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CHAPTER I

1. Marshall Adesman, "The State of Pitching," <http://www.thediamondangle.com/archive/aug03/complete.html>, consulted April 24, 2007.
2. Willard Manus, "Passing Recognition," *Michigan Today*, <http://www.umich.edu/news/MT/04/Fall04/story.html?passing>, consulted April 24, 2007.
3. Many of these studies are referred to in the chapters on Reagan and Yeltsin.
4. Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Randolph M. Siverson, "War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability," *American Political Science Review* 89 (1995): 841–55; David A. Lake and Robert Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Randolph M. Siverson, ed., *Strategic Politicians, Institutions, and Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).
5. Robert H. Bates, Avner Greif, Margaret Levi, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry R. Weingast, *Analytic Narratives* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).
6. On campaigning see William H. Riker, *The Strategy of Rhetoric: Campaigning for the American Constitution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). See also James E. Campbell, *The American Campaign: U.S. Presidential Campaigns and the National Vote* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2000); Henry E. Brady and Richard Johnston, eds., *Capturing Campaign Effects* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006); Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections: Strategies and Structures of American Politics*, 10th ed. (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2000). On institutionally driven leadership incentives see Bueno de Mesquita et al., *Logic of Political Survival*.
7. Bueno de Mesquita et al., *Logic of Political Survival*.
8. Polsby and Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections*, 43.
9. Gil Troy, *See How They Ran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 191.

10. William H. Riker, *The Art of Political Manipulation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), x.

11. Riker, *Art of Political Manipulation*, ix.

12. Riker's theory of heresthetic is criticized by Gerry Mackie, "The Coherence of Democracy," unpublished manuscript, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 2001, on the grounds that many vote cycles identified by Riker, when more carefully examined, were not cycles at all. We agree, however, with Ian McLean in "William H. Riker and the Invention of Heresthetic(s)," *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (2002): 535-58, that Mackie is mistaken to emphasize cycles as essential to heresthetic. McLean demonstrates numerous examples of heresthetical maneuvers without requiring cycles. Maneuver, not preference cycles, is the essence of heresthetic.

13. William H. Riker, "Rhetorical Interaction in the Ratification Campaigns," in *Agenda Formation*, ed. Riker (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 83.

14. This type of manipulation is used in campaigns and a variety of other decision-making forums. For examples of heresthetical maneuvers in New Zealand, see Jack H. Nagel, "Social Choice in a Pluralitarian Democracy: The Politics of Market Liberalization in New Zealand," *British Journal of Political Science* 28 (1998): 223-65. For heresthetic in the founding of the American Constitution, besides Riker, "Rhetorical Interaction"; see also Jack N. Rakove, "The Madisonian Theory of Rights," *William and Mary Law Review* 31, no. 2 (1990): 245-66; and Norman Schofield, "Evolution of the Constitution," *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (2002): 1-23. For an application of heresthetic to coups see Youssef Cohen, "The Heresthetics of Coup Making," *Comparative Political Studies* 24 (1991): 344-64.

15. Riker, *The Strategy of Rhetoric*, 4.

16. Riker, *Art of Political Manipulation*, 1.

17. Riker, *The Strategy of Rhetoric*, 9.

18. Riker, "Rhetorical Interaction," 81.

19. See Riker, *Art of Political Manipulation* and *The Strategy of Rhetoric*.

20. See references in note 14 for a sampling of studies that use the concept of heresthetic to explain important political phenomena.

21. An appreciation of this dynamic is a driving force, for instance, behind the Downsian model of politics. See Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1957).

22. During the campaign Reagan offered his thoughts about visiting the North American Aerospace Defense Command, which monitored missile activity but could not stop incoming missiles. In an interview with Robert Scheer, he said: "I think the thing that struck me was the irony that here, with this great technology of ours, we can do all of this yet we cannot stop any of the weapons that are coming at us. I don't think there's been a time in history when there wasn't a defense against some kind of thrust, even back in the old-fashioned days when we had coast artillery that would stop invading ships if they came." Robert Scheer, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush, and Nuclear War* (New York: Random House, 1982), 232-33.

23. Morris Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

24. <http://www.lakjer.dk/erik/comments/campaign.html>, consulted May 10, 2005.
25. Duncan Black, *The Theory of Committees and Elections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1958).
26. Downs, *Economic Theory of Democracy*.
27. See Richard McKelvey, “Intransitivities in Multidimensional Voting Models and Some Implications for Agenda Control,” *Journal of Economic Theory* 12 (1976): 472–82; and Norman Schofield, “Instability of Simple Dynamic Games,” *Review of Economic Studies* 45 (1978): 575–94.
28. In the reframed issue environment that linked Russian autonomy to economic reform, Gorbachev might also have been able to sustain support from the nomenklatura, but to do so he would first have had to accept the principle that these two issues really were one. As we explain later, there were compelling political impediments to his doing so.

CHAPTER 2

1. Riker, “Rhetorical Interaction,” 83.
2. Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections: Strategies of American Electoral Politics* (New York: Scribner’s, 1964), 64.
3. Bartels was referring to events that will be reviewed in this chapter: Senator Eugene McCarthy’s near-victory in the New Hampshire primaries, President Johnson’s surprise announcement that he would not compete for his party’s presidential nomination, and the assassinations of Senator Robert Kennedy and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., all of which occurred in the span of a few months. Larry M. Bartels, *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 19.
4. The number of Republican primaries in 1968 listed here includes delegate-selection primaries in Alabama and New York. In addition to 35 states holding Republican primaries in 1980, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico held primaries. *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections*, 5th ed., vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2005), 363–65, 377–85; and Austin Ranney, ed., *The American Elections of 1980* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981), 369.
5. A key participant in and analyst of southern politics in the 1960s explains the origins of the strategy that was associated with Senator Goldwater’s presidential campaign: “It is fitting that the term ‘southern strategy’ should have been coined in the Goldwater campaign of 1964 because that campaign planted the seed for a radical new direction in national politics, leading to a conversion of Democratic Dixie into a Republican heartland for presidential elections. For almost a century the Old South had been taken for granted by the Democrats and ignored by the Republicans. . . . Finally in 1964, the Republican Party nominated a presidential candidate who stood more with the South than the rest of the country.” Harry S. Dent, *The Prodigal South Returns to Power* (New York: John Wiley, 1978), 6–7. Dent ran a southern operation for Goldwater during the 1964 presidential contest; encouraged Senator Strom Thurmond, whom he had worked for since the mid-1950s, to switch to the Republican Party in that year; and began running southern operations for Nixon and was elected Republican

Party state chairman for South Carolina in 1965. In 1971 and 1972, Dent was a White House adviser on southern strategy. Kevin P. Phillips, special assistant to Nixon campaign manager John Mitchell during the 1968 presidential race, was another key southern strategist. Nixon campaign aides studied Phillips's research on the evolving political landscape in the South, and Phillips published his findings after the election. His thesis that "the South is turning into an important presidential base of the Republican Party" turned out to be an accurate prediction. In his opinion, it would be easier to persuade voters in the states of the Outer South (Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, for example) to vote for Nixon because Wallace controlled the Deep South. See his book *The Emerging Republican Majority*, 2d ed. (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1969), 22. The impact of Phillips's ideas on the Nixon campaign is discussed in another book on the Republican South, Wayne Greenhaw, *Elephants in the Cottonfields: Ronald Reagan and the New Republican South* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), 79-84. For a more recent analysis of the southern strategy, see Joseph A. Aistrup, *The Southern Strategy Revisited* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

6. Lewis L. Gould, 1968: *The Election that Changed America* (Chicago: American Ways Series, 1993), 25.

7. Quoted in "How Ray Bliss Plays the Cards for the GOP," *Business Week*, March 9, 1968, 28.

8. For a review of the 1966 election, see Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1991), 59-60.

9. In addition to California and Florida, the Republican Party won gubernatorial races in Arkansas, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. Both ends of the Republican Party had important electoral victories. Thurmond showed his political strength in 1966 by winning 25 percent more of the vote than his closest rival. Claude R. Kirk, Jr., won the governorship of Florida with the campaign slogan, "Your home is your castle." Yet moderate Republicans were elected in the South. Winthrop Rockefeller became governor of Arkansas, and Howard Baker, Jr., of Tennessee was elected to the Senate. See Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson, and Bruce Page, *An American Melodrama: The Presidential Campaign of 1968* (New York: Viking, 1969), 188; Kirkpatrick Sale, *Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1975), 115.

10. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 112, 113.

11. James W. Button, *Black Violence: Political Impact of the 1960s Riots* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 10.

12. On the response of white elites and poor whites to black radicalism, see John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 65-68.

13. Edsall and Edsall, *Chain Reaction*, 59.

14. Edsall and Edsall, *Chain Reaction*, 52.

15. Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *The Right Nation*, 66.

16. Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Arthur C.

Wolfe, “Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election,” *American Political Science Review* 63 (1969): 1083–1105.

17. These figures were presented by Nelson Rockefeller throughout the Republican contest for the presidential nomination. See, for instance, his statement at a rally in San Francisco on July 8, 1968. Nelson A. Rockefeller Collection, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York (NAR), Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 62, Folder 2443. For other figures, see the data on party affiliation and orientation reported by American National Election Studies. According to it, in 1968, 55 percent of the respondents were either Democrat or leaning toward the party; 33 percent were Republican or leaning toward the party; and 11 percent were independent. See http://www.electionstudies.org/nesguide/toptable/tab2a_2.htm, consulted April 24, 2007.

18. Goldwater’s successful 1968 bid to reenter the U.S. Senate after he had withdrawn to campaign for the presidency in 1964 assured him of continued involvement in Republican politics for years to come.

19. For a careful review of the activities of the Greenville Group and the role of the South in choosing the Republican Party’s presidential nominee in 1968, see Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*.

20. Kirkpatrick Sale found that “Southern Republicans of all stripes were given at least limited help in establishing new and serious statewide organizations for the first time, and party machinery was established to continue tapping the new financial wells that the 1964 campaign had uncovered.” Sale, *Power Shift*, 115.

21. See, for example, David S. Broder, “Romney Relaxes Pace in Contest with Nixon for ’68 Nomination,” *New York Times*, February 14, 1966, 19.

22. Nixon had been moving steadily toward the political center since his loss to incumbent Edmund “Pat” Brown in the race for governor of California in 1962. In fact, he credited that defeat in part to his denunciation of the John Birch Society, which he claimed cost him conservative votes. See Richard Nixon, RN: *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 241.

23. Dirksen had opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on the ground that defending the right of minorities to be served in any establishment intruded on the rights of property owners. He then voted for the measure, stating that it represented an idea whose time had come, and his leadership was instrumental in the Senate’s affirmative decision. For a review of some of these issues see Byron C. Hulsey, *Everett Dirksen and His Presidents: How a Senate Giant Shaped American Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 175, 194–96.

24. For a discussion of Nixon’s campaign activities in 1966 see Jonathan Martin Kolkey, *The New Right, 1960–1968, with Epilogue, 1969–1980* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983), 253–54, 278–79.

25. Goldwater said: “I want to express my heartfelt thanks and gratitude to Dick Nixon who worked harder than any one person for the ticket this year. Dick, I will never forget it! I know that you did it in the interests of the Republican Party and not for any selfish reasons. But if there ever comes a time I can turn those into selfish reasons, I am going to do all I can to see that it comes about.” Quoted in Kolkey, *The New Right*, 278. On March 7, 1968, Goldwater said: “I have stated on numerous occasions since 1965 that in my opinion the Republican

Party had, in Dick Nixon, a man who was singularly qualified to carry our banner in 1968." "Goldwater Shifts Rockefeller Stand," *New York Times*, March 8, 1968, 22; and Don Bolles, "Barry Is Brief: Nixon's His Man, Back Any Choice," *Arizona Republic*, March 8, 1968, 1, 11.

26. Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 185. Nixon's campaign activities were so extensive that shortly before the election President Johnson called the former vice president "a chronic campaigner." See Gould, 1968, 28.

27. In 1965, Ford replaced Charles Halleck, a more conservative congressman, as House minority leader.

28. The address on behalf of Goldwater's candidacy is reprinted in Ronald Reagan, *A Time for Choosing: The Speeches of Ronald Reagan, 1961-1982* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1983), 41-57.

29. Lou Cannon, *Reagan* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1982), 98-118.

30. Warren Weaver, Jr., "G.O.P. Finds '68 Outlook Brighter as It Counts Election Successes: Gain of 47 in House, 8 Governors," *New York Times*, November 10, 1966, 1.

31. Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, and Martin Anderson, eds., *Reagan, A Life in Letters* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 215.

32. *CQ Press Guide*, 360-62.

33. The potential for the Wallace vote to throw the presidential decision into the House of Representatives was so strong that Governor John Chafee (R-RI) proposed a deal between Democrats and Republicans to designate as president the candidate who received a plurality of votes. The proposal was rejected at the National Governors' Conference held in Cincinnati, Ohio, prior to the Republican National Convention of 1968. See "Governors Shun Two-Party Deal to Stop Wallace," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 24, 1968, 1.

34. Converse et al., "Continuity and Change," 1083.

35. Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*, 81.

36. On the convention rules and delegate counts see David English, *Divided They Stand* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), 265; Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 189; Kolkey, *The New Right*, 279; and Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*, 88.

37. The Republican favorite sons in 1968 were Governor Walter J. Hickel of Alaska, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas, Governor George Romney of Michigan, Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas, Senator Hiram L. Fong of Hawaii, Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, and Governor James A. Rhodes of Ohio. Prior to the convention, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee, and Senator John Tower of Texas shed their favorite-son status in order to endorse Nixon. Governor Ronald Reagan relinquished his designation as favorite son of the California delegation when he announced his presidential candidacy on August 5, 1968.

38. NAR, Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 62, Folder 2443.

39. This strategy was widely attributed to Nelson Rockefeller at the time. For instance, in a memo for the file dated August 23, 1967, Nixon reviewed a phone conversation he had with Goldwater about the upcoming presidential race: "I

had a talk with Barry Goldwater. . . . He feels that Rockefeller is quietly backing Romney, thinking that Romney will fall on his face and the Romney votes will shift to Rockefeller.” Lyndon B. Johnson Library and Museum, Austin, Texas, Office Files of W. Marvin Watson, Box 23.

40. The documents, interviews, and analyses contained in these works are cited throughout this chapter: Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*; Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*; Richard J. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag: A Republican’s Challenge to His Party* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972); and F. Clifton White and William J. Gill, *Why Reagan Won: A Narrative History of the Conservative Movement, 1964–1981* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1981). These books provide some of the best firsthand accounts of the 1968 presidential race.

41. This was a reference to Romney’s lack of support for Goldwater’s candidacy in 1964. “Barry Denounces Romney; but He Likes Nixon in ’68,” *Free Press-Chicago Tribune* wire, August 29, 1966. This wire, as well as a set of testy exchanges between Romney and Goldwater, including a Romney letter to Goldwater that became public, are found in George Romney Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (GRP), Romney Associates, Box 45, Folder Goldwater, Barry.

42. Bachelder’s campaign document is found in GRP, Romney Associates, Box 47, Folder Issues: General.

43. The day after the midterm election, Romney disavowed that he would immediately begin preparing to seek the Republican presidential nomination but also left open the possibility of such a move. His intentions became much clearer two months later when Romney Associates, a pre-presidential-campaign organization, opened offices in Lansing, Michigan, near his office at the State Capitol. See Walter Rugaber, “Romney Edges toward Race for ’68 Nomination,” *New York Times*, November 10, 1966, 28; and Paul Hofmann, “A Romney Group Opens ’68 Office,” *New York Times*, January 20, 1967, 21.

44. Romney made this statement in his February 18, 1967, speech in Anchorage, Alaska. GRP, Gubernatorial, Box 262, Folder Lincoln Day Banquet. Copies of speeches and interviews he gave on his tour in February are found in this box.

45. Quotes in this paragraph are found in Bob Miller, “Michigan Governor Sure GOP Has Big Win Ahead,” *Anchorage Daily Times*, February 20, 1967, 1. See also George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935–1971*, 3 vols. (New York: Random House, 1972), 2049, 2052, 2053, 2055, and 2060; and Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President, 1968* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 64.

46. GRP, Romney, Box V-8, Folder April 1967.

47. Michael S. Kramer and Sam Roberts, *“I Never Wanted to be Vice-President of Anything!”: An Investigative Biography of Nelson Rockefeller* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 327.

48. The letter was dated April 10, 1967. GRP, Romney Associates, Box 44.

49. GRP, Romney Associates, Box 49, Folder Memoranda (9).

50. This was Nixon’s assessment of Romney as reported by Richard Whalen in *Catch the Falling Flag*, 11.

51. “Romney Asserts He Underwent ‘Brainwashing’ on Vietnam Trip,” *New York Times*, September 5, 1967, 28.

52. GRP, Romney Associates, Box 51, Folder Polls.
53. See Romney's "Statement on Conclusion of Urban Tour," September 30, 1967, GRP, Box 265.
54. Robert B. Semple, Jr., "Romney Sees Need for a Major Effort to Prevent Rioting," *New York Times*, September 13, 1967, 1, 32.
55. Warren Weaver, Jr., "Romney Pays Visit to Coast Hippies," *New York Times*, September 23, 1967, 16.
56. GRP, Box 265.
57. "Republicans," *Time*, October 20, 1967, 17-21.
58. See the November 9, 1967, memo by Henry A. Berliner, Jr., on the stationery of the Romney for President Committee. GRP, Romney Associates, Box 49, Folder General—Romney for President Committee.
59. Romney's address at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, on October 30, 1967, is found in GRP, Box 265.
60. "Romney Says Plight of Poorer Nations Is a Threat to U.S.," *New York Times*, December 7, 1967, 32.
61. Jerry M. Flint, "Romney Terms War in Vietnam His Key Issue in New Hampshire," *New York Times*, February 16, 1968, 18. The text of his speech is found in GRP, Gubernatorial, Box 266, Folder Keene, New Hampshire 1-15-68 Keene State College.
62. GRP, Gubernatorial, Box 266, Folder Sigma Delta Chi (New England Chapter) Concord, New Hampshire, February 15, 1968.
63. Gallup, *Gallup Poll, 1935-1971*, 2090 and 2094.
64. English, *Divided They Stand*, 81.
65. "Statement by Romney," *New York Times*, February 29, 1968, 22. See also Warren Weaver, Jr., "Romney Suddenly Quits; Rockefeller Reaffirms Availability to a Draft," *New York Times*, February 29, 1968, 1, 22.
66. See Tom Reed, diary notes about Reagan's 1968 campaign, 5. The document is found in Reed's private papers in Healdsburg, California.
67. Reed, diary, 7.
68. Reed, diary, 8.
69. For a review of the Reagan-Kennedy debate, see Cannon, *Reagan* (1982), 260; and Joseph Lewis, *What Makes Reagan Run? A Political Profile* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 196-97. See also Jack Gould, "TV: Dialogue with London Students," *New York Times*, May 16, 1967, 91. The transcript of the debate is in Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Papers (RRGP), Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, Box P20. See page 4 of the document for the quotation.
70. See page 8 of the speech, which is found in RRGP, Box P17, Press Unit—Speeches.
71. Reed, diary, 10.
72. Reed, diary, 11.
73. Reed, diary, 12. For Reagan's speech in South Carolina, as well as his speech to the Republican State Central Committee in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on September 30, 1967, see RRGP, Box P17, Press Unit—Speeches.
74. Reed, diary, 13.

75. Glawdin Hill, "Reagan Says Indecisive Action in War Is Immoral," *New York Times*, November 12, 1967, 60.

76. Tom Wicker, "In the Nation: The Republicans and Vietnam," *New York Times*, November 14, 1967, 46. For a more thorough review of the positions of leading Republicans on Vietnam see Terry Dietz, *Republicans and Vietnam, 1961–1968* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986).

77. E. W. Kenworthy, "Eisenhower Joins Truman in Group Backing the War," *New York Times*, October 26, 1967, 1, 10.

78. On August 25, 1967, a group of aides and supporters reported to the governor that Phil Battaglia, his executive assistant (chief of staff in modern parlance), was recruiting homosexuals in the governor's inner office. Three days later, Battaglia resigned. On October 31, columnist Drew Pearson broke the story. On November 10, despite the fact that the *New York Times* verified that Nofziger had told reporters that some members of the governor's staff had been dismissed for immoral behavior, Reagan stated publicly that there were no homosexuals serving in top positions in his administration. This story is recounted in Lou Cannon, *Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 238–53. See also Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, "Scandal in Sacramento," *New York Post*, October 31, 1967, 46; and George H. Smith, *Who Is Ronald Reagan?* (New York: Pyramid Books, 1968), 13–23. According to Theodore White, the scandal took the wind out of the sails of the Reagan presidential drive. "Shocked, Reagan purged his immediate staff, then withdrew to the circle of only his oldest friends, making trusted personal lawyer, William French Smith, an amateur in politics, master of all his political enterprises and surrogate for all decisions. The plans of Reed and White were put on ice. From this blow, the Reagan campaign never recovered." *Making of the President*, 40–41. For a similar analysis, see David S. Broder, "Reagan Banks Prairie Fire," *Washington Post Times Herald*, January 14, 1968, B1, B3. Others hold that the homosexual scandal did not divert Reagan's attention away from his campaign, but the governor's concern about undertaking a presidential bid early in his governorship dampened his enthusiasm for the effort. See White and Gill, *Why Reagan Won*; and William A. Rusher, *The Rise of the Right* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), 206.

79. This story is recounted in Reed, diary.

80. Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 185.

81. English, *Divided They Stand*, 79.

82. White, *Making of the President*, 59.

83. Goldwater dictated this letter to Charles F. Conrad on December 26, 1966. It is found in GRP, Romney Associates, Box 45, Folder Goldwater, Barry.

84. For a review of these events, see White, *Making of the President*, 60; and Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 57.

85. According to Harry S. Dent, chairman of the Republican Party in South Carolina in the mid-1960s, he "sold a 'southern strategy' to citizen Nixon in 1966 while he was campaigning for congressional candidates in Columbia, South Carolina." Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*, 6.

86. Following his defeat to Edmund Brown in the gubernatorial race in California in 1962, Nixon moved to New York and joined a prestigious law firm as a

senior partner. Although he enjoyed his new life on the East Coast and the new political network he developed, Nixon was never fully accepted by the eastern Establishment.

87. Sale, *Power Shift*, 115.

88. Sale, *Power Shift*, 6. When Nixon became president, Dent was appointed special counsel to the president, serving as a liaison between Nixon and Republican organizations throughout the country. Dent was also Nixon's adviser on the South. During the 1968 campaign, Dent was the Republican state chairman for South Carolina. He participated in Nixon's southern strategy during the 1968 campaign, but Howard "Bo" Callaway of Georgia ran the former vice president's operation in the South.

89. Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 258-29.

90. Quote found in Robert B. Semple, Jr., "Nixon's Campaign Is Stately, Dignified, Proud—and Slow," *New York Times*, February 18, 1968, 164.

91. Nixon, *RN*, 298.

92. Quoted in Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 83.

93. Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 260.

94. Nixon had reflected on and explained his unusual decision to travel abroad and take a six-month hiatus from politics as the Republican contest for the presidency was gaining momentum in 1967. See Richard Nixon, *In the Arena: A Memoir of Victory, Defeat, and Renewal* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 197.

95. Reagan's address before the Economic Club in New York on January 17, for instance, was a critique of the Great Society and a call to reduce "the heavy spending programs and the extravagant credit policies that have brought inflation back." A copy of the speech is found in RRG, Box P17. In mid-January, Reagan further lambasted the Great Society in speeches at fund-raisers for the Republican Party in Tulsa, Washington, New York, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. See "A Reagan Speaking Tour to Begin Jan. 16 in Tulsa," *New York Times*, January 4, 1968, 13; Alvin Rosensweet, "Gov. Reagan Derides Government Handouts," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, January 19, 1968, 1; James Helbert, "GOP Wants Youth Support, Reagan Says," *Pittsburgh Press*, January 19, 1968, 6; and Joseph H. Miller, "Nixon in Lead for GOP Bid, Reagan Says," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 19, 1968, 1, 3.

96. "Goldwater Shifts Rockefeller Stand," *New York Times*, March 8, 1968, 22; and Bolles, "Barry Is Brief."

97. Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 220.

98. Rockefeller's decidedly moderate positions on policy issues were published in a book during the election year. See Nelson A. Rockefeller, *Unity, Freedom & Peace: A Blueprint for Tomorrow* (New York: Random House, 1968). See also Tom Wicker, "Impact of Romney Move," *New York Times*, February 29, 1968, 22; and "Presidential Politics: A New Race with Romney Out," *New York Times*, March 3, 1968, E2.

99. Barely two days after Romney withdrew, Rockefeller came close to declaring his candidacy in a press conference: "I am not going to create dissension within the Republican Party by contending for the nomination, but I'm ready and willing to serve the American people if called." The governor in effect entered the field with this statement, even though it would be two more months before he

made his candidacy official. See Warren Weaver, Jr., “Rockefeller Says That He Will Run If Asked by G.O.P.,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1968, 1, 21.

100. Louis Harris, “President Tops GOP Field in Polls,” *Washington Post Times Herald*, January 8, 1968, A1, A2.

101. Sydney Kossen, “Reagan Would Support Nominee, Even Rocky,” *Washington Post Times Herald*, March 6, 1968, A1, A16.

102. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 97.

103. Quoted in Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 82.

104. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 128.

105. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 91.

106. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 83.

107. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 132.

108. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 135.

109. The draft of the speech is reproduced in Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, appendix.

110. Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 221. See also Richard Witkin, “Rockefeller Urged by G.O.P. Leaders to Get into Race,” *New York Times*, March 11, 1968, 1, 32.

111. The transcript of Rockefeller’s announcement is found in NAR, Record Group 18, Series 33, Box 59, Folder 2322.

112. Reed, diary, 14.

113. See “April 1, 1968. Statement. Vietnam bombing halt,” Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace, Yorba Linda, California (RNLB), Speech Files, Box 94, Folder 18.

114. Gould, 1968, 56.

115. “Gallup Poll Finds Nixon Leads 3 Chief Democratic Contenders,” *New York Times*, April 21, 1968, 44.

116. The speech is found in “April 25, 1968. Bridges to Human Dignity. RN’s copy,” RNLB, Speech Files, Box 94, Folder 27. Nixon would not expend considerable time and energy courting the black vote once he became the Republican Party’s presidential nominee. According to Lewis L. Gould, “When asked to appear [during the general election] in black districts, he declined. ‘I am not going to campaign for the black vote at the risk of alienating the suburban vote.’ His attitude toward black voters was stark. ‘If I am President, I am not going to owe anything to the black community.’” Gould, 1968, 139–40.

117. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 149.

118. This statement is found in RRGP, Box P8, Press Unit—Press Releases, Box P8.

119. A copy of the speech can be found in the RRGP, Box P17, Press Unit—Speeches.

120. The quotes in this paragraph are found in Tom Wicker, “Reagan on the Move,” *New York Times*, April 28, 1968, E19. In addition to speaking in Boise, Idaho, Reagan gave a stump speech in Boulder, Colorado, on April 27, 1968. His speeches in both states are found in RRGP, Box P17, Press Unit—Speeches.

121. R. W. Apple, Jr., “‘Choice’ Offered by Rockefeller as He Joins Race,” *New York Times*, May 1, 1968, 1, 30.

122. Rockefeller discusses his campaign strategy in his June 19 speech in Cleveland, Ohio; his June 26 speech in New Haven, Connecticut; and his July 2

speech in Boise, Idaho. See NAR, Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 61, Folder 2397; Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 61, Folder 2413; and Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 62, Folder 2434.

123. Quoted in Darcy G. Richardson, *A Nation Divided: The 1968 Presidential Campaign* (Lincoln, NE: Writers Club Press, 2002), 243-44.

124. One undated and unsigned confidential document was obviously written before Romney's withdrawal: "For the time being, the contest is openly between Romney and Nixon. It seems that *Nixon* will win that contest. My analysis is that the more support Nixon gains, the better it is for Rockefeller because all the ground gained by Nixon reduces the power of the Goldwater-Reagan conservatives who enter the convention fight with a tough, unyielding but manageable minority. . . . Romney's experience has dramatically shown the fatal danger that exists for anyone aspiring to national leadership in changing one's position purely for political reasons." NAR, Record Group 15, Series 35.3, Box 19, Ann Whitman Series, Folder 241.

125. Rockefeller presented these figures on July 31 in a speech at his New York headquarters. See NAR, Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 63, Folder 2493.

126. The quotes in this paragraph are found in R.W. Apple, Jr., "Rockefeller Says U.S. Policy Lags," *New York Times*, May 2, 1968, 1, 21.

127. NAR, Record Group 18, Series 33, Box 59, Folder 2321.

128. See R. W. Apple, Jr., "Rockefeller Sees Reagan in South," *New York Times*, May 21, 1968, 1, 28. Rockefeller's speeches in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina are found in NAR, Record Group 18, Series 33, Box 59, Folder 2338; Record Group 18, Series 33, Box 60, Folder 2344; and Record Group 18, Series 33, Box 60, Folders 2346 and 2348.

129. Quoted in Richard L. Madden, "Rockefeller Scores Talks by Kennedy," *New York Times*, May 25, 1968, 16.

130. Reed, diary, 15.

131. RRGP, Box P24, Governor's Daily Schedules, 1968 (5-1-68 to 7-30-68) Press Unit.

132. Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 200. The quote from Reagan's speech is also found on page 200 of Chester et al. See also Paul Atkinson, "Humphrey-RFK Possible Demo Team—Reagan," *Times-Picayune*, May 20, 1968, sec. 1, pp. 1, 3.

133. White and Gill, *Why Reagan Won*, 109.

134. These speeches are reviewed in Reed, diary, 15-16. See also Sam Jacobs, "GOP Lands: Rocky, Reagan Tour Florida," *Miami Herald*, May 21, 1968, 1A, 19A; and James M. Naughton, "JFK's 'Missile Gap' Now Exists—Reagan," *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland), May 23, 1968, 1, 5. Copies of Reagan's speeches in Miami and Cleveland can be found in RRGP, Box P17, Press Unit—Speeches.

135. Reed, diary, 16.

136. White and Gill, *Why Reagan Won*, 109.

137. The document is found in RNLB, Speech Files, Box 94, Folder 31.

138. Excerpts from Nixon's speech are found in RNLB, Speech File 1968 (Jan. 27-May 26), Box 94, Folder 34.

139. The radio address is found in RNLB, Speech File 1968 (Jan. 27-May 26), Box 94, Folder 37. See also Donald Janson, "Nixon Discerns a New Coalition," *New York Times*, May 17, 1968, 25.

140. For Nixon's statement of May 16, 1968, see RNLB, Speech File 1968 (Jan. 27–May 26), Box 94, Folder 36.

141. Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*, 80–81.

142. Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*, 82.

143. Nixon, RN, 305.

144. The ABM commitment is recounted in Jules Witcover, *The Resurrection of Richard Nixon* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970), 310–11; and Adam Clymer, "Strom Thurmond, Senate Institution Who Fought Integration, Dies at 100," *New York Times*, June 28, 2003, A13.

145. Thurmond wrote: "For our future peace and security, our ABM defenses should be expanded. . . . [T]he United States must now proceed with development of a reliable anti-satellite system for use in conjunction with the ABM." Strom Thurmond, *The Faith We Have Not Kept* (San Diego: Viewpoint Books, 1968), 72, 73.

146. Nixon, RN, 305. "Nixon on the Issues" was a campaign circular that presented the former vice president's views on policy issues. It is in the Richard Nixon Book Collection at the Nixon Library and Birthplace Foundation, Yorba Linda, California.

147. White and Gill, *Why Reagan Won*, 108–9.

148. In a June 6, 1968, letter to a resident of Georgia, Thurmond wrote: "I had a talk with Richard Nixon in Atlanta. . . . I was very much pleased with his position on matters and the statements he made. I realize that he will not favor every position that we take, but on balance he seems to be far the superior candidate to any of the Democrats that have been mentioned. I feel that as time has gone by he has seasoned a great deal and will stand for principles in which you and I believe." See Letter, June 6, 1968, from Strom Thurmond to Hugh G. Grant, Folder Political Affairs 2 (Elections) January 30–December 11, 1968, Box 26 Subject Correspondence 1968. Strom Thurmond Collection, Clemson University.

149. According to William A. Rusher, "After the primaries, Everett Dirksen—having given his junior colleague, Charles Percy, a badly needed pointer or two on political footwork—let it be known that he would go along [with Nixon]." "What Happened at Miami Beach?" *National Review*, December 3, 1968, 1209. Mindful of his position as chairman of the Platform Committee for the 1968 Republican convention and the need for party unity, Dirksen consulted with Nixon, Reagan, and Rockefeller and fully expressed his endorsement of Nixon after the convention. See Neil MacNeil, *Dirksen: Portrait of a Public Man* (New York: World Publishing, 1970), 330. As chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1968, Ford refrained from publicly supporting any candidate before the convention. He reportedly stated, however, that he "was a Nixon man even before the 1968 campaign began. No equivocation. No question. He knew that, and so did everybody else." James Cannon, *Time and Chance: Gerald Ford's Appointment with History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 94. In a September 11, 1967, telegram to Harold Hayes, editor of *Esquire*, Congressman Ford said: "In order to build a unified and constructive Republican record in the House I have refrained from endorsing any Republican as a candidate for the Presidency. To sponsor any individual candidate prior to action by national convention delegates would undermine my unifying efforts in

the House. At this point with the Johnson Administration in such trouble at home and abroad it is necessary to have a public discussion of all potential Republican candidates." Ford Congressional Papers, Box A68, Folder 21, Gerald R. Ford Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan (GRF).

150. Quoted in Gould, 1968, 101.

151. Richardson, *A Nation Divided*, 249-50; and R. W. Apple, Jr., "Rockefeller Links His Goals to Those of Kennedy," *New York Times*, June 12, 1968, 22.

152. Kramer and Roberts, *I Never Wanted*, 326.

153. NAR, Record Group 4, Series 6, Box 1, Folder 5.

154. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 174-75.

155. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 175.

156. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 177-78.

157. Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 182.

158. See pages 13-14 of Nixon's press conference, found in RNLB, Speech File 1968 (May 27-Aug. 8), Box 95, Folder 15, Press Conference.

159. The quotes in this paragraph are found in Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 189-91.

160. The text of the Vietnam statement that Nixon submitted to the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention is found in RNLB, Speech Files, Box 95, Folder 19.

161. Robert O. Conoley, "GOP Delegates to Back Nixon," *State and the Columbia Record*, June 23, 1968, 1A, 8A; "Sen. Strom Thurmond Gives Support to Richard Nixon," *News and Courier* (South Carolina), June 23, 1968, 1A; and "Tower Backs Nixon," *New York Times*, July 2, 1968, 24.

162. The quotes from Nixon's June 27, 1968, radio address, "Toward an Expanded Democracy," are found on pages 3 and 9. See RNLB, Speech File 1968 (May 27-Aug. 8), Box 95, Folder 4. The quote from his June 29, 1968, statement is found in Robert B. Semple, Jr., "Nixon: Keeping Cool," *New York Times*, June 30, 1968, E3.

163. See RNLB, Speech File 1968 (May 27-Aug. 8), Box 95, Folder 6. The quotes from Nixon's June 23, 1968, statement are found in Clayton Knowles, "Nixon Fears Cuts in Defense Funds," *New York Times*, June 24, 1968, 16.

164. See Apple, "Rockefeller Links His Goals," 22; Sydney H. Schanberg, "Governor Vetoes Marijuana Bill," *New York Times*, June 25, 1968, 26; "Rockefeller Urges State Poverty Plan," *New York Times*, July 1, 1968, 17; and "Rockefeller Urges New Crime Studies," *New York Times*, July 6, 1968, 8. Rockefeller's views on economic and social policy are reviewed in the June 11 and July 10, 1968, "Speakers Kit." See NAR, Record Group 7, Series G, Box 4, Folders 26 and 27.

165. Richardson, *A Nation Divided*, 255. Rockefeller explicitly reached out to black voters in a speech in Baltimore on July 12. In the speech, he mentioned his familiar themes regarding social policy that would cure urban ills such as poor schools and unemployment. See NAR, Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 62, Folder 2455.

166. NAR, Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 61, Folder 2420.

167. The full text of Rockefeller's Vietnam plan is found in NAR, Record Group 7, Series G, Box 2, Folder 12.

168. For instance, at a press conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, on July 23, 1968,

Reagan told reporters that “a third party vote is a throwaway vote. It would mean literally disenfranchising themselves.” Warren Wheat, “Reagan Attempts to Woo Wallace Backers to GOP,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 24, 1968, 10.

169. The point here is not that the Democratic presidential contenders were insulated from Wallace; indeed, Wallace came out of the Democratic Party. In the 1968 election, however, he was competing with Republicans for some of the same voters. Lou Cannon has concisely explained the problem: “Polls taken in 1967 and 1968 showed that any Republican nominee would defeat President Johnson (and later Hubert Humphrey) in most southern states in a two-way race. With Wallace in the mix as a third-party candidate, however, Republicans trailed Democrats in some states and Wallace in others.” Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 264.

170. Barry Goldwater, “Don’t Waste a Vote on Wallace,” *National Review*, October 22, 1968, 1060–61, 1079.

171. Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 264.

172. These speeches are found in RRG, Box P17, Folder RR GP Press Unit and Folder 1966–75 Press Unit—Speeches.

173. See “State Seeks Racial Gains While Keeping Law, Order—Reagan,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 15, 1968, 1; “Reagan on the Racial Problem,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 15, 1968, 12; and Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 263.

174. This review of Reagan’s activities on behalf of minority communities is based on the analysis found in Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 263.

175. Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 264.

176. Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 264.

177. See, for instance, Earl C. Behrens, “Reagan Says Wallace Makes Sense,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 17, 1968, 1, 30; and Tom Goff, “Reagan-Wallace Differences Blurred, Governor Admits,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1968, 3, 18.

178. The text of Reagan’s press conference is found in RRG, Box P2, Folder Press Conference Transcripts June 25, 1968; July 2, 1968; July 8, 1968; and July 16, 1968.

179. Lou Cannon described Reagan’s tour as a “southern solicitation.” See Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 265.

180. “Reagan Disowns Vice Presidency,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 22, 1968, A1, A4; Bob Webb, “Reagan Rests Hopes with ‘Winds of Change,’” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 22, 1968, 14; and “Reagan Dines 7 Months Late,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 23, 1968, 11.

181. For instance, see his speech in Amarillo, Texas, on July 19 and in Charlottesville, Virginia, on July 20. RRG, Box P17, Folder RR GP Press Unit. See also Peter Boisseau, “Reagan Says Democrats Weighing Superstates,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 21, 1968, A1, A13.

182. Reagan’s statement in Amarillo is found in James E. Jacobson, “Not Active Candidate, Reagan Still Insists,” *Birmingham News*, July 21, 1968, 1, 6, 8. His speech in Little Rock is found in RRG Box P17, Folder RR GP Press Unit.

183. Quotes found in Charles Richardson, “Reagan Rips Third Party as Futile, but Favors Much of Wallace Platform,” *Birmingham News*, July 25, 1968, A1, A6; and Al Fox, “Reagan Fails to Sweep GOP Delegates,” *Birmingham News*, July 25, 1968, 2.

184. “Back Nixon, Barry Urges State GOP,” *Birmingham News*, July 24, 1968, 2.

185. "Reagan States His Conditions to Enter Race," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), July 31, 1968, A3.

186. RRGP, Box P17, Press Unit, Folder Speeches—Gov Ronald Reagan [5/21/68 thru 7/31/68].

187. Reed, diary, 17.

188. GRP, Gubernatorial, Box 362, Folder GOP Convention Nominating Speech.

189. The polls regarding Nixon and Rockefeller are cited in Warren Weaver, Jr., "Nixon Men Claim Victory," *New York Times*, July 30, 1968, 1, 26.

190. Cited in Robert S. Boyd, "Nixon Loses a Few Votes but Still Has Big Lead," *Miami Herald*, August 5, 1968, 1A, 19A.

191. "Dent Advised Reagan Not to Announce His Candidacy," *State* (South Carolina), August 6, 1968, A8.

192. Robert S. Boyd, "Reagan Jumps into Race to Halt Nixon Stampede," *Miami Herald*, August 6, 1968, 1A, 14A.

193. English, *Divided They Stand*, 288; Warren Weaver, Jr., "Nixon Said to Want Rockefeller, Lindsay or Percy for 2d Place," *New York Times*, August 5, 1968, 1, 24; and Remer Tyson, "Sen. Thurmond Rallied Dixie for Nixon," *Atlanta Journal and Atlanta Constitution*, August 11, 1968, 1A, 18A, 19A.

194. The telegram is quoted in Dent, *Prodigal South Returns*, 87.

195. English, *Divided They Stand*, 288–89; and Barry M. Goldwater, *With No Apologies: The Personal and Political Memoirs of United States Senator Barry M. Goldwater* (New York: William Morrow, 1979), 207.

196. Quoted in Philip G. Grose, Jr., "S.C. Delegation Takes Dim View of Reagan Candidacy," *State*, August 6, 1968, A1, A8.

197. Boyd, "Nixon Loses a Few"; and Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 455.

198. Reed discusses the issue of Reagan's running mate in his diary, 17.

199. Quoted in Sale, *Power Shift*, 117–18.

200. Robert S. Boyd, "Reagan, Rocky Fail to Dent Nixon Ranks," *Miami Herald*, August 7, 1968, 1A, 2A.

201. White and Gill, *Why Reagan Won*, 103.

202. English, *Divided They Stand*, 291; and Chester, Hodgson, and Page, *An American Melodrama*, 460–74.

203. *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections*, 5th ed., vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2005), 650.

204. The front-page article was written by Don Oberdorfer. See also Robert Eells and Bartell Nyberg, *Lonely Walk: The Life of Senator Mark Hatfield* (Chappaqua, NY: Christian Herald Books, 1979), 59–60.

205. NAR, Record Group 15, Series 33, Box 63, Folder 2502.

206. Quoted in Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*, 177–78. See also Tom Reed's April 29, 2007, e-mail correspondence to Kiron Skinner. This correspondence is found in Skinner's private files at Carnegie Mellon University and the Hoover Institute.

207. Another view about the vice presidential selection was that Nixon chose Agnew because he "could take orders." See Robert E. Hartley, *Charles H. Percy: A Political Perspective* (New York: Rand McNally, 1975), 96.

208. For the text of Agnew's statement, see *Baltimore Sun*, April 12, 1968, C7.

See also Gene Oishi, “Negroes Quit Conference with Agnew,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 12, 1968, C22, C7; and “Agnew Angers Negroes,” *New York Times*, April 12, 1968, 20.

209. Sale, *Power Shift*, 118.

210. Richard Reeves, *President Reagan: The Triumph of Imagination* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), xi.

CHAPTER 3

1. Bill Boyarsky, “Reagan Isn’t Sure If Car Was Speeding,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 1974, 3; Lee Fremstad, “Newspaper Column, Talks Are Reagan’s Next Career,” *Sacramento Bee*, December 30, 1974, B1; Peter Hananford, *The Reagans: A Political Portrait* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1983), 57–81; Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, and Martin Anderson, eds., *Reagan, In His Own Hand: The Writings of Ronald Reagan That Reveal His Revolutionary Vision for America* (New York: Free Press, 2001), xiii–xxiii; and Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, and Martin Anderson, eds., *Reagan’s Path to Victory: The Shaping of Ronald Reagan’s Vision, Selected Writings* (New York: Free Press, 2004), xi–xvii.

2. Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *A Life in Letters*, 335.

3. “Reagan’s Radio Producer,” *Television/Radio Age*, September 8, 1980, 16; and Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *Reagan’s Path to Victory*, xiv.

4. “Reagan Key to Conservative Hopes,” *Human Events*, March 1, 1976, 5.

5. Marquis Childs, “Reagan: More Serious Than Ever,” *Washington Post*, May 16, 1978, A13.

6. Riker, *Art of Political Manipulation*, 1.

7. For examples of Reagan’s ideas on the economy see his discussion of Proposition 13, the June 1978 ballot initiative approved by California voters. Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *In His Own Hand*, 258–62. The quotes in this paragraph are from pages 274 and 255. Proposition 13 was a property-tax-cutting measure.

8. Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *In His Own Hand*, 284–85.

9. Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *In His Own Hand*, 4–9 and 12.

10. Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *A Life in Letters*, contains more than 1,000 letters Reagan wrote by hand during 72 years of his life. The authors collected a database of more than 5,000 letters drawn from private collections, President Reagan’s private papers, and public archives throughout the United States. Writing responses to those who heard his radio commentary and disliked it was one of the ways in which Reagan communicated with people about both his radio program and his philosophy. In the spring of 1977, Reagan wrote a lengthy response to a critic who believed his radio station should discontinue broadcasting Reagan’s commentaries. At the end of the letter he encouraged his critic to “listen at least for the next few weeks because I’m doing a broadcast about our great generosity. Another about the difference between ourselves and Russia as to what we give medals for, and three broadcasts about the government of Chile.” Page 271. For another response to a critique of his radio commentary see his March 1, 1978, letter found on pages 276–77.

11. Bartels, *Presidential Primaries*, 13–27; William J. Crotty, *Political Reform*

and the American Experiment (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1977), 193, 255; John L. Moore, *Elections A to Z*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2003), 369, 370; and Nelson W. Polsby, *Consequences of Party Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 16, 54, 55, 59, 61, and 62.

12. Ranney, *American Elections of 1980*, 369.

13. An example of Goldwater's support for Ford is found in the senator's March 7, 1976, memo to the president on campaign strategy. The letter is found at <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/exhibits/campaign/goldwat1.htm>, consulted April 24, 2007.

14. Reagan's political activities are reviewed extensively in a later section of this chapter.

15. These ratings are based on Gallup surveys. Some of the ratings herein listed are found in George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1972-1977*, 2 vols. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1978), 2:787, 944, 950-51.

16. Gallup, *Gallup Poll, 1972-1977*, 1:601.

17. Lou Cannon, *Reagan* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1982), 193-94; Francis X. Clines, "'My Options Open,'" *New York Times*, December 12, 1973, 91; and Lyle Emerson Nelson, *American Presidents, Year by Year*, vol. 3 (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2004), 662.

18. Russell Baker, "Not Those Old Wings Again!" *New York Times*, February 8, 1975, 22; James Reston, "Thunder on the Right," *New York Times*, March 5, 1975, 39; James M. Naughton, "Ford Hopes to Have Rockefeller on Slate," *New York Times*, June 17, 1975, 1; "Gallup Poll Sees Reagan Ahead of Rockefeller," *New York Times*, August 28, 1975, 14; John Robert Greene, *The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 159-60; and Yanek Mieczkowski, *Ford and the Challenges of the 1970s* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 311-12.

19. Frank Lynn, "Rockefeller Acting as If He's Running," *New York Times*, June 1, 1976, 1; Frank Lynn, "The Party That Roared," *New York Times*, June 6, 1976, 417; and James M. Naughton, "Ford Announces Candidacy for '76 'To Finish Job,'" *New York Times*, July 9, 1975, 77.

20. "Text of Reagan Statement," *New York Times*, July 27, 1976, 15; David Keene, "Why Reagan Chose Schweiker: An Insider's Account," *The Alternative: An American Spectator*, November 1976, 13-15; and Jon Nordheimer, "A Total Surprise," *New York Times*, July 27, 1976, 1.

21. White and Gill, *Why Reagan Won*, 179. See also Jules Witcover, *Marathon: The Pursuit of the Presidency, 1972-1976* (New York: Viking, 1977), 462-63.

22. Peter G. Bourne, *Jimmy Carter: A Comprehensive Biography from Plains to Post-Presidency* (New York: Scribner's, 1977), 167-69 and 231-36; David Chagall, *The New Kingmakers: An Inside Look at the Powerful Men behind America's Political Campaigns* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981), 51; and Nelson, *American Presidents*, 640-41.

23. See "1976 Presidential Campaign, Campaign Director's Office, Campaign Director—Hamilton Jordan, 'Memorandum—Hamilton Jordan to Jimmy Carter, 11/4/72,'" Box 199, Jimmy Carter Library, Atlanta (JCL).

24. Wayne King, “Georgia’s Gov. Carter Enters Democratic Race for President,” *New York Times*, December 13, 1974, 1.

25. Walter R. Mears, *Deadlines Past: Forty Years of Presidential Campaigning: A Reporter’s Story* (Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel, 2003), 131; and Ted Widmer, *Campaigns: A Century of Presidential Races from the Photo Archives of the New York Times* (New York: DK Publishing, 2001), 280–81.

26. Carter’s campaign themes are reviewed in Michael G. Krukones, “Campaigner and President: Jimmy Carter’s Campaign Promises and Presidential Performance,” in *The Presidency and Domestic Policies of Jimmy Carter*, ed. Herbert D. Rosenbaum and Alexej Ugrinsky (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994), 138–39. Carter’s 1976 and 1980 presidential campaign themes are discussed in greater depth in the next chapter.

27. On Carter’s selection of Mondale, see Bourne, *Jimmy Carter*, 330–33; and Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* (New York: Bantam, 1982), 36–39.

28. B. Drummond Ayres, Jr., “Wallace Opens 1976 White House Drive,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1975, 81; and Jules Witcover, “Wallace Announces He’ll Run,” *Washington Post*, November 13, 1975, A1.

29. B. Drummond Ayres, Jr., “Wallace Isolated by Tight Security,” *New York Times*, February 1, 1976, 34; and Tom Wicker, “Sending the Message,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1976, 31. For a review of the many factors complicating Wallace’s 1976 presidential bid, see Jody Carlson, *George C. Wallace and the Politics of Powerlessness: The Wallace Campaigns for the Presidency, 1964–1976* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1981), 203–20.

30. Prior to the official announcement of Wallace’s candidacy, Melvin Laird, former secretary of defense and one of Ford’s longtime political associates, stated that the governor’s candidacy would be a boost for the president because Wallace would receive the votes of the conservatives in the Democratic primaries who would otherwise oppose Ford in the Republican primaries. See Christopher Lydon, “Laird Expects Challenge to Rockefeller,” *New York Times*, May 14, 1975, 10. In his retrospective analysis of Republican politics from the 1960s to the 1980s, Harry Dent includes Wallace in his analysis of Ford’s loss but places the blame squarely on Reagan: “When Reagan became a candidate, George Wallace was abandoned by the John Birch Society. This, more than the 1972 wound, caused the demise of Wallace and the consequent loss to Carter in the big southern primary stakes between the two southern Democratic hopefuls, Wallace and Carter.” *Prodigal South Returns*, 55–56.

31. Paul Hope, “Reagan Eyes Road to White House,” *Washington Star*, June 3, 1973, A12.

32. See William F. Buckley, Jr., “Say It Isn’t So, Mr. President,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 1, 1971, 36.

33. In a May 21, 1971, letter to Robert Docksai, the chairman of YAF, Reagan denounced the movement to have him seek the presidency in 1972: “The move you’ve announced can only divide and destroy our chance to go forward. I am pledged to support the president and have told him I’ll lead a California delegation to the convention in his behalf.” See Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *A Life in Letters*, 174.

34. "A Declaration," *National Review*, August 10, 1971, 842; and Tad Szulc, "11 Conservatives Criticize Nixon," *New York Times*, July 29, 1971, 7.
35. George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 337.
36. Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *The Right Nation*, 70.
37. Frank S. Meyer, "Reform without Principle," *Modern Age*, Spring 1961, 196.
38. William A. Rusher, *The Making of the New Majority Party* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1975), xviii.
39. Quoted in Lou Cannon, "The Reagan Years," *California Journal*, November 1974, 365.
40. Quoted in Richard Bergholz, "Reagan Future: Which Office to Aim For?" *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 1974, 3, 16.
41. The speech is reprinted in a collection of Reagan's speeches, *A Time for Choosing: The Speeches of Ronald Reagan, 1961–1982* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1983), 139, 146.
42. These remarks were not part of Reagan's GOP speech in Atlanta, but were typical of those he made during the Watergate crisis. The remarks are quoted in Cannon, *Reagan* (1982), 198.
43. Russell Kirk, "New Directions in the U.S. Right?" *New York Times Magazine*, August 7, 1966, 28.
44. William A. Niskanen, *Reaganomics: An Insider's Account of the Policies and the People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), viii–ix.
45. Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 446; Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *A Life in Letters*, 179.
46. Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *In His Own Hand*, 258–59; Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *Reagan's Path to Victory*, 354–55.
47. The statement by Peter Schrag is from his book *Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future* (New York: New Press, 1998), which Lou Cannon cites in *Governor Reagan*, 381. The Cannon quote above is found on the same page.
48. Larry Stammer, "Reagan Checks His Options for '76 White House Drive," *San Jose Mercury News*, December 16, 1973, 3.
49. Cannon, *Reagan* (1982), 192.
50. Bergholz, "Reagan Future," 3.
51. See for example the August 10, 1974, telegram from Mr. and Mrs. Jack Christian and President Ford's August 30 response in GRF, White House Central Files, Box 20, Folder PL/Reagan, Ronald 8/9/74–8/31/74. Ford's response was a form letter, perhaps written as such due to the high volume of critical letters the president received about his choice of Rockefeller as vice president.
52. Skinner, Anderson, and Anderson, *Reagan's Path to Victory*, xiv.
53. These statistics and assessments are found in Lou Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 394. William Rusher reported different figures for identification with the Republican Party than Teeter did. Rusher reported that 23 percent of Americans described themselves as Republican. See *New Majority Party*, xvi.
54. Rusher, *New Majority Party*, xiii–xiv, xviii.
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CHAPTER 4

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CHAPTER 5

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54. Lou Cannon, “Reagan Scales down Plan for Patching up Economy,” *Washington Post*, September 10, 1980, A1; and Kneeland, “Reagan Offers Plan,” A1.

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people drawn from various political and economic persuasions. President Reagan's economic program, which represented a significant departure from previous policies, reflected this new outlook and differed only in degree and packaging from what was rapidly becoming a consensus among economists. Although Reaganomics was oversold ideologically and politically, it was simply something of an exaggerated expression of mainstream economic thinking at the time. It was not an aberration." *Reagan and the Economy*, 11.

61. Reagan won the 1980 presidential election, of course, and he certainly did not abandon his revolutionary campaign proposals once in the White House. On February 18, 1981, four weeks after his inauguration, he proposed an economic program to Congress under the title "America's New Beginning: A Program for Economic Recovery." Considerable debate ensued, and in August 1981 Reagan signed into law a compromise version, the Economic Recovery Act of 1981. This legislation was consistent with the proposals Reagan had laid out in his September 9, 1980, speech in Chicago and throughout his presidential campaign: income tax rates were to be cut by 25 percent, with a 5 percent cut in October 1981; a 10 percent cut in July 1982, and a 10 percent cut in July 1983. The top income tax rate would be reduced from 70 percent to 50 percent, tax rates would be indexed to soften the impact of inflation, and the exemption for estates and gifts would be increased. Lee Edwards, *The Essential Ronald Reagan: A Portrait in Courage, Justice, and Wisdom* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 93; and John W. Sloan, *The Reagan Effect: Economics and Presidential Leadership* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999), 145–46. *Newsweek* described ERTA as the "second New Deal potentially as profound in its import as the first was a half century ago." Peter Goldman with Thomas M. DeFrank, Eleanor Clift, John J. Lindsay, Gloria Borger, and Howard Fineman, "RWR's Own New Deal," *Newsweek*, March 2, 1981, 22. Following the enactment of ERTA, the United States experienced 60 months of uninterrupted economic growth, the longest period of economic growth since the U.S. government began recording such statistics in 1854.

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65. Edward Walsh, "Carter: Appealing to the South to Support One of Its Own," *Washington Post*, September 2, 1980, A1.

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Post, September 3, 1980, A1; and Terrence Smith, "Carter Assails Reagan Remark about the Klan as an Insult to the South," *New York Times*, September 3, 1980, B8.

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CHAPTER 6

1. For alternative explanations of the USSR's collapse, see, among others, Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1999); Steven L. Solnick, *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); and Philip G. Roeder, *Red Sunset: The Failure of Soviet Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

2. For the analysis of the impact of Soviet institutional constraints, see Roeder, *Red Sunset*.

3. For discussion of Gorbachev's support coalition within the CPSU leadership, see Graeme Gill, *The Collapse of a Single-Party System: The Disintegration of the CPSU* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); George W. Breslauer, *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Jonathan Harris, *Subverting the System: Gorbachev's Reform of the Party's Apparatus, 1986–1991* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004).

4. Gorbachev's close adviser Vadim Medvedev points out that perestroika started de facto only in 1987. See Vadim Medvedev, *V komande Gorbacheva, Vzgliad iznutri* (Moscow: Bylina, 1994), 42. The most prominent example of Gorbachev's strong reformist rhetoric prior to 1985 was his speech at a party conference in December 1984. See Breslauer, *Gorbachev and Yeltsin*, 49.

5. Sakharov gained international prominence in the late 1960s as the leading Soviet human rights activist. In 1980, Soviet authorities arrested Sakharov, charging him with "anti-Soviet activity," and exiled him from Moscow to Gorki (now Nizhniy Novgorod), an industrial center that was closed to foreigners. In *Memoirs*, Gorbachev wrote that from the time he became general secretary he wanted to "rescue Sakharov from exile." See Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 296. For Sakharov's discussion of his release from exile, see Andrei D. Sakharov, *Memoirs* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

6. On the significance of Gorbachev's proposals, see Medvedev, *V komande Gorbacheva*, 44.

7. For the first extensive discussion of the repercussions of Yeltsin's speech, see Seweryn Bialer, "The Yeltsin Affair: The Dilemma of the Left in Gorbachev's Revolution," in *Inside Gorbachev's Russia: Politics, Society and Nationality*, ed. Bialer (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), 110–18.

8. Nina Andreyeva, "Ne mogu postupat'sia printsipami," *Sov'etskaiia Rossiia*, March 13, 1988.

9. In addition to Ligachev, the conservative coalition in the Politburo included Solomentsev, Chebrikov, and Iazov. See Mikhail Gorbachev, *Zhizn' i Reformy* (Moscow: Novosti, 1995), 1:378.

10. Gordon M. Hahn, *Russia's Revolution from Above, 1985–2000: Reform, Transition and Revolution in the Fall of the Soviet Communist Regime* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 59.

11. "Boris Yeltsin's Speech at the 27th CPSU Congress," quoted in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS-SOV-86-39, Supplement 042, February 27, 1986, O20–O21.

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16. The press conference of Geidar Aliev during the Twenty-seventh CPSU Congress, quoted in FBIS-SOV-86-40, February 28, 1986, O33.

17. Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova, *Boris Yeltsin. Politicheskie Metamorfozy* (Moscow: Vagrius, 1992), 44.

18. Boris Yeltsin, *Against the Grain: An Autobiography* (New York: Summit, 1990), 103.

19. Leon Aron, *Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 169.

20. Alison Smale, "Moscow Party Boss Decries Special Privilege," Associated Press, August 22, 1986.

21. Yegor Ligachev, *Inside Gorbachev's Kremlin* (New York: Pantheon, 1993), 337.

22. Aleksandr Yakovlev, *Sumerki* (Moscow: Materik, 2003), 405.

23. During Yeltsin's speech at the plenum, Yakovlev wrote to Medvedev: "It turns out there is someone more radical than us, and that is good." See Medvedev, *V komande Gorbacheva*, 46.

24. Yakovlev, *Sumerki*, 405.

25. Yegor Ligachev, "Na vstrechu 70-letiu velikogo Oktiabria," *Pravda*, March 24, 1997.

26. *Pravda*, February 14, 1987.

27. "Yeltsin Addresses Progress of Restructuring," *Moskovskaia Pravda*, April 14, 1987, in FBIS-SOV-87-77, April 22, 1987, R9-R10.

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29. "O sozryve XIX Vsesoiuznoi konferentsii KPSS," *Pravda*, June 27, 1988.

30. Anthony D'Agostino, *Gorbachev's Revolution* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 153.

31. From Poltoranin's interview with *Corriere della Sera*, May 12, 1988, as quoted in Aron, *Yeltsin*, 199.

32. Yeltsin refers to the September 10, 1987, Politburo meeting in his letter to Gorbachev and cites it as an example of "systematic persecution" on the part of Ligachev; this account is confirmed in Aleksandr Yakovlev, *Gor'kaya Chasha: Bol'shevizm i Reformatsiya v Rossii* (Yaroslavl: Verkhne-Volzhscoe knizhnoe izd-vo, 1994), 216.

33. Yeltsin, *Against the Grain*, 178.

34. According to his adviser, Gorbachev was notably irritated after discussing the resignation letter with Yeltsin. In Gorbachev's view, Yeltsin was just looking for scapegoats after failing in Moscow. See V. Boldin, *Krushenie P'edestala. Shtrikhi k Portretu M. S. Gorbacheva* (Moscow: Respublika, 1995), 327.

35. Yeltsin, *Against the Grain*, 11. Yeltsin's interpretation of his appeal and Gorbachev's response were corroborated by Gorbachev at the October 1987 CC Plenum.

36. Roeder, *Red Sunset*, 30.

37. Ronald J. Hill and Peter Frank, *The Soviet Communist Party* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 64.
38. J. H. Miller, "How Much of a New Elite?" in *Gorbachev at the Helm: A New Era in Soviet Politics?* ed. R.F. Miller et al. (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 71.
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45. Solovyov and Klepikova, *Boris Yeltsin*, 71.
46. "Presumed Text of 21 Oct Yeltsin Speech," in FBIS-SOV-88-021, February 2, 1988, 52.
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48. Gavriil Popov, "The Kind of Perestroika We Want: Some Ideas about Political Avant-Gardism," *Moscow News*, N51 (Dec. 27, 1987–Jan. 3, 1988), 15.
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CHAPTER 7

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CHAPTER 8

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