on the program.

In introducing the guttural intriguer, Senator McClure chose his words as carefully as a husband explaining a late arrival. McClure's introduction was not interrupted once with applause, nor was Kissinger's speech. In fact the Reagan braintrusts were holding their breath in fear that Henry would be roundly booed by the delegates and that the electronic media would use this to embarrass the Reagan candidacy. Governor Reagan's floor managers circulated through the various delegations prior to the Kissinger speech, begging the Conservatives not to boo. Henry Kissinger was treated politely but coolly. His speech was read with all the enthusiasm of Ted Kennedy delivering a eulogy for the designer of the Chappaquiddick bridge. Henry was not unaware that if he made one false move he would be booed from the podium.

Your correspondent was ready to join in the booing, but felt it would be poor form for a reporter to start it. Others in the press gallery were
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REAGAN

giving me funny looks because I was wearing a large button bearing a picture of Barry Goldwater and proclaiming him to be "our next President." The button was a useful conversation starter in interviews with delegates. When they commented, I would explain that when I was for a candidate I was for him through thick and thin. My colleague Alan Stang toured the convention floor with a huge Stassen button pinned to his jacket. With a straight face he would explain to the flabbergasted that he was Stassen's floor manager and his people were about to steal the convention.

The reaction of the press gallery to Kissinger was just what you would expect. I have long suspected that before media professionals attend a convention they spend a week in front of their mirrors practicing scowls, sneers, and looks of boredom. If General George Patton suddenly roared into the arena on a white horse, they wouldn't cock an eye. If Patrick Henry strode to the microphone and delivered his "give me liberty or give me death" oration, the "Liberals" in the press section would look blasé, yawn, and write something about how trite and cornball it all was. Ronald Reagan, who is perhaps the most skilled political speechmaker since F.D.R., received no more reaction from this group than if he were reading from a telephone book in monotone. But when Henry Kissinger was introduced the press gallery rose to its feet and applauded with enthusiasm. It was like Baron Münchhausen being introduced to the Liars Club.

The one decision of any import left to be decided was who would be Ronald Reagan's running mate. Many observers felt that Reagan's choice would tell us a great deal

about what to expect should the former California governor be elected. Conservatives were demanding a running mate who shared their ideology, well aware that age might make Reagan a one-term President.* The "Liberals" were crying for one of their own to balance the ticket and save face for their losses. There were plenty of eager volunteers. Vice Presidential candidates acceptable to most Conservatives included:

Senator Jesse Helms. Probably the most knowledgeable and principled Conservative in the Senate.

Governor John Connally. A tough and savvy campaigner who had attacked Bush over Trilateralism and knows his way around Washington.

Senator Orrin Hatch. A relative newcomer respected for his integrity and shrewd political sense.

Senator Paul Laxalt. Highly regarded for his integrity and dedication to Conservative principles.

Senator Bill Armstrong. Another newcomer who has proved to be an aggressive Conservative leader in the Senate.

William Simon. The former Secretary of the Treasury who talks an excellent game but would have been distrusted by many because of his actual performance in office and his membership in the C.F.R.

Representative Jack Kemp. A charismatic campaigner who has popularized "supply-side economics" and has been very successful at attracting blue-collar voters.

There were also several compromise candidates who might have been acceptable to both the Conservatives and to the "Liberals" calling themselves moderates, although they

*Then there is the macabre coincidence that Presidents elected in years ending in zero do not survive in office. Of course this can be dismissed as superstition, but it happened in 1840, 1860, 1880, 1900, 1920, 1940, and 1960.

would not have been the first choice of either group. They included:

Senator Richard Lugar. An ambitious Hoosier who has carefully straddled the fence between Conservatives and their opponents.

Senator Richard Schweiker. Formerly a "Liberal," Schweiker's voting record has become much more Conservative in the past four years.

Representative Guy Vander Jagt. A moderate who has become increasingly Conservative in recent years, and who as Chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee won a reputation for being scrupulously fair.

There were only two prominently mentioned candidates for the Number Two spot who were absolutely anathema to Conservatives. They were Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee and George Bush, both perceived as "Liberals" and (more importantly) both C.F.R. members and long-time Rockefeller associates.

As Senate Minority Leader, Baker's support for the effort to pay Panama to take our Canal delivered the *coup de grâce*. The betrayal was long advocated by the Communists and was promoted by the Wall Street banking community, which sought to assure that Panama's crypto-Communist Government would be able to repay its enormous loans to the megabanks. Baker's advocacy of the so-called Equal Rights Amendment and his leadership in promoting federal funding of abortions made him *persona non grata* to both the anti-E.R.A. and Right to Life forces in the Conservative coalition.

Apparently Howard Baker was written off by the Reagan hierarchy some weeks before the convention. According to veteran Washington reporter Sarah McClendon, Senator Baker made a deal with the top Reaganites to be dropped from consider-

ation in return for retaining fellow Tennessee Senator and C.F.R. member Bill Brock as National Chairman of the Republican Party. This seems like an awfully magnanimous gesture by Baker. It could be that either Reagan's staff, Howard Baker, or both, felt that he had become a lightning rod for Conservative opposition. Scratching Baker from the list before Detroit left only Bush as unacceptable to the activists of the Conservative movement. The problem for his supporters was how to make Bush acceptable to the Conservative delegates.

It was some problem. Ronald Reagan had repeatedly and publicly promised that he would pick a running mate who shared his Conservative philosophy. Privately he had assured key backers that under no circumstances would the post go to George Bush. Whether Bush was to be disqualified on ideological grounds was never made clear, but Reagan repeatedly communicated the idea that he personally disliked George Bush. The campaign had grown vitriolic after New Hampshire and some speculated that the Democrats would embarrass any Reagan-Bush ticket by running videotapes of Bush saying that Reagan's tax proposals were "irresponsible" and that the former California governor was "trigger happy."

The carefully managed charade that made George Bush acceptable to the convention provided the only startling development of the week. It was based upon the broadly publicized possibility that former President Gerald Ford might consent to join the Reagan ticket as candidate for Vice President.

This whole business can only be described as bizarre. Apparently much of the negotiating to set up the "dream ticket" with Ford was done

without Reagan's knowledge. The two instigators on the Reagan side were Ed Meese, a Reagan lieutenant who has been with the governor since his early California days, and William Casey, the C.F.R. operator who was brought out of nowhere to head the Reagan campaign on the night of the New Hampshire victory. Negotiating for Ford were Casey's friend Henry Kissinger and Alan Greenspan, the disappointing head of the Council on Economic Advisors in the Ford Administration.

Negotiations were carried on over Tuesday and Wednesday at the convention. It appears that every time Reagan's people agreed to Ford's demands, Kissinger would up the ante. Henry was apparently attempting a putsch in which Ronald Reagan would be the President in name only and Kissinger and his pals would run the country and make the key decisions. Finally, Ford appeared in an interview with Walter Cronkite and the term "co-presidency" was used to describe what Ford was demanding as his price to join the ticket. Gerald Ford's audacity in doing this while the negotiations were still in progress is said to have angered Reagan. He reached for his telephone, we are told, and asked George Bush to be his running mate.

It is hard to believe that Ford was ever serious about any of this. If he was, why did he escalate his demands to the point of humiliating Reagan into reaction? Or were Ford and Kissinger simply playing out an elaborate scheme to make possible the selection of Bush? In an article entitled "Inside The Room With George Bush," reporter Michael Kramer writes in the July 28, 1980, issue of *New York* magazine: "Ford wanted Bush. That was known from the start — a position cemented by Jim Baker, George Bush's campaign manager, when he

flew to Detroit from Omaha with Ford."

There is little doubt that a Reagan-Ford ticket would at first have been popular with a number of the delegates. But when word leaked out that the return of Kissinger was a key to the package, the feathers would have hit the fan. Cries of "Sellout!" would have echoed across the country, Reagan would have lost credibility with Conservatives, and the "dream ticket" would have instantly turned into the "nightmare ticket." George Bush is mistrusted by the Conservatives who make the party work, but Kissinger is despised. A Reagan-Ford ticket might have been made to seem unbeatable, but anyone with any political sophistication could see that a Reagan-Ford Administration run by Henry Kissinger would be a blueprint for disaster.

One must still ask why Reagan turned to Bush rather than to one of the acceptable Conservatives. In the wake of the day-long rumors about the Reagan-Ford negotiations, almost everyone seems to have forgotten to ask why Bush was the alternative. The media labored to make it appear that the Reagan selection of Bush was simply pragmatism. Bush, we are assured, cements the unity of the party and stops potential defection of "Liberals" to John Anderson. It is also argued, and with a great deal of validity, that Reagan will be treated better by the mass media for having chosen George Bush as proof of "maturity" and a willingness to "broaden his base."

The fact remains that there were more cogent arguments for Reagan to have kept his promise that he would select a man who shared his philosophy. The day before Reagan made that choice a group of Conservative activists including Howard Phillips of Conservative Caucus, Phyllis

Schlaflly of the anti-E.R.A. drive, Terry Dolan of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, Senator Gordon Humphrey, and the Reverend Jerry Falwell of Moral Majority visited Governor Reagan to present a case for a Conservative running mate. Their case was made by the eloquent Phillips, who pointed out to Reagan that when F.D.R. took over in 1932 he forged a coalition of divergent groups that assured Democratic control of the White House for two decades. Phillips told Reagan that he had the potential to put together a coalition which could govern America through the 1990s by forging a new coalition of traditional Republicans, blue-collar workers, ethnics, Catholics, fundamentalist Christians of the Moral Majority, and over-taxed Middle Americans who are fed up with seeing their country used as a punching bag by foreign dictators and having their paychecks put through the federal shrinking machines.

These millions of Americans, Phillips explained, have no present allegiance to the G.O.P. or any other political group. They are just fed up with what is going on in the country. The argument that they have no place to go just doesn't hold water. As Howard Phillips told Reagan: "These people can stay home, they can spend their time with their families and in work for their churches, or they can work in congressional campaigns. But they will not believe you are sincere about changing America if you put a man on the ticket who represents part of the problem."

In other words, Ronald Reagan must not trade millions of votes and a lasting Conservative coalition for the short-term support of a comparative handful of "Liberal" Republicans who might or might not desert to John Anderson of the Trilateral

Commission. By picking Bush, Reagan risked trading ten real votes for one possible vote. It was, at the very best, a foolish tradeoff.

Besides, Conservatives within the G.O.P. have for decades been fighting to rid the party of its Rockefeller Left and appeal directly to Middle America. The Rockefeller man in the 1980 race was George Bush. David Rockefeller made no bones about this and he and his family openly contributed the legal limit to the Bush campaign. They had sold Carter in 1976, but the Rockefellers and their friends could not sell Bush in the Republican primaries. He won the grand total of one contest in which he was head-to-head with Reagan.

At last, it seemed, the G.O.P. was rid of Rockefeller control. Reagan could have seen to it that his successor would be a Conservative. By selecting Bush as his running mate, Ronald Reagan has not only put the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment back in the game, but Rocky's boy is now the heir apparent to succeed Reagan. The war was won on Tuesday, lost on Wednesday, and now must be fought all over again. And over and over. Putting Bush on the ticket was a major defeat for Conservatives and there is no way to rationalize or diminish its importance.

At the Thursday morning press conference in which Reagan, Bush, and their wives made their debut together, your reporter and his colleague Alan Stang tried fervently to be recognized and ask about the Trilateral Commission. The question we wanted to ask Governor Reagan was: "If, as you implied in New Hampshire, George Bush's membership in the Trilateral Commission disqualifies him from the Presidency, why does it not disqualify him from the Vice Presidency?" We could not get a chance to ask it. And the rest of the

press seemed more interested in such inquiries as: "Governor, how do you think Nancy will get along with Mrs. Bush?" Heavy stuff.

In fact, the total lack of mass media interest in the Trilateral Commission is astounding, particularly since it had become a major issue in the New Hampshire, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and other key primaries. After the nomination was secure, however, the Trilateral issue was conveniently dispatched into the memory hole. In the hundreds of pre-convention newspaper and magazine articles we have reviewed on Reagan's selection of a running mate, not a single one mentioned Bush's Trilateral connection as mitigating against his selection. And while we could not review the television network coverage of the convention, if Walter Cronkite or any of the other Eastern Establishment newshawks so much as breathed the word *Trilateral* we will be happy to push a peanut up Pennsylvania Avenue and offer it to Jimmy Carter.

We asked a number of celebrated reporters about the influence of the Trilateral Commission on national politics. The response was almost always to ridicule the question as childish and imply that only neurotics would consider it important. One exception was Robert Novak, the increasingly Conservative member of the syndicated team of Evans and Novak. When we asked Bob about the blackout on the discussion of the Trilaterals he gave us a sly smile and replied: "I don't think many reporters are very interested in the Trilateral Commission." He did not care to elaborate on why it was not important that of the five most prominent candidates for President and Vice President only one has not belonged to a secretive group having just seventy-six U.S. members.

During the Florida primary, however, Reagan was asked if he would allow any members of the Trilateral Commission in his Cabinet. The candidate responded as follows on March 17, 1980:

"Let me just say that I believe what prompts your question is that the present administration, beginning with the president and vice-president, . . . has something in the neighborhood of 19 of the top appointees all from a single group. Now, I don't believe that the Trilateral Commission is a conspiratorial group, but I do think its interests are devoted to international banking, multinational corporations, and so forth. I don't think that any administration of the U.S. government should have the top 19 positions filled by people from any one group or organization representing one viewpoint. No, I would go in a different direction."

Unfortunately, the first two chances Mr. Reagan had to free himself of the Trilateral-C.F.R. crowd, he went in the opposite direction with Casey and Bush.* Also, C.F.R. members Caspar Weinberger and George Shultz have been added to the Reagan inner circle of advisors. *U.S. News & World Report* for July 21, 1980, carries an article entitled "People To Watch If GOP Wins The White House" and pictures ten who are likely to hold the key slots in the Reagan Administration. Seven of the ten are C.F.R. members, including Alexander Haig, Donald Rumsfeld,

*We make no distinction between David Rockefeller's two internationalist organizations, the C.F.R. and the Trilateral Commission, as there is no difference in policy and a substantial overlap in membership. The Commission is smaller and includes World Government advocates from Japan and Western Europe, while the C.F.R. is composed solely of American citizens.

George Shultz, Anne Armstrong, William Casey, William Simon, and Caspar Weinberger. Repeat: seven of ten.

Clearly the G.O.P. has forfeited the Trilateral-C.F.R. issue which saved Reagan in New Hampshire and validated his hold on the nomination in Florida. And any Congressman who might have wanted to use this issue in the coming campaign is now precluded from doing so by the presence of George Bush on the national ticket.

The truth is that despite Ronald Reagan's many years in the political limelight, including an eight-year stint as governor of our largest state, there is much we still do not know about him. Where does the actor stop and the real Reagan begin? What does he know about the way in which unelected Establishment *Insiders* manipulate American foreign and domestic policy from behind the scenes? Nobody who is willing to talk seems to know the answer to these questions. Is Reagan courting the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment or is the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment attempting to co-opt him? The Reagan riddle endures.

This does not mean that there is no speculation. Robert Scheer, a product of the aging New Left, comments in the August 1980 issue of *Playboy*:

"Reagan's sloppiness has caused him to be viewed with suspicion by the elite Northeastern wing [C.F.R.-T.C.] of the Republican Party, probably less for what he did as governor than because they doubt his stability or fear that he may actually believe in some of his proposals for dismantling the Federal Government, which, after all, does serve the interests of big corporations. His proposal to return us to the gold standard must have been viewed as primitive by the economists at [David Rockefeller's]

Chase Manhattan. Nor can the managers of multinational corporations, who have done quite well in a complex and changing world, be terribly sanguine about his sledge-hammer nostrums for the world's problems. Those gentlemen are internationalists par excellence — world statesmen more interested in cutting deals with the Russians than in a holy crusade against them.

"Unlike Carter and Nixon, Reagan has never made the journey back East to the centers of [C.F.R.-T.C.] power to demonstrate his reasonableness. So the fear in those quarters persists that he may be a primitive isolationist.

"Prior to the New Hampshire primary, David Rockefeller convened a secret meeting of like-minded [C.F.R.-T.C.] Republicans aimed at developing a strategy for stopping Reagan by supporting Bush and, failing that, getting Gerald Ford into the race. Reagan heard about the meeting and was, according to one aide, 'really hurt.' This aide reports that Reagan turned to him and demanded, 'What have they got against me? I support big oil, I support big business, why don't they trust me?' The aide suggested charitably that maybe it was because he was once an actor and that he attended too few important [C.F.R.-T.C.] lunches in the East.

"In any event, when Reagan scored his resounding triumph in New Hampshire in February, the overture to the East began to work. New York establishment lawyer Bill Casey [C.F.R.], who became campaign director the day of the New Hampshire victory, began building bridges and promising that a more moderate Reagan would emerge after the Republican convention."

Could Ronald Reagan have been so naïve as not to have any idea about

the internationalist power games for which the Rockefeller and Eastern Establishment are famous? If the name of this operetta is *Babes In Toyland*, Conservatives might as well ask that question of Santa Claus. If it's true, Reagan will get hustled and wind up a figurehead in his own Administration. Obviously such a move was tried in Detroit and was at least partially successful. After the convention even the Washington weekly *Human Events* expressed concern that its long-time favorite candidate was being co-opted. In an article entitled "Specter Of Kissinger Haunts Reagan Campaign," *Human Events* for August 2, 1980, comments as follows:

"While these hard-liners [*military and foreign policy advisors*] heaved a huge sigh of relief when the Ford deal collapsed, they still believe a new effort 'to bring back Henry' will materialize. The pressures, they contend, are these: From the outside, Reagan will continue to be urged to take Kissinger by ex-President Ford and his allies in the Congress. And Kissinger's comeback, they feel, will also be pushed by such Establishment conservative columnists as William F. Buckley [*C.F.R.*] and James J. Kilpatrick. A top foreign policy advisor to Reagan, John Lehman [*C.F.R.*] . . . has been vigorously making the case that Kissinger should become Reagan's secretary of state or hold down another major foreign policy post."

Human Events, which has seldom if ever before criticized Reagan, is also concerned that the candidate may be compromising on the gut issue of Big Government and its attendant big spending. In "More Hard-Liners Needed On Reagan Budget Panel," the Washington weekly observes:

"Even before Gov. Ronald Reagan

was nominated less than two weeks ago, his campaign organization had caused a small stir among conservatives when it released the names of six key men who will not only analyze what's wrong with Jimmy Carter's spending programs, but will help prepare the first budget the Californian plans to submit to Congress should he be elected . . . what particularly concerns conservatives is that Paul H. O'Neill, former deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, is one of the six.

"O'Neill is considered a 'menace' by those who want to trim federal spending. He came into the government under John F. Kennedy, and was then moved into the Bureau of the Budget under Lyndon Johnson. Under Richard Nixon, he became associate director of the Office of Management and Budget — the budget bureau's successor — and then became OMB deputy director. According to those who watched O'Neill in action, he was an 'expansionist,' somebody who wanted to pass or reshape the Great Society programs, not eliminate them

"Yet it is not only O'Neill's presence which disturbs many conservatives, but the absence of new faces and the kinds of people who would give the budget the type of scrutiny one would expect in a Reagan Administration. One of the old faces, for instance, is former OMB Director James Lynn [*C.F.R.*], O'Neill's boss during the Ford years

"Caspar Weinberger [*C.F.R.*], the former OMB director and ex-secretary of health, education and welfare is also in the Budget Advisory Group. Weinberger's reviews as a budget-cutter are mixed. As head of OMB, he did a commendable job with Nixon's fiscal 1974 budget, the only year that either the Nixon or Ford Administration made an earnest

effort to make major inroads into government spending. But when Weinberger moved to HEW, he began crusading for the guaranteed annual income program, a plan that would have enormously expanded the size of government

"Thus the feeling is that the governor, at the very least, should put some fresh faces on the panel who might be far more determined to eliminate federal spending programs already on the books."

So here is *Human Events* warning that in recent weeks Reagan has shown himself willing to compromise with "Liberals." The question is whether he is using them in a pragmatic attempt to reach the White House, or whether they are using him to make sure that "the more things change, the more they remain the same." We will not speculate here, but we think a review of Ronald Reagan's eight years as Governor of California suggests some answers.

Listening to Reagan's campaign speeches one gets the impression that in his eight years as governor of our most populous state he routed the forces of socialism and sent them scurrying into their ratholes pulling their copies of *Das Kapital* behind them. Well, that is what most "Liberals" thought would happen. They had listened to his Win One For The Gipper speeches and decided the screenplay was *Apocalypse Now*. But, as *Time* magazine reports in its issue for April 28, 1980:

"Reagan swept Democratic Governor Pat Brown out of office by nearly 1 million votes, largely on his vow to 'squeeze, cut and trim' state spending, taxes and payrolls, much as he now promises to reduce the federal budget if elected President. Yet during his two terms in Sacramento, Reagan did none of those things

"What Reagan did often ran contrary to his campaign oratory. Instead of cutting taxes, he solved the budget deficit with the largest tax increase in California's history: a \$1 billion jolt, and that was only the beginning. By the time he left office eight years later, he had added \$21 billion to the state's tax revenues. Under Reagan, the state's income tax rose from a maximum of 7% to 11% for individuals, and from 5.5% to 9% for corporations. He also increased the state sales tax from 4% to 6%. Facing a state legislature dominated by Democrats in six of his eight years as Governor, he repeatedly opposed legislation proposals to institute the withholding of state income tax from paychecks. Said Reagan in 1969: 'The only way I would support withholding is if they held a burning blowtorch to my feet.' No one did, but Reagan nonetheless changed his mind and in 1971 signed a tax withholding law."

While Reagan piled on the taxes, he was able to hold onto his political popularity with a slick political ploy. As *Time* explains it: "The Reagan tax increases helped set the stage for California's emotional Proposition 13 tax revolt in 1978, three years after he left office. As Governor he avoided taxpayer retaliation by turning to a politically popular gimmick. As budget surpluses grew because of his high taxes and the state's general prosperity, Reagan retained the heavy taxation but gave some of the unneeded revenues back to Californians as rebates and tax credits Complains John Schmitz, a conservative Republican state senator who had been dismayed by many of Reagan's fiscal policies: 'He didn't do any slashing here. We didn't need all that money.'"

It is universally true that government expenditures rise to meet in-

come. *Time* tells us: "Reagan did no better than Pat Brown in holding down state spending; he let it more than double, from \$4.65 billion a year to \$10.27 billion. And while he sharply curtailed the increase in full-time state employees, he did not cut the total."

Yet through all his eight years in office Governor Reagan's speeches remained as aggressively Conservative as ever. As John Mitchell put it early in the Nixon Administration: "The conservatives get the rhetoric and the liberals get the action." *Time* observes that "Reagan's rhetoric was more right wing than his record on many other issues. His 1971 welfare changes effectively cut the number of recipients by some 400,000, while actually increasing the benefits. . . . On another social issue, Reagan was far from conservative as Governor: he signed one of the most liberal state abortion laws in the nation at the time. As a result, the number of reported abortions in California rose from 518 in 1967 to more than 600,000 between 1968 and 1974, some 200,000 of them financed from public funds." Reagan now says he regrets those killings and has joined the anti-abortionists. Men change.

Another of Ronald Reagan's current themes is that the ecology freaks are ruining the economy. But the bug chasers fared very well indeed under Governor Reagan. *Time* summarizes: "Another liberal group surprised by Reagan's policies was California's environmentalists. Reagan had protested that 'there seems to be an organized, well-financed lobby that is determined to preserve the natural habitat and comfort of every species except man.' But he established an air-resources board and gave it ample power to enforce stiff antipollution standards. He signed smog control laws more stringent than federal re-

quirements. His rigid water pollution controls angered leaders of industry. He set aside an additional 145,000 acres of park lands, including 41 miles of expensive ocean front On balance, even liberal groups like Americans for Democratic Action were not displeased with most of Governor Reagan's policies. Says Shirley Wechsler of Los Angeles, national vice president of A.D.A.: 'We got a better hearing from Reagan — and a better deal — than we get from Jerry Brown.'"

In 1970, Ronald Reagan earned a second term by defeating Jesse "Big Daddy" Unruh, a close ally of the Kennedys. Although he bitterly dislikes Reagan, Unruh has paid him this grudging compliment: "As a governor I think he has been better than most Democrats would concede and not nearly as good as most Republicans and conservatives might like to think. As a politician I think he has been nearly masterful."

William Bagley, a Republican who was Chairman of the Revenue and Taxation Committee of the California Assembly, observes: "The first two years were miserable, but either by design or experience or luck, it changed; after the first two years, I think he mellowed and became more pragmatic. I call him a closet moderate." Democrat Bob Moretti, who was Speaker of the California Assembly when Reagan was governor, has admitted: "The way he acted as Governor didn't resemble his rhetoric."

Paul Weyrich, respected chairman of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, has provided this thoughtful analysis of Ronald Reagan:

"I have had discussions over the years with dozens of the Governor's top aides. These are men who served in his state cabinet and on his per-

sonal staff. From these discussions, and my own private discussions with the man, I have drawn a picture which I think helps explain what a Reagan Administration would be like.

"The picture is midway between those on the Right who claim that Reagan is a wolf in sheep's clothing seeking deliberately to achieve 'Liberal' objectives by pretending to be Conservative, and those for whom Reagan is a Hero First Class who is going to do all those things Conservatives have longed for but which have been denied us by the few Republican Presidents who have occupied the White House in modern times.

"In this composite picture, Reagan emerges as a sincere man with gut Conservative instincts. However, he also emerges as a man who dislikes conflict and who believes that his greatest contribution is the fusion of opposing ideas in such a way that neither side loses. Reagan appears as a man loyal to principle and to his friends, but not ultimately loyal. So that if the opposition causes enough trouble, he will be willing to find a graceful way out of sticking to either principle or to friends.

"Reagan is capable, as he showed in his eight years as Governor of California, of appointing some of the best men ever to have served a government in this country. But, he is equally capable of appointing men who will make Conservatives gag. Although he has won many elections since 1966, he is still rather naïve about the political process. He sees himself as a man in a white hat appealing to the good in people. His lack of a complete understanding of human nature tends to cause him to make erroneous judgments about some of the people who serve him. As well as some of those who oppose him. He understands the average vot-

er to a greater extent than most national Republican figures. But he is usually uninterested in long-range decisions that may confuse the voter (as F.D.R. at times was willing to do) but that will ensure that a Conservative coalition endures for decades.

"In short, Ronald Reagan is neither a scheming demagogue nor a figure larger than his time. Above everything else that I learned about the man I think his dislike of strife and conflict emerges very strongly. I believe this is the key to understanding a Reagan Administration."

What then will a Reagan victory in November mean? Probably not nearly as much as most people believe. Ronald Wilson Reagan is not the Heaven-sent leader on a white horse who will slay the dragon of Big Government so we can live happily ever after. As Paul Weyrich observes, he is just not that kind of man. Despite his speeches, Reagan does not like controversy. He is not a gut fighter. He will not, for example, kill the Department of Energy, nor any other major bureau, by vetoing its funding. Those who are predicting a hundred days of F.D.R. in reverse are kidding themselves.

But while some in California who watched Reagan systematically surrender on hard-core issues are determined to prove otherwise, the public is not going to believe that Reagan is a secret Leftist sent into the Conservative ranks to provide false leadership. Nor are most Conservatives willing to recognize that there is less to Reagan than meets the eye. At bottom, they are convinced with Senator Jesse Helms that the man is sincere, and they will do everything possible to elect him.

But the fact remains that when push comes to shove Ronald Reagan seeks compromise. This means real trouble.

The Welfare State has a momentum of its own. Every program has a constituency which wants its program expanded rather than eliminated. The pressures that can be brought to bear are enormous. If Reagan could not stand up to such pressures in Sacramento, it is hard to believe he has a prayer of taking on the pressure groups and special interests in Washington where their leverage is many times greater. Reagan is a charming and charismatic man who delivers a magnificent speech. He is not The Gipper, let alone Knute Rockne or Sir Galahad.

Under a Reagan Administration, government will continue to grow and so will government spending. It will probably not grow quite so fast as under Carter, and certainly not as fast as under Teddy Kennedy. By following supply-side economic policies, President Reagan may be able to inject some life into the economy and free it enough to improve its efficiency. Inflation, however, will continue to be a major problem. While it might be better to have inflation with people working than with people not working, my advice is not to sell your Krugerrands when the G.O.P. wins on election day.

Given our choices this fall, there is one factor which even the toughest Conservative is likely to see as making it advisable to support Reagan this year. Despite his proved weaknesses in domestic policy, even the severest of Reagan critics we have

interviewed in Detroit and Washington believe that he will defend the United States. These observers are convinced that he will quickly rearm the military and refuse to be a patsy for the Soviet Union. They are fearful that under four more years of Carter we might face Finlandization or worse. If Reagan brings back Kissinger, or presses for mere "modification" of SALT II, Conservatives will quickly turn on him. And should.

But I expect that Americanists will resist the temptation in this campaign to crusade against Ronald Reagan as a false prophet. Those who are mesmerized by his glamor and charisma will not believe reports of his timidity while governor of California. Since there is no electable alternative and there are a number of good men around him, Americanists will reason that there is little sense in risking isolation. Instead, many will follow a positive course this year and devote their energies and finances to House and Senate races where there are critical contests in abundance.

Since Ronald Reagan responds to pressure, and has a well-established record as a pragmatist, the more Conservative the House and Senate, the more Conservative he is likely to be. After the election, Conservatives will have to play rough and hold President Reagan's feet to the fire to see that he fulfills the promises of the 1980 Republican Platform. Either way, the Conservative future is in the Congress. ■ ■

Answer to Right-Acrostic on Page 55 TIMOTHY DWIGHT: COLUMBIA

To thee, the last refuge of virtue designed,
Shall fly from all nations the
best of mankind; Here, grateful to
heaven, with transport shall bring/
Their incense, more fragrant than
odors of spring.

A. Tintoretto
B. Ishmael
C. Minerva
D. Otello
E. Tenpins
F. Haters
G. Yatta

H. Druthers
I. Wolff
J. Infighting
K. Get Off
L. Hehheh
M. Tenfold
N. Chapter And

O. Osborne
P. Laughter
Q. Ulster foes
R. Marvels of
S. Brander
T. Inklings
U. Arranges