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Government History Documentation Project
Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era

REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY AND PARTY ACTIVISM

Jaquelin Hume	Basic Economics and the Body Politic: Views of a Northern California Reagan Loyalist
Eleanor Ring Storrs	Parties, Politics, and Principles: "It's at the Local Level"
Jack Wrather	On Friendship, Politics, and Government
Tirso del Junco	California Republican Party Leadership and Success, 1966-1982

Interviews Conducted by
Gabrielle Morris and Sarah Sharp
1982-1983

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To cite the volume: Republican Philosophy and Party Activism, an oral history conducted 1982-1983, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1984.

To cite an individual interview: Jaquelin Hume, "Basic Economics and the Body Politic: Views of a Northern California Reagan Loyalist," an oral history conducted 1982 by Gabrielle Morris, in Republican Philosophy and Party Activism, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1984.

On behalf of future scholars, the Regional Oral History Office wishes to thank those who have responded to the Office's request for funds to continue documentation of Ronald Reagan's years as governor of California. Donors to the project as of May 1984 are listed below.

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PREFACE

California government and politics from 1966 through 1974 are the focus of the Reagan Gubernatorial Era Series of the state Government History Documentation Project, conducted by the Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library with the participation of the oral history programs at the Davis and Los Angeles campuses of the University of California, Claremont Graduate School, and California State University at Fullerton. This series of interviews carries forward studies of significant issues and processes in public administration begun by the Regional Oral History Office in 1969. In previous series, interviews with over 220 legislators, elected and appointed officials, and others active in public life during the governorships of Earl Warren, Goodwin Knight, and Edmund Brown, Sr., were completed and are now available to scholars.

The first unit in the Government History Documentation Project, the Earl Warren Series, produced interviews with Warren himself and others centered on key developments in politics and government administration at the state and county level, innovations in criminal justice, public health, and social welfare from 1925-1953. Interviews in the Knight-Brown Era continued the earlier inquiries into the nature of the governor's office and its relations with executive departments and the legislature, and explored the rapid social and economic changes in the years 1953-1966, as well as preserving Brown's own account of his extensive political career. Among the issues documented were the rise and fall of the Democratic party; establishment of the California Water Plan; election law changes, reapportionment and new political techniques; education and various social programs.

During Ronald Reagan's years as governor, important changes became evident in California government and politics. His administration marked an end to the progressive period which had provided the determining outlines of government organization and political strategy since 1910 and the beginning of a period of limits in state policy and programs, the extent of which is not yet clear. Interviews in this series deal with the efforts of the administration to increase government efficiency and economy and with organizational innovations designed to expand the management capability of the governor's office, as well as critical aspects of state health, education, welfare, conservation, and criminal justice programs. Legislative and executive department narrators provide their perspectives on these efforts and their impact on the continuing process of legislative and elective politics.

Work began on the Reagan Gubernatorial Era Series in 1979. Planning and research for this phase of the project were augmented by participation of other oral history programs with experience in public affairs. Additional advisors were selected to provide relevant background for identifying persons to be interviewed and understanding of issues to be documented. Project research files, developed by the Regional Oral History Office staff to provide a systematic background for questions, were updated to add personal, topical, and chronological data for the Reagan period to the existing base of information for 1925 through 1966, and to supplement research by participating programs as needed. Valuable, continuing assistance in preparing for interviews was provided by the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, which houses the Ronald Reagan Papers, and by the State Archives in Sacramento.

An effort was made to select a range of interviewees that would reflect the increase in government responsibilities and that would represent diverse points of view. In general, participating programs were contracted to conduct interviews on topics with which they have particular expertise, with persons presently located nearby. Each interview is identified as to the originating institution. Most interviewees have been queried on a limited number of topics with which they were personally connected; a few narrators with unusual breadth of experience have been asked to discuss a multiplicity of subjects. When possible, the interviews have traced the course of specific issues leading up to and resulting from events during the Reagan administration in order to develop a sense of the continuity and interrelationships that are a significant aspect of the government process.

Throughout Reagan's years as governor, there was considerable interest and speculation concerning his potential for the presidency; by the time interviewing for this project began in late 1980, he was indeed president. Project interviewers have attempted, where appropriate, to retrieve recollections of that contemporary concern as it operated in the governor's office. The intent of the present interviews, however, is to document the course of California government from 1967 to 1974, and Reagan's impact on it. While many interviewees frame their narratives of the Sacramento years in relation to goals and performance of Reagan's national administration, their comments often clarify aspects of the gubernatorial period that were not clear at the time. Like other historical documentation, these oral histories do not in themselves provide the complete record of the past. It is hoped that they offer firsthand experience of passions and personalities that have influenced significant events past and present.

The Reagan Gubernatorial Era Series was begun with funding from the California legislature via the office of the Secretary of State and continued through the generosity of various individual donors. Several memoirs have been funded in part by the California Women in Politics Project under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, including a matching grant from the Rockefeller Foundation; by the Sierra Club Project also under a NEH grant; and by the privately funded Bay Area State and Regional Planning Project. This joint funding has enabled staff working with narrators and topics related to several projects to expand the scope and thoroughness of each individual interview involved by careful coordination of their work.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons significant in the history of California and the West. The Office is under the administrative direction of James D. Hart, Director of the Bancroft Library, and Willa Baum, head of the Office. Copies of all interviews in the series are available for research use in The Bancroft Library, UCLA Department of Special Collections, and the State Archives in Sacramento. Selected interviews are also available at other manuscript depositories.

July 1982
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Project Director

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INTRODUCTION

In Republican Philosophy and Party Activism, Jaquelin Hume, Eleanor Ring Storrs, Jack Wrather and Tirso del Junco discuss their long-time philosophical affinity for Ronald Reagan and the Republican party. All four interviewees for this current volume in the Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era oral history project speak from long acquaintance with Reagan and with other notable California Republicans.

In "Basic Economics and the Body Politic: Views of a Northern California Reagan Loyalist," Hume considers his early political activities in the National Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, the 1952 Citizens for Eisenhower presidential campaign, and the 1954 Eisenhower Congressional Committee. Hume became active again in politics when he was the Northern California Finance Chairman for Barry Goldwater, Sr. in the 1963-1964 period, and only then because Goldwater "typified the political philosophy" which Hume supported. This organizational work for Eisenhower and Goldwater set the stage for the long-term commitment which Hume made to the party's newcomer, Ronald Reagan, beginning in 1964 and continuing to the present day. As do the other interviewees included here, Hume makes cameo notes about Republican party leaders Richard Nixon, William Knowland, and others, who parried for power within the party against Reagan during his California years.

It is in his discussion of his work with the Reagan 1966 gubernatorial campaign, and the transition period of Reagan's governorship through 1967, that Hume elucidates his philosophy of the party and party adherents in action; and the need for efficiency in state government overall and adequate personnel to insure that efficiency. Hume credits himself with the establishment of what informally became known as the "loaned executive program" in which advisors to the new governor sought out management personnel from various California firms to fill key appointive vacancies in the Reagan administration. Hume concludes that these advisors were looking for "people who would do a good job...and who were philosophically dedicated to a private enterprise, conservative, profit-oriented society." Hume comments further on the theme of efficiency in state government with notes on the success of the Governor's Survey on Efficiency and Cost Control, the 1967-68 task force which became a hallmark of Governor Reagan's interest in ways to trim unnecessary state expenses and operations.

In his observations on California political campaigns and elections, Hume presents the critical theme of local involvement and volunteer organization to supplement the formal party structure. (Storrs echoes this theme in her own oral history interview.) Further, in reflecting on fund raising, Hume remarks that that is different in the northern part of the Golden State, especially in San Francisco: "You have many people here who have inherited wealth...[and who] are not prepared to be as aggressive in supporting a controversial program as

some who have earned their wealth. Also, many people with inherited wealth seem to have a guilt complex about their inheritance and feel that they have an obligation to support liberal causes."

Throughout the interview, Hume keeps the importance of the development of political philosophy before him. In Reagan's case, this development progressed from his ideas generated while speaking for General Electric, through his years as governor, and culminated in the presidency.

In "Parties, Politics, and Principle: It's at the Local Level," Eleanor Ring Storrs chronicles the twin themes of her philosophy about the correct role of women in politics (as volunteers working on the local level) and her support for Ronald Reagan as a political and philosophical leader (starting with his earliest affiliation with Republicans as a tentative gubernatorial candidate supported by Citizens for Constructive Action).

Within Storrs's discussion of her own efforts in the Republican party are the history of operations in San Diego County (both the Women's Federation and the main county structure), as well as notes on the 1964, 1968, and 1972 Republican national conventions, and on the Republican National Committee. Storrs's involvement in local politics began with her opposition to the construction of the controversial Coronado Bridge in 1957-1958. As a result of this action, she became a member of the Coronado Republican Women's Club, and so of the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women. As with Hume, Storrs refers to other notable California politicians; she confirms the importance of Lucile Hosmer and Marjorie Benedict among the leadership of Republican women around the state. Readers may be interested to see Hosmer's and Benedict's own interviews in the California Women Political Leaders series, also a project of the Regional Oral History Office.

As part of her notes on Republican national politics, Storrs recalls her participation in the 1972 national convention. In early summer the convention was moved from its scheduled site of San Diego to Miami Beach, Florida, because of a sensitive political situation with allegations of corporate contributions to the first site. Although this move absolved her of major responsibility for convention plans, Storrs immediately stepped in to assist national committee-woman from Florida Paula Hawkins, later Senator Hawkins. As with many of her political anecdotes, Storrs combines humorous sidelights with remarks on significant activities. While finishing last-minute details on the convention floor, Hawkins and Storrs were treated to Ethel Merman's rehearsal of her performance for the delegates: "Paula and I both sat down and there she sang for an hour or so--you know, 'let's do it again, a little faster here, a little slow there'...then both of us got up and just clapped like crazy!" In the next paragraph, Storrs recalls representing Governor Reagan at a late-night meeting of Republican governors who were discussing convention platform issues; she took a conservative stance. This was one of many instances where Storrs stood in for Reagan, "because we have always thought along the same lines, you know what I mean?"

Also included in this volume is an interview with Jack Wrather, "On Friendship, Politics, and Government." Wrather remembers his work and support for Ronald Reagan from the years when they were friends while both worked in the movie industry in Los Angeles. In this summary sketch, Wrather begins with dinner party discussions held shortly after Barry Goldwater, Sr.'s defeat in his 1964 presidential campaign: "[W]e'd sit and discuss what the hell happened to Barry, why, and how terrific that commercial [the famous speech "A Time for Choosing"] was of Ron's." He relates how these friends, some of whom later became the kitchen cabinet, then encouraged Reagan to run for governor. As do the other interviewees in this volume, and many in this series, Wrather keeps his eyes focused on Reagan in his current position. He recalls Reagan's national efforts while viewing the Nixon, Ford, and Carter presidential nominations and administrations in retrospect. Wrather concludes this section of the interview by drawing a straight line from the 1966 gubernatorial campaign to the presidential transition in 1980; he includes himself among those who have been faithful to Reagan's goals and efforts over these years.

Besides his discussion of assisting Reagan in his campaign, Wrather thoughtfully considers his candidate's ideas about government, economics, and proper business principles, beginning with 1966: "We thought they were the right ideas [which Reagan had] and that they would win the day because the other ideas that we were fighting were such dormant, archaic kinds of ideas in regard to government finances and fiscal policy and everything...We happened to be correct, and that was that." And, further on, "...Ron himself is a very good businessman, a good business brain...he understands that...you can't spend more money than you've got very long without going broke, unless you've got a rich uncle who's supporting you, like the government has been supporting everybody."

An interview with Tirso del Junco concludes this volume. Del Junco came from Cuba to the United States around 1960; he now maintains a busy medical practice in Los Angeles. He too came to know Reagan from the 1964 Goldwater campaign, and their acquaintance developed during del Junco's years in the party's hierarchy which included chairmanship of the Republican State Central Committee in 1981-82. In the interview del Junco discusses the party's increasing effectiveness in raising campaign funds, and in getting Republicans to vote. He also notes his own success in building a strong Hispanic presence within the party, including the establishment of the Hispanic Council.

Del Junco shares the enthusiasm for Ronald Reagan, his philosophy and leadership, that the other interviewees in this volume express. While del Junco focuses primarily on Reagan as president and the leadership which he has brought to this position, del Junco also credits Reagan with leading the Republican party in California to a higher, more unified plane. "He has been our leader," del Junco remarks to the interviewer, "but he has not been a controversial leader. He has been a clean, faithful leader, upfront at all times."

A special privilege which oral history in political documentation presents lies in the opportunity to discuss "the great man," in both theory and person, with those who worked around him--in earlier careers, in campaigns and previous administrations, in admiring friendships and in adversarial relationships. This volume samples those who worked with Reagan in his California years. Other volumes in the Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era series contribute additional portraits of Reagan himself and of those persons who worked with him, or who participated in issues critical to the 1966-1974 period in California state government history.

There are a few notes to record regarding the procedures involved in the conduct of these interviews. Jaquelin Hume was interviewed on 26 January 1982, Eleanor Ring Storrs on 15 February 1983, Jack Wrather on 30 September 1982, and Tirso del Junco on 30 November 1982. The interviewers sent session outlines to these interviewees ahead of time, and returned the roughly edited interview transcripts to them for their review and corrections. The interviewees varied in their approaches to this review process: Hume, Wrather and del Junco made very few editorial changes in their transcripts, while Storrs answered additional questions and cleared up several vague passages.

Sarah Sharp
Interviewer-Editor

12 March 1984
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Government History Documentation Project
Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era

Jaquelin Hume

BASIC ECONOMICS AND THE BODY POLITIC:
VIEWS OF A NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REAGAN LOYALIST

An Interview Conducted by
Gabrielle Morris
in 1982



JAQUELIN H. HUME

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I PERSONAL BACKGROUND; POLITICAL CONCERNS

[Interview 1: January 26, 1982]##

Building a Business in Food Processing

Morris: I would like to begin by asking you a little bit about your personal background. The name Hume is an interesting, unusual one. As I asked you when I wrote, I wonder if you are related to James Hume of Wells Fargo Express?

Hume: No, I am not. I have no near Hume relatives in California. I think that many Humes in this country are descended from a Hume who came to America in about 1740 but they have spread out quite widely. My father was an only son of an only son, so that I have no close relatives on my father's side.

Morris: Did your father come to California?

Hume: My father and mother moved to California in 1920. We lived in Pasadena. Father remained there until his death in 1950.

Morris: Then you, yourself, grew up in southern California?

Hume: Yes, after the age of 15. My early years were in Indianapolis where

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 50.

Hume: Father and Mother had been born. I was actually born in Michigan when my mother was there one summer.

Morris: Then your education was in southern California?

Hume: No. It was in the east. I went to Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire and then to Princeton. After that I went to Harvard Business School.

Morris: How did you happen to locate here in the Bay Area?

Hume: My brother, William Hume, and I decided we would like to start our own business. After examining many possibilities we chose the business of dehydrating vegetables. With the aid of a chemical engineer we developed a new process in a laboratory we set up in the basement of our father's garage in Pasadena. In the summer of 1933 we went to Vacaville to try out the dehydration process using a prune dryer which we were able to rent. The process was commercially satisfactory so we continued to rent the prune dryer several years. Later we bought property in Vacaville and we still have an important plant there. It was our headquarters until we moved to San Francisco after the Second World War.

Morris: So your ties are with the basic agriculture industry here in California?

Hume: Yes, and in other states, although we are processors and not growers of agricultural products. We began dehydrating onion and garlic in Vacaville and processed these vegetables almost exclusively until after the Second World War. Because of the large dehydration capacity we had created to satisfy wartime demand, we tried our hands

Hume: at several other vegetables in the late 40s, but finally went back to onion and garlic exclusively. Accordingly dehydrating these two vegetables has been the business of Basic Vegetable Products, Inc., since we started the company almost fifty years ago.

In 1955 we set up a new company in Idaho to make a dehydrated potato powder. That company is the American Potato Company. In 1974-75 we merged Basic and American into AMPCO Foods, Inc.

Morris: Was it your business concerns that first led you to become active in politics and public affairs?

Hume: No, I was disturbed by the kind of government we had in our country, particularly at the national level, and wanted to see if I could do something to improve its quality. I also was very upset by the Roosevelt program which I felt was socializing many activities in our country. I hoped that I could make some contribution toward reversing this trend.

Morris: As early as the 1930s?

Hume: No, I became completely disillusioned when Roosevelt ran for a third term in 1940. You could say that my political conservatism dates from that election since I voted for Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936.

Morris: Because of the economic conditions?

Hume: Yes, I hoped he would improve conditions.

Morris: In 1940 the California state economy was in pretty bad shape if I remember correctly. That is when Culbert Olson was governor. You were not particularly involved in state politics?

Support for Nixon and Eisenhower in the 1950s

- Hume: No, I did not take significant part in political activities until I guess, the Nixon campaign. I met him when he was running for U.S. Senator in 1950 and was quite impressed.
- Morris: This is when he ran against Helen Gahagan Douglas?
- Hume: Yes, that is right.
- Morris: Was your support for Nixon because you were concerned with Mrs. Douglas?
- Hume: Yes, that was one reason. I also thought Nixon was a very able young man and had done a remarkably good job in uncovering communist activity that was being very harmful to our country.
- Morris: At that point in 1950 were you working through the Republican party or was it an ad hoc Nixon effort?
- Hume: I suppose it was an ad hoc effort. I have always been more candidate oriented than I have been party oriented.
- Morris: Was there a northern California kind of steering group that you were part of in 1950?
- Hume: Not in 1950. In 1952 I became part of the Citizens for Eisenhower and had a principal position in the northern California group. I went to the convention in Chicago that year and worked with the Citizens for Eisenhower group and with Nixon to promote the nomination of Eisenhower rather than Taft. This was the first convention I attended. I worked quite closely with Nixon, whom I had seen several times in Washington to discuss the strategy our group should follow.

Hume: In 1954 I went to Washington as a deputy head of the national Citizens for Eisenhower Congressional Committee. Our committee tried to elect congressional candidates who were favorable to Eisenhower.

Morris: At that point was it primarily a matter of raising enough money so that the Eisenhower people could feed it out to what they thought were likely candidates?

Hume: No. My effort was not directed toward fundraising but rather at trying to get good candidates to run in various congressional districts, candidates who supported Eisenhower's philosophy.

Morris: In 1954 how did you go about deciding which districts were likely, districts to--?

Hume: Well, there were perhaps forty districts where the Democrats had been elected by very narrow margins in 1952. There were also quite a few Republican districts where the Republican had been elected by a narrow margin. We zeroed in primarily on Democratic districts and tried to get a strong candidate to run against the incumbent. Our committee had money to help these candidates. Then we supported other Republican incumbents who were threatened, provided we approved of their philosophy and thought we could help them.

Morris: That sounds like the ancestor to the California Plan which was so successful in the 60s. Did you have a staff person who was doing the statistical research to pick out the districts and develop--?

Hume: I did a good deal of this. We had quite a large group of people in Washington, but they were working more on organizing rallies and on fundraising and other activities to promote the candidates whom we

Hume: had chosen. On the other hand I spent a good deal of time with the National Republican Congressional Campaign Committee which had remarkably complete files on each congressional district including potential candidates there who were rated for their weaknesses and their strengths.

Morris: They had been developing this file over some period of time?

Hume: Yes, indeed.

Morris: That is a very special skill. Who was responsible for building up that kind of file?

Hume: I suppose some of this was done by the Republican National Committee, itself, but the majority had been done by the staff of the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Morris: Did you suggest that this kind of an idea be tried in California in relation to the California legislature?

Hume: No, I did not get into that at all. I became quite disillusioned in 1954 with what we were doing. So much of the money that had been raised for our committee, amounting to over \$1,000,000, was wasted on activities I thought were not going to help the election of good candidates. Such a large amount was wasted on overhead before the actual campaigns began that very little was left to give to the candidates. After about five months in Washington and two or three months before the election I left the Washington operation and came home.

The Goldwater 1964 Campaign

Hume: I did not take any part in politics again until Goldwater came on the horizon. He typified the political philosophy of which I approved and accordingly I began to support him.

Morris: Why did you skip Nixon's campaign in 1960?

Hume: This came at a time when I was taking no part in politics. Also, by this time I was no longer too enthusiastic about Nixon.

Morris: Did you feel that Goldwater and his people had tighter control of expenses during his campaign than Eisenhower?

Hume: Money raising for Goldwater was much more difficult than for Eisenhower. He had no funds to waste. I was the Northern California Finance Chairman for Goldwater and in addition really organized the northern California political activity. At the beginning I knew of only one other Goldwater supporter. After a few weeks we gradually found others.

Morris: Who was your fellow--?

Hume: He was named Robert Steel and was a member of the local Republican Central Committee.

Morris: In San Francisco?

Hume: Yes.

Morris: You mean in 1963-64?

Hume: I think it must have been 1963 or 1964.

Morris: There were only two of you at one point who were willing to stand up for Goldwater?

Hume: Yes.

Morris: Why was that do you suppose?

Hume: Well I found that Rockefeller had sent an able representative around this part of California to talk to the heads of business and the heads of the banking fraternity. He had either gotten them to agree to support Rockefeller or agree at least not to oppose him. As a result when I tried to find prominent northern Californians to join the Goldwater movement I found that I had been pretty well foreclosed from getting support from any of the normal sources of funds.

Morris: He had already talked to the people you would normally talk to on something like this? How did he manage to steal the march on you?

Hume: Rockefeller's representative was able to speak to bankers and businessmen with an authority which I completely lacked. He was more knowledgeable and also better equipped for his job than I was. His representative was an attractive and able man whose job was to organize northern Californians for Rockefeller. I assume he probably did the same thing in other parts of the country. He was able to seal off a large portion of community leaders from supporting Goldwater even though they were in favor of the philosophy Goldwater advocated.

Morris: He moved much earlier than you were used to getting started--?

Hume: Well, I did not have any background on how to handle a presidential campaign in northern California. I was starting off from scratch.

Morris: I see. Even though you had done considerable campaign organizing for Eisenhower?

Hume: In the Eisenhower program we were trying to work in the pre-primary period to get as many people as we could to support Eisenhower.

Hume: We particularly tried to get the [Earl] Warren delegates to agree that they would support Eisenhower if Warren released to them. I went around northern California to see most of the Warren delegates to ask them to agree to become Eisenhower supporters if they were released by Warren.

Morris: Were you in touch with Bill [William F.] Knowland at all?

Hume: Yes, certainly, I was in touch with him, although I saw much less of Knowland than Nixon, since Knowland wanted the Warren delegates to agree to support him or Taft if they were released by Warren.

Morris: There was some question at that point--some of the Warren people have told us that they thought Warren had a fairly good chance in 1952 if they could hold off past the first ballot. There was some question of whether Bill Knowland helped that effort or whether Bill Knowland was hoping that he, himself, might end up as a compromise vice-presidential candidate or presidential candidate. From the people you were in touch with, did Mr. Knowland have any possibility of emerging as a national candidate?

Hume: I think so. Nixon, however, was covertly trying to get the Warren delegates to agree to back Eisenhower without Knowland knowing about this.

Morris: Why was it that you felt that the Nixon forces were a better possibility in that case?

Hume: The Citizens for Eisenhower had no ties to a political party and were only trying to help Eisenhower. Accordingly they were good people for Nixon to use.

Hume: I knew Nixon quite well and believed he was an excellent adviser on what to do politically. He, of course, knew California politics well because he had been elected U.S. Senator in 1950. He was a potent figure, not so strong as Knowland perhaps, but a very potent figure and also a great Eisenhower supporter. We always felt that Knowland probably favored Taft rather than Eisenhower, but favored Knowland first. I found him difficult to work with.

Morris: I gather that your feeling was that a conservative approach to government was better. I thought Mr. Taft was more conservative than Mr. Eisenhower.

Hume: I supported Eisenhower rather than Taft and lived to regret it very much. I suppose this was part of my development. I came to the conclusion when I was in Washington in 1954 that I had made a mistake. One reason I backed away from continuing to support Eisenhower was that he approved a very large federal deficit. I felt that he was not carrying out the swing away from the Roosevelt New Deal programs that I thought was needed for our country.

Morris: Was it the social programs of Roosevelt?

Hume: Both social and spending. They are, of course, related. I was also opposed to socialistic programs like the TVA.

Morris: How about the aspect of increased government regulation of business?

Hume: I do not believe that was much of a factor in shaping my opinion. I did not, however, approve of government intruding itself into the market place any more than was necessary to establish rules to make sure that the economic game was played fairly.

Morris: That certainly has been a subject for much debate over the years. So you were involved with Mr. Goldwater before the convention. Then did you stay active in his campaign for the presidency?

Hume: Oh, yes. I was a delegate for Goldwater and attended the convention, and was quite active in it. I do not remember whether I was Northern California chairman after the convention, but I was certainly a very active figure in the Goldwater program in our part of the state. That was the way I got to know some of the individuals in southern California who later became principal supporters of Reagan.

Northern and Southern California Political Attitudes

Morris: I had wondered if in the vegetable processing business you might have had an opportunity to get to know some of the people in southern California?

Hume: No, I, however, had many friends in southern California since I had lived there for a long time. But the people who were the heads of the Goldwater program in southern California were also the statewide heads of the Goldwater for President effort. Nevertheless, I was able to run things pretty independently in northern California including raising funds.

Morris: Some of those people, Holmes Tuttle and Henry Salvatori, had not come to California until the '30s or '40s and after you were pretty much up in northern California.

Hume: Yes, and I had not known them before 1964. Then we got to know one another during the Goldwater campaign.

Morris: There is a lot made, in talking about politics in California, about the north versus the south. Have you found that to be a factor in developing some of these statewide programs?

Hume: I was always jealous of the south's ability to raise money, and came to the conclusion that we could raise about a third as much here as they could raise in southern California.

Morris: Really?

Hume: That is still true today. That is about the way it goes.

Morris: Why is that?

Hume: There is more money there and more people prepared to give and more enthusiasm.

Morris: Your sense is, aside from the fact that for the last ten years there has been more population in southern California, they are more likely to become active in--?

Hume: There are also many more conservatives; this is a pretty liberal community here.

Morris: In terms of money, I think of San Francisco as being kind of the core of the banking, insurance, and money business of the state. Does that not outweigh the airplane construction, movie, and oil money in the south?

Hume: No, not even remotely in terms of the availability of funds to support anything I know on a statewide basis.

Morris: The people in the South are willing to put their money where their mouths are?

Hume: Yes, and it is much easier to get people who are prepared to work hard on a conservative, political cause in the south than it is in the north. It is difficult to find conservative individuals in the north.

Morris: That is interesting. Why do you suppose that is so? Have you given that matter any thought?

Hume: I think San Francisco has always been a liberal town. It has been a town that was rather labor-dominated. You have many people here who have inherited wealth. I think individuals with inherited wealth frequently are not prepared to be as aggressive in supporting a controversial program as some who have earned their wealth. Also, many people with inherited wealth seem to have a guilt complex about their inheritance and feel that they have an obligation to society to support liberal causes.

Morris: That sounds like a very sound evaluation of the situation.

II ELECTING RONALD REAGAN GOVERNOR

Getting to Know the Candidate

Morris: Let's turn to Mr. Reagan. You first met him in 1965 or so?

Hume: I did not know him at the time of his excellent speech for Goldwater. That speech was a principal reason the Goldwater campaign was able to survive since it raised a great deal of money. Three individuals I had gotten to know well in the Goldwater campaign, namely, Henry Salvatori, Cy Rubel, who was the head of Union Oil, and Holmes Tuttle, were enthusiastic about Ronald Reagan. I had gotten to know Salvatori quite well and I also knew Holmes Tuttle fairly well. I knew Cy Rubel only slightly. These three called on Ronald Reagan to ask him if he would be a candidate for governor. They promised that they would support him financially if he ran. I believe that after considerable discussion he agreed that he would consider being a candidate.

Reagan felt he should talk to someone in northern California and asked the three whom he should see. They tell me that they suggested he should call on me. He did, and we talked for an hour

Hume: or two in San Francisco. After this conversation I was enthusiastic about Ronald Reagan's potential as a candidate for governor and agreed that I would support his campaign. I offered to arrange for him to meet the conservatives I knew in northern California. The first meeting I arranged was a breakfast attended by seven of us who had been active in the Goldwater campaign. They were all substantial local citizens, and they were the nucleus on which we built the Reagan campaign in northern California.

Morris: Do you recall who it was you invited to that breakfast meeting?

Hume: One was Sherman Chickering. Others were Mrs. Marshall Madison and Malcolm Cravens. I believe I also had Gardiner Johnson and Leland Kaiser.

Morris: Would you have brought someone like Cap Weinberger into a meeting like that? He had been active in the party.

Hume: We did not regard Cap as a conservative at that time. In the causes which he supported on his radio program he was on the liberal side quite often.

Morris: You were looking for conservatives rather than that sort of broad Republican--?

Hume: Yes. For me to get people to support Ron it was necessary that they feel comfortable with his philosophy. I could not very well say, "Here is a fine man who will make an excellent candidate and I want you to support him."

Morris: What kind of things did you and he talk about when he came up to see you when he was testing the idea?

- Hume: I think we talked about his philosophy of the relationship of government to the individual, the relationship he visualized of the federal government to the government of the state, and the kind of people he would seek out in filling various offices in the state. I was also interested in his view on economics.
- Morris: You talked about that as early as when he was exploring the possibility of running?
- Hume: I believe so. All these are extremely important in determining the kind of governor or public official an individual is likely to be. The kind of people he is going to bring into the government to assist him is also most important.
- Morris: Did you raise these subjects or did he raise them?
- Hume: I cannot tell you.
- Morris: What was the concern particularly about what kind of people should be brought into the staff?
- Hume: We wanted people who were not primarily politicians. We wanted individuals who were dedicated to a philosophy of having as efficient and effective a government as possible. We did not want individuals to be employed because of political support but rather have them chosen for their quality. We also wanted individuals who believed our country should have less government rather than more and who had sound fiscal ideas. After all, the state was in a serious financial condition. [Governor Edmund G.] Brown [Sr.] had been balancing the budget by gimmicks, such as speeding up the collection of taxes, which had only a one-time effect. Spending in the state was running \$1,000,000 a day over income.

Morris: Did Mr. Reagan bring somebody with him to the meeting in your office?

Hume: No.

Morris: He just hopped on a plane and came up here to meet you?

Hume: I guess so.

Morris: What appealed to you about him? How did he strike you on that initial first--?

Hume: Very appealing. I thought he was just as sound as he could be. He advocated the political and economic philosophy of which I approved and he seemed to have the ability to express it even better than Goldwater.

Morris: What kind of response did you get from the breakfast group that you invited to that meeting?

Hume: They were enthusiastic, all of them. All did work for him.

Morris: Had you been, kind of, looking for a candidate to support and develop?

Hume: Not actively, I would say, no.

Morris: But you recognized someone with potential?

Hume: Yes.

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Morris: Was your sense that Mr. Reagan was going to go ahead and run for office?

Hume: No. I hoped he would. I do not think he made up his mind until after he had spent a fair amount of time going about the state and had some sense of the availability of money to support him.

Building Support

- Morris: Your sense is that he was doing this on his own. He did not have somebody suggesting to whom he might talk in this preliminary sounding?
- Hume: I think he used individuals to make suggestions. I suggested names in northern California and our friends in southern California suggested sources of information there. I am sure that he also had contacts of his own.
- Morris: When you are putting together this kind of statewide thing, are there people in the valley and in the mountain counties that you need to check with, too? Can you do it just with San Francisco and Los Angeles?
- Hume: To some extent. You do not get much financial help flowing into the San Francisco area from outside the area. You do not even get much help from Oakland. Support comes primarily from San Francisco and the Peninsula and, to a lesser extent, Marin County. Quite a few people who had been in the Goldwater campaign, who lived in Contra Costa and Alameda areas, we were able to bring into the campaign.
- Morris: In terms of putting together a campaign, you feel you can do it with good financial support in San Francisco and Los Angeles?
- Hume: I should say so, yes.
- Morris: In terms of actually running a campaign, don't you need people in all areas of the state?
- Hume: Of course you do. You have to be very sure they feel that they are a significant part of the campaign.

Morris: I understand that has become more difficult as the cost of campaigns has risen. Robert Monagan, who was speaker of the assembly for a while under Reagan's governorship, commented that as campaigns have gotten more expensive, there is less work for individuals to do. Most of the money goes into media and less into the kind of envelope stuffing and individual contact that require a lot of people. Has that been your experience?

Hume: I cannot comment on that. I am sure that media is a heavy campaign expense. But you still, at least in any campaigns with which I have been associated, need a strong volunteer organization in the precincts that goes around and calls on people to promote the candidate and arranges a "get out the vote" program for election time and checks up on this program on election day. It is important to interest as many people in the precincts as possible. In campaigns with which I have been associated, that work usually is not done adequately by the Republican organization. That organization had to be developed by the candidate although the Republican organization would offer some help.

Morris: How about things like the Republican Assembly and the United Republicans, did they turn out volunteers?

Hume: The Republican Assembly? I do not believe it was important. I think there is a conservative group here. I cannot tell you the names of the various groups.

Morris: The Republican Assembly came to mind because Gardiner Johnson, I believe, was active in that and had been very active in the Goldwater campaign.

Hume: Gardiner was one of those who came to my breakfast, I think.

Morris: Did they all sign on and work with you on the campaign?

Hume: Yes, I think that we made ourselves into a sort of steering committee.

Morris: At what point did Leland Kaiser come in?

Hume: He came in early on. He may very well have been at this breakfast too. He was active in the Goldwater campaign, and a fine worker. I think he probably was at the breakfast.

The 1966 Campaign

Morris: Did the campaign go about as you expected it?

Hume: We were all delighted with Reagan's quality as a campaigner and found him so much more able than we had anticipated. I will always remember that we urged him to set up various task forces to develop position papers for him, on the state parks, highways, prison, and on various other state problems.

The third or fourth time we had urged this he said, "I want to show you my homework." He went into his bedroom and brought out a stack of the reports put out annually by each one of the state departments. They were very elaborate documents in four colors and each gave a lot of information about what each department did.

He had gotten the reports going back several years, and was learning about each department and coming to his own decisions about what his position should be on their problems. This was typical of Ron.

Morris: This was like the annual reports put out by the Highway Department and Department of Social Welfare?

Hume: Yes. These reports were under the Brown [Sr.] administration.

Morris: Somebody had gotten those for him?

Hume: I do not know how he obtained them, but they were his bedside reading.

Morris: Put you to sleep in a hurry. [laughter]

Hume: Yes. President Reagan has always had a phenomenal memory. He simply does not forget something he reads. Also, he is very accurate with figures. His problem is that sometimes people give him figures that are not accurate. He will remember the figures and rely on them.

He told us during the campaign, "You know, I think I am going to take questions from the floor the next time I make a speech."

We said, "Ron, that will be terribly dangerous. Brown is going to have a series of experts on different state problems in the audience and they will ask you questions that only someone who has been involved in a particular department could answer properly."

Ron said, "I think I am ready to face that."

He did and Brown's people did ask him questions that were just as detailed as possible. The way he handled these questions emphasized his memory and the homework he had done. He only missed a couple of questions. One was the location of the Eel River which he missed by about one hundred miles. Another was an equally unimportant matter. When he answered these questions what he was saying was being recorded by representatives of Brown.

Hume: He would say, "Oh, you are the man that is recording for Brown, aren't you? Come on up here in the front. You want to get this thing exactly." The Brown spy, who hoped he was making a recording of Ron's speech secretly, was most embarrassed when his mask was pulled off and he was on display taping the speech. Ron is very skillful handling matters of this kind.

This emphasizes an important reason I have been such an enthusiastic supporter of Ron. He is an extremely able individual, much more so than most people realize. This lack of appreciation for his mental ability was a problem when he ran for governor and even more of a problem when he ran for president. Most people had no comprehension that he had such an excellent mind.

George Christopher's Primary Race

Morris: Let me go back a minute to the primaries. Did your northern California group have any problems during the primary when George Christopher, who had been mayor of San Francisco, was also running for the Republican nomination?

Hume: Of course. It was very difficult getting support in northern California. I remember one of my good friends saying to me, "Jack, you are not considering supporting that actor when George Christopher is running for governor? What has gotten into you?"

Hume: I said, "Well, I just think he would make a considerably better governor than Christopher would."

He said, "You can't really mean that," and was very sincere. Reagan did make a much better governor than Christopher would have. Since then my friend has become an enthusiastic Reagan supporter. In my opinion I think he was an excellent governor.

Morris: Did you have any concerns during the primary that Christopher might indeed get the nomination?

Hume: Oh, yes. It looked as though it was going to be a nip and tuck race. I think San Francisco was taken by Christopher and probably a fair part of northern California. But Ron won hands down on a broad statewide basis. Christopher was furious and refused to support Ron, and did not support him for some time. He felt that Ron had stolen the race from him in some way because there had been criticism of Christopher in connection with a milk scandal--

Morris: Milk pricing--?

Hume: I am not sure about the grounds for the criticism but I am sure Ron had nothing to do with bringing up a matter of this kind as a campaign issue. This is not his style.

Morris: Christopher thought that the Reagan people had raised this?

Hume: He thought Ron was responsible for this thing coming up in the campaign. Ron was not responsible in any way for it, because Ron simply does not function that way. He has a great belief in what he calls the Eleventh Commandment: "Never speak ill of other Republicans."

Morris: That was Dr. [Gaylord] Parkinson's phrasing, I think.

Hume: It may have been.

Morris: How closely did your group work with the Republican statewide organization in the '66 campaign?

Hume: I think pretty closely after the primary. You reminded me of Parkinson. He was a quite effective state [party] chairman and one with whom we could work. Other state [party] chairmen had been more difficult to work with.

Morris: Was Weinberger more difficult to work with? He had preceded Parkinson as chairman.

Hume: Weinberger was much more liberal than Parkinson. I think you would find that Weinberger was a supporter of Christopher.

Morris: I am not clear about that. What I was thinking of is his concern when he was chairman of the party about trying to bring together what he felt were fairly contentious rival groups of conservative to liberal viewpoints, each of which wanted to have control of the party rather than build an organization which could elect candidates. Do you remember any of that as a factor in your--?

Hume: No, I do not.

III CLEANING HOUSE FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

Work of the Appointments Committee

Morris: At what point did the campaign advisers develop into an ongoing advisory group? You all seem to have been very much involved in the transition.

Hume: We began to have meetings with Ron. The one I told you about where he brought out his homework occurred in the early days of the campaign, I believe. We had meetings with Ron at his home, then at various other locations, dating from the preprimary on. We worked with him closely during the campaign, both people who were in the political campaign and those who worked on money raising.

Morris: You all sort of took it for granted that you would continue offering advice and suggestions?

Hume: No, I don't think so. Nevertheless we were, I think all of us, interested in the question of the quality of personnel who would be brought into the state government. We felt this was extremely important and Ron knew how strongly we felt on this subject.

Morris: So it was kind of logical for you to assume some responsibility as an appointments committee to fill--?

Hume: Well, I suppose so. He had to get suggestions from somewhere. We made it a first priority to try to find, all over the state, as able people as we possibly could for each of the spots in the state government with no regard at all to their support by the political organizations in the state. We were trying to find people who, if they took a political office, would do a good job rather than people with experience as political office holders.

Morris: You were looking for administrative skills?

Hume: And people who were philosophically dedicated to a private enterprise, conservative, profit-oriented society.

Morris: What were your priorities in filling spots for the new administration?

Hume: We wanted people who were philosophically in accord--

Morris: I was thinking in terms of the range of jobs. There are the agency secretaries and department heads and the governor's immediate office, and all the various boards and commissions--from the Public Utilities Commission to the district fair boards and things like that. Did your committee cover all those categories of appointees?

Hume: Many commissions are not subject to appointment when a governor goes into office. They are sequential. We did interest ourselves in individuals who we thought would be good members of the governor's office. But the first job was to staff the principal positions in the state government as wisely as we could. We reached out for all kinds of people throughout the state, most of whom had never held a political office before. They were individuals we thought were the most able we could find.

Morris: That is a point that has had quite a lot of discussion, I think.

I gathered that when you were in the transition phase there were some people who drew up memos for how the government should function and expressed concern that there needed to be some people who did have experience in government, to kind of show the new people the ropes. Was that a subject of some discussion?

Hume: It may have been. I think our group did not agree with that. We felt that you do not get a clean house unless you clean house.

Morris: True. I gathered there were some problems, however, the first couple of years that Mr. Reagan was in Sacramento, particularly with the legislature.

Hume: I think that was one of the errors that Ron made. I think he underestimated the importance of the legislature. He learned the lesson very well, as shown by the way he handled the legislature in his later years when it was Democratically controlled. You do not just ride roughshod over legislatures.

Morris: Were there some people who had worked on legislative campaigns feeding in suggestions and concerns about how you go about doing these things?

Hume: Worked on legislative campaigns? I don't know what you mean.

Morris: I mentioned the California Plan earlier. That had some people coordinating it, both in the legislature and some professional political campaign people. I wondered if they were in touch with Mr. Reagan and your group.

Hume: I don't know. I think that several of those who were responsible for the success of the California Plan, or whatever you call it, were also active supporters of Reagan. So I think there was a melding of those.

Morris: But the initial decision that was acted on, was that it was more important to have people who were philosophically loyal and single-minded, rather than people who would listen to the--?

Hume: I would not say singleminded, but had a philosophy that the best government is the least government, that you should not have government trying to solve the problems of society. After all, there is no such thing as "government" which exists apart from people. It is entirely made up of people. There is no body of government money that exists apart from taxpayers. All the money spent by the government comes from the people. Many have the idea that you can just turn a problem over to "government" and that an individual who has a public service job is endowed with higher morality and more intelligence than someone who has a private enterprise job. I think these are ideas that we have been taught and I do not believe them.

Morris: Was it seen as an opportunity to get some experience for some bright young men? I am struck by the youth of a lot of the people that were on the governor's staff initially.

Hume: The reason younger people were brought into the administration was not to give them experience. It was done because it is much easier to get able individuals to take a public job when they are younger

Hume: than when they are in middle or later life. When people are in midcareer it is difficult for them to leave that career. Also, we wanted the energy and enthusiasm that you often do not get from older people. We certainly did not want to depend on people who had come up through the bureaucracy to continue to run the state, because they had been running it in ways which we did not feel were proper.

Morris: As the governorship went on, it looks as if there did come some people out of the bureaucracy--career people in government who did turn out to be helpful.

Hume: Oh, yes. There are a lot of very good people in government, very conscientious. If someone at the top encourages such individuals in the bureaucracy to come forward with helpful programs and ideas by letting them know that they will not be in trouble if these ideas are not in line with what the department has always done, these people do come forward with excellent suggestions. Of course you are always looking for such people in a bureaucracy, because the best suggestions often come from people with experience in the way a department works.

Task Force on Government Efficiency and Economy

Morris: We mentioned task forces earlier on. I guess one of the first efforts of the new administration was to set up a task force on government efficiency and economy. Had you suggested that, and they said, "Okay, you can take it on"?

Hume: Exactly who brought the idea of task forces to Ron's attention I am not sure. It had been done in one or two other states previously. We were fascinated with this idea.

An individual from a state where it had been done came out to talk to us and then we sent a representative back to the state to see the program at first-hand.*

Morris: I see, and then brought that man out as a staff person?

Hume: I do not remember whether we brought him out as a staff person. We brought him out to tell us what was going on and to make sure that we benefitted from the errors and the wise moves that they had made.

Morris: How did you go about getting, what was it, one hundred and ten business executives to--?

Hume: It was over two hundred.

Morris: Good heavens! That is an impressive number.

Hume: Yes, it is. The requirement was that they be top quality executives, that they be vice-presidents or higher and have very responsible jobs in their organizations, be highly regarded by their peers and that they be released without any qualification for six months. They had to stop their current jobs for six months. Employers all agreed that the individuals they loaned to the task force would not lose in their progress in their companies because they had spent six months or more in Sacramento.

*See Warren King, Governor Reagan's Use of Task Forces and Loaned Executives, 1966-1968, Regional Oral History Office, U.C. Berkeley, in progress.

Morris: Would they continue to get their regular salaries from their employer?

Hume: Yes, as I recall, they were paid by the companies, although I do not remember exactly what was done.

Morris: I came across a comment that you were largely responsible for recruiting all those people.

Hume: I worked hard on recruiting people for the task force from northern California companies. It seemed to me such a sound way to improve state government. I talked to the chief executives of the big corporations in San Francisco about the program and suggested to each the number of people we would like to have them make available. It was not difficult to do this. You must remember that there was tremendous enthusiasm in the state for Governor Reagan at that time. It was clear that he was trying to bring efficiency into the state government and start with individuals who were not politically motivated.

Morris: Was it word of mouth or did you send out a questionnaire?

Hume: I think most of it was word of mouth. I talked to the heads of the telephone company and Standard Oil and various other organizations in town including the principal banks and told them what we wanted. I urged that participating in this program would be to their distinct advantage because people they lent should be more valuable employees when they came back from Sacramento. They would have had a first-hand experience in the way government works that could not be obtained in any other fashion.

Morris: Let me ask you a lateral question. In developing your own business with your brother, did you spend a fair amount of time yourself dealing with various government regulations?

Hume: No, I had no dealing with government at all until the Second World War, when we built and expanded our plant with government money. We were the principal supplier of dehydrated onion and garlic for the military during the war--

Morris: A big responsibility.

Hume: --so that I had a lot of tie-in with the government people in that period. But that is the only experience I have had.

Morris: But you felt that personally that had been a beneficial experience?

Hume: I do not remember whether I thought of it that way or not. It was not hard in 1966 to convince the heads of large corporations that their organization, no matter what Ron did, was going to have a lot of contact with the state government. Accordingly it would be to their advantage to have people in their organization who knew something about how the California state government works from an inside view rather than entirely from the outside.

Morris: Did the people who agreed to send an executive person largely send somebody from public affairs, or did they send people from their financial and production?

Hume: No, we asked for people who had skills in the particular areas in which the task force proposed to work. For example, we wanted people who had skills in handling automobiles because the state has a huge fleet of cars. We wanted people with skills in purchasing,

Hume: in personnel management, in accounting, in the use of computers, in handling public recreation areas (such as Disneyland), and in mass feeding and other things that tied into the operation of prisons. These people would be able to study particular phases of the activities in which the state was engaged with a background of how that particular kind of activity was handled most efficiently by private enterprise.

Morris: When you had to live by profit and loss statements?

Hume: Yes. For example, we had on the task force individuals who were responsible for allocating space in office buildings occupied by large employers such as the telephone company. They examined a plan to build two huge new state office buildings.

Morris: That was going to be a new state capitol, wasn't it?

Hume: No. These new buildings were to house the employees of various departments of the state.

On examination, the members of the task force found that the state was allocating about two and one half times the number of square feet in office buildings to each employee as was allocated in private enterprise. It was obvious that existing office space could be used much more efficiently. Accordingly, the state did not build these two new office buildings and actually I believe was able to rent to others some space it already had in Sacramento.

Morris: That has been a constant problem with government, I understand.

They either have too much space or too little. One of the things that occurs to me from looking backwards at it, is that if you send

Morris: businessmen in, presumably they might also come up with suggestions for kinds of tasks that could be better done by private industry contracted to from the government.

Hume: That was not the purpose of the task force. The purpose was clearly laid out, not whether government ought to do this or that, but how it could be done more efficiently and economically.

##

Morris: You also drafted some of their secretaries too, I understand.

Hume: I cannot tell you, I do not remember that. That might very well have been done but that would have been handled by the man we got to head the task force program.

Morris: The man from Price Waterhouse?

Hume: Yes. I believe that he was the retired head of Price Waterhouse.

IV OBSERVING REAGAN AS GOVERNOR; PRESIDENTIAL POTENTIAL

Serving as Chief of Protocol

Morris: I would like to ask a couple of questions about your protocol responsibilities.

Hume: I can answer those pretty quickly.

Morris: Were the protocol responsibilities something that took up a great deal of your time?

Hume: No, it consisted almost entirely of meeting at the airport dignitaries when they came to the state and attending various consular functions. There was almost no other responsibility that I was asked to perform. Fortunately, I was able to find some able people who enjoyed this kind of social contact who were prepared to serve as deputy chiefs of protocol.

Morris: Yes, I would think it is a special kind of thing.

Hume: I turned over almost all my responsibility to the deputy chiefs. As soon as it was obvious that one of them could handle the job well, I resigned in his favor.

Morris: Looking through some of the materials in the Reagan papers in the Hoover, there seems to have been quite a number of people from countries all over the world. I wondered if this was seen at all as a kind of an exposure to foreign relations for Mr. Reagan, that these were good contacts in case he decided to run for the presidency.

Hume: [pause] Perhaps, perhaps. We were most interested when Ron was asked to go to the Philippines to represent Nixon, I think. The Philippine ambassador cabled back to the State Department that Governor Reagan had done more to help Philippine-American relations in the two or three days he was there than anyone had over all the period he knew about. The excellent reception he had in England when he went there to address, I believe, the Pilgrim Association, gave him a good exposure in England.

Morris: The public affairs magazines and the national newspapers, as soon as Mr. Reagan took office, started commenting on him as a potential presidential candidate, along with George Romney and Nelson Rockefeller, who were also active governors at that point. At what point did the group here in California begin to think about him as a presidential possibility?

Hume: I think it was not very long after he took office. He had handled his campaign so well and all of us were so pleased with the way he started handling his job as governor. The steps he was taking were exactly those which we thought ought to be taken. We felt that the same steps should be taken at the federal level. We believed Governor Reagan had more ability to take these steps at

Hume: the federal level than anyone else in the country. As a result, very soon the question came up in our discussions: Should we not try to get Reagan to run for the presidency.

We talked about this within, I suppose, a few months after he had gotten into office, certainly less than a year. President Reagan is a very impressive person. Anyone who knows him well realizes how fortunate the public is to have him as a public servant.

Staying in Touch With the Governor's Office

Morris: Was there anyone in particular on the staff in Sacramento that you could stay in touch with and feed in information that you felt was helpful or that would keep tabs on some of these national issues?

Hume: I think we dealt with his executive secretary. Originally this was Bill Clark and later it was Ed Meese. We also knew well the others who were in his cabinet, including Ike Livermore, Gordon Luce, and the others. We, of course, knew Mike Deaver and the governor's secretaries, so had a series of people to whom we could talk.

We were in and out of Sacramento fairly often. Of course we had had something to do with choosing these people and knew some of them before they took office. They knew that we wanted nothing except to have a better state government.

Morris: And bring things to the Governor's attention that he might not--?

Hume: I have always made it a policy to see Reagan as seldom as I could and when I did have everything about which I wanted to talk to him

Hume: outlined. I wanted to make sure I would not waste his time. I have always tried to get through my list as quickly as I could. Ron is excellent in such a discussion. He understands problems immediately, and you can cover a great deal with him in a short time.

Morris: In your own business, do you use this idea of boiling everything down to a one-page memo on a subject to get a lot of things tended to?

Hume: No, I do not run my business nearly as efficiently as Ron runs his office.

Morris: You were asking him to do in state government things that did not get done in business?

Hume: Yes, yes. I would be delighted if he were running my business. He would do it very well.

Morris: On the protocol matters, Michael Deaver seems to have had some concerns that things were not going as smoothly as he thought. Was this real or did Mike--?

Hume: You mean in the handling protocol?

Morris: Right, that things were getting fouled up and that people were not getting the information that they should have on some of these things.

Hume: I don't know.

Morris: I wondered if this was the way he operates, if he is concerned that all the details be just right or--?

Hume: Ron functioned by turning a matter over to someone and expecting him to take care of the matter properly. I do not think he tries to

Hume: tell people how to handle the details of what they are doing. I think probably Mike is more interested in details, and someone has to watch the details.

Morris: He likes to see things run smoothly. You know, some people can live quite comfortably with details not getting handled and other people find the details very important.

Republican Party Matters

Morris: It was in 1969, I think, that Mr. Reagan asked you to serve on the Republican State Central Committee?

Hume: I guess so, yes. I didn't do very much on it.

Morris: Because there was not much to do or--?

Hume: I am just not enthusiastic about taking part in organizations like the state central committee. There is so much overhead structure and there are so many people involved, you spend too much time talking. I prefer not to spend my time in a big group meeting. I would rather try to do on my own something I felt was important.

Morris: The party did not seem to be a terribly central activity?

Hume: I have never been particularly happy with the philosophy of the party. I think the party has been to a considerable extent controlled by people whose political philosophy was not the same as mine.

Morris: So it has been that the people who were in the leadership roles, rather than the party itself?

Hume: I should think so.

Morris: Did groups within the party cause some difficulty in the 1968 campaign? There were some comments that there were those who were not happy with a favorite son delegation to Miami in 1968?

Hume: I am sure that is so. You had people who felt that the heads of the party organization should control the delegation rather than the governor. The party had had very little to do with the election of Reagan. The organization of the precinct work and of the fund-raising and of the campaign had been in the hands of others. The party was there to some extent, but you just do not seem to get the drive with a big, amorphous party organization that is necessary to wage an effective campaign.

Morris: In 1968 you had Mr. Nixon also very actively seeking the presidency. Would the party organization be a place where you would get some struggle between Nixon supporters and Reagan supporters?

Hume: I suppose so. California has a unit rule for their delegation. We saw no reason that this should not be observed.

Morris: In aid of the candidacy that you personally were--?

Hume: In other words, Governor Reagan was the choice of the people of the state to be the leader of the party and not the state chairman of the Republican party. Everyone who is a delegate is obligated to support the favorite son until he releases them, and we were not enthusiastic when some people said that they did not want to abide by this unit rule.

Morris: That was an interesting situation, because you had two major figures seeking the national top spot, both of whom were Californians. Did that complicate it any that--?

Hume: Sure, sure. Of course one had a strong national organization, the other did not.

Morris: There seemed to be a kind of a loose national information and fundraising group in aid of Republican candidates. I understand that Mr. Reagan had some contacts with that. As early as 1968, they were asking him to do speeches to Republican groups around the country.

Hume: He has always been the most effective fundraiser that the Republican party has. He has always been very generous with his time fundraising in different locations over the country.

Morris: More effective at that point than Mr. Nixon?

Hume: Much more so, yes. I perhaps should not make that as a flat statement. I should say, I would assume so.

Morris: Did you get involved in some of those speaking engagements around the country?

Hume: I would say not, no.

Morris: When Mr. Nixon was elected president was there much contact back and forth between the state people working with the governor and people in Washington working with the president?

Hume: [pause] Some. I think that, in my opinion, Nixon was frightened by the strength Ron had shown in Miami. Ron came very close to being nominated. If one individual had not made a commitment to Nixon and had done what I think he wished to do, we might very well have gotten the nomination.

Morris: In 1968?

Hume: In 1968.

Morris: Was that a Californian?

Hume: No, it was Strom Thurmond. He had made a commitment to Nixon, but he was basically a supporter of Ron, because Ron is more conservative than Nixon is.

Morris: What was the effect of Mr. Nixon being concerned about the strength that Mr. Reagan had shown?

Hume: Well, there was not much enthusiasm for Reagan people in the Nixon administration, in spite of the fact that Reagan's efforts had been very instrumental in the Nixon election.

Morris: Once Reagan lost the nomination he was willing to--?

Hume: He then completely turned over his organization to help Nixon. This is typical of the way Ron handled losing the nomination. He did the same thing when he lost to [Gerald] Ford in 1976. That is one of the great things Mike Curb did. He led the volunteers who had worked for Reagan before the 1976 convention--the whole volunteer organization which was so effective and which, as I told you, was outside of the Republican party. Mike led them almost kicking and screaming to support Ford. Thanks largely to Mike Curb they gave strong support to Ford, and Ford won in California. I question whether he would have without this volunteer support.

Morris: Several people, most notably Mr. Reagan's Lieutenant Governor [Robert Finch], went to Washington with Mr. Nixon. Was there some feeling the other way around, that some--?

Hume: He took some of the good people from Sacramento, because they were the best people he could get at in the country. Ron was very helpful in releasing people to go to Washington.

Morris: Was there some feeling of concern among Mr. Reagan's people that some of these folks, like Mr. Finch and Hugh Flournoy, were too close to Mr. Nixon, and therefore might not be totally loyal to the things that Mr. Reagan was trying to accomplish?

Hume: I think that both Finch and Flournoy were not philosophically attuned to Reagan. Finch is not a conservative, and he is also not very efficient, in my opinion. He was not a very satisfactory lieutenant governor. Ron tried to give him responsibilities, and things simply did not get done. He tried very hard to put things into the Lieutenant Governor's area of responsibility.

Morris: Was this one of the ideas that was developed by the advisory group, that the Lieutenant Governor could take on more responsibility?

Hume: I do not believe that it was developed by the advisory group, but it was a philosophy of Ron's. He is doing the same thing now assigning responsibilities to George Bush. He has tried to build up Bush in every way he can, making him an executive vice-president. That is typical of him.

Morris: That makes sense from a corporate point of view, to delegate things to an administrative officer.

Hume: Yes.

Morris: In politics I thought it was frowned upon, because you are dividing your strength and your loyalties by turning over responsibilities to others.

Hume: Ron does not worry about the political implications of most things. He is really above that. He does what he believes will accomplish the job best.

Ideas From the General Electric Years

Morris: Did you ever talk to him about where some of these ideas developed in his own experience, and how he came to have a feel for running a large governmental office?

Hume: I think the experience he had working for General Electric was very important for him. He was employed by General Electric when its labor force was among the most radically dominated labor forces in the industry. For years he traveled around the country to the 130 plants of General Electric. He would go down the production line talking to small groups, sometimes as many as fifteen or twenty different groups in a day, I understand.

After his talk he asked for questions. These covered the relationship of the corporation to its employees. One of the points he emphasized was that the only way wages could be increased was for the corporation to be successful. He explained how the private

Hume: enterprise system works, how it is to the advantage of the worker to make good products so that they will sell well. This is the only way a company earns the money to pay higher wages.

In that period, Reagan honed his ideas and his philosophy to a point where now he does not have to work out the answer to most questions when they are presented to him. The question just fits into a slot in his philosophy so the answer is obvious to him. This makes it easier for him to answer questions because he has already thought so many problems through to a logical conclusion. He is also so clear in his thinking, which, of course--

Morris: Did he get a lot of challenges from some of the GE employees?

Hume: I gather a tremendous number. At first he had to face a lot of heckling. I gather that over a period of time he did such a great job that it changed the whole attitude of the work force. I am sure that he did not do this alone, but I am told that he played an important part in creating a much better atmosphere in General Electric. I know one of his greatest supporters is a man named Samuel R. Boulware, who was in charge of employee relations at General Electric. He is the man who hired Ron. He could not say enough nice things about Ronald Reagan.

Morris: Did you ever have a chance to talk to Mr. Boulware?

Hume: I talked to him I think on the phone once or twice and I imagine I have met him. I do not, however, know him at all well.

Morris: I was wondering if GE had developed this kind of approach in order to deal with a pressing labor relations problem?

Hume: Yes. Their approach of cooperation rather than confrontation with employees was so effective that the labor union officials called it "Boulwarism". The heads of the union said it was unfair to unions. They maintained that the relationship between a company and its employees must be through the union and not direct. Obviously, the union felt it could not prosper in an atmosphere of cooperation between employer and employees.

Morris: It has rung an echo in my mind of what was done in World War II. This was part of the wartime productivity program for which they used to give the army-navy "E".

Hume: I know. Our company received the army-navy "E" three different times.

Morris: Are there any things about working with Mr. Reagan in Sacramento or on the campaign trail that I have not pried out of your very good memory?

Hume: Well, I am sure that I have emphasized to you several times that our country is fortunate to have such an able individual as president. One of his greatest assets is a very retentive mind.

Another is his excellent judgment. For example, on several occasions a group of his friends has brought a program to him that we thought he ought to adopt. Often Ron has thought over the program and then said, "Well, thank you very much, but I do not believe I will follow your advice." Almost always, subsequent events have proved his judgment was better than that of his advisors.

Hume: President Reagan is very much his own man. He makes his own decisions. When he was first elected governor, people wanted to know the name of his speech writer because early on no one could believe that he wrote his own speeches. But he did write them. And there was no speech writer. Of course, he had individuals who did research on particular problems for him, and he used the information they developed in his speeches.

People also wanted to know who his gag man was. Again, he did not have a gag man. With his wonderful memory and his great sense of timing, he is probably the finest story teller that I know and always seems able to tell one that is very appropriate.

Morris: He has had a lot of experience over the years.

Hume: Of course, he has had a lot of experience. But he has benefitted from it.

Morris: On the broader scale, was the thought that if you got together a group that could elect such an effective spokesman, this would eventually bring around a larger section of public opinion to the ideas that you were interested in?

Hume: Yes, we all hoped that we could accomplish something for our country. On the other hand, many years ago I personally came to the conclusion that my efforts in politics were fighting battles and that even when we won them we were losing the war. I decided that we were going to continue to lose the war until we developed a body politic that was more knowledgeable about basic economics. Hopefully, such an electorate will appreciate the implications of political proposals and reject those which are economically unsound.

Hume: An example of winning a great political victory and still continuing to lose the war has occurred recently in California. Reagan, when he was governor, did a great deal to improve the fiscal condition of our state and improve the quality of the people in state government. He put excellent people on commissions, appointed fine individuals to the state courts and improved the integrity of state government.

Now almost all these good things have been destroyed by his successor.

Morris: Is that perhaps indicative of the fact that there is a constant ebb and flow of ideas in the public consciousness?

Hume: I think it is because an individual who is primarily politically motivated can confuse the public and trick it into making them think that public programs are free. Jerry Brown is--Well, it is difficult for me to talk about him. I feel very upset with what he has done to the state, because Ron had started it on a fine path, in my opinion.

Morris: How much effect do overall general economic conditions (over which presumably one state cannot have an effect) have a bearing on what happens to a state financially and administratively?

Hume: I do not think that general economic conditions have much to do with the problems in Sacramento we are facing now. The decision that the state surplus was a bottomless well which could be used to bail out all local activities after the passage of Proposition 13 is the principal cause of our fiscal problem. If taxes had been cut instead of building up that surplus, it would have been much better.

Morris: That was an issue that Mr. Reagan had to deal with, too, I understand.

Hume: Yes. I wish that Reagan had cut taxes more before he left. I think it's too bad that he left a tax program which would produce such a surplus. It encouraged politicians to continue to fund programs that Proposition 13 said by implication the public wanted curtailed.

TAPE GUIDE -- Jaquelin Hume

Date of Interview: January 26, 1982

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Eleanor Ring Storrs

PARTIES, POLITICS, AND PRINCIPLES:
"IT'S AT THE LOCAL LEVEL"

An Interview Conducted by
Sarah Sharp
1983



Eleanor Ring Storrs with
Governor Ronald Reagan,
ca. 1972

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Eleanor Ring Storrs--a lady who pulls no punches

BY MARCIE BUCKLEY

Eleanor Reynolds Ring Storrs pulls no punches when she talks about issues important to her, especially when conversation centers around the American way of life.

She is intense, direct and quickly zooms to the point, punctuating her remarks often with a tap of her cigarette onto her Republican-Elephant ceramic ashtray.

Outspokenly conservative on political topics, she nevertheless laughs about how someone altered the sign at the intersection of her street to "Lolita" (for Lolita).

She is proud of Grandfather Stewart's philosophy, "Every barrel stands on its own bottom," meaning one should not rest on someone else's laurels but must stand on his own.

"I was raised to believe you have an obligation to your community, to do community service," she said. "It's practically a requirement of American life that you help other people. A certain amount of time. The first obligation, of course, being to your family, raising proper children who are going to be proper American citizens."

Sitting comfortably in the Terrace Room of her magnificent old home, with her poodle at her feet and two lively Dalmations bantering about her on the floor, Eleanor Storrs, at age 73, spoke freely of her beliefs and her future plans. Stating she is a Ronald Reagan type of Republican, she believes strongly that the best government of our time is the one that is closest to the people. She believes at the local level, believes in the free enterprise system and in the rights of the individual.

"And it begins at home," she emphasized, "with mother and father. Right or wrong attitudes are learned at home. That's government!" If it's not learned at home, she notes, it later becomes a matter for higher levels of government.

She came to this belief through her own experience, first in her youth and later with her own children, Stewart, William, and Susan.

She is the daughter of Pay Director Zilba Wells Reynolds, USN, and Belle Stewart Reynolds, and granddaughter of the William Nicholas Reynolds, member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, later director of Pension Bureau Middle Atlantic States, Washington, D.C. Mrs. Storrs' maternal grandparents were pioneers of San Diego County. William Wallace Stewart came to Placer County, Ca., in 1852, and

she served as a member of the Coronado City Council, as National Committeewoman for California from 1968 to 1972, and in various leadership capacities in Republican assembly, senate, gubernatorial and presidential campaigns. She is also former president of the Coronado Republican Women's Club and former

married Ellen Isabella Ryan in Sacramento in 1859. They established residence in San Diego in 1869 where Stewart was active in public affairs, serving five years on the San Diego City Council and later as a member of the Board of Education and the San Diego Harbor Commission. Born in Tunkhannock, Penn., Eleanor moved



Eleanor Ring Storrs greets one of her Dalmations.

to Coronado with her family in 1923 at the age of 17 and graduated from Coronado High School in 1924. She attended the University of California at Berkeley as well as schools in Europe. And most of her life to date--true to her upbringing--has been devoted to public service.

Among her many involvements over the years,

president of the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women.

"I believe in the work ethic," she said. "We are a very service-minded family, with a love of country and an obligation to country. Not only country, but the community."

In the intensity of her involvement outside of

herself, much of who Eleanor Ring Storrs is not immediately apparent. Surely she has a sense of humor. How else could she own a collection of Republican elephants? She has warmth. How else could she share her home with three active dogs? She has strong attachment to the earth. Why else would she spend time in her potting shed digging in the soil, resulting in splendid blooms plus one of the largest staghorn ferns in Coronado (too large to haul to the annual flower show)?

And she possesses a keen sense of history. Off first observation, her home might appear overcrowded with an incredible collection of memorabilia and antiques.

Yet she has a family attachment to everything she possesses. There's the original Victorian two-seater chair from her grandparents and grandmother's rocking chair with its original upholstery. There's the plaque depicting Grandfather Reynolds' service as Guard of Honor in the funeral services of President Lincoln. There's the unusual family seashell collection and the photos of ships on which family members have served. There's signs from: ELEANOR'S POLITICAL INVOLVEMENTS-- LUCE...REAGAN...VOLUNTEERS FOR CURS...An Uncle Sam doll. There's miniature ships and anchors made of assorted materials. There's the roller piano, the upright piano which came around the Horn, the antique rugs.

There are material reminders of the family heritage: tradition plus service to country and community.

Eleanor admits at times certain individuals have not been happy with her activities. She describes their attitudes as being a bit "cross with me."

But not all of her involvements have been political. For over 30 years, she has been active with the American Red Cross, especially first aid instruction. She feels very strongly about the need for such instruction for everyone.

"It's so important for people to be able to help somebody when something happens. People usually don't know what to do. There's no excuse for it. It's so important that everybody knows at least simple first aid. It's people helping people. I was raised that way--try to help and be at least prepared to do certain things."

Eleanor expresses potent opinions. She says what she thinks. Her Mercedes bears license plates GOP ERR (no pun intended!).

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

10 August 1981

Subject:

Storrs, Eleanor (Renolds)(Ring), born Tunkhannock, Pennsylvania. Formerly married San Diego California 10 Sept 1932 to the late Vice Admiral Stanhope Cotton Ring U.S.N., Rtd. (Deceased 1963). Remarried 3 July 1976 Rear Admiral A. Putnam Storrs, U.S.N. Rtd.

Children:

Stewart Andrew Ring, ~~Captain~~ ^{Commodore}, U.S.N.

William Reynolds Ring, deceased, Lieut. U.S.N.

Susan Ring, wife of Captain Robert Taylor Scott Keith Jr., U.S.N. Grandmother of five.

Daughter of Pay Director Ziba Wells Reynolds, U.S.N. and Belle Stewart Reynolds, and grand-daughter of The Hon. William Nicholas Reynolds, Member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, later Director of Pension Bureau Middle Atlantic States at Washington D.C. Mrs. Storr's maternal grandparents were pioneers of San Diego County. Mr. William Wallace Stewart came to Placer County, California in 1852 and married at Sacramento in 1859 Miss Ellen Isabella Ryan. They established residence in San Diego in 1869 where Mr. Stewart, a wholesale merchant, was active in public affairs, serving five years on the San Diego City Council and later as a member of the Board of Education and the San Diego Harbor Commission.

Education: Graduate of Coronado High School; attended University of California at Berkeley, and schools in Europe.

Public Affairs:

President(former) Coronado Republican Womens Club, Federated; former President San Diego County Federation of Republican Women; former Board Member, Southern Division, California State Federated Republican Womens Clubs; former member CFRW State and Southern Division Boards; former Vice Chairman Republican State Central Committee South; Alternate Delegate for Nixon 1960, 1968; Delegate for Nixon 1972; Delegate for Ronald Reagan 1976; Alternate Delegate for Goldwater 1964; Member of Election Campaign Committee for Governor Ronald Reagan, Congressman Bob Wilson, State Senator Jack Schrade, and State Assemblyman E. Richard Barnes; National Committeewoman for California 1968-1972; Red Cross Grey Lady; Red Cross Motor Service; former member Coronado City Council; Volunteer Red Cross First Aid Instructor now spans over 30 years. Many others.

Religion:

Episcopal

Patriotic Affiliations:

Member Oliver Wetherbee Chapter(Coronado) DAR; Member National Society, Colonial Dames of America; Member Society of Sponsors of The United States Navy.

Home Address

801 Tolita Avenue, Coronado, California 92118. Telephone listed.

I BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Citizens for Constructive Action

[Date of Interview: February 15, 1983]##

Storrs: Remember, he [Ronald Reagan] was [in] political science when he was in college, which sometimes people forget. So he was always interested in government. We [Citizens for Constructive Action] started having these meetings--one was up in San Francisco. We would always meet at the airport, so it would be convenient for people. I remember, a great deal of the time we interviewed people who said, "I want to be governor," or who wanted to run for governor. Everybody from a distinguished retired general of the army to, oh, some perfectly interesting, fascinating people. Once they would get the questions from this group on the things, they'd say, "Huh? I didn't know that it was such and so. Well, no, I think I don't want to run."

Sharp: How many people did you end up interviewing?

Storrs: Oh, Lord, Frank Adams would have really all of the notes and things on it. But at this one meeting, we're doing the California platform you might say. It was in San Francisco and we got in the biggest row you've ever known, the north against the south--this has always been, the north against the south: "We're going to do it this way." "No, we're going to do it this way." "I won't." Well, this went on for about two hours and we had gone through no agreement on about five, six, or seven things for the platform. The president [Ronald Reagan] was sitting back and he got up. (I

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 40.

suppose there were sixty people in the room or something like that.) He said, "Bill, can I have the floor for a few minutes?"

Sharp: Now, who is Bill?

Storrs: [William F.] Knowland. He said, "Sure, come on up." So he goes on up and he said, "Now, look" (he didn't have a note), he said, "Look, you guys are talking about this. You want that. Now, couldn't we take that and do it this way? Wouldn't that be agreeable to both sides? Wouldn't that be what you are both talking about?"

"Yes, yes, okay."

Of course, he was there for about an hour. He went through every single one of these different planks giving both sides each time and saying, "But the solution, the proper thing to do would be so and so." When he finished, everybody in the room got up and cheered and started looking at each other. "Aha, Aha," and that's when people were saying, "He ought to run for governor."

Sharp: Why could he do that?

Storrs: Because he is a brilliant man and people don't realize it. He is one of these guys that gets up in the crack of dawn and does his study work and so forth. He has a very brilliant mind which people don't realize.

Anyway, after that a number of us said, "He is going to have run for governor. So it was a thing of saying, "Would you consider running for governor?" He would say, "Of course, not! In the first place, Nancy [Mrs. Reagan] would never stand for it. She doesn't like that sort of thing and it wouldn't be good for the children and besides I'm scared to fly!" (He used to drive all of the time.)

So five months later he had come down here to a meeting in San Diego. There were about fifteen hundred women there and he was speaking on government and so forth and so on. That whole group just went absolutely--you know. Afterwards, he had interviews with people in San Diego County all afternoon. At one stage we had been talking about it. [I said], "When did you get into this? With the San Francisco meeting like a lot of other people did, too? We realized that you had the capabilities, you knew the state well, you had been an organizer, you had headed up your [Screen Actors] Guild thing and kept peace in there (which certainly was a very complicated thing and a very complicated organization), and we just felt there was no question that you were the best qualified. When did you make up your mind that you had to do it, that it was an obligation and something that was necessary for this state?"

Which of these possible candidates would YOU like to see become the Republican nominee for Governor of California in 1966.

Thomas H. Kuchel _____

George Christopher _____

Goodwin Knight _____

Bob Monaghan _____

Max Rafferty _____

Ronald Reagan _____

Joe Shell _____

Comments _____

This short questionnaire is from Mrs. Storrs's collection of California political materials.

At one stage he said, "I thought this over very seriously after I interviewed in San Diego and everything when I was driving home to Pacific Palisades. I sat down and talked the whole thing over with Nancy"--because he always has done this sort of thing. He very often would be in something and he would say, "Hm, let me go home and kick this around with Nancy. I would like to see what she thinks about it." He has always been this way, very quietly, no big fanfare kind of thing. But, of course, she is a very brilliant woman. She went to Chicago Girls Latin School, that was her background. I had never known she had gone to the Chicago Girls Latin School, which I had gone to one year.

Sharp: Oh, is that right?

Storrs: Yes. This was at some meeting up in Los Angeles and she had to speak. This was later and, oh, boy, she was scared, of course. At one stage they asked her, "Where did you go to school?" So she told them Chicago Girls Latin School and so forth and so on. Afterwards, when we left, we were in the girls' room before she was going home and I said, "Lord, I didn't know you went to Chicago Girls because I was there one year." She turned to me and she said, "Do you know it is no longer Chicago Girls Latin School?" I said, "What do you mean?" She said, "They have combined Boys and Girls Latin Schools. It is the Latin School now." I said, "Oh, horrors!" She said, "I agree with you!" Because when it was a girls' school, the athletics thing was one of the big things. Well, the minute you get the boys' and the girls' school together--

Sharp: That's it! This was a high school now?

Storrs: Yes, a high school, a private school in Chicago right there off of Lakeshore Drive. Do you know where the Drake Hotel is? It was just up Porter Street.

[laughs] Oh, Lord! But I had been there years before she was, but I went to a different school every year of my school life.

Genealogy; California and San Diego Past

Sharp: Were you a navy family then?

Storrs: Yes.

Sharp: There was a lot of moving around and all of that?

Storrs: Yes, always into the moving. Then my mother was a Californian, my father was a Pennsylvanian. My Grandfather Stewart came across the plains [with] oxen and team. Grandmother Stewart, oh, her mother, they were French-Irish from the Lake Champlain area. Her sister married a medical doctor and he wanted to come to California. This was in the fifties. Her mother said, "I would not allow a daughter of mine to go out there alone. Her sister will go with her." And that's how my grandmother [came]. [laughs] They went by boat down to Panama, by burro across Panama--by burro across Panama!--and then by ship up to San Francisco. Then she met Grandpa in Sacramento. They were married in Sacramento at the sheriff's home. He was then a miner, of course, in Placerville--Hangtown. But he was the deputy sheriff I think basically because he was six feet tall and a good guy. That was an honorary job at that stage. They had the volunteer fire departments, of which he was also a member.

My mother was born in Hangtown before it was Placerville. That's when they moved to San Diego because Grandpa said, "This is no place to raise children"--and at that stage there were four--"and we are going to move. Anyway, I am going into the wholesale shipping business," which he did.

He worked his way across. We came with the free enterprise system all right. His father didn't want him to come to California. They were from Bellefont, Pennsylvania. They were the Stewarts that had fled the Bonny Prince Charlie thing. I don't know, if they hadn't fled, they would have all been hung or something. They came originally to New Hampshire and then they got the land grant from William Penn and moved down to Bellefont.

His father, John Stewart, did not want him to go to California. But a friend of his father's said, "Yes, I agree with you." So he only got as far as Louisville, Kentucky. He didn't have any money. So he didn't come out in [18]'49. He didn't come out until '51. But he was smart enough, he was working in a warehouse, to make enough money to come. He went to Commercial College in Louisville, Kentucky and, by God, if I didn't find (I've got it right here) his certificate at the Louisville Commercial College. He graduated in June of '51 and then came out that summer to California. They were all wagon train.

Probably in Arizona they were attacked by probably Apache, all left for dead. But he and this other guy were not dead. They got themselves together. Six of the oxen were there and so they got a wagon and the six oxen, and they made their way up and ended up in--where is it? I was going to say Death Valley, but it isn't; up in northern California up near Hangtown. Spring Valley. They ended up there, sold the oxen for \$100 each, which was a tremendous amount of money. So they each had a \$300 stake to start out with.

Sharp: That's a lot of money.

Storrs: You bet it was. [laughs] But they did things. That's part of the thing. I was raised to go and do things that need to be done for a community or a [cause]--that's how I got all mixed up in this stuff.

Sharp: So you have brothers and sisters?

Storrs: My brother was Capt. Stewart Shirley Reynolds, USN Retired, and he has passed away. My sister is Ruth Reynolds Murray (Mrs. Paul) here in Coronado. She was musical. There was a great deal of music in the family. She was the first soloist with the Los Angeles Philharmonic. Then she married and she has been widowed many years. She is not well at all. She has to have nurses around the clock with her. I'm the baby in the family.

Sharp: Did your sister get involved in some of the Republican activities?

Storrs: No, because she was only involved in all of the musical stuff; that is, she would go east later on picking the Metropolitan Opera people from the people out here in California. You know how they have that musical stuff and they interview people and everything at that time. Then she usually would go east to New York where they would have the finals for who was going to be picked to be able to go into the Metropolitan and those kind of things.

Sharp: Did your parents live to see you involved in some of the political work?

Storrs: My father died when I was eleven years old. My mother died when I was twenty-four.

Sharp: Were you already married by that time?

Storrs: Yes, I had been married and divorced. I was married the first time when I was twenty--really against the family's wishes. Mother said, "He's too old." He was ten years older than I was. He was a naval aviator, Mort Seligman and of the Seligman family of Sante Fe, New Mexico. I might tell you that his mother, father, and I and his uncle, Uncle Pete [Seligman], who became governor of New Mexico, remained absolutely close friends. When I came back here to get a divorce--because he got to drinking, he always had--his uncle, who was governor of New Mexico, came out to see me. I said, "Uncle Pete, are you mad at me?" He said, "No, I totally agree with you. Why is he drinking the way he is as my son is? What happened with us that we have two sons that are basically alcoholic?" I said, "Uncle Pete, I don't know." And I have never known whether it was because their mothers were Protestants and the background was Jewish and they felt something or other in here.

Uncle Pete said, "Look, I am governor of the state of New Mexico. You are going to come and stay with Aunt Frank and me and I will give you any job in the state." I said, "Uncle Pete, "I couldn't." [laughs]

Then my mother decided [I should stay with her after the divorce]--remember when you used to have an interlocutory decree and so forth? So mother hadn't been very well and she had this great friend of hers, Grace [Timkin Burt], they were raised together in San Diego. She married Will Timkin of Timkin roller bearings and that sort of thing--enormously wealthy--and she and my mother had grown up together. When she died, she left mother \$10,000. We had no money. My mother had a pension of \$50 a month and my brother, an ensign, sent her \$100 a month and that's what we had to live on. People say, "Oh, gee, of course you were raised--."

My poor mother never learned how to cook because when she was young in San Diego in the old house, Mother said the table was never set for less than twenty because everybody could always bring friends home; a Chinese cook, and Chinese vegetable boys--they used to call them, and nobody could go near the kitchen. If anybody would go into the kitchen the cook said, "Get out of my kitchen." So none of them ever learned to cook or anything like that. Of course, remember this was the boom and bust days in San Diego. Whenever they had good rains, there would be dandy crops and everybody--gee, it was great, and then they'd have a drought. Ha! And everybody went bust you might say.

My grandfather helped Quon Mane get started in business. That is a Chinese name. Quon Mane came--his uncle was the cook--and he came as a vegetable boy in the Stewart household. My grandfather felt he was entirely too smart. When he was about fifteen he took him down to his warehouse and had him learn things. So today I read that it was George Marston who started him in business and, sure, George Marston did help, but it was Grandpa basically. He opened his own little shop, Quon Mane, but was always known in the family as Amen. [laughs]

Many years later we used to have a Quon Mane store here in Coronado. I was going in there to get some wedding presents and things, and I look at this Chinese boy and I say, "What Quon are you?" He said, "I'm King." I said, "What relation are you to Amen?" He looked at me and said, "You called him Amen?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Who are you?" I said, "My grandfather was William Wallace Stewart and my mother was Belle Stewart." He said, "Oh, I'm sorry! One thing we were all told was that at no time [when] any member of the Stewart family ever came for anything would they pay; you may have anything in the shop." I said, "Now, wait, stop it!"

He said, "No, no, I have been very firmly instructed." When Amen was dying my Aunt Kate, who was still alive (she was the oldest girl), he called for her and she went up to Mercy Hospital and sat there with him. He said, "Before I die I want to tell you that I have informed my family about what the Stewart family did for us all the way along the line, the two older girls" (that were named for the Stewart family you might say) "what your grandfather did all through the years and none of us can ever, ever repay and I want you to know this, Miss Kate." (It was Miss Kate.) Aunt Kate, ah, she was a mass of ruins, of course, because she adored him. They all were real close.

So I said to this kid, I said, "Look, what you are doing to me, I'll never be able to come into the store again, and I love the things you have. I happen to be very fond of Chinese things and I would be very fond of getting wedding presents that are these sorts of things. Now you are going to stop me. I don't want this to happen and so you are going to have to change or I will never walk in here again." So anyway, he went and got on the phone and talked to somebody. We finally agreed that I could pay for those sort of things, but, my little boys were a year and three years or something and he picked out little treats to go home for the kids. So I said, "All right, I'll accept this!" [laughter] Old time San Diego, you know.

Sharp: Oh, that is. That goes back a long way.

Storrs: But this is not politics. This is old--I shouldn't get on with that.

Getting into Political Activity: Opposition to the Coronado Bridge

Sharp: I am interested to know what you thought about getting into real political activity?

Storrs: Again, I think it's at the local level. People must pay attention to government where they are and, of course, as I say, I begin with family, mother and the children and the family. Then your local level--pay attention, go to your council meetings, find out what the city is doing, or if you are in another area, go and see what the supervisors are doing on the county level. Pay attention; don't let it all just--"who's doing what?"

Sharp: You were telling me about the bridge, the Coronado Bridge, and the opposition that you personally had to it, and that you made it a broader operation, as it were.

Storrs: A lot of us felt we wanted to stay to a great extent isolated. We loved the ferry boats that went over. A great many of our businessmen here would walk to the ferry, would go across and walk to their offices or take their bikes and bike, which they enjoyed thoroughly. They didn't have to park their cars, didn't have to get into anything like that. We had loads of children, remember; before we had a Catholic school here, they went over to the Catholic schools in San Diego. They could get on their bikes and no problem, and also young ones going to the business schools over there and things of this nature where they didn't have the money for cars and that [the bridge] cut that all out.

Sharp: Now about when did you start this petition drive? Probably '57?

Storrs: Yes, '56 or '57, somewhere in there.

Sharp: Yes, because it was, of course, when Goodie [Goodwin J.] Knight was governor then.

Storrs: Yes.

Sharp: How did you make the leap then from--

Storrs: Because I went and worked for Bob [Robert C.] Wilson for Congress.

Sharp: During his first campaign for Congress?

Storrs: No, no, this must have been '58. It was the first time I had gotten involved. Then I joined my [Coronado] Republican Women's Club and I became president of that, in 1960 or 1961. I did precinct for the county and then I became county president [San Diego County Federation of Republican Women]. When? Well, it's in there. Doesn't it show? [1962-1963]

Sharp: [looking through papers] Let's see. Maybe it's in one of these articles that you gave me.

Storrs: See, I even save things like this because I admire the president.* [laughs]

Sharp: Oh, that's wonderful. So this is a copy of one of the talks then?

Storrs: Yes, when he was working for General Electric. He came down here and spoke to American Red Cross.

*See following pages.

RONALD REAGAN

Host, General Electric Theatre

Losing Freedom by Installments



Today all of us are convinced that the No. 1 problem in the world is the dispute between the free world and Soviet slavery. Here the situation has been highly publicized and yet the American people are confused, disturbed by a frustrating sense of failure, a desire for action but at the same time a concern that action might result in war.

The enemy is *not* confused. To him the course is very clear—he knows he is in a war *now*. This conflict was declared more than a century ago by Karl Marx. Half a century later Nicolai Lenin, the interpreter of Marx, made of this phony philosophy a Godless religion, with himself as the Messiah. He reaffirmed that declaration of war by stating it was inconceivable that communism and capitalism should exist for a long period side by side in the world, and that ultimately one or the other must conquer. Carefully and painstakingly, but openly, they put into print their plans for our destruction. All of it including the timetable, is available and as near as our public library.

With arrogant cynicism they say that our ignorance of their tactics and strategy, their aims and objectives is communism's greatest weapon. In 1923 Lenin announced that communism would take Eastern Europe, organize the hordes of Asia and then surround that last bastion of capitalism, the United States, without even having had to take it. In Lenin's own words, the United States would fall into his outstretched hand like overripe fruit. As we look at the beachhead 90 miles off our Florida coast we know how far they've progressed with that plan.

Carefully, with great calculation, the communists gauge their aggression—slicing each new gain just thin enough so that we'll say, "That isn't worth fighting for." They predict that when we reach the final slice our surrender will be voluntary because we will have been weakened from within—morally, spiritually, and economically.

They have harnessed the *fear* of war instead of war itself—knowing that surrender at the conference table can be just as complete as surrender on the battlefield. Indeed, they probably have no intention of testing our armed might. They know, even if we don't, that ours is the greatest military power in all the world. You and I, and all free men everywhere, owe our freedom to the determination and dedication of our men in uniform who stand as the only barrier to world slavery.

Mr. Khrushchev has said that capitalism will inevitably evolve into communism, but not all at once. He says there will first come an intermediate stage of socialism. Supremely confident of victory, the communists say we will give up more and more of our democratic practices under the pressure of the cold war until one day we'll waken to find we have become so much like the enemy that the reasons for enmity will have disappeared.

Haven't we been trying to fight *communists* without really fighting *communism*? There is a liberal philosophy that seems to think of communism as simply an extension of extreme liberalism and that Soviet police state brutality is not an integral part of communism but is rather

an error superimposed on the political system. Those motivated by this so-called liberal philosophy believe the solution to the cold war is to refrain from any overt act that would anger the men in the Kremlin, while our own system is reshaped into a government controlled and directed economy. As we move left, the rough-necks in the Kremlin, ashamed of their ways, will supposedly come a little right and the conflict will dissolve in one world Utopia.

The liberal campaigns for more and more participation by the federal government in areas heretofore the province of the state, community and individual. The only common denominator needed to win their support of any legislation is the extent to which it will increase the power and authority of the central government.

It would be immoral and the height of folly to infer these people are less patriotic than ourselves. They are sincerely motivated by the most humanitarian of ideals, but it would be equally foolish to let them have their way without opposition. If someone is setting fire to the house, it doesn't matter if he is a deliberate arsonist or just a fool playing with matches, the damage will be the same.

We can lose our freedom all at once by succumbing to Russian aggression, or we can lose it gradually by installments—the end result is slavery. Professor Schlesinger says "The political argument for the welfare state is that the welfare state is the best insurance against revolution." This just isn't true. Our defense against communism is individual freedom and our free economy.

This fight isn't new. In 1917 one of the truly great labor statesmen, Samuel Gompers, founder of the A. F. L. said, "Compulsory social insurance is in its essence undemocratic and it cannot remove or prevent poverty. The workers of America adhere to voluntary institutions in preference to compulsory systems, which are held to be not only impracticable, but a menace to their rights, welfare and their liberty. Compulsory sickness insurance for workers is based upon the theory that they are unable to look after their own interests and the state must interpose its authority and wisdom and assume the relation of parent or guardian."

Under high flown phrases "free-

dom from want," "human rights," we see the federal government laying its hand on housing, health, farming, industry and education.

An illustration of this is the legislative battle that has raged over federal aid to education. Knowing the normal desire of all of us to provide the utmost for our children, we have been told that an adequate educational program is impossible unless we turn to the federal government for subsidy. An emergency situation is described involving crowded classrooms, teachers who are underpaid and too few in number. In the face of this we learn that 99.5 per cent of our school districts have not reached their limit of bonded indebtedness. The construction of classrooms has been increasing at a faster rate than that of student enrollment in the past decade. A 41 per cent increase in student enrollment from 1950 to 1960 has been matched by a 125 per cent increase in spending at the state and local levels over the same period. According to the educationists 60,000 classrooms must be constructed every year for the next 10 years if every child is to have the opportunity of a full-day education in an adequate classroom. These people seem to have forgotten to mention the fact that we have been building an average of 70,000 classrooms a year for the last five years. A continuation of this rate, according to some informed sources, may give us a surplus of classrooms by 1970 and it is more probable that sometime in the 1960's school construction will start to decline. Nor do they tell us that it has been estimated that the post war baby boom has been passed and that in the immediate years ahead the increase in the rate of enrollment is expected to decrease.

Teachers have been underpaid, but we are making progress without federal aid. In these first several years the average salary of teachers has risen from \$3100 to \$5200 a year for generally nine months of work. Little evidence has been introduced which indicates a need exists for federal aid. The professional educationists lobby (one of the biggest spenders in Washington) denies federal control plays any part in their plans, but in truth, a federal school system is the entire basis for the school aid plan. The foot in the door was the National Defense Education

Act of 1958. Graham Barden, the former chairman of the House Education & Labor Committee, reportedly said that the purpose of the current \$2.5 billion federal aid bill is to centralize power over the school system here in Washington so that it will be easier to apply concentrated pressure.

Twenty-seven years ago the government assured the farmer that subsidy didn't mean control. Then a farmer named Haley discovered he could be fined \$4000 for raising wheat on his own land and feeding it to his own cattle. The fine was upheld by the Supreme Court with a single sentence ruling that said, in effect, that an agency of the Federal Government has the right to tell a citizen what he can grow on his own land for his own use. Thus the Court practically cancelled out the 4th Amendment to the Constitution—our protection against search and seizure. If federal farm agents think a

and it will also pay you to fertilize your land so as to increase the crop yield. Last year the government lost 4.5 million acres of corn land. The government paid \$150 million to keep it from being planted, and now it develops that the 4.5 million acres don't even exist, according to Senator John Williams of Delaware.

This "farm mess" involves only 1/5th of agriculture—80 per cent of the farm economy is still out in the free market regulated only by the law of supply and demand. Common sense would indicate the answer should be to get that subsidized 20 per cent out into that same free market, indeed responsible farm groups have so advocated. To the bureaucrats the only solution was to bring the other 80 per cent into the government program. Congress was presented with a bill that could have resulted in the licensing of every farm in America, the complete control of production and price, and



District Five Vice President Slaughter and Mrs. Slaughter, Mr. and Mrs. Webster with Ronald Reagan (Center).

farmer is violating a regulation—not a law, mind you, but a regulation of a bureau—they pronounce the farmer guilty and impose a fine without even a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury. If the fine is not paid, they can seize property.

The farm program's reason for being is the control of overproduction. Billions are spent to store surplus farm products, and additional billions are spent to reclaim desert land and put it into production. The government will pay you not to plant

artificial shortages to bring about a 15 to 25 per cent raise in the price of foodstuffs. Right now, under the feed grain program, we are told cooperation is voluntary, but the Secretary of Agriculture has the authority to dump surplus grain on the market to break the price and force non-participants to join.

Medicine is an area dear to the heart of the statist. Government participation can be so easily justified on humanitarian grounds. No one wants to appear unsympathetic to

those in need of medical care.

Today this country has the costliest government hospital plan in the world—the Veterans Administration program. No one of us opposes the idea that a man disabled in the service of his country should be given the finest of medical and hospital care. I'm sure no one protested some years ago when it was suggested that a veteran not wounded in military service, but who was in need of medical attention and destitute, should be cared for in a VA hospital if the bed was not required for a patient with a service-connected disability. Today 3 out of 4 VA hospital beds are filled with patients suffering diseases or injuries neither originated by nor aggravated by military service. And each year the budget provides for expansion of the VA hospital facilities.

During the 86th Congress, former Congressman Forand introduced a bill, HR 4700, to provide a national program of government health insurance. His bill was overwhelmingly rejected. Now a re-write of that bill, limiting the benefits of citizens of Social Security age, is introduced. Proponents of the measure present an emotional appeal describing the plight of millions of senior citizens, ailing and without the means to provide adequate care. To oppose this measure is to be accused of throwing our elder citizens out to die. But what are the facts?

In the last 10 years, 127 million Americans have acquired some form of medical or hospital insurance. Seventy per cent of our people are so protected, including 2/3rds of our senior citizens. At the present rate of increase, it is estimated that 90 per cent of the population will be covered by 1970.

As nearly as we can determine, the problem involves less than 10 per cent of the elderly who would not be able to finance needed medical care. To this end, the 86th Congress adopted the Kerr-Mills bill to provide federal funds to the states. Without waiting for this to be put into effect, the advocates of the insurance measure claim the only answer to the problem is compulsory government health insurance for all, regardless of need. Never mind if the individual is already insured, has an ample income or possesses great wealth. Perhaps there is a clue to their true purpose in remarks made by now Ex-

Congressman Forand who has said, that if we could only break through and get our foot inside the door, then we could expand the program after that. Like an echo comes a pamphlet from the Socialist party entitled, "The Case for Socialized Medicine." It says:

"We can do everything possible to encourage federal intervention, the financing of medical costs on a bit by bit basis, and we can work to direct such intervention, so that if it isn't socialized medicine proper, at least it paves the way for socialized medicine."

It would be well for us to keep in mind that if you socialize the doctor, you can socialize the patient as well.

The flagship of the liberal cause is Social Security. It is offered as the proven vehicle for the medical insurance program. We are told that here is a government insurance program in which we and our employers pay into a fund so that someday in our non-earning years we will call on this, our own money, to see us through. Of course this isn't what officials of Social Security told the Supreme Court in a recent lawsuit. They said Social Security wasn't actually insurance—but they used that term to sell it to the people. Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government and payment of that tax does not automatically entitle anyone to the receipt of benefits. The benefits are a welfare program which can be cancelled or curtailed by Congress at any time.

In 1935 that tax was 2 per cent of \$3000 of income. Today it is 6 per cent of \$4000. If this medical aid bill is passed, the individual and employers' combined contribution will, by 1968, increase from \$288 to \$444. This is based on a ceiling of \$5200 of income, but the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare recently told a congressional committee he foresees a ceiling of perhaps \$9000 on the amount taxed for Social Security. There are others who oppose any ceiling—who say the tax should be levied against total income.

In this insurance program that is not insurance, we who are participating are unfunded to an amount more than \$300 billion. In a proposal to make Social Security voluntary, Congressman Rousselot has pointed out that the young man 20 or 21 years of age, starting out at an average sal-

ary, must, with his employer, contribute \$1.69 for every dollar he'll receive in benefits.

Turning from domestic welfare to the international scene, we find the same pattern of getting a "foot in the door" then freezing into permanence the temporary expedient. In the days following World War II, Senator Arthur Vandenburg gave his bi-partisan blessing to foreign aid with these words, "We are not suddenly resolved to underwrite the earth. That would be fantastic, improvident and impossible. The plan is for 15 months." It is now 15 years, and more than \$100 billion later. The original 19 countries to be helped have become 97. Let's ignore the temptation to talk about items such as the road in South Viet Nam which we started to build for \$18 million and which isn't finished yet, at \$125 million.

All such things we could swallow if free world strength, solidarity and friendship had resulted. We spent more per capita in Laos than in any other country. Cuba is on the book for \$2.5 billion. In these 15 years, communism has, in addition, absorbed China, North Viet Nam, and Tibet. Inroads have been made in Indonesia, Iran and Syria. They've tightened their grip on East Germany, Poland and Hungary. We've financed socialism in India, where the communist party has grown from 4 to 12 million in 5 years. In Bolivia part of our money was used to nationalize the tin mines, which reduced their output 50 per cent. Thanks in part to Yankee dollars, the cost of living in Bolivia rose over 250 per cent in 1956 alone. Last year the Bolivians staged the worst anti-American riots in South American history. Creating bureaucracy here and in the receiving nations we have in effect exported socialism under the utopian ideal of world democracy and social revolution.

We talk private enterprise at home, while we finance nationalization of industry all over the world. But that shouldn't surprise us.

In May 1960 during testimony before the Senate Small Business Subcommittee on Relations of Business with Government, Elmer B. Staats, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, said that as of July 31, 1959, the government owned and operated 17,507 businesses. A Subcommittee

on the Hoover Commission found that as of the end of 1954, the Department of Defense alone was actively engaged in activities covering 47 categories ranging from coffee roasting to manufacturing surgical and dental equipment. Operating these businesses in most instances, tax free, rent free, dividend free, in competition with our own citizens, the government loses billions of dollars each year.

The Depressed Areas bill enacted into law on May 1 has put government's foot in the door of direct control of job training and placement, including subsidy and relocation of industries and at the same time has created the biggest potential pork barrel of all time.

We subsidized public housing originally so that no one should be forced to live in degradation. Now people of better than average income are declared eligible for such a subsidy and the Chicago Public Housing Authority announces a plan to add swimming pools, and recreational facilities, including professional directors.

These are just a few of the things that have led to the creation of a permanent structure of government so complex it is virtually beyond congressional control, and certainly is self-perpetuating. Congressman Utt has suggested that we are rapidly coming to a point where a complete change of elected officials, including Congress and the White House, can mean little change in policy. We are governed more and more by people for whom we have never voted—for whom we never will vote, and whom we cannot recall by our vote. Even at Cabinet level, much of the policy is set by Civil Service employees who have been with the department for 20 years. They have no intention now or ever of recommending to the Secretary any policy which does not fit their personal philosophy of government. This is a form of invisible government and can lead to the most oppressive type of tyranny.

Two years ago a subcommittee of congress reported there were almost 2.5 million Federal employees. The committee reported it found little evidence that any bureau, agency or department created in answer to an emergency ever went out of existence, even after the emergency disappeared.

Congress abolished the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in 1957, but, it has spent over \$1 million since then. The current budget contains an item of \$65,000 for administrative expenses. The Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation formed in January, 1934, has made *no loans* since the depression. The authority of the Commissioner expired in 1947—since 1950, running expenses have amounted to \$4 million. Congress ordered the immediate liquidation of the Spruce Products Corporation in 1920. In 1930, they tried again. In 1947, it was still in business. In 1948 they found the answer—they cut off its appropriation. This was the agency created in World War I to find spruce wood for airplane fuselages.

government, leaving 10 cents for the state, county and local community. It is no wonder we turn to the federal government for aid, but wouldn't it make more sense to leave that money in the local community to begin with instead of running it through that puzzle palace on the Potomac, only to have it returned minus a carrying charge?

Early in our history we were warned that the farther the spending was removed from the source of taxation, the less restraint there would be in its spending. Today, shocking figures prove the truth of this. When you contribute to your local charities, you must give \$1.10 for every \$1 that is to be spent in good works. County welfare sees an increase in this overhead to where \$1.23 must be



At the reception for Ronald Reagan; NECA Executive Vice President Geary, Mr. Reagan, NECA President Webster and Reginald Jones, GE Supply Co.

All of this vast government complex has been created by a tax system which refuses to recognize any limitations on its right to confiscate the earnings of its citizens.

No nation in its history has survived a tax burden that reached a third of the national income. Today the tax collectors take 33 cents out of every dollar earned and of that 33 cents, 23 cents goes to the Federal

raised for every \$1 actually spent on welfare. At the state level it takes \$1.49 and the federal government must raise \$2.10 for every dollar it will spend on the recipients of federal welfare—a \$1.10 overhead for each \$1.

To meet this overhead, we are burdened by hundreds of hidden and indirect taxes, accounting for 1/3 of our phone bill, 1/4 of the price of

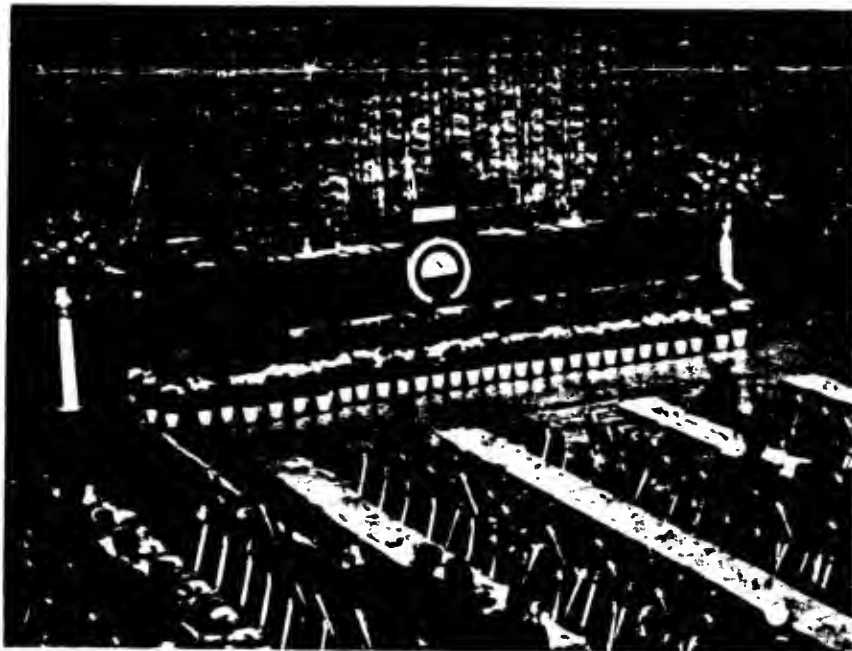
a new car, 1/2 of the gas and oil we use. More than 100 make up half the price of a loaf of bread.

All of these pale into insignificance beside the enormity of the graduated income tax. It too follows the pattern of a modest beginning. It began as a 2 per cent levy and that on only the top incomes. In the lifetime of most of us, this simple 31-word law has grown to more than 440,000 words. It begins at 20 per cent and has its steepest rate of increase through the middle income brackets, where are to be found the bulk of our small businessmen, professional people and skilled craftsmen. At \$16,000 a man begins giving the government half of the dollar he can earn and from there it goes up to the confiscatory 91 per cent. There is no moral right in a government taking anywhere from half to 9/10ths of the dollar a man can earn by his own ability. Beyond that is the fact the government cannot justify such confiscation on the basis of real need. The government's total grab from all the 50 per cent to 91 per cent brackets is less than 3/4ths of \$1 billion.

Because of our willingness to accept the idea that those best able to pay should lighten the burden of those with lesser earnings, we have adopted as proportionate taxation: this progressive system spawned by Karl Marx and declared by him to be the prime essential of a socialist state—the method prescribed for taxing the middle class out of existence. For an illustration of the difference between proportionate and progressive tax, we can look to the Bible. There tithing is explained as the economic basis of our Judaic-Christian religions. The Lord says you shall contribute one-tenth and He says, "If I prosper you 10 times as much you will give 10 times as much." That is proportionate—but look what happens today when you start computing Caesar's share. A man of average income suddenly prospered 10 times as much would find his personal tax increased 43 times.

If the government confiscated all taxable income above \$10,000 a year after exemption and deductions the increased revenue wouldn't pay the interest on the national debt.

Defense is given as justification for the tremendous increase in the



The executive session of the convention is called to order.

federal budget and yet since 1953 (the end of the Korean War) defense spending has only increased 1 per cent, while non-defense federal spending has increased 63 per cent.

We are told by some congressmen that spending programs are forced on them by pressure groups. Two years ago I was a member of a pressure group. I appeared before the House Ways & Means Committee to present the demand of 33

unions and the management of the motion picture industry for a tax reform program. In a month of unprecedented hearings, every segment of the national economy was represented before that committee and every representative demanded tax reform. Eighty-five per cent of those testifying asked the committee to bring forth one particular bill which three years later is still buried in the committee. It would seem pressure

Members listen to the marketing presentation.



groups are irresistible only if they favor spending.

Several months later they held additional hearings, but this time no volunteers. A group of hand-picked campus economists appeared before the committee and spoke only of the government's need for *more* revenue, not less. Their idea of tax reform involved rate reductions to make it "more palatable," but called for an end to deducting real estate tax before computing income tax. Interest on home mortgages should not be deductible, nor should contributions to educational groups at 100 per cent. Capital gains should be taxed as straight income. Government should use the tax as a police power to determine what constitutes necessary advertising and expense. Most of the legitimate deductions, without which the programs would have long since been proven unworkable, were called loopholes. A man, now assistant secretary of the treasury in charge of tax policy, has even explored the possibility of estimating the amount of rent a taxpayer saves by owning his own home and then paying income tax on that amount.

All told, these economists were sure their program would get the government \$18 billion a year more in revenue, and they just happen to be standing by with \$18 billion worth of welfare programs they want the government to adopt.

The big spenders reject the idea that the least government is the best government. According to them, you and I are not smart enough to spend our own money. Government should take it from us through taxation and buy for us the welfare programs we are too stupid to buy for ourselves. Their high ideals cannot excuse the fact that it is dishonest to seek social legislation under the guise of taxation. If we are to adopt socialism, then let it be presented to the people as socialism.

Proponents of Keynesian economic theory tell us the national debt is meaningless: It is—it's incomprehensible. Who can understand \$298 billion? If I held a stack of \$1000 bills in my hand just 4 inches high, I'd have \$1 million. If we had the national debt piled up before us in \$1000 bills, the pile would be more than 18 miles high. It is a greater amount than all other governments have spent since the beginning of

government itself.

Reduction of and economy in government is where we must start. We must demand that congress put an end to deficit spending: that government stay within the limits of its revenue; and that provision be made for regular payments on the national debt. Then we must demand tax reform of the kind that will reduce the percentage of national income confiscated by the government. We must restore the right of a man to keep the fruit of his toil.

To this end, may I suggest the bipartisan bill still buried in the House Ways & Means Committee—the Herlong-Baker bill (Herlong is a Democrat, Baker a Republican). This is one of the better prepared tax reform measures to be presented in half a century. Over a five-year period, it gradually reduces corporate and personal income tax to a 15 per cent level with a 47 per cent ceiling on surtax.

In the vast permanent structure of government, you and I cannot recommend specific areas where savings can be effected—nor can congress, beyond a certain point. However, every businessman knows that if you reduce government income and then issue a blanket order to every department-head and bureau chief that his budget is reduced by that same percentage, he'll know where the useless fat can be trimmed.

Of course there will be screams. It will be said that it is dangerous to reduce taxes before reducing spending. They are talking through their hats. Government doesn't tax to get the money it needs—government will always find a need for the money it gets.

We can do this by accepting our responsibility as citizens. In the coming election year (regardless of party, because this struggle crosses party lines) we must pin down those who solicit our votes as to where they stand on old fashioned economy and tax reform. We must write to our congressmen and senators giving our objection to specific bills where the money cost and the price in individual freedom is too high. Write them now and then just to praise them when they are on the right track. Don't belittle this simple procedure. It was just this kind of pressure that stopped (at least for the moment) the school aid bill, headed off the

socialization of our farms, restrained some areas of foreign aid, and so far has delayed the medical aid program. Writing isn't complicated—just put his name on the envelope, then address it "House Office Building" or "Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C."

We must do more than just stop spending measures. Containment won't save freedom on the home front any more than it can stop Russian aggression on the world front. We must roll back the network of encroaching controls. We can do it as individuals—we won't need any great new organization.

James Russell Lowell, as Minister to England, was asked how long he thought our Republic would endure. He answered, that our Republic would endure as long as the people keep the ideas of the men who founded it.

And what were those ideas? The founding fathers—that little band of men so advanced beyond their time the world has never seen their like since—created a government based on the theory that you and I have the God-given right and ability to determine our own destiny. Here took place the only revolution in all history that didn't just exchange one set of rules for another. They shaped a government, bound it with a Constitution, and said its only function was to be a watchdog over man's freedom. They never planned that it should become a cow to be milked.

Here for the first time the individual genius of man—every man—was unleashed. Six per cent of the world's population on 7 per cent of the earth's land surface created and owns more than 50 per cent of the world's wealth and that wealth has been distributed more widely among our people than in any other society since time began.

There were no fringe benefits at Valley Forge. The West was won without an area re-development program.

Now you and I must answer once again whether life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If we are willing to pledge our lives, our efforts and our sacred honor, then we must one day spend our sunset years telling our children and our children's children what it once was like in America when men were free.

Sharp: Yes, Mr. [Edgar M.] Gillenwaters was telling me that the first time he heard Ronald Reagan was when he was at Rohr Industries. Mr. Reagan came when he was still with General Electric and just gave this rousing talk. I guess everybody was talking about it for several days afterwards.

Storrs: Now, Burt Raynes, I just saw him the other day, as a matter of fact. They came over, Burt and Lois, his wife, and there is somebody who could give you a lot of insight into things.

Sharp: Yes, yes, that's what we had thought.

II POLITICS OVER THE YEARS

The Republican Party in San Diego and Statewide Issues

Sharp: I have some other questions mostly about San Diego because I wanted us to start off at the local level. I have some questions just about the state party operations from San Diego, and so I thought we would start with that and then grow out.

Storrs: We had a chairman [Edwin L. Thacher, GOP county chairman] and he decided--let me think, this is '60 or '61, I think--that we should have again a committee to interview candidates for assembly, state senate, and Congress in this area.

Sharp: In San Diego.

Storrs: In San Diego County. As a matter of fact, he had Ruth Jackson and I put down who should be on it. Ruth was the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Club president or may have been at the time. So what we did was just go straight through the list, took the president of the Republican Women's Club in the county, the presidents of the Young Republicans, the president of CRA [California Republican Assembly], UROC [United Republicans of California], and so forth, and then took in each assembly district. We did about fifty or sixty in each assembly district and then we took outstanding business types in each one of these districts.

Then we met by assembly district. They [the assembly district representatives] elected or nominated or appointed those people that would be on the state senate and assembly interviewing committees and then they picked--and remember, these would overlap--the ones for the congressional recommendations. Then the meetings were held and people interviewed and so forth. I felt that it was one of the healthiest things that had ever happened because that first time we did it with a heavy Democrat voter

registration, we elected four out of our five assemblymen, and we were able to do it because everybody got together.

Now, we had some people that felt, oh, "you're being selective," and, "You are being this." We had some people that got really very cross, but then, because it was being followed closely, we had a couple of candidates that would speak in a conservative area and go on a strong conservative [pitch], and go over here, which was a liberal area and do exactly the opposite, and we didn't think that was very good.

Remember, there was some taping in that stage where you could do it so that they would have it. They couldn't say, "I didn't say that." "Uh-huh." So we did and that's when we elected these people and that continued until Les Gehres came in as chairman, Leslie Gehres. He said, "This is the worst thing that ever happened in the county and so forth and so on and we'll not do it, we'll not have this any longer."

It was a time of Arnie [C. Arnholt] Smith basically, you might say, and Gehres worked for Arnholt. So there was a situation set up amongst the real volunteers you might say--Charlie [Charles K.] Fletcher, Gordon Luce, the people that felt very strongly about solid government. There did become a row against each other to a certain extent in there.

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Sharp: This is Les Gehres?

Storrs: Back in '26 and his wife, oh Lord, I am godmother for their--no, I am not any longer. I was godmother for their daughter until she married a Catholic and then I couldn't be godmother any longer! [laughs] But anyway, so Gehres and I had always been friends but on the county committee we'd battle like grim death. Now, most of the time we'd lose.

Sharp: I had a couple of questions. In '62 Gaylord Parkinson became the vice-chairman [of the Republican state central committee].

Storrs: "Parky"--beautiful, beautiful.

Sharp: That, from what I can tell, is pretty dramatic in the sense of San Diego sort of wrenching control away, at least for that spot, from Los Angeles.

Storrs: Yes. Parky had remarkable organizational ability and was remarkably conservative. He basically, almost totally alone, you might say, pulled the party together. Parky did it; there is no

question about it. Now, I have known him a great many years. His wife was one of my close friends. I knew the boys when they were little and that kind of stuff. He did something that was just perfectly remarkable in this state--and he did it, nobody else. He used to get around and the stuff that he accomplished--let me look here. [refers to papers]

Of course, then Put [Putnam] Livermore [became party chairman in 1969]--there again, we went north, of course. The old Livermore family. When you are an old California family like the Chickerings [laughs] and such like, it always creates a kind of a bond because there weren't too many people at that stage. But Put Livermore was inclined to go with the pressures. Do you know what I mean?

Sharp: Yes.

Storrs: Then, of course, when Gordon [Luce] came in [in 1969]--

Sharp: That was a dramatic difference you would think?

Storrs: Yes, Gordon again did a very remarkable--of course, Gordon was the one that did the Reagan thing, you might say.

Sharp: In what respect?

Storrs: By organization and getting people to realize and as much as anything else his personality, his being able to get to people. There are some people that can get hold of people and other people--well, Put Livermore always had a certain shyness, shall I say. He was laid back to a certain extent where with Gordon he was always--here I am telling you what I think.

Sharp: Let me ask you a few more questions that may highlight some more of this. I just want us to stay back in time a little bit, but at the point when Parkinson came in as vice-chairman, Caspar Weinberger, of course, was chairman and there seemed to be somewhat of a tension about the party and about the directions the party was supposed to go in. Do you think that?

Storrs: Not too much really. Again, Cap being the northern (the same old bit that we've always gone through to a certain extent)--a little stronger on the--a little more liberal. But I happen to be very fond of Cap. Then you've got to remember that people do change. People will realize that "you mean I advocated that? How did I ever do that?" Do you know what I mean? As they will get more fully informed, get closer into things, they do change. They won't just stick here or maybe they go a little bit more on this or that side.

I have always been opposed majorly--I think the women's place is in the home and doing the volunteer work. I don't like to see them in the top industry things. I realize a lot of them are very smart and so forth and that's their life, but they give up a whole part of their life, of their feminine side. They give that all up and even if they have children and they are career women, they haven't the time to spend with their children--you know, "get in my lap" or something when somebody falls down and cries, or they come home from school and Mother's not there, she's at work. I think that's very sad because--of course, I was raised to think [taps for emphasis] you're always home when your children come home from school, period! You don't go out playing bridge or anything. When they come home, any problem that has come up in school, you will hear it immediately. If it's two hours later, they're into something else.

So that again is government at the local level and you follow this through all the way on all levels. Yes, we all change.

Now I see women that are brilliant and doing brilliant things. Some of them had not done it until they were at a certain phase where they felt they could or wanted to, but I don't like women going to the naval academy. [laughter] No, I don't! I'm still, you might say, prejudiced. I don't think that's the place for them. I think they're better off when we used to have a separate corps, you might say. Women that started out as yeomen became this, that, and the other thing. They weren't aboard ship ever because that can be distracting. In fact, I had a young captain of a ship and he had some women aboard. I had known him--again, he was a navy family.

I said, "Charlie, how does it do to have women aboard your ship? What happens?" He said, "Oh, don't talk to me!" I said, "Do you mean hanky-panky stuff?" "Oh, no," he said, "I'm not talking about that. One of them picks up something and starts up a ladder and everybody stops working and runs to help her carry it up a ladder. [sighs] It disrupts the whole work on the ship. She is scrubbing at something and gets into or drops something or something, every man in the area stops and runs over to help her! We can't get the work done." [laughter]

Here is my daughter. Now, she works in volunteer things, I am happy to say. [tape interruption]

Sharp: The next question that chronologically fits in here is Mr. Nixon's gubernatorial candidacy which is in '62, in this early period. I wondered if, on this local level, you might have been involved.

Storrs: Well, what was I doing?

Sharp: Working with the county committee probably?

Storrs: Probably, oh, yes, by all means I worked for him. He was in the navy. His skipper when he came into the navy lives right here a half a block, Capt. Dorris Gurley [spells name] and they became very close friends. Capt. Gurley very often will--he used to more--reminisce about various and sundry [laughs] times he and Nixon had together when they were all young in the early navy.

I think Mr. Nixon has been very much maligned. I have never heard these tapes where he consents to this or that or the other thing, but I bring it home. I have many a time been on the phone or busy doing something and one of the children would come and say, "Hey, Ma, is it all right if we do so and so and so and so?" And I'd say, "Oh, sure, sure, and I haven't heard a word they said." I think we all do that.

I can't help but feel that in part of these things that he was being taped, he said, "Oh, yes, go ahead, that's fine, that's dandy, do it," and so forth. It was not a conscious--do you see what I am talking about?

I think he has been very, very much maligned because I still think there is something very peculiar that at this situation when the people went into their building so-called "stealing" the things, then they found that the things that they had locked were unlocked. They must have known that somebody had caught on or that somebody was there doing something wrong. Then to have the number of unusual people right in the area to be able to get there like that, there is something a little bit very unusual.

It could have been a planned, set-up thing, and I still think it was. I don't know who did it or anything of that kind, but it's a little bit too-too.

Sharp: If you look back to what was certainly a more optimistic time for Mr. Nixon in '62, was that a kind of coalescing for the Republican party behind Mr. Nixon for governor or not so much?

Storrs: Yes and no.

Sharp: In what respects?

Storrs: I am just trying to think really. You have always had this kind of division.

Sharp: Do you mean within the party?

Storrs: Yes, north and south and between the, what do we say, the [Thomas] Kuchels and the what-do-you-call-thems that didn't agree on a lot of issues, let's put it that way. But I can remember we did pretty well for Nixon, but then we had been a more conservative town.

Sharp: Yes, that's true.

Storrs: We always have been, whether because we were--San Diego today, they don't consider themselves a big city. They don't. You can ask anybody: "Where are you from?" "I'm from Clairmont." "I'm from La Jolla." "I'm from North Park." They don't say, "Oh, I'm from San Diego." They'd say, "Oh, I'm from University City," and yet they are all San Diego.

Sharp: You were mentioning that the organization that went on in San Diego was real important. I wondered in terms of this early period, really before '64, if there were some major issues that the party as a whole was struggling with.

Storrs: What we tried to do was to keep the county committee, the federation, the Young Republicans, CRA, UROC, all of that, very closely together. Now, UROC, yes, was very conservative. The Republican League was very liberal. Do you see what I mean?

Sharp: Yes. You also had Republican Associates in there.

Storrs: Republican Associates, which basically Bob [Robert C.] Walker--oh, you ought to--

Sharp: We did.

Storrs: Where is Bob now?

Sharp: He is in Washington and I had an interview with him this summer [1982].

Storrs: Oh, he is? He was in Boulder, Colorado. He was with Coors.

Sharp: He is still with Coors, but he is in Washington heading up their national affairs. He was great and he has promised me another interview just on the 1968 Republican national convention.*

*There are two oral history interviews with Mr. Walker conducted as part of this Reagan Era series.

Storrs: You know it was the darndest thing about Bob Walker. He had worked for a congressman (and he probably wouldn't tell you this). [telephone rings: tape interruption] He was running for office and he had had a big party at the Ambassador, nothing to do with campaigning, in which he went to Bob Walker and said, "You sign the chits." Bob said, "I can't do that. That's not campaigning. That's something you did on your own." He said, "I told you to pay these bills," and they were large ones. Bob said, "I'm sorry, I can't. I couldn't do it because it isn't campaign money." They guy said, "You're fired," and he was. He went over and worked in the 1962 Nixon campaign, I think.

All right, when the San Diego Republican leaders were talking about doing a Republican Associates, because they had one in Los Angeles, various people would call me and said, "Would you call some people up in Los Angeles or someplace? We think it would be better to have somebody from out of town start Republican Associates than to get into anything here." Would you see what sort of recommendations you can get?"

So I called Cecil Kenyon, a former president of the California Federation of Republican Women. I called--I am trying to think, what other people? But women that were very much in the--maybe Gladys O'Donnell or Dorothy Goodknight or any of those. Oma--I forget.

Sharp: Who was that?

Storrs: Oma Umphrey. She may not have been there then, but I called sort of all of the top women up there in Los Angeles and I said, "Now, if you were picking a staff guy that is really efficient and so forth and so on, who would you pick?" They said, "Bob Walker," and I got the same thing from every single one of them. So when I reported in, I said, "From what I can gather, Bob Walker. I don't know him at all, but that's what they said."

So they had a number of people come down and interview for this job and Bob Walker was picked and he established Republican Associates and did an absolutely fabulous job with them. Now, it still goes on and it's fairly good. I can go over once in a while because I was like a founding member or something and they'll call me and I would get over at different times. But then Pete Wilson came in when Bob left.

Sharp: And took over Bob's role?

Storrs: Yes, in Republican Associates.

Sharp: Is that how Pete Wilson got started in politics?

Storrs: He came into our Republican headquarters when he had just gotten out of the marine corps. Ruth Jackson and I were running volunteers and he came in there [laughs] and started in with us as a volunteer. He was just out of the marine corps and he said, "I want to work." I've forgotten, maybe [it was] the Goldwater campaign. I forget.

The Goldwater Candidacy and the Republican National Convention, 1964; General Notes on Political Conventions

Sharp: Let's get to the Goldwater campaign and the Republican national convention.

Storrs: In San Francisco.

Sharp: In San Francisco. Now, when we talked on the phone you mentioned to me that Bill Knowland had had a really important role. I think that he was Mr. Goldwater's campaign head.

Storrs: No, now wait a minute. No, I don't think Bill was. Oh, wait a minute, let me go get my Goldwater books or I will get a Goldwater book. [tape interruption; goes through books]

Now, wait a minute, here is our San Diego County.

Sharp: Okay. Oh, that's good. May I have this?

Storrs: Yes.

Sharp: Oh, great.

Storrs: Let me give you this, too. I was headquarters chairman. [continues to go through papers] Now, here is national headquarters with Jimmy Doolittle, Clair Booth Luce, Clif White. This is the whole schmeer, addresses and everything else.

Sharp: Yes, that's a complete folder there--everything.

Storrs: You see, I'm a pack rat. I save stuff.

Sharp: I think it's great; it's a researcher's dream.

Storrs: What I would always do anyway instead of throwing out all of the campaign material left over, I would bring part of it home. [laughs]

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JAMES O. PIKE

Sharp: It looks like you brought more and more all of the time!

You mentioned that you had been at the convention, at that '64 convention, and I wondered how exactly you had participated.

Storrs: I was an alternate. In most cases, when they would say, "Now, you can be a delegate," I would say, "No, I would rather have so-and-so," because we had guys that I felt should be on there much more so. I would rather be an alternate. So I was always very much into that. Well, then they forced me to be! [laughter] Because to me it was sort of so what. Then there were certain ones I had to because I had to do certain platform things and such like. So you have to be a delegate or you can't get on Republican committees at convention now. Now, here were our county co-ordinators, the women.

Sharp: So this would have been for all of the counties, for Imperial, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernadino, San Diego, Santa Barbara--

Storrs: The southern division.

Sharp: The southern division; you would have been responsible for co-ordinating some of the work?

Storrs: To some extent, yes.

Sharp: Would some of these women have been alternates as well or were they more strictly behind the scenes?

Storrs: [reading from list] Louise Hartman, Helen Grubb, I think Kate Haley was, Hazel Stroshime in Orange County.

Sharp: So at the convention there were certain notable--

Storrs: Let me look here. Marjorie Benedict. Charlie Fletcher, of course, I had known all of my life. He is somebody that ought to be interviewed on some of this stuff. He was a congressman. Yes, there's Helen Grubb, Lucile Hosmer.*

*Interested readers may see an oral history conducted with Lucile Hosmer, A Conservative Republican in the Mainstream of Party Politics, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley, 1983. Also, one conducted with Marjorie Benedict, Developing a Place for Women in the Republican Party, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley, in process.

- Sharp: But you were saying that you spent your time doing what now?
- Storrs: Working on the rules and platform committees.
- Sharp: Let me just show you this for comparison. I also have the list of the people who were the [Nelson] Rockefeller delegates, so you can just see. I don't know if you probably had seen that at one time. Now, who were those?
- Storrs: Yes, Kuchel and Knight, Christopher, Leonard Firestone, Anthony Clark, Lee Sherry. Then, you see, it was after this that we had to get together and Leonard came with his--we had one committee. Maybe there were five of us. I was the only woman on it--Leonard, Holmes Tuttle, Tom Reed, and I, and who was the fifth one? [pauses to recall] No, it wasn't Justin Dart.
- Sharp: Mr. Rubel perhaps?
- Storrs: No. But some of these people left us entirely and some of them stayed and went along, no question about it. Lee, of course, did. See, here's your game. There you are, your liberals and your conservatives. [laughs]
- Sharp: Yes, very much so, and these names show up on the same sides all the way through perhaps, at least that is the way it seems.
- Storrs: To a great extent, but there has been a coming together. On the other hand, a lot of us can remember when these guys--the Kuchels and these kinds of people were out to cut your throat.
- Sharp: Had things changed very much from the Earl Warren period when there were such stringent--
- Storrs: I don't know because I didn't know that much really about that period because the first convention I went to was in '60 in Chicago as an alternate and Bob Wilson wanted me to go. So then I got interested in "what's going on around here?" [laughter] Of course, I am a great believer [that] the more people at the local level that you get involved, the better off you are--I mean really involved and they get involved in government and this is fine.
- Sharp: I wanted us to get a few more notes on Bill Knowland because he is such an interesting figure.
- Storrs: Bill Knowland was a very outstanding guy. I have always liked him very much. I think he had a real rough go-around. There were a number of situations where--in the first place, when they changed over there where he was going to run and he gave up his Senate seat and everything--

Sharp: In '58.*

Storrs: Yes. I wished they hadn't.

Sharp: It really caused them a lot of problems.

Storrs: Yes, people see it the way they see it, though there were a lot of us who were not really in favor of this.

##

Sharp: Why was he working on Mr. Goldwater's campaign do you think?

Storrs: I think that he realized what had to be done and that kind of stuff.

Sharp: Goldwater, of course, had succeeded in the primary and I guess was gathering quite a bit of momentum for the general election, which was going to come in November. I wondered if the party was beginning to really come together behind Mr. Goldwater?

Storrs: I think they certainly did at that time. Now, later with--I don't know happened in there.

Sharp: It's a real rough period.

Storrs: Of course, remember, during the period when I am national committeewoman [1968-1972], I must stay out of all other elections. I mean that's your obligation. Your obligation is only to work with people for the party. You are a Republican committeewoman, so you do not pre-primary endorse and you do not get into any of these elections at all (which I was in a great deal of the time because I was also a vice-chairman of the southern division and even a county president). The same thing, you may not pre-primary endorse in the federation. This you must not unless you wish to resign. You just can't do it. The minute the primary is over, okay.

Now, in the Goldwater thing I was fine because I had finished being county president, so that I was free to do as I wanted to and I could go into the Goldwater [campaign]. Cynthia Laird, who now

*In 1958 William Knowland ran for governor of California instead of for re-election as U.S. Senator from California. Governor Knight did not run for re-election. He ran for Knowland's Senatorial seat instead. This was called the "Big Switch"; both men lost.

lives in Santa Barbara, her name is [Mrs. Ted] Heyer [spells name], she worked just as strongly on the Goldwater thing as I did, perfectly marvelous. She is very strong in the know (meaning knowledgeable) and remembers a lot about the political stuff. [laughs, pause] But she is a lot younger to begin with.

But we have a lot of very, very remarkable people, I mean people I think who have been--now, Paul Haerle went the other way, you see.

Sharp: There was that split later on.*

Storrs: Yes, and I said to him, "I just can't believe it." But in the meantime, he and his wife had split up. Very often the domestic things came into these things. I think that was part of the Knowland thing, too. Now, I've always felt that Frank Adams, whom I admire greatly, although lots of times we haven't agreed on things, he always stayed exactly correctly, do you know what I mean? We could argue about various things, always in a very friendly way, and usually come to some solution. Of course, Tom Reed, good Lord, Tom, and of course you must--he is in Washington now. He always wanted to go his own way.

[laughs] Well, Tom is a strange guy. His wife I'm very fond of. She is a perfectly delightful woman and a very smart woman. They had met when they were going to Cornell together.

Sharp: Is she active too within the party?

Storrs: Not too much; more active with her children, her family. Is that on?

Sharp: Yes.

Storrs: Oh, all right. [laughs] All the odd experiences one has. My husband and I are landing in Syracuse--this is about '78 or '79--and we are going for a week in New York to see some family and, oh, we had an awful time getting in, a storm and all that stuff. We get in and we have rented a car and we are both carrying a suitcase. All of a sudden there is woman walking down here carrying a bag over her shoulder and a bag here. All of a sudden she drops all of her bags and just stands there. I said, "Good heavens, I

*In the 1976 Republican presidential campaigns, a group of people who had originally worked for Mr. Reagan while he was governor supported Gerald Ford for president instead of Reagan.

wonder what happened to that"--whether something had happened to her. So I ran over: Tom Reed's wife. She said, "Imagine, seeing you in an airport in Syracuse when I haven't seen you in years." She had been up on something. She's a trustee at Cornell University. [laughs] So we stand in the airport and talk old times for a half hour.

Sharp: [laughter] With suitcases and everything sort of all over!

Storrs: Yes, but that's the strange thing in this political thing. You run into people when you least expect it.

Sharp: When you go to these conventions you must--

Storrs: No, I want other people to go to the conventions. I'll help, but I don't want to be appointed to any of these things. I didn't want to be appointed to any presidential commissions, having known Helene von Damm and Ed Meese and of course Ursula Meese. I had in the beginning any number of calls: You know, "Eleanor would you go on so-and-so?" "No thank you very much, I don't want to go on any of them. I want other people on them. I'll suggest names, but no way. You want your younger people in here and, sure, I can check on so-and-so or check on so-and-so," those kind of things. Sure, I'm happy to do it and I can come back and say "dandy," "I don't know," or "I'd be a little leery" or something. With any of these things you do, you have to make always at least four or five phone calls of totally different types if you are going to get a balanced opinion, which I discovered very early.

Sharp: Was that pretty important in the organizing that you did in San Diego?

Storrs: Of course, it is because you have got to get, if somebody is going to come in in a certain job, this woman or man has to be someone, at least I've always felt, that must be respected by all different kinds of groups. Otherwise, how are you going to get them together? If it is someone that they have admired in doing such-and-so or something else, then they can come in and say, "All right, let's get this going."

Republican National Committeewoman, 1968-1972

Sharp: It strikes me that with the Republican party, the central committee in the struggling for the different positions, that that's exactly what was the problem with it, that there wasn't very much agreement on who would be--

Storrs: Yes, of the pulling together.

Sharp: Ann Bowler came in at just about this time to be national committeewoman [January 1967].

Storrs: She and Gardiner Johnson came in.*

Sharp: This is, of course, just after Mr. Reagan has become governor. It would have been a good period for the Republican party with a new governor.

Storrs: Yes, and that was when (and Ann and I had talked about it), let me see, when was it? It was the January [1968] before the meeting of the delegation in June. I was up in Sacramento on an executive meeting, and they came to me about originally being national committeewoman. So I went and talked to Ann and she said, "Yes, because we want to stay in. Then Gardiner didn't want to leave. (This is kind of off the record.) Then Ann left for someplace. About a month or so later she called me and said [emphatic tone], "No, I'm going to stay on." I said, "Ann, it's already done." Oh, Gardiner was upset, Ann was upset.

We since have, you might say, been able to work together, but at that stage she and Gardiner both felt they should have stayed.

Sharp: Why is it that they were not able to stay?

Storrs: Because Reagan wanted new people and Tom Reed was someone that he felt--or the people around there and Bill Clark, they kind of sit down and kick this stuff around. They're nominated to the delegation and then they are elected at the convention. Nobody ever knows when it takes place. The secretary of the party stands up and says, "Nominated for national committeewoman from Arizona or Arkansas"--she reads of all of the names--"all those in favor," and nobody has heard a word and then you're elected.

But where you are nominated is within your delegation and then that's all. Now, for instance, Gordon Luce nominated me. There is usually one nomination for committeewoman and one for committeeman--period. It is all pretty much set up ahead of time.

*Gardiner Johnson was Republican national committeeman between 1964 and 1968. Readers are directed to his interview in the Reagan Era series.

Sharp: When you came in then, it was something that you resisted?

Storrs: Well, I just had felt that there were younger people that could have done it. Apparently it was as much staff [matters] as anything else, no "we want the local" and so forth and "Tom will do the other." When we were going to have the convention in San Diego--when was that?

Sharp: In '72.

Storrs: It was decided it was going to be in San Diego. So Tom Reed came to me and said, "You are in charge." I said, "Come off it, you and I are together in charge." He said, "I can't possibly. You're in charge. I'll give you any staff you want. Pick your top staff person and let me know and get the headquarters in San Diego and so forth." So I said, "All right." So I [laughs] picked Esther Rushford. Do you know who Esther is?

Sharp: No, I sure don't.

Storrs: Esther Rushford Green, she's with the California Chamber of Commerce or has been up there in Sacramento. Oh, Lord, what's her last name? She was on staff of the state committee and did a fabulous job. So I asked for her and Tom said, "You are asking for a woman?" I said, "Yes, she's the most efficient staff [person] I've ever seen work in the state." So he said, "All right." Esther came down here and we established the office.

Bill Timmons called me from Kansas City and he said, "Eleanor, we're in problems because of Ed Reinecke and all that stuff," which again they misinterpreted. There was nothing wrong about the Sheraton people getting this money to the convention thing, it really wasn't. Then the agreement was that Nixon would be there opening their big thing. Well, that following year what did they do? They took a plane load of people to some place all paid for by the hotel to open one of the Hiltons in Greece or something, campaign stuff. Jeepers!

Anyway, so Paula Hawkins was national committeewoman in Florida at the time. I happen to also be very fond of her. We always got along on the national committee. So I called her and I said, "Paula, in case you don't know it, it's [the convention] going to move to Miami," and this is like the end of April or May. She said, "What?" I said, "Yes, and you're in charge." She said, "Oh!" [laughs] So she said, "Eleanor, you've got to help me." So I said, "All right, I'll come on over," which I did. Esther came with me and we went down with Paula--and she is a very efficient woman--setting this stuff up for the convention which was what, July in Miami?

Sharp: Yes, I believe so.

Storrs: But I can tell you, out of all this some of the most marvelous things come. Paula and I are in the convention hall just before the convention trying to be sure that everybody had the box they wanted to have, and somebody wouldn't be mad because they were behind somebody else or something. At that stage, the orchestra started to play. There was nobody in the whole place and the orchestra started to play and you're up here. What's going on? Ethel Merman starts practicing the things she is going to sing at the convention. Paula and I both sat down and there she sang for an hour or so--you know, "let's do this again, a little faster there, a little slow there." We sat there and listened to the entire rehearsal and then both of us got up and just clapped like crazy and she looked around! [laughter]

But these are the unusual things that will happen when you least expect them.

Sharp: So you had your own private concert while you were getting ready?

Storrs: Well, of course!

Sharp: After everything got ironed out about San Diego, it must have been a fairly interesting convention I would think.

Storrs: Yes, it really was. I think my most difficult time in it came one night. I had been to some dinner or something and I had got back and we were a fair ways out at a hotel, a fair ways out. I got back and I got this call from Nancy Clark Reynolds. She said, "Eleanor, there is a governors' meeting tonight at midnight at one of the hotels way downtown and the governor has asked that you represent him." I said, "What?" She said, "Yes, I'll be by to pick you up in about twenty minutes or so." I said, "Give me a half hour." I was dirty--do you know what I mean?--so I got in the shower and went on down. These were the Republican governors and the meeting was chaired by the governor from Massachusetts.

Sharp: Saltonstall?

Storrs: I think so, and most of them were very liberal. They started getting into some things and finally I had to put up my hand and say, "I'm sorry, I can't agree with that and I don't think that Governor Reagan would agree with it." Then they get in a great hassle and finally this governor from Kentucky or Tennessee, a strong conservative, he walked in (he hadn't been there earlier) and he said, "I totally agree with California," and, brother, he gets in and really lays it into them.

Sharp: What was the issue that they were--

Storrs: They were talking about platform and stuff like that, things that they wanted in, and this was sort of a very small Republican meeting--you see, there weren't that many Republican governors. So we were there until about three o'clock and then the darling governor from Maine--I forgot who that was, I knew his name, but I had never known him, but he and his wife said, "How are you getting home?" I said, "Oh, I'll get a cab." They said, "Oh, no, you won't at this time of night. Because we're out close to there, too, you're going with us," which I did. So we went on out.

I got back to the hotel to have Phyllis Schlafly--let me think, who else?--sitting waiting for me. "Eleanor, can we get tickets to the so-and-so? Do you think we could get so-and-so?" I said, "I don't know why not." Well, I never got to bed at all that night. I went for two nights and never got to bed at all! [laughs]

Sharp: Were there lots of these meetings?

Storrs: Yes, and they'd start--

Sharp: At off hours when people--

Storrs: Yes, the only time that you could--a two o'clock meeting for such-and-so, then you finish this, and then you go tearing over to such-and-so; all sorts of different types of things, different sorts of things.

Sharp: I am interested in the platform discussions and what the purpose of the wrangling was about the platform.

Storrs: Basically, again, it would be conservative and liberal. We had gone through every single platform of trying to keep them into less government interference, less regulation at the federal level--again, constantly trying to get it back for the state to administer, for the state to have the county to administer, the county to have the city administer, and to not [have] all the money going to Washington. Then you get back money that they decide you may have, and what was it? At one stage, somebody figured it out of the \$1.39 that each Californian sent to the federal thing, California got back 29¢. Whether it is for the aging or the hospital (you know what I mean), there are all of the different federal things that the federal government has gotten into which they never should have.

They should have been left within the states' rights because different states do different things and that's basically what our platforms were always trying to do, get more and more. This is

exactly what the president is trying to do, get some of these federal regulations off of things that can be very damaging, particularly in certain states. Our states are totally different, not only weatherwise, populationwise, commercial, everything else. They are totally different states. They have different industries, whether they are an agricultural state or a manufacturing state, they're just totally different and they are better off if those decisions are left at the state level. Then you get rid of a tremendous amount of bureaucracy.

Now, a year or so ago I went on this [federal] Commission on Aging and I was a deputy chairman. There were six of us deputy chairmen and a very interesting group, too. One of them was of a Spanish-Mexican background, one of them black, and so forth. The gal from Texas, I think, who was of Mexican background, she's the woman that had started the Hospice situation, people would have nursing at home done at the local level. Do you see what I mean? Oh, you'd think, sure, now hospices. We have one in San Diego, a marvelous thing done at the local level, paid for at the local level. It gives us better service than anything.

You get into dear old Senator [Claude] Pepper and all of this--layers and layers of the HEW [Department of Health, Education and Welfare]. Practically one whole floor to do--what are they doing? Telling somebody in Mississippi how the older people should live or in New York City. If you put it down here, Mississippi can handle that better or New York could.

The same thing you get statewide. We have an enormous Commission on Aging, all paid staff. [It] all comes out of the money for aging. You have it at the county level, you have it at the city level. You have it over in San Diego--a great big [bureaucracy]. Who are these people on staff? What are they doing? All of that money going into staff stuff. If the money could be put down here, with very minor staff, where it should be to really pay attention, because there are people that really need care and they don't get it.

Sharp: It seems like in some respects you may have been representing Mr. Reagan at several different levels, like the example at the 1972 Republican national convention when you were sent to go to this meeting and represent him. Did you feel pretty comfortable being his representative?

Storrs: Yes, I think as much as anything else because we have always thought along the same lines, you know what I mean?

Sharp: It sounds like it.

Storrs: We have always thought along the same lines and it's back to the old thing of government is best at the local level. That's your most economic, your most efficient government because the more you can have at the local level--your free enterprise system, not these subsidies from the government all of the time. Give these people an opportunity to form their own jobs and businesses. Don't regulate them to the extent that there is no money left to do their business. They have to put in so darn many reports that they have to employ extra people to do the reports.

Sharp: Now, with the '72 convention, it seems like it's a real different one for Mr. Reagan and for the delegation in the sense that Mr. Reagan is not a candidate. He is head of the delegation as the governor of California. What else was going on in terms of possible future candidacies for Mr. Reagan at this '72 convention. Is there a level of activity that you could describe?

Storrs: I think there were a fair number of us that felt that when he went as governor that he was certainly fully capable of being president. That is why the thing was done in '76--Paul Laxalt. Senator Paul Laxalt organized a Reagan for President Committee. I was the only woman on the letterhead. We felt strongly in his [Ronald Reagan's] ability to take on the job and do for the U.S. what he had done for California.

Sharp: Were there some people helping him actually at the '72 convention who might have been there to work specifically on that?

Storrs: No, not really I don't think. It was certainly a feeling that a number of people would discuss and say, "You should be our candidate in '76." You got it from a lot of different areas. I had women come to me and say, "Eleanor, do what you can."

I'm sorry that he didn't make the '76 because I think it would have been better. I have been very sorry about the Ford victory--and again sometimes you have to remember that there are domestic problems that come into certain families that get very complicated, which certainly was with President Ford.

Sharp: There were some notes that I had seen about this Ford-Reagan split and some members, specifically within the California Republican party, were pushing against the control that Mr. Reagan seemed to be exercising on the party.

Storrs: Yes, yes, there were some. Again, you get your--what do I say?--your more liberal Republicans that were the Ford [supporters]. [pause] Of course, Tom Reed to a certain extent went for Ford. Well, he was appointed as, what, assistant secretary of something

CORONADOAN STEPS DOWN**For Mrs. Ring the night
was something special**

Special to EVENING TRIBUNE

MIAMI BEACH — Eleanor Ring of Coronado, the first lady of the California Republican party, stood at attention last night for the opening of the final session of the Republican National Convention.

In her face was reflected the pride and dignity with which she has served the Republicans for more than 20 years.

It was a special night for her, not only because it will probably be her last political convention as a delegate, but also because she had played an important part in its planning — first in San Diego and later in Miami.

And last night she had the honor of escorting the vice president to the platform.

Mrs. Ring said that she leaves her position as the national committeewoman with no regrets. "The balance of powers for the Republican party is strong," she said.

"And I think that there comes a time to retire," she said. "It is a joy to see these young ones coming up."

Succeeding Mrs. Ring is Janet Johnston, 32, of Winters, Calif., the youngest person ever to serve on the party's national committee.

She will spend the next four years, as is the custom, preparing for the party's next convention, and working to support Republican candidates on the local, state and national levels.

"It is my hope," Miss Johnston, "that we can become the majority party in California over the next four years.

"The name of the game is to get the candidates elected."

Miss Johnston said she has always been interested in politics. Recalling the Republican Convention in 1952, when Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected, she remembers staying up late

to listen to the convention on the radio.

"I liked to listen to the convention news — most other kids my age were watching 'Big John and Sparky' on TV."

In addition to her political life, Miss Johnston manages her parents' 790 acre ranch in Winters, a small Yolo County community, where she keeps her prize Arabian horse, "Othello."

She has served as the first woman president of the Winters District Chamber of Commerce, and is a member of the California Farm Bureau Assn., associate member of the Republican State Central Committee, and is vice chairman of the Yolo County Republican Central Committee. — Dawn Rogers

**ELEANOR RING**

for air or something, which he loved.* [laughs] But your grassroots is still there. I run into it. [dog barks]

Sharp: Do you want me to let her in?

Storrs: I'll get her. [goes to door] I creak; I have arthritis. Come on in. All right, be quiet.

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Additional Reminiscences: The Local Level, Ronald Reagan Then and Now

Storrs: [A woman came up to me.] She said, "I haven't been here and you had me working for Reagan," and so forth and so on. "When I went to Los Angeles, I worked for Reagan and so forth and so on. I never thought I would be a Republican and, oh, I just think he is doing the most marvelous job and I'll kill all of the--" Oh, she was going on at a great rate and, of course, as far as I'd know I had never seen her before. We have loads of these people come into headquarters.

But those people--the president can get through to people. He talks genuinely, sincerely, and so he makes a blooper. All right, is there anybody that hasn't? Heaven knows, I have made plenty of them and he always admits it: "I blew that one. Gee, I didn't mean to say that." He doesn't go hiding behind things or anything. He always comes right out and says, "Well, I guess I shouldn't have said that." [laughs]

But he's perfectly genuine and that gets through to people--Republican, Democrat, regardless of how they are registered to vote. So they do have confidence in him and that is a very major factor, a very major factor as a president.

Sharp: That's not too different from the way he was when he was a gubernatorial candidate and as governor. That hasn't changed too much?

*This is a reference to Reed's appointment as secretary of the air force.

Storrs: No, and remember this is a large state and a very different state, in the northern areas and the southern areas. We have the agricultural areas, we have the industrial areas, we have, you might say, the sea--the tuna boats and all that. We have the ocean type of thing. Unlike any other state; there isn't another state that is like California with their entirely different areas. Yet he has always been able to realize this and was able to bring them together. Remember, when he came in there was between \$600 and \$700 million in debt. He got us out of debt and he left this state with a very large surplus, over \$700 million, I think, and a very efficient state.

Now, since junior Brown [Edmund G. Brown, Jr.] has been in, like his father did, he has increased the state employees like ten thousand or so, I read the other day. We're in debt. Oh, my Lord! Look at the debt that poor [Governor George] Deukmejian walked into. Oh, it's fabulous. There is no excuse for it, no excuse for it at all because Reagan left this after eight years. Now, he didn't accomplish it in the first four years, but he knew exactly what he was after. Sure, there were compromises that had to be made. Now, he wasn't very happy about them but you face reality and you have to face certain things.

Now, to a great extent, as far as I am concerned, he has been going through a similar thing at the national level. Who knows even today what the debt is. From what I can read, nobody knows what the national debt is. Horrors! You're trying to get back on a solid base and we've got to. What's going to happen? What's going to happen to my grandchildren if we continue to go more and more in debt? What's going to happen? The country has to turn around. The thing that really frightens you--at least, it does me--when you get into history, look at your beautiful Greek republic, look at your beautiful Roman republic, and it was. Even in Rome in the old days--I read all of it way back when--where the women came in and said, "We want the vote." They said, "Huh?" [laughs] "We want to have a right to vote," and so forth.

All right, remember that of the great republics that had been in our past, none of them have lasted over two hundred years. Now, what's happening to us? Are we going to be able to counteract history and keep this as a republic? We're not a democracy; we're a republic. We're in representative government; we're a republic. That's the way it was set up and it was done on purpose. There again on your constitutional things, your rights of your states because they were so different, and yet we've been more and more getting away from that. I shouldn't get on this! [laughs]

Republican Campaigning, Mr. Reagan, and Party Principles

- Sharp: It actually brings us back to a couple of things I wanted to pick up on, the Citizens for Constructive Action that was started after Goldwater, after November of '64. I was reading the pamphlet, some of the pages I had sent you. It's interesting to see that sort of group come together and the people, the names of the people who are on that list of the board. Now, that was, I guess, a pretty wrenching time but optimistic, too, it seems. Were the meetings optimistic?
- Storrs: Yes. A lot of times we'd go over various and sundry things, but the majority of the time they were very constructive; I mean solid. Of course, Lyn Nofziger--you know Lyn--[he played a very important part].
- Sharp: Yes, I do and he's--
- Storrs: Oh, what a dream!
- Sharp: He really brings up the issue of campaign strategies, which for '66 for Mr. Reagan, for that campaign, some of them were fairly new. I wonder what sort of effect this had for you at the most local level. The issues research and the use of the computer for mailings and so on that went on, I wonder if you were involved in that kind of stuff?
- Storrs: Lyn and I would sit down and kick stuff around a lot.
- Sharp: Stuff like what?
- Storrs: Oh, you know, what do you think they're worried about in here, or what sort of issues and organization, and things like this. And then, of course, his remarkable mind; a very brilliant guy, a very unusual guy. I think the time I got most tickled with him ever was the meeting in Los Angeles at the motel out there.
- Sharp: Near Marina Del Rey or someplace like that?
- Storrs: No, [the Citizens for Constructive Action meeting] was near the airport but up at one end. Lyn gave his thing and said, "I have to go. I can't stay." I said, "Where are you going?" (because the family was east). He looked at me and he said, "All right, I'll tell you. I'll tell you where I'm going. I am going to see my mother. Basically, I'm a mother's boy, but if I told anybody else they'd laugh at me, but you'd know what I was talking about." So he said, "Mostly, I'll say I have to go see a girl!" [laughs] I said, "Lyn, you big fool!"

GOP Group Likes Reagan

By **PETER KAYE**

The San Diego Union's Politics Writer

A "meet-the-candidate" gathering of unusual importance was held last week in Los Angeles.

The host was A. C. Rubel, president of Union Oil Co. The guests were a "who's who" of the Southern California business community. The candidate was



Kaye

Ronald Reagan, who is jockeying for position in the race for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1966.

In the quiet confines of the California Club the 20 financiers, attorneys and businessmen heard Reagan spell out his views on a number of state and national issues, ranging from Social Security to civil rights.

Reagan reportedly did well. Many in the room had worked with him in former Sen. Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign last year. They liked the conservative ring of his statements.

These men included Henry Salvatori, who was Goldwater's finance chairman in California; Walter Knott and Holmes Tuttle.

Not everyone invited came to the meeting. Two who were not there were Justin Dart and Leonard Firestone, both top supporters last year of New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

The meeting, Rubel explained, was to gain information about Reagan. No commitments were made. None were expected. But the consensus appeared to favor Reagan's candidacy.

Christopher, Kuchel Also Mentioned

Several weeks earlier a somewhat similar group met at the invitation of P. C. Hale, president of Broadway-Hale Department Stores.

Their guest was George Christopher, former mayor of San Francisco and the man expected to be Reagan's rival in a GOP primary next year.

A third man mentioned as a top contender, Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel, R-Calif., will be in Los Angeles tomorrow. There is no indication that he has been invited or is interested in a similar meeting.

Those invited to the meetings represent a cross-section of normally heavy contributors to Republican candidates.

In addition to Salvatori, Knott, Dart, Firestone and Tuttle, they included:

Robert Fluor, Fluor Corp.; Tom Knudsen, Knudsen Dairy; attorney Earl Adams; Arch Monson, a San Francisco businessman; James Mulvaney, vice president of the U.S. National Bank in San Diego; Ken Norris, Norris-Thermidor; Julius Leetham, Los Angeles County GOP chairman; and attorney Robert H. Finch, who managed Sen. George Murphy's campaign last year and Richard Nixon's 1960 presidential race.

Not all of these attended the two meetings. And the list is by no means complete.

What the two meetings, and similar ones in the future, probably mean is that these important campaign contributors are looking for a consensus candidate.

What they want to see is a candidate, such as Murphy, behind whom the party can unify in November, 1966.

Pre-Primary Indorsements Opposed

Somewhat along the same line, Finch has been speaking throughout the state to urge Republican Associates in various cities to hold off indorsing or financially supporting candidates before the primary.

Finch fears separate slates of Republican nominees would clash from the top of the ticket to the bottom and prevent what he otherwise considers a golden opportunity for a GOP victory next year.

In fact, Finch sees the opportunity as so golden that he probably will announce early for lieutenant governor.

Helping add the rose tint to the GOP glasses was Mayor Sam Yorty's smashing reelection victory in Los Angeles last Tuesday.

Many in both parties see Yorty as a possible Democratic rival to Gov. Brown.

If that is the case, the two could wage a primary campaign that would make any GOP contest appear tame by comparison.

He and his mother were like this. [gestures with fingers crossed]

Gosh, she was a beautiful woman, a beautiful woman. The first time I ever met her I was sitting next to her and I said, "Mrs. Nofziger, oh, I have been wanting to meet Lyn's wife." [laughter] Because I thought she was! I had never met Bonnie and she looked at me and said, "Why, you darling woman, I'm Lyn's mother."

Sharp: That would have made you fast friends I would think.

Storrs: She was a perfectly beautiful woman, a little tiny woman, perfectly beautiful. I said, "Huh?" She said, "I'm Lyn's mother." So needless to say, she told Lyn and Lyn laughed like the duce and said, "Bonnie is going to have a fit!"

But those are the personal asides and where you get along with people, you know what I mean?

Lyn, I have always felt, is very exceptional and just very outstanding. Lyn will call me every so often, "Hey, what do you think about this? What about that?" We'll kick around a whole bunch of stuff or if anything comes up I want to find out about, I'd call Lyn. Sometimes he's there, sometimes he's not, but he'll call.

Sharp: There were some issues that were difficult and this again relates to the party, and then within the party. There were problems that Mr. Reagan had to deal with as a gubernatorial candidate, a couple of things. The first one is the feeling that Mr. Reagan had no use for the party, that he was campaigning on his own with his own staff, that there was this gap between Mr. Reagan and his staff and the party which existed sort of doing its own thing. [The issue] that there wasn't a lot of communication.

Storrs: I never ran into that. Of course, I was working with the Women's Federation [California Federation of Republican Women's Clubs], which is part of the party. I was on my county committee. I was vice-chairman at one stage and never ran into that. So I was always at the state meetings and I was on the executive board of the state thing. Sure, we always have had the north-south thing, no question about that.

Sharp: I guess there was the feeling that it was more than that, that he was not a party man.

Storrs: Well, that depends upon who's talking.

Sharp: Can you think of instances where somebody would be likely to think that?

Storrs: For instance, Emily Pike might get into this because they didn't want her in campaign and she always liked to be paid campaign.* She might have gotten into that kind of stuff because, sure, you had certain people that wanted to be prominent in the campaign and just felt, well, "I should be in there," and they weren't acceptable to the Reagan campaign people. I am talking about the Mike Deavers, Bill Clark—I mean a lot of these people in there.

Of course, the one that has always tickled me the most was Nancy Clark Reynolds when she got so upset about that interview that she had done [with Reagan] that the [Edmund G., Sr.] Brown people caught up [with] and in the primary changed it and used it a whole different way. She protested against this majorly and told the Reagan people about it and so forth, so when later, after the primary was over and they went to her and said, "Would you come and work for us?," she said, "Don't you know that I voted for Mayor [George] Christopher? Haven't you heard this?" [laughs] But she, having come from more liberal, you might say, became one of the staunchest [supporters] of the Reagan philosophies.

There, again, you see, people will change. They suddenly realize, "How did I get into this?" Of course, she [Reynolds] had been a registered Democrat. Well, so was the governor; so was the president.

Sharp: That brings up the other issue that the party struggled in a very difficult way with in '66 and probably throughout, the extremism issue, the issue of the John Birch Society.

Storrs: [dog barks] Come on, if you want to go out, go on out.

You've always had very small groups of extremists, whether they are the Birch Society, or now the Libertarians or the whatever. There will always be a small number of them that can disrupt more things because they want to get publicity as much as anything else. Then the press will say, oh, all this, that, and the other thing. Basically, it really wasn't a factor at all.

*See Emily Pike, Republican Party Campaign Organizer: From Volunteer to Professional. Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley, 1983.

Now, I noticed this thing of Lucile Hosmer in the crossfiling. There was a large number of us that felt that crossfiling was going against Republican philosophy. If you are a Republican, you stand for the principles of the Republican party. You don't go over there and run [on] the Democratic party.

Now, remember, through the years the Democratic party itself has changed their philosophy. They used to be much more, oh, I'd say, conservative. In fact, I can remember Barry Goldwater saying "I could easily have run on Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first platform, which was a beautiful platform, I could have run on that platform. I could run on it today, but they've all changed. Then they went into, 'Let's do everything for everybody to get more votes, bring the labor people in and get special things for them so they'll vote for us.'"

The Democratic party itself has changed majorly. That's why we had people like Reagan suddenly discover that the things that the party he belonged to, the Democratic party, were not things that he stood for. He found the things that the Republican party stood for were things that he believed in. So that's why he became a Republican. You have had a fair number of people that have done that.

Most people don't even pay any attention to platforms of the parties. They will say, "Well, my grandmother or grandfather was a Democrat or my mother and father were Democrats. Of course, I have to register in the Democratic party"--and never read a platform and never know what either party stands for.

That's part of our problem. They don't get enough--and I don't think in the schools today-- what I call, what used to be called, oh, I don't know, political education or science, where you would study both parties and understand what both parties were advocating and could see a difference.

Sharp: I think that is something that has to be dealt with in terms of party history, the issue of ideology. I think there might be a question in some people's minds about ideology and if it really exists in terms of the party.

Storrs: Yes. I'll see if I can find a speech of Senator Hugh Scott that he gave in Chicago. He was Senator from Pennsylvania and an old, old friend. It was on the Republican party. This must have been early sixties. He is talking about the principles of the Republican party. He talks about the free enterprise system, the rights of the individual as long as they don't intrude on somebody, or take somebody else's rights away from them, but the rights of the

individual to do as they see fit. They don't get too regulated and, of course, the government at the local level and so forth.

I ought to have that someplace. Senator Scott originally was a congressman. Well, we knew him when he was in the navy here in the First World War--no, the Second World War--because he was from Pennsylvania and he had known my grandfather.

Sharp: I wrote myself a note to ask you to look for that later on some-time.

Storrs: It's a beautiful one on the principles of the Republican party.

Applause for Volunteers

Sharp: Then, the other side of that is the issue of people within the party who just plain want to be in office and say, "He's my guy and I'm going to go for him."

Storrs: Yes, because then he'll give me a spot. Yes, you've always had that. That's why you need more people that don't want a spot in government, but they want good government and they want to get the best guy or the best gal to do it. [laughs] That's why the more volunteers you have, the better off you are.

I do not approve--for instance, right now the National [Federation of] Republican Women, the president of our national federation, is paid a salary. I think that's outrageous. Yes, they always used to pay for the apartment and her car and travels that she had to do and then a while ago they got into this thing of paying her.

Now, sure, you don't want to be in the thing where the only people in the federation that could do these offices of chairman of a county or a chairman of the state, would have to be people of means or they couldn't take the job. Do you see what I'm talking about?

Why, that used to be handled. I can remember well a woman wanted to be president of Orange County, I think it was, and she just didn't have the financial stuff to handle it, the gasoline for her car and to take care of all of her expenses. So what happened? Some of her friends went outside the Republican party, not taking Republican money or Women's Federated money and raised money for her so that she could do this job without any obligations to anybody. She came in and was a very fine chairman.

But when you get the money thing into the volunteer groups, I think it's wrong. Sure, very often there have to be financial things, but that can be done not [with] money that would be going to candidates or for Republican precinct work or telephoning or mailings or stuff of this kind; it's a separate thing over here. If she is this kind of a man or a woman, it can be done--no problem.

Sharp: Are there some notes that we need to make about the history of the Federation of Republican Women group in this period?

Storrs: Now, wait a minute, one of the books over here, and I saw it not too long ago, [gives] a history. [looks for book] It was a San Diego one, I think. Yes, [reading] "this handbook [has been designed to] provide basic information for new and old members alike."* This is '67 and in here [is the] history, a statement of principles. Then it gives past presidents of San Diego and then gives duties (do you see what I mean?) and gives a rundown on how they can even operate the club. Then back here it gives you all of this kind of thing.

Sharp: Now, that's real basic information.

Storrs: You bet it's basic information. Do you want to borrow that?

Sharp: Yes, I would like to borrow that and there are a couple of other things that I would probably like to borrow, too.

Who put together this handbook?

Storrs: This Anderson her name was. She was president at that stage in '67. She is not even in the county any longer. They had that listed--there.

Sharp: Oh, Mary [D.] Anderson.

Storrs: Yes, Grace [Lawrence] Thackeray had a lot to do with it. The Andersons returned to the county and now they live up in northern California someplace, a very brilliant woman who said, "We need to have something like this."

*See sample pages from Storrs's "San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Clubs," reproduced on the following pages.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

The National Federation was founded in 1938 to create an effective and officially recognized association within the Republican Party to cooperate with the Republican National Committee and to establish a clearing house whereby the various clubs could exchange ideas. The Federation emblem is an American eagle with a quill pen and ballot box and was adopted from a pin presented in 1894 to Mrs. Flo Miller of Illinois, a pioneer leader of Republican women in her state.

Officers are elected at biennial conventions. The National Board is composed of the president from each State Federation, the elected officers and appointed officers and chairmen. Following are the objectives of the Federation, as stated in the ByLaws:

- Promote an informed electorate through political education;
- Increase the effectiveness of women in the cause of good government through active political participation;
- Facilitate cooperation among women's Republican clubs;
- Foster loyalty to the Republican Party and promote its ideals;
- Support objectives and policies of the Republican National Committee and work for the election of the Republican Party's nominees.

CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

The California Federation is composed of three divisions: Northern, Central and Southern. The Southern Division covers eight counties: Imperial, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, Santa Barbara, San Bernardino, San Diego and Ventura. Each Division elects its own officers and chairmen of standing committees. Local clubs pay per capita dues to their division of 40¢ per member.

State conventions are held in the fall of odd numbered years and each club is allowed representation by their president and one delegate for every 50 members. The State Board meets three times a year, once in each division.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

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

Liberty is indivisible and political freedom cannot exist without economic freedom;

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

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

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

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

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

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

The United States should stress victory over, rather than co-existence with, this menace.

The above Statement of Principles was passed September 25, 1964, at the Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women, held at Louisville, Kentucky.

HISTORY
of 36c
SAN DIEGO COUNTY FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S CLUBS

The County Federation had its beginning April 25, 1925 when a group of 85 loyal Republican women met with Mrs. Harriet Ballou presiding "to consider the advisability of forming a unit in this county of the Federation of Republican Women's Clubs!"

The first speaker, Miss Nellie Kelly, National Organizer, outlined the history of the organization which had its inception in Los Angeles when the Republican Study Club was formed in 1920.

Other speakers were Mrs. Florence Collins Porter of Los Angeles, President of Southern Division, and Mr. K. C. Fitzgerald, member of the San Diego County Central Committee who "spoke of the danger of women forming such an organization unless they were willing to be guided in political matters by the men."

Permanent officers were elected in June, 1925 with 67 charter members. The annual dues were 50¢. The executive board consisted of the elected officers, appointed standing committee chairmen and appointed district chairmen which later Minutes show to be the ones who got out the vote all over the county. These district chairmen were replaced as clubs were formed by the unit presidents. The ground work for a truly representative federation was laid from the start.

The Object of the organization, according to the bylaws adopted at the January 1926 Meeting were "to promote a wider knowledge of the principle policies of the Republican party; to encourage active citizenship; and to co-operate with the Republican State and County Central Committees in campaign work for the elections of Republican candidates for office."

The County Education Program was begun in April 1928. Regular "Lessons" were planned with research topics assigned to members. This base broadened and led to some of our outstanding Republican women researchers who brought fame to our organization such as Mrs. Myrtis Myers, known statewide as an expert in law concerning education and Mrs. Margarete Francis whose national legislation reports were read and studied by women all over Southern California for 15 years.

A reading of the Minutes of Federation meetings provides a survey of history over the past 40 years. At the February 1927 meeting, a Mrs. Steward gave a "most interesting account of her personal recollections and work during the last dramatic events of the long struggle for federal woman's suffrage." Other speakers over the years covered the Depression and the attendant New Deal policies, World War II and the post war years which brought with them the United Nations, Korea and currently Vietnam.

Most apparent is the continuing interest in preserving constitutional government against the threat of socialism and communism. As early as 1933, a Mrs. Grant told of attending several Communistic meetings, both in San Diego and Los Angeles, and warned of the "hold the Communistic beliefs are getting on this country and how we as patriotic women must be alert to this and always do what we can to offset their teachings." The Federation worked toward this end, beginning with the motion in 1933 that "letters be sent to Senators McAdoo and Johnson and Congressman Burnham urging them to work and vote against the recognition of Soviet Russia" and continuing through the years with study and discussion groups. Two actions stand out in 1950 when in March representatives were chosen to represent the Federation in Sacramento and lobby against the World Federalists and later in October, a protest was adopted "against the flying of ANY flag parallel to the American Flag except on special occasions as not being in accord with the concepts of our

Constitutional Government and as being the entering wedge of a group of Socialistic Planners who desire to supplant our form of Government with a Red-tinged World Government."

The Federation took an active interest in all elections, inviting candidates to speak and explain their platforms at meetings and doing precinct work on their behalf. One instance of the interest, the willingness to work and the effectiveness of their work is related in the Minutes from 1939: "When a recent survey was made of La Jolla disclosing the fact that 22% of the population was not registered, members of the Club were sworn in as deputy registrars and covered the territory completely. Neither the heat wave nor the succeeding storms could discourage the workers. Members also cooperated with the Junior Chamber of Commerce in the 'Get Out the Vote' campaign and a record vote resulted."

Starting with 67 charter members in 1925 the records show the membership at 320 in 1937. 145 of that number were in the newly formed North County Federation. World War II evidently slowed the organizational effort as 1942 showed 190 members but it climbed to 295 in 1943 and to 391 members in 10 clubs in 1950. In 1958 we had 19 clubs with 1510 members; in 1962, 3000 members; in 1963, 4700 members and in 1966 a grand total of 43 clubs and a membership of 5581. Such dynamic growth shows what dedicated and hard working women can accomplish when they join together in working toward a common goal.

The accomplishments of the Federation are both tangible and intangible. Effective legislators elected through our support and legislation and current issues responding to our united voice are the tangible, but who can count the other: The voters won over to the Republican Party, the defense of our National inheritance and the preservation of "The American Way of Life." As the Federated women have done in the past, so will they continue. Let us applaud the past and salute the future. It is ours to influence.

Past Presidents of the San Diego County Federation
of Republican Women's Clubs

1925 - 1937	Mrs. Celia A. Dunham
1938 - 1939	Mrs. Katherine Neihouse
1940	Mrs. Susannah Whitelock
1941 - 1942	Mrs. Diana Curtis
1943 - 1945	Mrs. Lillian Johnson Lehman
1946	Mrs. Lena Van Harten
1947	Mrs. Ruth Bence
1948 - 1949	Mrs. Rachel Wyllie
1950	Mrs. Ruth Cameron
1951	Mrs. Dorothy Cloyed
1952	Mrs. Dorothea McCall Hazard
1953	Mrs. Leslie MacMullen
1954	Mrs. Nancy Esther Wessell
1955 - 1956	Mrs. Myrtis Myers
1957 - 1958	Mrs. Alma Sopkin
1959 - 1960	Mrs. Ruth Jackson
1961 - 1962	Mrs. Eleanor Ring
1963 - 1964	Mrs. Ann A. Pike
1965	Mrs. Grace Lawrence Thackeray
1966	Mrs. Mary D. Anderson

Sharp: This feeling about not being paid for the work, do you think that that was a fairly common feeling and now it has switched over wholly?

Storrs: I don't know. Some of us were very upset. In fact, I was talking to a gal up from San Bernardino and she was very upset when this went through the national meeting, that the national president would be paid a salary. She thought it was totally wrong because then you are no longer a volunteer. You are like staff. You are being paid.

Sure, at national you have a great number of staff that are paid and properly should be, but again I can remember deploring, when we went from the American Red Cross, Mabel Boardman was the chairman. When Franklin Roosevelt came in, he had a friend that needed a job, so he put him in as the head of American Red Cross and he started paying him \$50,000 a year or something. It has been done every since--which, frankly, I have never approved of, although I have always worked with Red Cross. You always had the volunteers, women that were women of background and experience and so forth that could come in and do a beautiful job.

So you have gotten some of the commercialization, you might say, of some of these volunteer organizations which I kind of deplore.

Again, you get the other side and they say, "Oh, the only way you can do this then is if you are rich and you have so forth." Not at all, because it can always be financially handled some way, some other way.

Sharp: I want you to be able to get on to your lunch and you are expecting your guests this afternoon. Are we getting too late now?

Storrs: My husband and I don't eat until about 1:30 anyway.

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The Republican Party, The Long View

Sharp: I want us to try to sum the whole thing up and talk about the long view of the Republican party, and a long view of your activities since you got started in the very early sixties.

Storrs: Needless to say, I think the Republican party is growing. I think that we are becoming more conservative. I think that [President] Reagan is being able to lead as he did in California to put the nation back on the track. I don't think it is going to be easy. I think it's going to be real rough stuff but, as far as I am concerned, it is the future of my grandchildren or great grandchildren because if we continue the way we have, there isn't going to be any. The country will be so down the drain and become so weak, it will be taken over. Now, remember, people don't mention the Communist threat. I found one infiltration not too long ago in the Goldwater campaign where the Communists had infiltrated.

Now, I go back a long time in this. My husband, my former husband [Stanhope Ring], did a national paper on it for the National War College on politics, about the Russian push for power in the eleventh century when they were out to conquer the world. They went down to Malta and even went down to Madagascar. This is what they were determined to do. Now the Goldwater map (a map put out by the Goldwater people) shows where the Communists already had control and then put in pink ones that they were trying to get control of. I look at this and all of the pinks are gone, are now Communist controlled. Now it's even into the white areas on the map, the non-Communist areas--Central America, South America. The infiltration is unbelievable.

Now, this has been something of the conquering of the world that the Communists always (or the Soviets or whatever you want to call them, I don't know), always were out to accomplish, whether it is under the Lenin thing or whatever. Now, today militarily they are so far ahead of us that it is not funny at all in every way, shape, or form and yet the country doesn't realize it. They have no concept of the military thing.

See, this is my navy background kind of stuff because you begin to see these things and say, "huh?"

My father saw the Japanese wanting to conquer. He died when I was eleven and yet he said, "You've got to be careful. They want to conquer. They are this kind of nation. But they didn't succeed.

Sharp: The party, your working with the party, is very much--

Storrs: Yes, to a great extent the way I've been raised. Keep strength within your country and keep your rights of your individuals, your free enterprise system, a republic, which this nation was founded on, why people came here, to get away from the things in Europe, they were being forced to do certain things.

The same thing went on to a certain extent, you have to remember, in the Massachusetts colony when Governor Winthrop got into those things. I am happy to say that my ancestors had sense enough to leave and go down to Rhode Island and found the Rhode Island colony and get away from "you've got to be a Puritan," and "you've got to do this," and "you've got to do that." In fact, Anne Hutchinson, if you have ever read any of that history, she is a great, great, great grandmother of mine.

Sharp: Oh, is that right?

Storrs: You bet.

Sharp: So you are definitely a member of the DAR [Daughters of the American Revolution].

Storrs: Oh, sure, and a Colonial Dame and all of that stuff.

But I believe that you have got to do things. When you see something happening, try to at least do a small part of helping or opposing something that you think is totally wrong.

[visitor enters] Oh, Mary Ann!

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Jack Wrather

ON FRIENDSHIP, POLITICS, AND GOVERNMENT

An Interview Conducted by
Gabrielle Morris
in 1982

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GARY FRIEDMAN Los Angeles Times

Bonita Granville Wrather recently took over chairman of the board duties of company founded by her late husband, Jack

Bonita Wrather Fills Void With Devotion to Business

By GARY LIBMAN

When she returned home from the hospital after her husband died, the first phone call Bonita Granville Wrather received was from President and Mrs. Reagan.

The Reagans cried unabashedly, Mrs. Wrather said, over the loss of their friend Jack Wrather, 66, who catapulted a Texas oil inheritance into a California entertainment conglomerate that included the Queen Mary, the Spruce Goose, the Disneyland Hotel and television syndications of "Lassie" and the "Lone Ranger."

Former Child Star

Since that call Nov. 12, Bonita Wrather, a former child star who played in 55 movies before joining her husband's business, has cried often on her own about his fatal, 33-month battle against cancer.

"I guess the biggest shock to me," she said in the living room of her five-bedroom, two-story Early American Bel-Air home recently, "is that through all of his illness, I really did feel he was going to make it. I had that kind of faith. And there must have been a reason that God did not decide that.

"I always felt that Jack and I would end up together going to the moon. Or doing something very adventurous. Because we loved to

travel together. And he was a very religious person. He was a member of the New York World War Veterans of Foreign Wars and had a lot of people that had learned from him."

There will be no trips to the moon, but another substantial challenge awaited Bonita Wrather, 62, when she returned to work recently. She took over as Wrather Corp's chairman of the board, working closely with her son, Christopher, 32, who is president.

In their corporate headquarters on the fourth floor of a Beverly Hills building, she vows that her husband's office will remain unoccupied for some time.

Lone Ranger's Saddle

The office is a large oak-paneled room behind a westward exposure of sliding glass doors. A bright orange LeRoy Neiman portrait of the Lone Ranger and Tonto dominates many Western art pieces. Three empty briefcases sit beside a large, L-shaped desk.

In a conference room next door, the first saddle used in the "Lone Ranger" television series rests on a stand near a case containing the masked man's pistol and silver bullets.

"I think Jack deserves to have

Please see BUSINESS, Page 12

BUSINESS: How Widow Fills the Void

Continued from Page 4
her husband's death.

A few weeks ago, however, she resumed and is swimming more laps than ever.

"As sick as he was," she explained, "Jack used to say, 'Please go down and take a swim, honey. You know how much better it makes you feel.'"

"So I feel he's saying that to me and I do it because I find that I get

to the office with a much clearer head and I have a lot more energy.

"... It's not easier to do, but I feel much better when I do it. I'm kind of a kooky discipline person. If I lose discipline, if I give in to certain things, I'm no good. I have to have some sort of discipline. It's been my life."

As the discipline continues, she will feel her way along and see what happens.

"My life has changed so much since my husband passed away," she said. "I mean it hasn't even been three months so I'm not quite sure what my home life is going to be like.

"And maybe that's an interesting subject. A transition. Four months ago or six months ago I could have told you exactly how we lived and what we liked to do and all the patterns we set. Now I'm not sure what the answer is."

LONGTIME FRIENDSHIP WITH THE REAGANS AND THE GOLDWATERS

[Date of Interview: 30 September 1982]##

[Preliminary discussion of the project and Mr. Wrather's friendship with Ronald Reagan.]

Morris: Let's talk a little bit on tape about the things that you have been telling me.

Wrather: I'll give the parameters of my relationship, because then it will identify the areas that I wouldn't be of use to you, but other people would be, for instance like Holmes [Tuttle] or Bill French Smith or people like that. My friendship with Ronnie began through my wife, who is Bonita Granville and who appeared in a motion picture with Ron at Warner Brothers many years ago called Angels Wash Their Faces, with the Dead End Kids. Ronnie and Bunny have been friends ever since. That was way back I think in the early '40s. They were both at Warner Brothers.

When I came out here after the war and I met Bonita, who became my wife--I met her in 1946 and we were married in '47-- Ron was married to Jane Wyman. We became friends of theirs, as is natural with people in the industry who worked together. We liked each other. Ron and Jane, of course, separated and divorced, and Ron married a young lady who my wife knew, in fact knew at MGM. My wife had gone to MGM from Warner Brothers with Mervyn Leroy to do a couple of pictures, and she knew Nancy Davis there and liked Nancy very much.

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 19.

Wrather: When Nancy and Ron got married, we became even closer friends of theirs and have remained so over the years. It's just that simple. It's just like any friendship that you have in your life or anyone else has. It's hard to pull it apart and say this and this and this. We were friends, we went out together. We saw each other socially. We took each other to dinner. [laughs] You know, just the things that friends do.

Morris: Talked shop together and that kind of thing?

Wrather: I don't know; my wife would have to answer that. But I never was professionally connected with Ron, or businesswise. At that time he was in the Screen Actors Guild and he was in the motion picture industry. Although I was in the motion picture industry at that time, we weren't working together, nor were he and Bunny working together. So it was purely a social relationship at that point.

That went on from those early years to 1964 when Barry Goldwater ran [for president]; we were very close friends of the Goldwaters. In fact, I owned the Balboa Bay Club, and Barry and Peggy had an apartment there, and we did, too, right next to them. In the summer Barry ran, we spent the summer at the Balboa Bay Club, and Barry would come back on the weekends from the campaign to be with Peggy.

Morris: And rest up?

Wrather: Yes, and we would have dinner with them Saturday nights usually, or something. And I saw all the problems that he was having and and what have you.

Morris: He would campaign on a Monday-through-Friday basis?

Wrather: Most of the time, yes. He'd be back--maybe it wouldn't be a weekend. Maybe he'd come in on a Tuesday night and spend a night or two. It seemed, if I remember correctly, it was usually the weekend. He'd come in a number of times in the summer and we'd see each other. Now by the time of the election, you know, he had gotten into more difficulties; he was not running well, and we all knew that he had trouble, was going to have trouble.

Morris: Was he aware that he was having serious problems?

Wrather: Yes, I think so. He had to be aware--all of the polls and everything else.

Wrather: I remember that summer, Ron was trying to help Barry. I'm not really sure, because I wasn't involved in it, of all the details of what Ron did. But it culminated in Ron doing that television commercial that was so excellent, and that didn't help because it was right at the very end of the thing. It might have helped, but I mean it didn't turn the trick, because it was right at the end of the race. I think if we'd realized Ron's ability and power to appeal to the public, you know, maybe earlier--

Morris: Had moved him earlier--

Wrather: Yes, maybe he would have won, because Ron was very anxious to help, and he was extremely interested in the party and very loyal to the people running.

Encouraging Reagan to Run For Governor

Wrather: Then, one night we were at a party at one of our various houses. The so-called kitchen cabinet people were kind of the ones that hung together with Ron. That's why they're called the kitchen cabinet, I guess.

Morris: They seemed to all have enough time to actually sit down with him and talk about--?

Wrather: We all saw each other very often, sometimes several times during the week, at each other's homes. The kitchen cabinet basically was Holmes Tuttle, Jus Dart, Henry Salvatori, Bill French Smith, me--who else? Bill Wilson. Jack Hume from San Francisco. And several others. I don't mean to leave anyone out. There were several others. Ted Cummings came in and was active. But anyway, it was basically people who were social friends.

Morris: Let your hair down and--

Wrather: Yes, we just were at dinners and barbeques and cocktail parties and things together, socializing, and we would get talking about Barry's troubles. Ron of course had been interested in politics, and as head of the Screen Actors Guild he had gotten very involved. Those were the days he was actually a Democrat; but he had gotten very heavily involved in political thoughts and ideas and he had moved over to becoming a Republican because it epitomized, as has been very evident, his philosophies.

Wrather: So we would at these groups--and I can't identify dates or anything, because we don't keep calendars of those types of things--we'd sit and discuss what the hell happened to Barry, why, and how terrific that commercial was of Ron's. I don't even know who was the first one to say it--somebody. Probably Jus or Holmes: "God, Ron, you ought to get real active and get into this. We need people like you." And so forth.

And Ron would say, "Well, I've thought about it, but I don't know. I'm kind of reticent. I don't know whether this is the time or whether I really want to commit myself to it." He had a career, you know; he was doing very well.

Then I remember one night at a party--I believe it was at Bill Wilson's. Some of the kitchen cabinet members may have slightly different remembrances of different things; I think something happened at one time, and maybe one of them thinks it was at another evening or something. But as far as I'm concerned, I remember one night at Bill Wilson's--and Bill was a member of the kitchen cabinet--all the men were gathered kind of English style after dinner together and the ladies were in the other room. We were talking about the problems of the party, and, of course, the governorship race was coming up. This was before the '66 race, like in late '64, '65, after the Goldwater race. And--

Morris: People weren't too happy with Pat Brown as governor?

Wrather: No, our people weren't too happy with Pat Brown as governor. We were Republicans, and--

Morris: And you weren't too happy with Richard Nixon?

Wrather: Yes, we were happy with Richard Nixon. When I say we, I was happy with Richard Nixon. I felt--of course, Dick hadn't won at that point. This was prior to his running and winning. He had lost the California governorship, which I personally had advised him not to run for, but that's really past history.

Anyway, we were all there jawing after dinner one night, and talk got around to Ron and how much we needed somebody like Ron in the governorship; Pat Brown had to be gotten out, that he was a disaster, a do-nothing and worse than that.

Wrather: We just sat and talked to Ron and said, "Ron, God, you've got to run for the governor. You've just got to." And we talked and talked. The gals finally came in and said, "We've got to go home. It's late." Somebody wanted to go home, and so we broke up.

Ron said, "Well, I'll think about it," and so forth. And as the thing progressed, we'd talk further. It just was an evolutionary process in my book.

I do realize that there were some other talks going on in-between these affairs, that Holmes would get all hot and bothered and call Ron, like Holmes does. You know, he's a great salesman! "And Ron, you've got to do it. You've got to do it for the country," and this and that. And he was right, as we thought. I'm sure Jus had some private talks with Ron. We all assured Ron at one time or another that if he would run we'd be available to him, any of us or all of us, for any kind of advice or help, or helping him put together any business plans or helping him with personnel selection. And that we would obviously get behind him financially and that we would raise money for him; we'd do everything possible so that he wouldn't have to worry about the campaign funds to run on--which, of course, even in those days was a big worry.

Morris: Who amongst you had had some experience with campaigns? How did you--?

Wrather: I don't know. I hadn't, except with Barry, and with Dick Nixon when he ran for the governorship [1962]. I had been--what do they call it?--co-finance chairman.

Morris: That meant you had to do the actual--?

Wrather: Well, we were working with, I think, Maury [Maurice] Stans at that time. There were several of us. I wasn't the only one, but I went in and I helped raise money; there were several of us doing it for Dick.

I had tried to be helpful to Barry, because he was a good friend, although I didn't think he should run, either. That had been the extent of my--I had supported Dick Nixon when he ran for Congress originally; in the Senate, financially. But I hadn't been--

Morris: Who brought Dick Nixon to your attention? He was a real unknown in '46 when he ran for Congress.

Wrather: I don't even remember. I hate to throw names around when I can't really say as a fact, but somewhere in the back of my mind, I think it was Si Fluor. You know, the Fluor Corporation--Bob Fluor is his nephew, you know, who is the head of it now. I'm not sure.

[In a note dated May 19, 1983, Mr. Wrather added:
Although I supported Dick Nixon in 1946, I was really not very active but became more active in the Senate race against Douglas.]

Wrather: Si was a great friend of mine and a terrific guy and a great Republican, very strong Republican in every way. I believe Si got me interested in Dick. It might have been one or two others, too, but his face sticks out in my memory.

But anyway, that had been the extent of my political stuff, and then I got in with Ron. I got deeper involved with our friends who later became called the kitchen cabinet, because we all wanted Ron to win and to be successful. And he did win, and we all were successful under Holmes Tuttle's and Justin Dart's guidance in raising the money that was necessary. Henry Salvatori had a big spot in it, too. Under their direction, we helped; we contributed a lot and raised a lot.

Morris: Raising the money is a tough enough job; what about deciding how to spend it?

Wrather: I had nothing to do with the campaign per se; that was, as you say, Spencer and--

Morris: And Roberts.

Wrather: Roberts. And, let's see--

Morris: They were a pretty tough bunch, too. Who found them and decided to give them a--?

Wrather: Well, I would say that Holmes Tuttle was as big a single influence on the campaign and on Ron as anyone, or bigger than any one individual. Holmes in his dynamism and his interest in Ron, I would say was prime. Then later Bill French Smith became very important in regard to helping Ron with his personnel selections and bringing good people into government, and so forth.

Reagan's Business Acumen

Morris: Were you surprised when you pulled it off and did indeed elect a governor first shot out?

Wrather: No, we might have been a little bit surprised at the size of the vote, but we thought we would elect Ron, because we had confidence in him. We felt that he appealed to people, that he was able to use the medium of television very well, plus the fact that he was an excellent speaker. And we felt that his ideas, which I must say (I guess we wouldn't have been as much for him if we hadn't) were parallel with most of ours. We thought they were right ideas

- Wrather: and that they would win the day because the other ideas that we were fighting were such dormant, archaic kinds of ideas in regard to government finances and fiscal policy and everything. You know, old smoke-filled room stuff. So anyway, we thought we had something, and we did. We happened to be correct, and that was that.
- Morris: Was it particularly the business kind of principles that you were interested in seeing--?
- Wrather: Yes, and Ron was extremely interested. Not many people realized it, because he was an actor, but Ron himself is a very good businessman, a good business brain. He understands economics, and he understands fiscal problems and policies. He understands that one great, basic rule that, unfortunately, a lot of the politicians either don't understand or they push aside in the rush to get votes, and that is that you can't--whether it be politics or a family or a business or anything else--you can't spend more money than you've got very long without going broke, unless you've got a rich uncle who's supporting you, like the government has been supporting everybody. So Ron has a very good business sense. We thought that was very important.
- Morris: Some people have said that they think he learned a lot about business working with General Electric, when he was doing those plant tours and things like that. Did he ever talk about that?
- Wrather: Yes, I've heard Ron talk about that at some length. Obviously, when you're being associated with people in business, intelligent people, and you're seeing how money is spent and what happens and surpluses and so forth--yes, there's no doubt about it, I think that those were formative days for him. I don't think he was imbued with any GE policy or anything like that, except just good business principles. Whether it be a big business or a little business like mine, you've got to operate on business principles. Nobody operates under a different set of rules; we all operate under the same basic set of rules.
- Morris: Then did you go up to Sacramento and help him get settled there?
- Wrather: No, I didn't personally participate on a continuing basis in the government up there. Several of them did. Now, Bill French Smith did, and Holmes did, and--I don't know--Ed Mills, I think, did; and a few of the others. I went up to Sacramento on a number of different occasions and affairs, but the main contact that I had with Ron during the eight years that Ron was governor was either down here or back east or at the conventions--

Republican National Conventions, 1968-76: Reagan's Nomination

Morris: Did you go along to some of the conventions?

Wrather: Yes, I went, in fact, to the convention in Miami. I was not a delegate to that. I was a delegate in '76 and '80. At the convention in Miami I was not a delegate. We were down there. In fact, we had a party for Ron and Nancy. The Bloomingdales had a party for Ron and Nancy; and we had a party for all the kitchen cabinet and Ron and Nancy, at the Jockey Club. We had a number of get-togethers with Ron. Although I was not a delegate to that.

In fact, I really wasn't too anxious to become a delegate, but in '76 I just decided I should, you know, that he really had a chance and that we all ought to work as hard as possible to do it, so I agreed to become a delegate; and I was in '80.

Morris: In '76 and '80?

Wrather: Yes.

Morris: But in '68, you didn't think he really had a chance to take the nomination?

Wrather: No, that's not why I didn't become a delegate. I just didn't feel that I was that important to be a delegate, and I really--I guess I don't know the best way to say it--I really wasn't so sure that that was the fate of Ron to be nominated then. I thought it might be a little early and that it might not be good for him even to be nominated.

Morris: This was as early as '68, that would have been too early?

Wrather: Yes.

Morris: Still too early in '72?

Wrather: Yes. I just thought that was a little early, that the situation wasn't right for him.

Morris: The situation politically, nationally?

Wrather: Yes, politically. Nationally. That it wasn't quite right, and I didn't want to see him beaten. Dick [Nixon] had been beaten a couple of times. He had a fantastic--you know, then coming back up; he was defeated a couple of times.

Wrather: I didn't want to see Ron defeated, and I just didn't think these were the times. Now, in '76 I really did. I thought he really should have it this time. And he should have. I like Jerry [Gerald R. Ford], but Ron was the one who could have gotten elected.

Morris: Jerry didn't come through clearly enough as a candidate?

Wrather: And Jerry had not been elected, so nobody knew his strength or weakness, because there was no election.

Morris: He'd been there in Congress.

Wrather: He'd been picked.

Morris: Were Mr. Nixon's problems at that point a liability to Ford in trying to get elected himself?

Wrather: I think they were. You know, on the pardon and so forth. People, a lot of people, were still bitter about that. Plus the fact that Jerry hadn't been a president that people had gotten to know. They hadn't had to vote for him or against him, so they didn't know--

There's nothing wrong with Jerry; I like Jerry, and I think Jerry is a hell of a lot smarter than a lot of people give him credit for. But I thought that Ron ought to get the nomination. And I feel to this day that if he had been nominated, Jimmy Carter would never have been president. Now, I could be wrong, and none of us can look back and prove any of those things.

As it worked out, it worked out even better, because with Carter going in, it was a cut and dried situation at the end, because Carter made such an ass of himself. Again, I'm sure he's a very decent and, I think, even intelligent guy, but he just made an ass of himself. He didn't do anything; he went from one side to the other. And he gave people of this country such a sense of insecurity that, during that last famous debate that he and Ron had, it was just so obvious that he really didn't know what he was talking about. You know, when Ron said, "Jimmy, there you go again", or something like that, everybody in the United States said, "That's it." [laughs]

They said, "We agree with you, Ron." Everybody talked back to the television set.

Morris: In '76, what do you think turned things around?

Wrather: The party was scared to death of losing, and the word in Kansas City--I was in all of those meetings and everything with the Reagan

Wrather: group. I was even in meetings with the Ford group, because some of my friends were involved in it; we were going back and forth from the Alameda Plaza Hotel to the Crown Central having meetings. I was kind of one of the emissaries going back and forth. The party basically kept talking about incumbent, incumbent, incumbent, like it meant anything.

We kept saying, "He's not an incumbent. He was never elected. He just happens to have been selected for the office to play the term out, which is not against him, but he's no incumbent. So you don't have an incumbent. Why don't you nominate someone who can get elected?" Which turned out to be the truth. Jerry was really not a true incumbent. That was the only thing we had against--

Morris: Were there people who owed Jerry favors from previous elections that--?

Wrather: Yes, I assume so. But I think basically it was the fear that he was the incumbent, and if they left him they'd lose all that strength of having--

##

Morris: Was the concern of your group in the California delegation that there were still feelings about the Watergate problems with which Mr. Reagan was clearly not identified that would make it difficult for him to win? Was that a consideration in '76?

Wrather: I'm not sure I understand your question, but we didn't worry about that in regard to Ron. In regard to Ford, I think there was more of a worry than--

Morris: Was that a part of the discussion in Kansas City, that it would be better to get away from any identification with the Watergate problems?

Wrather: Well, the Watergate thing was always up in front in everything. I don't remember the specific discussion. I can remember discussions about Watergate, but to tell you the truth, it was six years ago and I don't remember the context of it with regard to that. I'm sure that something similar to that was said. Because it was so obvious. Ron was clean. Jerry was clean, except he had done a very unpopular thing, which was to pardon Nixon. So that had sort of tainted him a little bit. I think it was the thing to do, but I mean a lot of the public didn't.

Morris: Right. Would you say that you were working closely with the party, or was the group of people that you were close to primarily interested in nominating Mr. Reagan?

Wrather: No, I was a delegate that was assigned to Reagan. You know, the California delegates were all assigned to vote for Reagan. I was working for Ronnie.

Morris: Was there any pressure within the California delegation to switch after the first ballot?

Wrather: I won't say there was none, but it was minor, because most of the people in the California delegation were Reagan people. So it was minor.

At one time maybe--you know, there's always people who, when they think they're going to lose out here and gain over here, want to jump sides, so there might have been a few. But generally speaking, the California delegation was pretty solid for Ron. There was one little faction in it that had sort of given us some trouble and so forth, but I don't even remember their names.

Morris: What were they interested in?

Wrather: I think they were basically not Reagan people and were more interested in Ford, I think. But that was a minor, minor part of the delegation.

Helping Select the Cabinet

Morris: On all these elections, it sounds as if once you signed on in the '66 campaign, that there was a group of you that--

Wrather: We went right on through. Right up through '80, and a lot of us up through--I say a lot of us, the kitchen cabinet people were on the transition team.

We were the group that--you know, it's been all written about-- that Ron asked to help him select his cabinet which culminated the Saturday before Thanksgiving in meeting with Ron all day and going over every single--. He'd asked us to come up with some leading names in the country for each secretaryship and to be able to discuss pro and con and to sell or unsell, and to have several for each position. He didn't want us deciding that so-and-so was [to be] the Secretary of State, Mr. President, and then he'd have nobody [to choose from].

Wrather: He said, "I want three or four or five or six, and then we'll discuss all of them, and I'll either decide on one or I'll pick someone else that you haven't told me about." [laughs] As it worked out, I think out of the cabinet all but two or three were people that we had presented to the President.

Morris: That you had worked up and talked about?

Wrather: Yes, and then we went back to Washington and worked with each secretary--appointee, to people his department and to make suggestions about assistant secretaries, undersecretaries, deputy secretaries, and so forth. We did that for quite a period, and then we disbanded and--

Morris: What departments did you lend a hand with?

Wrather: I worked on two or three. Originally I worked on Agriculture. Different ones of us took different departments as specialties. But then we all worked together, and I worked on Defense and State.

Morris: That's quite an undertaking.

Wrather: Yes. You know, the funny part about it, Gabrielle, is that it had never been done before that way, that we have seen in history or read about in history. We don't know of any president--Kennedy had his so-called Harvard cronies that he consulted with, but--

Morris: And Carter made quite a lot about going about his transition in a thorough way.

Wrather: Yes, but he had a bunch of--he really didn't--. For instance, Ham [Hamilton] Jordan and Jody Powell and Griffin Bell--most people really didn't get together to do this job. They sat and jawed together, or they sent him a note that he ought to do this or that. He did have a lot of advice from friends, but it was no coordinated thing that he had orchestrated.

Morris: You fellows all sat around in a boardroom like this and went through piles of paper?

Wrather: That's right, and we had a lot of top-grade staff work done, lots of computer work done. We had Pen [Pendleton] James with us, who later was appointed Director of Personnel for the White House.

Morris: Is that a person?

Wrather: Pendleton James. He just left this last week. I just got a letter from him. He's a headhunter, and he's just gone back into private practice from the White House.

Morris: Where is he located?

Wrather: He's in New York. No, we did it very professionally, and we had been asked by Ron; we didn't do this and foist ourselves on him. We had been asked by him at the time of the election, would we help him do this job, that it was such a huge job and that he couldn't possibly do it.

No individual can do it and get the best people. It takes a tremendous lot of talking to people, too. Several people we picked didn't want to have anything to do with it. I mean, they just didn't want to leave where they were and go to Washington or something. Top people.

Morris: Did you bring people into Washington to be interviewed?

Wrather: Yes. He wanted to pick his cabinet as soon as possible. He wanted to pick them by Thanksgiving, but he didn't get them picked and announced [by then], as was the custom.

Morris: Did he bring anybody in to brief you as a group? This business of who are the appointees in government, both state and federal, was one topic--

Wrather: You know, Ed Meese did one of the most brilliant briefings of us for two or three days, at our offices at the airport out here, for the election.

Morris: Before the election?

Wrather: Yes. About the processes of government and each department. We got lists of every single job in every department and what each job did, the specialty, what each thing--Assistant Secretary of So-and-So--meant, the significance of the job. It was a brilliant analysis. Ed Meese--I tell you, I've known Ed for a long time and had a lot of respect for him, but after that that guy did a monumental job. And at the end of those two or three days we were about as close to being expert as you can get without having spent a few years on the scene.

Limitations on Making Changes in Government

Morris: Did he raise ideas that you hadn't thought of before?

Wrather: No, this wasn't about individual people.

Morris: No, but about the process of government.

Wrather: We discussed different departments; we knew what the President-elect wanted to do in regard to two or three departments, like Education, for instance, and Energy.

Morris: Was it true that he wanted to dismantle those two going in?

Wrather: There is no doubt about it. We've been wanting to dismantle Energy for [laughs]--forever.

Morris: Since it was set up?

Wrather: Yes. The trouble was that as we looked into the situation, we found out things before we went in that other presidents-elect and their people didn't find out, which is the limitations on doing anything. We went in knowing the limitations, and the fact that in the Department of Energy--I'm just using these figures, I've forgotten the exact figures--out of, say, twenty-seven thousand employees (let's just use that because that's not too far from wrong) there were only about nine hundred that you could fire or do anything with, because the rest of them are tenured, in effect. They can't be fired. We talked about building a huge governmental facility somewhere outside of Washington and moving all of them out there. [laughter] All of them we wanted to get rid of. Having one huge department that did nothing except have a hundred and eighty thousand people working.

Morris: A home for people you thought were not producing in government.

Wrather: That's right. So we learned the limitations--

Morris: When you say the limitations on government, you mean the limitations--?

Wrather: Limitations on doing things, personnelwise. We learned the limitations, for instance with regard to Energy and certain other departments, about how difficult it would be to dismantle or pull apart or reassign or change. The frightening thing that I learned in all these months that I worked on this project was the fact that the government is almost unchangeable. It's almost monolithic and unchangeable.

Wrather: Unfortunately, that's the thing that's hitting them in the face in regard to a lot of the budgetary problems. Entitlements are fixed. Things are fixed. Civil service, entitlement, the laws, the congressional laws that establish these departments. So anyone who goes in fights that same problem. I'm sure that almost every president that goes in, Democratic, Republican, or what have you, thinks, "I'm going to really put some efficiency in here." There have been some very fine presidents on both sides. They're not like these politicians in Congress, who the minute they're elected start thinking about how they're going to get re-elected. You know, the only way to get re-elected is to buy votes. It's just that simple.

Re-election; Reagan As President And As Governor

Morris: You fellows were thinking about getting Mr. Reagan re-elected in 1970, once you got him elected in 1966.

Wrather: You mean in the state?

Morris: Right.

Wrather: Oh, yes. We were thinking about that, but we weren't thinking about it, and I must say this very definitely--we had shown through what Ron did in the state government in his first term, that we were serious about trying to put business techniques into the government and stop giving money away to buy votes, and we put our money where our mouth was. We didn't get in and say we're going to do so-and-so, and then all of a sudden turn around and start what I call "buying votes", which means porkbarreling funds into your area so all of your people will vote for you. No, we didn't do that at all. In fact, it showed you what the people of California really wanted when they elected Ron the second time. By then they realized, I think, what he was doing to some degree.

It's an unfortunate situation that in Congress, the United States Congress, not all of them, but I'd say a high percentage--I'd say 85 percent--are only thinking at all times (and I know many, many, many of them) about getting re-elected. I do know some very fine Senators and very fine congressmen who are not that way, who are statesmen, who want it done right no matter what it means, but not a lot.

Reagan's Attitude Toward Governorship and Presidency: "This is Fun"

- Morris: I know you have to leave, but I'd like to ask one last question about how Mr. Reagan himself felt about being governor. Once you fellows had said, "Okay, we really want you to run and we'll help you," and you got him elected--while he was in Sacramento did he ever talk about how he felt about being governor?
- Wrather: Oh, yes. We'd talk about it over dinner--we'd go up maybe and spend an evening and have dinner with Nancy and Ron. Yes, I've heard him speak on that. Ron--people are amazed at how easily he fitted into the presidency and how nothing gets him down. I mean, Ron is not overwhelmed with power, prestige, popularity. It's almost unbelievable.
- I don't think I'm easily impressed, but he's a constant source of amazement to his friends. It's as if he just walked into the office today and sat down and started doing business, you know, only it's at the Oval Office, and it doesn't impress him. He loves it.
- Morris: He does?
- Wrather: Yes. He said at a party the other night--we were out to a dinner party with them, and he said, "I'm having a lot of fun. This is fun."
- Morris: Good!
- Wrather: Yes. He says, "You know, I don't like it when unemployment goes up, and I don't like any of the problems that exist for the people. But," he says, "I got an opportunity to try to do something about it, and it's a hell of a lot of fun."
- Morris: He feels more comfortable being president than he did being governor?
- Wrather: I don't know the answer to that. I think he does, because the governorship gave him that background. He's more confident because he had eight years of state administration in the biggest state in the United States, eighth largest country in the world, you know. I think that gave him confidence, and he's been pointing toward the presidency, and when he got there--
- Morris: In his own mind?
- Wrather: Yes, and boy, I mean singlemindedly. He's worked hard for it.

- Wrather: He and Nancy have fitted in beautifully, I think. Poor Nancy has taken guff, you know, from the media and everything, and she's done it like a lady. It bothers her. It'd bother any human being to have unkind, untrue things said about you nationally. But the two of them epitomize to me--you can tell I'm a great fan of both of theirs--they epitomize people of a real high type.
- Morris: You know them in a different way than anybody else we've talked to for the project. It is really helpful to have somebody who was a neighbor and friend before he became involved in politics.
- Wrather: Of course the Darts knew them socially and friendshipwise very well. I don't think Ed Mills necessarily did, or some of those other people who were more political associates; but Bill French Smith has been his attorney all these years and personal friend.
- Morris: His personal attorney, as well as, now, U.S. Attorney General?
- Wrather: Yes, that's right. And Bill Wilson was a close friend. I guess Bill Wilson is Ron's closest personal friend, just as man and man. They loved to ride together, and they do a lot of those things that buddies do; you know, they're buddies.
- Morris: Yes. People in public office seem to need somebody they can go off and ride horseback or play golf with or something like that.
- Wrather: Yes, he's got that with Bill Clark now up there. You know, Bill and he love to ride together, and they're very good friends.
- Morris: There were a lot of younger men that came in in Sacramento and who still are pretty young, in their forties, who are now in Washington. Was that part of your idea, too?
- Wrather: Some of them sort of came through our group, with recommendations and so forth.
- Morris: Were you looking for younger men to bring into government service?
- Wrather: Yes, we were, but we were particularly looking for capable--
- Morris: Capable rather than young?
- Wrather: Who would come in. Not everybody will come in.
- Morris: I won't keep you any longer. You've really given me a nice insight into your own attitudes about the world, as well as your friendship with Mr. Reagan.

Wrather: I appreciate the opportunity to. Sometimes it's nice to be able to talk a little bit and then be able to hear what you say.

Morris: All right, you'll get a chance to look at a transcript.

Transcriber: Sam Middlebrooks
Final Typist: Joan Cardellino

TAPE GUIDE--Jack Wrather

Date of Interview: 30 September 1982

tape 1, side A

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
of
JACK WRATHER

Jack Wrather was born May 24, 1918, at Amarillo, Texas. He attended grammar school in Long Beach, California, moving to Dallas, Texas in 1930, and to Tyler, Texas soon thereafter. He lived in Tyler from 1931 to 1941, attending high school there. In 1939 Mr. Wrather received a B.A. degree from the University of Texas, with honors. He was a member of Phi Eta Sigma, honorary freshman fraternity, and of the honorary government fraternity Pi Sigma Alpha.

In 1940, after a year of "roughnecking" on drilling rigs in the Texas oil fields, as a pipeline walker and finally as a "wild-catter", Mr. Wrather supervised the construction of a refinery for Overton Refining Company in Evansville, Indiana. Construction was completed in 1940, and in the same year Jack Wrather accepted the presidency of the family oil company because of the illness of his father.

In 1942 Mr. Wrather joined the United States Marine Corps and went through officer training at Quantico, Virginia. He was subsequently stationed in San Diego, California, from November 1942 until 1944. His executive experience in the Marine Corps began as Training Officer for Aviation Training Squadron 131, after which he advanced to becoming Executive Officer, and then Commanding Officer of his squadron. Mr. Wrather went overseas in 1944, as Commanding Officer of Headquarters Squadron of MAG-24 1st Marine Air Wing. His combat service included Bougainville, Solomon Islands; Luzon, Philippine Islands; and Mindanao, Philippine Islands. He was awarded three combat stars, and

participated in landings at Lingayen, Luzon, and Parang, Mindanao. Returning from overseas in October 1945, he was released from active duty in December with the rank of Captain. He retired from the Marine Corps with the rank of Major in 1950.

Resuming his business career after the war, Mr. Wrather has since been active in a number of business enterprises. Until 1957, he was President of Wrather Petroleum Corporation, a company with headquarters in Dallas, producing and transporting petroleum in Texas. He is Managing Director and owner of "J. D. Wrather, Jr., Special Account". This is an independent oil operation for the purpose of drilling for and producing oil, and for purchase and investment in minerals.

Since 1946, the J. D. Wrather, Jr., Special Account, has drilled and has participated in the drilling of more than 500 exploratory and producing oil and gas wells.

Diversification of Mr. Wrather's business interests began in 1946, when he became President of Jack Wrather Pictures, Inc., producers of motion pictures, with headquarters in Beverly Hills, California. Wrather Television Productions, Inc., of which he was President, was organized for television film activity and the company subsequently produced a television series sponsored by Proctor & Gamble. Between 1946 and 1955, Mr. Wrather produced seven feature motion pictures for Allied Artists, Eagle Lion, Warner Bros., and United Artists release. Since then he has produced THE MAGIC OF LASSIE in 1978; and in association with Lord Grade and ITC of England, produced in 1980 THE LEGEND OF THE LONE RANGER.

In 1952, Mr. Wrather purchased KOTV, a CBS-TV affiliate in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and in the next few years added to his television interests by the purchase of KFMB-TV and AM, San Diego, California.

and KERO-TV in Bakersfield, California. In 1959, Mr. Wrather merged his television interests into Transcontinent Television Corporation, a company owning, in addition to Mr. Wrather's properties, TV and radio stations in Buffalo, New York; Kansas City, Missouri; and Scranton, Pennsylvania, in which corporation he became a major stockholder and a member of the Executive Committee. This company was sold in 1964 to Taft Broadcasting plus others. In 1954, Mr. Wrather purchased the television and radio property, "The Lone Ranger". In 1955, he constructed the Disneyland Hotel at Disneyland Park, which is one of the leading hotels in the United States, presently with 1,400 rooms and the largest hotel convention facilities on the west coast. In 1956 Mr. Wrather acquired the "Lassie" television show, and "Sergeant Preston of the Yukon", another television property, in 1957. The "Lassie" television show was produced as a Jack Wrather Production and was on the CBS Network under sponsorship of Campbell Soup for 20 years. Also in 1957 he purchased the world's largest commercial radio station, WNEW, New York City, and Muzak Corporation. In 1958, with Associated Television Ltd., London, England, Mr. Wrather founded Independent Television Corporation, which purchased Television Programs of America. ITC became one of the leading companies in the production and distribution of television series.

In June, 1961, Wrather Corporation became publicly owned. This company now consists of the Disneyland Hotel; The Queen Mary complex; the Hughes Flying Boat; "Lassie"; "The Lone Ranger"; "Sergeant Preston of the Yukon"; and, located in Dallas, Texas,

Wrather Development, its oil and gas division; and was a major owner in TelePrompter Corporation. In 1981 Wrather Corporation announced the sale of its approximate 10% stock interest in the TelePrompter Corporation to Westinghouse for approximately \$62 million. During 1980 Wrather Corporation acquired the lease on the Queen Mary in Long Beach. This lease includes 240 acres of water area and 45 acres of affiliated land. Wrather Corporation was also instrumental in the acquisition of the Hughes Flying Boat, the "Spruce Goose", from Summa Corporation in conjunction with the Aero Club of Southern California, a non-profit organization, and will install the HFB at the Queen Mary site and operate for the Aero Club. Jack Wrather is President and Chairman of the Board of Wrather Corporation.

Outside of the corporate interests, Mr. Wrather personally is owner of L'Horizon Hotel in Palm Springs; large oil and gas interests in Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana; and real estate, ranching and agricultural holdings in both Australia and the United States; and was a former owner of the famed Balboa Bay Club in Newport Beach.

Mr. Wrather was a founder of KCET, Channel 28, Los Angeles, an educational television station, and served for several years from its inception on the Executive Committee and on the Board of Directors.

He is a member of the Marine Corps Reserve Officers Club in Washington, D.C.; the Dallas Petroleum Club and the Dallas Athletic Club in Dallas, Texas; as well as the Eldorado Country Club, Palm Desert, California; Marina City Club, Marina del Rey, California;

the Balboa Bay Club in Newport Beach, California; the Cat Cay Club, Bahamas; The Skeeters, New York City; and in England the Mark's Club, London; Buck's Club, London; and the White Elephant Club, London.

He is a member of the Development Board of the University of Texas, and the Executive Committee of the Chancellor's Council of the University of Texas. He was a director of the Hollywood Museum, and is on the Board of the American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry. Mr. Wrather is a member of the Board of Councilors for Performing Arts of the University of Southern California, and of the Advisory Council of the Arizona Heart Institute in Phoenix. He is a sponsor of the Los Angeles Orphanage Guild, and a Founder Member of the Performing Arts Council of the Music Center. He is a member of the Independent Petroleum Association of America; the California Hotel Association; the Directors Guild of America; and the Motion Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences.

From 1965 to 1981 Mr. Wrather was a member of the Board of Directors of TelePrompTer Corporation. TelePrompTer is the largest company in the cable television and pay television industry. In 1970 he was appointed by the President of the United States to the National Petroleum Council, an advisory committee under the Department of the Interior. In 1970 the President also appointed Mr. Wrather to the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. From November, 1971, to January, 1982, Mr. Wrather was a Director of Continental Airlines.

Recently, in September, 1982, Mr. Wrather was elected to the

Board of Trustees of The Heritage Foundation and in October, 1982, he accepted an appointment to the Board of Trustees of The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

Jack Wrather is married to the former Bonita Granville and has three children; one boy and two girls. He lives in Holmby Hills, Los Angeles, California, and has a home in London, England, with business headquarters in Beverly Hills and Dallas, Texas.

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Tirso del Junco

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY LEADERSHIP AND SUCCESS
1966-1982

An Interview Conducted by
Gabrielle Morris
1982

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Republican Victories, 1982

[Date of Interview: 30 November 1982]##

[Preliminary conversation about Dr. del Junco's work as chairman of the California Republican State Central Committee and the recent 1982 campaigns, in which Republicans were notably successful.]

del Junco: This year for the first time ever, we sent a mailing to all decline-to-state voters.

In September, I saw it as a close campaign, and we went out and registered a hundred thousand new Republican voters before the deadline. And in the last three days of the campaign, we had six hundred thousand phone calls made all over the state.

Morris: Were the calls made by volunteers or paid staff?

del Junco: About one third were paid callers. The registration workers were paid a dollar and a half for each one.

These are the things the party can do that make a real difference in a close campaign.

Morris: That's impressive campaign work by the party. With that kind of support, why is it that legislators frequently express concerns about the effectiveness of the parties?

del Junco: You know, I have lived intensely the life of the Republican party for sixteen years, as an officer at different levels, and I can see where the legislators might have concerns. If you have a political party that is a party who is going to dictate to the legislator a philosophy, is going to dictate to them their legislative agenda, indeed, we have problems. But if the party's

##This symbol indicates the start of a new tape or tape segment.
See Tape Guide, p. 21.

del Junco: function is to elect Republicans to office, to try to go and identify good candidates to run for office, not necessarily to run against our own elected officials, but to run against Democrats, and the political party does not become involved in defeating quote-unquote "incumbent Republicans," I think that there is a place for the Republican party.

I think it has been demonstrated in this last election, where we raised tremendous amount of funds for statewide offices. We gave a hundred thousand dollars to the governor's race, and we gave like sixty thousand for lieutenant governor, attorney general, all the statewide races. But equally the same we gave better than a million plus dollars to the state legislators vis-à-vis assemblymen and senators, and then we were able to obtain also contributions for our congressional races, indirectly within the national party.

Indeed, if there is an organization that is going to be willing to go out there and give that kind of support to the candidates-- the Republican party went out and qualified a referendum at a cost of a million point two--

Morris: This is the ones on reapportionment? [Propositions 10, 11, and 12 on the primary ballot, June 1982.]

del Junco: Yes. We also went out and qualified an initiative. It eventually lost by a small margin. Certainly those are great contributions of the party to the system vis-à-vis the Republican ideology, the Republican philosophy. On the other hand, I remember the days that the conservatives and the liberals were fighting, where the party was putting out candidates to defeat Republican incumbents, just because of philosophy, and there was a tremendous amount of philosophical discussion. We cannot forget the days of the great conflict between the Rockefeller and the Goldwater people, many of those campaigns; indeed, that is not healthy.

If we look at our counterpart, the Democrat party, certainly they are a majority party. They have in their ranks numberwise a lot more than we do. The only way that we do compete with them is because I think--and I am being obviously quite candid with you-- is because I think we are a little bit better organized and we are able to give that additional help to our candidates. We don't have the ability that Willie Brown has and that Senator [David] Roberti has to go out and through the lobbying mechanism to raise millions and millions and millions of dollars. In spite of what we raised, and if you add to that what was raised by the leadership of our assemblyman, Bob Naylor, or the senator, Bill Campbell, and we add all we did, they spent more money than we did.*

*Naylor and Campbell were minority leaders in their respective houses.

del Junco: Willie Brown, because of his powerful position in the assembly, has access to all these lobbyists, and he can raise tremendous amount of money. Equally the same with Roberti. We had nobody-- and they also had the governorship, so you can imagine what it would have been if we did not come to the rescue and help our candidates.

Next year, with the positions that we have plus the president plus the governorship and the U.S. Senator, those positions will help us to raise money for our candidates. I personally believe that it's healthy to have the people involved, and I think that it is very, very important to give both political parties a lot more to say.

Morris: A lot more to say?

del Junco: In the political process.

Morris: In terms of what happens in the legislature?

del Junco: No, in terms of what happens with the candidates. I know that many times also the candidates, they say that they want to be responsive, quote-unquote, to their constituents, to their constituency, but I'm not really sure that's true, because how responsible is one individual to his constituency? Here you find that sometimes the constituencies are extremely conservative and yet you have a very liberal legislator or vice versa. And I think that there's nothing wrong for legislators to be somewhat responsive to their party, to work together and to try to get the majority that we need in the legislative body. Because after all, that's what the ball game is all about. The ball game is for a political party to have a majority in the legislative bodies, because once you have the majority there, you appoint your committees, you have your majority in your committees, and then your legislative agenda can be began to be implemented.

Morris: And in that case, the legislative agenda would be closer to what the party platform was?

del Junco: That's right. You know, perhaps I'm talking this way because in the Republican party today in 1982 we are so much more unified. We don't have as many factions as the Democratic party has had. The Democratic party has had the Carter faction, the Kennedy faction, the Mondale faction, whereas here we had eight candidates running for president, still we maintain ourselves pretty much on the same wavelength, all of us. So for us it's much easier probably than for them to remain united.

Morris: That wasn't always the case. When you were in the California Republican Assembly, that was seen as a very conservative group, and it caused some friction within the state Republican party.

del Junco: Do you remember the [Max] Rafferty-[Thomas] Kuchel campaign?

Morris: Yes, for the Senate in 1962. Were you active in that?

del Junco: Yes, I was involved in the party at that time. That's why I say that we have outgrown all those things, and we have finally become united, although we have some elements that are much more liberal than others in our party. But it was very interesting to me on election night to see some of the most liberal members of our party and some of the most conservative members of our party, everybody rejoicing because we had won. I think what it is all about is the Republican party has had to learn the hard way that if you're going to be the minority party, you cannot afford these divisions and so on, and that after the primary, you've got to come together like Mike Curb did with [George] Deukmejian. The night of the primary election we had one election center, the Century-Plaza Hotel, as the place of the party. And we brought as many of our major candidates running in the primary as we could to the hotel that night.

Morris: All of them?

del Junco: All of the statewide major candidates were there, and the party again paid for everything and ran the whole operation, which was an expensive operation, but brought the candidates together. At one o'clock in the morning, the time that Deukmejian was winning the primary, we had Mike Curb right there, endorsing Deukmejian. Not only that, next morning at eleven o'clock I had a unity brunch with all the senatorial candidates and all the statewide candidates, to bring them together right there and then. In other words, within twelve hours--and these are things that we have learned, that we are doing.

Morris: Do some of the candidates come kicking and screaming?

del Junco: It's just a question of leadership and establishing the proper environment and the proper conditions. I mean, the situation was orchestrated in such a way that we made it easier for the losers to participate. We did not make the event agonizing and painful for the losers to come down and join with the victors. What I'm really trying to tell you is how we do these things in the Republican party.

del Junco: We had twelve people, men and women, running for the U.S. Senate, some extreme conservatives versus some very liberal Republicans. [Pete] McCloskey is no middle-of-the-roader, and yet we were able to overcome this whole thing. We had eight men running for the United States presidency in 1980, and, again, we were able to recover from it.

Building Party Unity, 1965

Morris: Was this kind of bring-people-together thing possible in 1966 when Mr. Reagan was running against George Christopher for the nomination for governor?

del Junco: As you will probably remember, right after that election, as I understand--and I wasn't that involved with the leadership of the party at that time (although I was involved with the party, but not at that level)--the Tuttles and the Salvatoris and the Reagan people made it a point within forty-eight hours to meet with the leadership of the Christopher people, the Darts and the Firestones. They came together and they put together a tremendous united front. Where that was not possible was two years previously in the Goldwater-Rockefeller--

Morris: In 1964, it was not possible?

del Junco: Not possible. Remember, we went all through that general election into the election day and still there was--you remember, [Nelson] Rockefeller walked out of the convention in San Francisco. You know, one thing is to give lip service to unity, and another thing is to show a genuine sincere effort to unite and to endorse your primary opponent.

I think that Ronald Reagan probably began for us that spirit of unity and so on. Ronald Reagan also, I think, has had a number of concepts [which] have been very helpful to our party, and one is not becoming involved in the primary races.

Morris: For the party not to be in the primary races?

del Junco: That's right. And he himself. You know, he traditionally has not become involved in the primary races, endorsing candidates and so on. I think that's been a help. In fact, in the last sixteen years I can only recall the incidents of the Goldwater and Rockefeller campaign. The other major incident was in the case of Rafferty and Kuchel, which we were not able to recover--a lot of the so-called liberal Republicans never saw fit to come around, and the end result was that they elected [Alan] Cranston and in 1968.

del Junco: In effect, I think we have been able to overcome it--the next confrontation we had was when we had the [Gerald] Ford-Reagan thing, in which, you know, the chairman of the party from California decided to endorse Ford, Paul Haerle. And in spite of that, Mike Curb, who was the chairman of Ronald Reagan in California, after the defeat of Ronald Reagan in the convention, did a great effort on behalf of President Ford.

I think what we are really saying is that we have learned that whenever we have not been able to unite, we have had difficulties in the general election. And, as I said, I think President Reagan has been a tremendous stabilizing force in this area of the political party.

Morris: Because of himself, his own personality, or his politics?

del Junco: His own personality. You know, he's not a confrontation type of politician. He's a very, very decent, decent, decent man. Even losing, he's very generous. I don't know if you remember his--

Morris: This is in some of his presidential tries, his earlier ones?

del Junco: Yes. Remember when he lost in the presidential try against Ford. He stole the convention when he came down, in his concession speech to President Ford in Kansas City. I mean, men and women alike, they were just crying. As to how genuine he was. I think that this has helped all of us.

I think also the thing that's begun to help us, too, is that we do not allow also the leadership of the party to become involved in the primaries. No longer can the chairman of the state party or any of the officers endorse any person running for either state-wide or local races during the primary.

Morris: Then when you get into the general election, don't you have some problems with the people who've been identified just with one candidate? They are not necessarily the people who have been working closely with the party?

del Junco: Well, let me give you an example. I was the chairman of the party, and we had Deukmejian and we had Curb running. I did not endorse either one of them. I maintained the party functioning. I maintained the party's mood. I had a big dinner with the President, raised a million dollars in May after the primary, you know. Deukmejian won, and I was called in and the Deukmejian people said, "Okay, Tirso, we want you to take care of the party functions, the get-out-the vote, the mailers and so on," and they took care of the raising of the funds and the media. Now if I had been involved with [interruption]...the Curb campaign, I would have never been able to do this. My credibility would have been damaged.

Morris: And you're saying this is the change in the last ten years?

del Junco: Yes. This happened after the '76 election. In the 1976 election, as you well know, Paul Haerle, then chairman of the Republican party of the state, endorsed President Ford. The vice chairman endorsed Ronald Reagan. So, you know, it was an incredible situation at the convention. I was at the convention, and you could see these two California Republicans with a different walkie-talkie and a different hat on.

Morris: Talking to the different delegates?

del Junco: Yes. [laughs] With a different hat from California. So after that a bylaw change took place whereabout no officer can become involved in endorsing in the primary election any candidate.

Morris: Is this for the California Republican party or is this national?

del Junco: The California state party.

Morris: Who suggested that?

del Junco: Well, the people did, I think. You know, there was a lot of resentment throughout this whole thing, ill feelings and so on. I think that everybody felt that again if we indeed sincerely believe that the unity of the party is essential to win, that we should do it.

I'm trying to bring you up to date of what has transpired and so on, and like I say, the style of President Reagan has helped us a lot.

Opening the Door to the Hispanic Community

Morris: Right. How about yourself? You're Spanish speaking. Have you made a special effort, had a special interest, in the Spanish-speaking population in California?

del Junco: Yes. You know, I got elected by twelve hundred delegates in our organizing convention in Sacramento, and there were only six Hispanic delegates. Now we have a volunteer organization within the Republican party called the Hispanic Council. They have better than two thousand members. I encouraged them to come together--in fact, this January will be the first year in existence--to put together a Hispanic Council which elected their officers and so on statewide, and they're broken down into assembly-regional clubs,

del Junco: trying to open the doors to the Hispanic community. But what we're trying to do is to bring them inside the party and to be part of the whole structure and not just to be, you know, separate Spanish groups.

Morris: Right, like La Raza.

del Junco: Yes, that's right, and in a lot of the Democratic party--you know the Democratic party have all of these little--what we're trying to do is I would like to see it more integrated as a whole. After all, that's what the American melting pot is all about.

Morris: Did you and Mr. Reagan ever talk about these kinds of ideas when he was governor?

del Junco: Well, President Reagan has had his ideas, and these are not all my ideas, ideas that he himself, in many meetings, has expressed to us. It's very hard from the top to see these things filter down. Many people have tried to represent him as being against minorities and so on, yet Ronald Reagan when he took office, I think there were two or three Hispanic judges in this state, and he appointed immediately a number of Hispanic judges throughout the entire state. He appointed Hispanics to major commissions. I was appointed then, sixteen years ago, to the Board of Medical Examiners and served as president of the Board of Medical Examiners in two terms, which I don't think anybody has since or before.

We had Hispanics appointed to parole boards, Hispanics appointed to personnel boards, Hispanics appointed in general across the board. These were appointed, in my opinion, not trying to have specifically minority representation, but, as he has always said, for the purposes of bringing the Hispanic community into middle America. Which might appear to you as being the same thing, but it's not the same thing. One thing is to appoint an individual to have a minority vote in a given commission; another thing is to appoint him so there will be access of those people to that commission.

Morris: So that Spanish-speaking people will feel they can go to this person--?

del Junco: Or to the other--not only to be able to speak to them. I would hope that I, as chairman of this party, Hispanics and blacks and Anglos, like some of us say, can come to me and talk to me of the problem, regardless of what their race is or what their background is, if they have blue eyes or not blue eyes. I see myself only perhaps being different from the point of view that I am very sensitive to the needs of minorities and Hispanics to be part of the system. But I see myself a little bit different than other minorities, including Hispanics, in that I do not believe that I discriminate against Anglos.

Morris: You don't feel that you have been discriminated against?

del Junco: No, that I don't discriminate. A lot of minorities engage in reverse discrimination. I think that every individual is going to face discrimination, you as a woman, I as a man, as a minority, as a foreigner. I'm a foreigner. I came here thirty-three years ago, and so I'm a foreigner. I'll always be a foreigner, and I'm very proud of that. You know, I'm proud that I was a foreigner, and I was proud the way I came into this country, and I'm proud the opportunity was given to me, and I'm proud of having done something with that opportunity. And for people to look [upon] me as a foreigner, hey, that's what I am, you know. So I don't find myself handicapped because of that. But I also feel--

Morris: You see it as something to be proud of.

del Junco: Yes. And that's what I am, you know, just like you were born in certain conditions or whatever, so you're proud of that. You were born, weren't you? And it was done in good faith by your father and your mother. You know what I am trying to say? It is this kind of positive feeling that we have to bring forward. I just think that there is a lot of that feeling in the Republican party. One thing I can assure you, there is much less discrimination and much less reverse discrimination within the Republican party, I think, than what I see in the Democratic party.

I mean, we don't see those difficulties in our party. And the meetings and so on, these racial issues as they come up are not in the same fashion. I was a member, chairman of the board, of a bank when a black man has told me, he said, "You got a black problem."

Morris: That the bank has a black problem?

del Junco: Or that I had a black problem. Because I would not quote-unquote "give a loan to a black person." Because he wasn't qualified for the loan. But it's a very slow process. It's a very, very slow process to understand this and to be able to communicate the message, you know. It's so difficult to articulate that open door philosophy of everybody participating.

Morris: Did you work with Paul Haerle in recruiting some Hispanics for Governor Reagan to appoint in Sacramento?

del Junco: Yes. You know Paul was at that time--actually he was the second appointments secretary that the Governor had. The first one was a very close friend of Paul. What was his name?

Morris: Oh, Tom Reed.

del Junco: Tom Reed was the first one. Then it was Paul. And then it was Ned Hutchinson, who died, by the way, soon after that. And they all were very, very interested in appointing-- But, you know, it's tough. It is very tough to get a minority--at least Hispanics to top senior management jobs.

Morris: Either in business or in the political field?

del Junco: Well, in the political field much more difficult. More difficult because those who are in the private sector who have reached senior management in corporate America, or whatever you want to call it, usually these people have gotten there recently, in the last five or ten years, and those people are not going to leave that job, where now they're making the fifty to sixty to seventy thousand dollars and they have all kinds of fringe benefits, to take a leave of absence and not know what's going to happen coming back, you know, in their promotions and all that stuff.

I have been very instrumental in trying to find people for senior management for the President, for instance. It is difficult. I have gone to vice-presidents of banks, chief executives of small business, other people in top management positions, and they say, "Tirso, I'm just sorry. I can't afford it. I just got here. This will affect my promotions."

Morris: Right. That's a real pull.

del Junco: It's a real, real pull. And then I have to still think that when you look at it, numerically speaking, we don't have the numbers; although we have the numbers in general, twenty million Hispanics, we don't have the numbers of people that are willing to say, "Okay, I'm going to do it." It's an expensive proposition. This that I have done has been a very, very expensive proposition for me. As you know, you don't get paid--

Morris: When you take two years from a medical practice and concentrate as you have on being chairman of the party--

del Junco: That's right. It affects your income considerable. It's difficult to say what motivates one man and motivates another person. The same thing as what motivates a woman to go out there and some women to work very hard and some other ones don't. I'm very happy that I did what I did, and I think I would do it again, and if I'm called upon to serve the President I would do it, too. But I just think that we need everybody to chip in.

Morris: In other words, what you're saying is that not everybody is going to want to take a role in politics, either in party life or in elective politics.

del Junco: I feel you find out the same thing elsewhere.

Morris: I think that's a very true statement, but, as I say, it's very fascinating to try and reconstruct how the party has grown and how it has changed in its influence, what's gone on in California--

del Junco: I think it has had a great influence.

Cal Plan and Ronald Reagan's Political Style##

Morris: Did you help with the Cal Plan, the party started to elect more Republicans to the legislature?

del Junco: Yes. I raised money for that and for other things, and I will raise a lot more, will do a lot more things. I think all of these things can be related to the leadership we've had in this state. I think also, between you and me, that our legislators get along much better than they did before. We don't have the interfighting in Sacramento that used to be. It used to be very difficult for the Cal Plan to synchronize and come up with a united effort between the assembly and the senate and the party. I think you read in your interviews where some legislators feel they should be making all the decisions. Well, I think this time it's been a little bit different because we have a lot of money to give away, we could pay for so many programs. Actually, like I said to you, these people never had more than three hundred thousand dollars, and if you--like they wanted reapportionment, there was nobody to do a reapportionment referendum. But here was a party that could say, "We'll do it," and take it on and in fifty-two days qualify the referendum, spend a million two. There was nobody could do this for them. So they saw in us a body, an organization that could--

Morris: Do something that they wanted to have done?

del Junco: That's right! So therefore they saw that we had--and the first thing I did, I got a million dollars put in the bank. And they knew there was a million dollars there drawing interest every day. That was money that they are going to get, so you know they are going to talk to you, and you're going to try to negotiate.

Morris: Wasn't it Jesse Unruh who used to say that "money is the mother's milk of politics?"

del Junco: Absolutely. And I think that our ability to organize, and our ability to lift the expectations, has grown greatly. The Republican party never, never in the past has been able to qualify a single

del Junco: initiative.* So what I'm trying to say to you is that we have seen the party grow stronger, stronger, stronger, and there is a multitude, a combination of forces.

Morris: But you feel that Ronald Reagan has been one of those forces?

del Junco: Absolutely, absolutely. Because he has been our leader, but he has not been a controversial leader. He has been a clean, faithful leader, upfront at all times.

Morris: Even though some people say he's kind of detached from the day-to-day decision making--

del Junco: In the party. He has and he hasn't. Because, you know, I have to confess to you that I have consulted with the White House almost on a continuing basis as to what I've been doing. I go to Washington almost on a monthly basis, go there and meet with the leadership of the White House, political leadership, and they know exactly what we're doing. I'm sure that he--I think he has a way about going about it. On the other hand, he has not thrown himself inside the party and began giving orders to everybody. So, as I said to you, his style, in my opinion, has contributed to the unity and the growth of the party.

Presidential Campaigns

Morris: When you were involved in the party in getting him elected governor, were you also, in 1965-66, thinking that he might make a presidential candidate?

del Junco: You know, interestingly enough, this whole thing about Ronald Reagan started way back when we were all campaigning for Barry Goldwater.

Morris: Really?

del Junco: That's right. It was the night of the defeat of Barry Goldwater. We were at the Ambassador Hotel, and Ronald Reagan gave a little speech afterwards to lift the morale of everybody. And we began, a lot of people began to say--you know, he had just given the night before that famous speech--

*Proposition 14, November 1982, an initiative to create a commission to establish congressional and legislative districts. Not passed.

Morris: The one in October 1964 that brought in all the money for the Goldwater campaign.

del Junco: Remember the night that he gave that tremendous speech? It was then that we for the first time said, "You know, this man should be running for governor." After that, Salvatori and Tuttle and what's the name of this guy--he used to be president, chairman of the board I think of Union Oil. He died.

Morris: Cy Rubel.

del Junco: Cy Rubel. And there was a fourth guy there besides them.

Morris: Was that Ed Mills?

del Junco: Ed Mills and Tuttle were together. Ed Mills, Tuttle, Cy Rubel, and Salvatori, and they got together and started talking to him. But I remember that meeting that night of the defeat of Barry Goldwater, a group of us there in the Ambassador talking about Ronald Reagan running for governor. And then he was testing the waters for a long time until finally he decided to run.

At that time, you know, we all had in place all the Goldwater --remember all the Goldwater organizations, all the Goldwater clubs that started about two years before? At that time, then, all we were thinking was about Ronald Reagan being our candidate, being able to beat Christopher. So we beat Christopher. And then our next stage was to beat Brown.

It wasn't until after eight months or a year had gone by, I think it was about the month of October that he was in office that the question came up--

Morris: When he started thinking about the 1968 presidential race?

del Junco: The campaign. At that time you again had the Rockefeller-Nixon duel going on, and the question is should a third candidate be the next president of the United States, a third candidate.

Morris: Because nobody liked the argument between Nixon and Rockefeller?

del Junco: Well, Rockefeller--you know, the conservatives were not too satisfied with Rockefeller, because they had that recent experience of the Rockefeller-Goldwater debacle.

Morris: Right. But Nixon was a Californian that had had a lot of experience in politics.

del Junco: That's right, but Nixon also had his problems, because remember he had just been defeated for governor.

Morris: Yes, in '62.

del Junco: In '62. And this time Nixon was living in New York. He was no longer a Californian. Remember?

Morris: Right. And that bothered people in California?

del Junco: Well, I think that--he was not as close to us.

We had just finished going through a campaign. We felt that we had a very strong Reagan organization. Ronald Reagan was a tremendous speaker. He took a few trips outside the state; I think he went to Illinois, and he was extremely successful with his speeches, raised a lot of money. So we viewed him as a potential presidential candidate. And, again, I think that the Salvatoris and what later became known as the kitchen cabinet--because that denomination came into existence after Governor Reagan was the governor of the state.

Morris: In office, in Sacramento.

del Junco: In Sacramento, yes. In fact, it was about--I don't know if he had finished his first term when--we used to talk about the palace guard--we began to talk about the kitchen cabinet. Then again they got together and--I was a delegate to that convention.

Morris: In '68 in Florida?

del Junco: Yes. I've been a delegate to all three, four conventions. I'm sure you know the story about how things developed.

Morris: No, not for sure. I've heard different versions of it.

del Junco: Well, we went down there, and I thought it was close. I remember working the Florida delegation and working the Louisiana delegation. We were all pledged, as you well know--Ronald Reagan won the--

Morris: The California primary.

del Junco: Primary. So we had a hundred and fifty votes or whatever pledged to him. There were a lot of delegations that went there pledged, and everybody was dealing and wheeling to see what was going to happen on the second vote, and the second vote never came around. Nixon won on the first vote. And he came back. Then Ronald Reagan ran for governor again. The next time around, when Nixon ran for reelection, he was never opposed.

Morris: Was that that Nixon had such good control of everything nationally in the party?

del Junco: I think that Nixon did have in his first four years a considerable amount of popularity, as you well know. Of course, he won the second time around. He ran against [George] McGovern, and this was a landslide. But I think all in all he would have beaten any Democratic opponent at that time. Because he was popular. He had just come back from China. Had opened the markets in the Far East. And he was viewed as a very erudite expert in foreign policy. He had pretty broad recognition in the Republican party. Ronald Reagan was still the governor of the state when Nixon ran the second time. And Ronald Reagan had two more years to go. I suppose that those of us who wanted to see Ronald Reagan be President of the United States were--thought that he was young enough to wait for the next time around. And that's what happened.

Then when the 1976 convention came about, that was a very touchy situation because we were split in California to a degree. Because there were some loyal forces vis-à-vis Paul Haerle. (You talked to Paul; it would be interesting to know what Paul says now.) Paul became a very, very, very persuasive, strong supporter of President Ford. Created very serious splits in this state. Nevertheless, then Governor Ronald Reagan, was able to win the primary hands down against Ford. I think that some tactical mistakes were what cost him the winning that nomination (in 1976). Because I thought it was a very close nomination. Ford won the nomination, and then the old man showed that he wasn't old, that he was strong and that he could be perceived as a strong, viable candidate, and that's how he won in 1980. Everybody thought he was too old. Nobody could make a case out of it because the guy was so viable, and so vibrant.

Morris: And his organization by then was really working well?

del Junco: I think everyone learned a lot from the Reagan-Ford campaign. I think that if Reagan would have spent more time in Ohio that primary, if he would have won Ohio, there would have been a totally different ball game. But he stayed in California.

I don't know if you remember--The Ohio primary and the California primary were at the same time, and for some reason or other they were led to believe that he had to stay in California to protect his home base, and he never went to Ohio to campaign until about Friday--I think it was Thursday or Friday--before the election. He went down there and did a very good job, but it was too late. But if he had won that Ohio primary, the whole thing would have been totally different.

But, you see, I thought that Ford did a tremendous job. Ford came to California, and some other people ran a survey and they showed that Ford had made [a] great advance in California. But I think that Ronald Reagan did not have to stay in California as much as he did to win the State of California.

- Morris: Who was making the decision that he stayed here rather than going to Ohio?
- del Junco: In those days, interestingly enough, the person running the Reagan campaign was John Sears; remember, that he fired?
- Morris: Sears ran into difficulty in this 1980 campaign.
- del Junco: In that campaign. And the guy running the campaign of Ford was Stu Spencer.
- Morris: Really? Who had run Reagan's '66 campaign.
- del Junco: Right. And who was very much involved in the last campaign with Reagan. Stu Spencer was able to demonstrate that Ford had made a lot of inroads here in California and keep then-Governor Reagan campaigning in California. But primarily the two strategists then--Stu Spencer was the strategist for President Ford, and he strategized the campaign well, and John Sears was for Reagan.
- [interruption, phone call. Several brief passages of unrelated discussion deleted from the following section.]
- del Junco: You know, I'd like to tell the state central committee what your project is doing. I think you could add a lot of background to the history of the Republican party. I'm a lame duck chairman, but I will get together with Ed Reinecke, who is going to be the new state chairman.
- By the way, there's another person who had a lot to do with Reagan when he was governor. He was lieutenant governor for six years.
- Morris: Right, I think he's a very important part of the story, both in relation to government administration and in some of the problems the party ran into in those years.
- del Junco: Let me talk to him and see what I can do. You know, he's had some strange feelings concerning many of the people involved, the final outcome of this.
- Morris: In a sense, I suppose, he may feel that he may have taken the rap, as they say, for things about the 1972 convention that he maybe was not fully responsible for.
- del Junco: I think that's a very important thing, what you're saying, because historically speaking, his side of the story should be told. Here's a guy who was due to become governor of the State of California without any doubt. If that incident had not taken place, he would have won the governorship of the state hands down.

del Junco: Jerry Brown would have never touched him. And they were able to put the thing together with nothing else but a fake type of thing, how it happened, where it happened. I think history should record his story, even though other people would tell it differently.

Morris: That's our feeling. We would be delighted if he would be willing to be interviewed.

[verbatim transcript resumes]

del Junco: I'll be very happy to talk to him because I think that all this you're doing--the absence of the lieutenant governor for six years leaves a tremendous vacuum in that whole story.

Morris: Lieutenant governor is a very interesting spot--his views on what it's like to be lieutenant governor of California and the pros and cons.

del Junco: But moreover, what happened the last two years of his lieutenant governorship. We were dealing with Nixon and we were getting into the conventions. It was going to be in San Diego and then it was transferred from San Diego and then supposedly he committed perjury and all that stuff. It's a lot.

You know, there are lieutenant governors and lieutenant governors. There are lieutenant governors that know, I understand, as much about what's going on in government as I might know about what's happening in the government of Thatcher in England, and there are others that are very much a part of the government. I don't know how much exactly did Reinecke participate in the government of Ronald Reagan.

Morris: It looks as if there were some efforts to expand the responsibilities of the lieutenant governor's office. [interruption, phone call in Spanish]

Reagan as President; Thoughts on South America and Other World Problems

del Junco: That was a reporter from the Spanish language station, wanting to interview me about the trip of the President to Latin America.

I said to him, "Sergio, I don't want to be presumptive about telling you what the President is going to be doing. This is no time for me to get on the Spanish network nationwide and bring up again the Argentina situation, when the President's got a good will trip." They're anticipating the guy. I'm not going to go

del Junco: out there at the moment that the President is trying to go and trying to do something positive for the United States, to get involved with those issues.

But it's a lot of fun, and everybody has got his own agenda, which is the most fun of all. You have to find out what the agenda for each person is.

Morris: [laughs] And then try and make these different agendas come together in some kind of consensus?

del Junco: And be able to stick to [your own.] I've got my agenda, like you have yours, and I suppose that everyone wants to see his agenda prevail. That's what it's all about, you know.

Morris: How different are the agendas? Is there much overlap or area of conflict?

del Junco: Oh, sometimes with the press there is.

Morris: By and large, do you find that the press and other media people helpful or--?

del Junco: I have an excellent relationship with them. I've been very candid with them. But the problem with the President and what everybody has to understand--just like your interest is to establish a record and to have an anecdote of the whole thing and get different impressions so you can come out with [the whole story]--with the President, the press aren't interested in the record. They're interested in the President as news.

Morris: In something that's controversial?

del Junco: In the news! They're in the news. Their interest is to maintain everything very fluid and to establish as much as possible a type of adversary relationship, opponent to those in office and those out of office. For some of them it becomes a true game. It really does. But that doesn't fit the agenda.

Morris: No, certainly not your agenda, with an organization to keep running--

del Junco: Because, you see, my agenda is to elect Republicans and to help the President, not to outfox anybody, not to upstage any individual, and so on. Like right now, I've got all kind of phone calls about the President's trip, and I don't want to answer any questions. If they have a question, call the President. But [the press wants], "The chairman of the Republican party said--" You know, Hispanic and all that. Why should I be upstaging the President? So I refuse to talk to them.

Morris: I hope he [Mr. Reagan] has someone with him as fluent as you, in both languages.

del Junco: Well, I was going to go, but I'm not going. I wonder why. No, there's so many people that are capable and so many people who are informed and so many people who are very much involved, and twenty-five hundred things are going on.

You know, it's incredible what's going on, incredible, with all those countries. The problems are just almost insurmountable. You can't get over them. I'm glad the President's going down there. I think that it's time that we gave a little bit of priority to our neighboring countries.

Morris: In our own hemisphere.

del Junco: You know, traditionally, I think it's one of our biggest mistakes, that our priority systems--while we were relating to Europe or while we were relating to the Middle East and the Far East and problems in India, the Cold War, whatever, we did not see fit to say we're going to have not only a strong America vis-à-vis the USA, but a strong continent vis-à-vis South America. Just think, if we in the last thirty years had been building and building and building, we would have an economic base in this hemisphere, tremendous! But we have been so immersed into the big picture, the markets--

Morris: The east-west picture?

del Junco: Yes, and the big markets out there, and we have forgotten--

It's true. When you compare these things from a very, very--strictly speaking economics, then you've got to come up with numbers, which is human beings, you know. Central America represents altogether a limited market, 250, 300 million people. When you add Mexico, you got 200 million people, two and a half. [del Junco's secretary interrupts to ask a question] --250 million people. Well, China alone has got one billion. When we talk about markets and so on, it [South America] represents a much smaller market than the European markets. So perhaps that's the economic reason, but I just think that many of the problems that we face in South America is because we have not given it, like everything in life, the proper attention.

Morris: I suppose some choices have to be made; but it would seem appropriate to deal with what's closer to home, as it were.

del Junco: You know, this president is really trying hard, but the thing is that he is dealing with a timetable, and the problems are so large and so great and so many number in the other hemisphere--

Morris: Is it also a question of what's visible and what the greater pressure is?

del Junco: Priorities! That's right. That's absolutely [right]. So I know that he would like to give a lot more in many ways to our relationship between Mexico and Canada, because I've heard it myself. But he has to deal with the other things. You know, [it's hard to keep track of] one country in the world. The President's presented when he gets up in the morning with a report about the Middle East, the Far East, and China and Russia, and what happened here in Central America and South America and so on, because we have a very important, vested interest in each one of those areas.

He has to deal with all of them. I mean, if you're the president of France, I'm sure you don't have to deal with all those problems.

##

Morris: You really care about Mr. Reagan as a person, don't you?

del Junco: I really love that man. To work with him so long, now as president and all the years he was governor--all the things he and the party have been through.

You know, someone else you should interview is Bob Finch. While Ronald Reagan was governor, Nixon was president, and Finch was close to both of them. He was a regent, too, and that was something that was a problem for Ronald Reagan as governor. You're from the university--what are the students like now?

Morris: The ones I talk to are likely to be concerned about nuclear weapons and what they see as a real possibility that they may have to go to war.

del Junco: Yes, and when you consider these things, you have to realize the fears of the people in western Europe. They are so close to the deployment of Russian missiles, which are being moved constantly, and they feel them coming closer and closer. And we must also take into account things like Israel's export of weapons--30 percent of their exports are weapons--to other countries in that part of the world. But they have a right to be scared of their neighbors. All these kind of things are factors.

Morris: Very difficult questions indeed.

You've been very helpful in telling us about your work with the Republican party and Ronald Reagan. Thank you for giving me so much time this afternoon.

Transcriber: Sam Middlebrooks
Final Typist: Marie Herold

TAPE GUIDE -- Tirso del Junco

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