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case, out of the White House and us in. And I was saying, I don't know how they do it. It must be a tremendous task to perform in a few hours. Everybody was agreeing and I ^{just} said ~~just~~ that I really don't know how they do it. Maybe an idea would be if, when we move out, we could move into Blair House and make it a little bit easier.

The "tiny little gun" ^{that was written about} disappeared quite a long time ago. I had the tiny little gun when my husband was away a great deal of the time and I was alone. I was advised to have ^{it} a ~~tiny little gun~~.

Am I fudging two years in age? I might. I haven't made up my mind yet. That's a pretty good answer, isn't it? In Hollywood, you were never over twenty five. I progressed beyond twenty five.

Betty Friedan:

Unfortunately, I do not think that Nancy Reagan has done anything to advance the cause of women. That is a very pointed fault or bad mark against her, regardless of specific politics_Republican, Democrat. Women in the

last twenty years have made this great breakthrough in America. We broke through the femine mystique. We said, "We are people." We fought for the personhood of woman, and the control of our own lives, our own voice. We demanded and fought for equal opportunity. We aren't finished yet, and there's even a backlash against it.

We were at college together, at Smith. I was editor of the paper and literary magazine and she was an actress. She had the spirit to go to Broadway, to go to Hollywood. As I said to her when I went on the press bus at several conventions before she actually became First Lady, "Nancy, you are a Smith person, and how can you not be for equal rights for women? You were one of the career women before it was even popular." And she said, "Oh, well, I'm for equal ^{treatment}, and so is Ronnie and I'm for rights, but I'm not for the amendment."

Well, that's just specious. When he was elected president and she became First Lady, I went up to her at the Gridiron Dinner and I shook her hand and I said, "Use your power. Be a good role model, now for women and use your power to keep the door open, or open it wide for women."

It just seems to me that's her

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obligation as a woman of her generation, at this time in history, and she hasn't done it. She has not raised her voice. They say she is now one of the most powerful influences in the Reagan administration or on the president. Why has she not tried to stop him from this war on the right of women to control their own bodies and the safe, legal, medical access to abortion? Why has she not tried to stop him when the Reagan administration has given the word that the laws now on the books on sex discrimination in employment and education shouldn't be enforced, or that affirmative action should now be used to restore the supremacy of the white male?

She's not a star in the soap opera. She is the First Lady. And we expect in America that our First Lady somehow embody the values of where women are ^{at} this time. When you think, fifty years ago, of Eleanor Roosevelt. What a role model she would still be, even today. You think of Betty Ford, who really was gutsy, not only in behalf of equal rights for women but very honest on the question of abortion and what she would do about her own daughter if there were such a need. Even being brutally honest about her own problems with

alcoholism and so on. There was a fine role model there.

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Breathes there a woman with soul so dead, an educated woman in the 1980s, that cannot identify with this great liberation of women to be people? Maybe way underneath, she does. Maybe that's what this supposed new change in image is all about. Maybe she just, somehow, has to be a person and that's why she's moving more, being more serious about matters like drug abuse.

I'm not that much an expert on the life and personal history of Nancy Reagan, but I do recall that her own stepfather was archconservative, arch-reactionary, and she might have had a reactionary influence on Ronald Reagan politically.

She was a career woman before it was fashionable, when most of our classmates were in condominiums, making a career out of marriage and four children and baking their own bread. She went to Hollywood and she went to Broadway, but now, as First Lady, she is an anachronism. She is somehow not only denying her earlier reality but the reality of American women today. What they want to be and what they need to be and what I think they would like represented in the First Lady, who

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should represent the highest standards and values for women, Republican and Democrat.

There is an expectation today that a woman can be and should be all the person that she is capable of being. She wants and values the choice to have children. She will be her husband's wife if she chooses to marry. But she will be a person, seriously committed to her own voice in society. We are not finished yet in this great massive revolution of women to full personhood and full equality. ~~She will use what position or power she has in some way identifying with women.~~ So I say to Nancy Reagan, "Why have you not used your voice in your role in the White House to give a fuller role model for younger women?"

I wouldn't fault her if she's not the same kind of feminist I am. She doesn't have to be a card carrying NOW member. Nobody would expect that of a Republican woman, but Betty Ford, who's a Republican, was courageous and outspoken on behalf of the basic move of women to equality. Here, Nancy Reagan, whose husband's administration is mounting a backlash against women's rights, is not raising her voice against it.

Have her advisors told her, "Look,

American women really didn't vote for your husband in numbers?"

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The Madame Chair¹⁵⁸ Kai-shek role--that's where her press has been lately--that she is propping him up or manipulating him or controlling him. If that is so, so be it. American women have a great hunger for more power. They have been too powerless, and they'll get it whatever way they can. If you're lucky enough to be First Lady, ~~and your husband's president~~, you should use that role for all it's worth. For good things. ~~But to only be seen as a manipulator, not today. It's not right for a woman, certainly not right for an educated woman like Nancy Reagan.~~

I remember in the turbulent days of China it came out that Madame Chaing Kai-shek, who was Wellesley educated, I believe, was sort of like a Dragon Lady. She was really pulling the strings. It's coming out that Nancy Reagan is one of the most influential people. Well then, in what direction is this influence going?

I don't think anybody would have criticized Nancy Reagan forty ^{or} years ago, for just being a clothes horse, for the china that she is buying or whether she's wearing the clothes of this designer or that designer. Even now, as a feminist, I am interested in

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fashion and I think women are still interested in fashion. She can be as fashionable as she pleases. But there's got to be something more than that. I mean, Eleanor Roosevelt was a giant among women. We don't have such an image of Mrs. Eisenhower, but that was in the fifties when the whole country was pulling back from the American adventure.

Lady Bird Johnson, there was quite a woman there. Jacqueline Kennedy, everybody went ga-ga over her fashion and her decorative style, but there was a mind there, that brought poetry and art to the White House. I remember thinking at the time, if she would only stop using that whispery voice. You wanted her to be more.

Betty Ford was a very interesting example of a woman who started out in a very conventional way, but she lived up to the demands and the expectation of women. Is there really something going to emerge in Nancy Reagan where she senses that she could use her power on issues today where women's future is in jeopardy?

Dr. Barbara Kellerman:

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The positions of the Reagan administration on women's issues such as abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment has been somewhat hard to determine. They had had a house feminist in that family, but it has not really been Nancy Reagan. It has been the president's eldest daughter, Maureen Reagan.

This has been very carefully done. It was more articulated in the eighty four campaign than in the eighty campaign. Nancy Reagan's role with regard to equal rights and abortion has been relatively quiescent. Intermittently, she has given slightly mixed signals on the subject, but she is a far cry from her two predecessors, Betty Ford and Rosalynn Carter, who both came out very strongly for the Equal Rights Amendment. In that sense, if you are a feminist, if you believe in the Equal Rights Amendment, you would see the Reagan administration, and Nancy Reagan in particular, as a step back.

Nancy Reynolds:

Nancy Reagan was considered a very old fashioned, anachronistic wife in the sixties in California. I think a lot of the feminists

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are now wives and mothers and they may have softened a little more. Nancy Reagan hasn't changed, basically. But you know, she's always felt that people should do what they have to do and she would hope that people would respect how she feels.

Isn't it interesting that so many feminists today are saying, "Look, it's fine if women don't want to work and stay home for kids." That's okay. But it has taken the feminists, and I'm a feminist, a long time to come around to saying there is a lot to be said for women who have no interest in a career and who feel that their career is their family and their husbands, when they can financially manage to make it that full time.

So I think that ~~it~~ has moved on the other side a little. Nancy Reagan hasn't personally changed at all. After all, she has two very feminist daughters and she was like all of us with our children during the sixties. We had a lot of confrontations and Nancy Reagan stuck by her guns about how she felt about things. I bet if you interview the children, you will find that they have mellowed a great deal.

*1 or 2 line description of
the course, very*

Richard Allen: (

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I would say that his is a tendency not to be engaged in staff difficulties and dustups., And hers is not the opposite tendency to get involved, but certainly she's not reluctant to voice her views.

I think she addresses the unpleasant tasks. Ultimately the decisions are his and he must take the responsibility for them.

She played no role at all in the political infighting. There was a decided campaign to have Haig and me engage. Al Haig and I have analyzed this. There wasn't nearly as much substance to the fabled Allen-Haig battles as has met the eye. There was a very well orchestrated campaign by colleagues in the White House to make it appear that we were constantly embattled.

Al has a steel spring personality, and I'm not reluctant to engage, from time to time, on issues or even on procedures. But this was exacerbated and exacerbated deliberately by some individuals in the White House. And I think that the reflection of that as it played in the newspaper came back to Mrs. Reagan.

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Obviously, she couldn't be happy about discord and disharmony in the administration under any circumstances. On top of that, we had an administration that was trying to devote its exclusive attention to domestic affairs for the first year. The secretary of state, Al, wanted foreign policy issues to get a share of attention. I share the president's agenda in trying to keep foreign policy--national security--not inconsequential but on a low key, on the back burner. And that lead to further misunderstandings. Nancy Reagan, I think, was influential but it wasn't because she came to all of the judgements that she made by herself or unassisted. She didn't do that unaided.

I think it was very clear at the time when I was on a leave of absence and the canard and inuendo that surrounded my case were being investigated by the Department of Justice--there were messages that I should resign and my answer was that I certainly would not resign until I knew what the outcome would be. Until such time, I wouldn't address the question of my future--until such time as I was cleared, as I knew, inevitably, I would be cleared.

Then I was repeatedly cleared of these really trumped up inuendos and allegations. I gather that, at one point, she joined some colleagues in the White House apart from those who were defending me and thought it would be best if I left.

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But I wouldn't do it. My reputation was at stake, my family, my future, my integrity, my character. And until that was cleared, there wasn't anything that would cause me to leave.

I have no tangible evidence of her role except what I would read in the newspapers. Now Nancy Reagan was not talking to newspapers but there were those in her circle who were. And you couldn't distinguish. This is part of the problem in Washington, the great anonymous source.

I maintained a cordial relationship with Nancy Reagan in the years after my departure from the White House. I see her from time to time, talk to her, and there isn't the slightest hint of bitterness or anything else. I happen to support the president's agenda. I don't support people. I support ideas. I think she and the president know that I do that. Perhaps that has led to a more understanding relationship between us.

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It's far better to have Nancy Reagan behind you.

Michael Deaver:

I think none of us really realized the public scrutiny or the media scrutiny that would be put on every little thing we did and said. There were some nasty articles. I don't think it was really a lot of anti-Nancy personal press in California. I don't think there's been that here, really.

Some of those people basically disagreed with her husband's philosophy. And so they might have used her to get back at Ronald Reagan and what his policies were.

I still think one of the turning points was when Nancy Reagan--aside from finally sitting down with her staff and telling them that she wanted to cut out all this other business they kept trying to force on her and just concentrate on drug abuse--came out to the Gridiron in old clothes and sang, "Second Hand Clothes" to the tune of "Second Hand Rose." The media in Washington changed their idea about Nancy Reagan overnight.

Nancy is a very direct person. She is not one who would like to sit around and think about an issue. She'd just as soon get it on the table. I know Nancy's upset about the whole Bitburg thing. So am I. I can't think of anything I feel worse about in my life than that. But she's not mad at me. If Nancy were mad at me about this, believe me, Mike Deaver would know it.

Lyn Nofziger:

All the criticism of her fixing up the living quarters was just outrageous because, one, she didn't use tax money, and two, the living quarters hadn't been fixed up in years. The floors, for instance, had ^{not} ~~never~~ been done since Harry Truman's time. To jump on her for that, for the new dishes which were contributed by a foundation, it just seemed to me that there were people out there looking to get her.

Stuart Spencer:

She was, to a degree, insecure, and you

could see it. The media could see it, definitely. But I have another theory. Ronald Reagan came in with a mandate. Ronald Reagan was hot property. Ronald Reagan had a lot of successes, and when you look at Washington, you look at the system we have have, where you have the government and the press and they're in basically adversary^{ial} positions. There was no way the media could get at Ronald Reagan. He wasn't vulnerable. He was very successful. My theory is that the media decided that every day can't be puff-piece day, and a job was done on Nancy Reagan. She was more vulnerable.

She wasn't prepared for that sort of thing. She was in a state of shock. Being governor of California is a wonderful thing, but it's the minor leagues compared to the presidency of the United States. The capital press in Sacramento is not the capital press in Washington.

Richard Wirthlin:

When Nancy Reagan first came into the White House, there was a spate of stories

that highlighted her spending. Republicans, whether they're coming to the White House in 1980 or 1972 or in the fifties are always viewed as the party of the more wealthy and affluent.

The press took the china issue and made it symbolic that this would be a regal presidency. They used Nancy Reagan very much as that symbol. When we asked people what they liked and disliked about Nancy, her perceived penchant ^{for} ^{live} to like expensive surroundings was much more prominent than it is today.

The attack had a chilling effect on Nancy. She tended to retreat, to be more defensive, to be more guarded. That provided in itself some reinforcement perhaps, at least perceptually, for some of the charges that were made.

But she's a tough, strong person. She was not at all happy or satisfied with the way she was being portrayed. She recognized that she could help both the president and a lot of people by taking a more active or a more public role on some things that she's always felt very concerned about.

The perception was much more dominant that she was somewhat snobbish, that she was aloof, that she was more interested in putting

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on a state dinner than anything else, that she was pushing for expensive china, which I think was clearly a bum rap. But there were reasons, far beyond Nancy Reagan, for those impressions to be reinforced.

Queen Nancy was the image that was being portrayed. She took the charge of being Queen Nancy and said, "How ridiculous." She borrowed a page from the president's book and used humor to defuse the charges: "I would never be anointed. It would mess up my hair." She had the ability and the grace under pressure, if you will, to rise above those kinds of charges.

Donnie Radcliffe:

Little things that might not have seemed so important or monumental when he was governor, they felt were blown up out of proportion. I think there were several things, several ways in which they got off to a bad start. One of them, before he even became president, was a flurry over the choice of her press secretary. Mrs. Reagan also made some sort of unthinking remarks about having a gun

at her bedside table. There were reports that the Reagans wanted the Carters out of the White House so that they could do the redecorating. Whether or not any of that was true, it started them off wrong.

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The problem was that people felt that Mrs. Reagan was not concerned about what the problems of the day were, the economic hardships of a certain group of people in this country. For a lavish decorating program to be undertaken almost immediately after the Reagans entered the White House seemed so frivolous. I don't think their friends helped them very much.

There's a popular view that there has to be a lightning rod for Ronald. Sorry. I know that's a popular view and I think it really isn't an accurate one. I think she generated those stories and those opinions by her own actions and her own attitudes.

I think Ronald Reagan did come in as an extremely popular man. He came in to establishment Washington and immediately was acceptable, something Jimmy Carter was not. But in Nancy Reagan's case, I don't really understand the thinking that she took the flak for things that couldn't be said about him. It just doesn't make any sense.

Bonita Granville Wrather:

I think the criticism of her lifestyle is erroneous. She's always been a lady who is well dressed, has grace and style, and ~~I think~~ she brings that to the White House. And that's very important. ^{After all,} We have all the other countries in the world looking at us. ~~We're the biggest nation in the world.~~

Letitia Baldrige:

She was the governor's wife. I've noticed people who have been very big fishes in the small seas in their home towns who deal with the press constantly. There's nothing like the White House. Everything changes. Every single movement you make, every flick of an eyelash, is scrutinized. It is the classic gold fish bowl. I remember in the Kennedy years, Mrs. Kennedy used to devise every route possible to get out of the White House grounds without being seen by the press and the public.

Sheila Tate:

It was the day ketchup was declared a vegetable for school lunch programs that the White House china story broke. I haven't thought the same of ketchup since.

Maureen Reagan:

I've always told her that if she was married to anybody in the world but Ronald Reagan, she would not be against the Equal Rights Amendment. Nancy Reynolds and I told her that years ago, back in the seventies. You have to understand. Here's a woman in this particular relationship who has had all of the freedom that you can have to make all of the choices. I just feel that if she had not had that kind of freedom, perhaps she would be out on the street marching with the rest of us.

What do I say to the Betty Friedans and other feminists who criticize? I suggest that they go back and read their own books.

~~(END CHAPTER SIX, END Nancy and Controversy)~~

The First Lady's Causes~~*The Cause*~~CHAPTER SEVEN: ~~Good Works~~

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Nancy Reagan:

Drug abuse is a very serious problem. Among the youth, among the working people. It's the most democratic problem that I know of. It crosses all lines. There are no social, economic, political, color lines. It crosses everything.

I feel very strongly about marijuana. I think it's a good deal more harmful than most children ^{do} ~~think it is~~. I've been to Day Top Village in New York a few times, which ~~I think~~ is doing a wonderful job. All those young people in there started on marijuana. I asked them if they were for the legalization of marijuana. Every one of them said "no," which is interesting. I didn't really expect them to say "no."

When it first started out in the sixties, this was all a brand new thing, and a frightening thing. Nobody knew quite how to handle it, and they were embarrassed. They thought their child was the only child on drugs. And some of them were too busy with their own lives and they didn't get involved

with their children's lives. They weren't wise enough to notice the little tell-tale signs that happen. As we've progressed more into the seventies and eighties, we're more aware. Parents are more aware, more scared, as well they should be.

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You can't be pessimistic about anything. You always have to be optimistic that you can solve something, anything in life. I think the fact that these parents' groups have sprung up voluntarily, all over, is a great sign that parents are getting involved, are becoming more knowledgeable. They're not only becoming more knowledgeable, but it brings their families closer together. There's been a tendency for the families to split apart. Now they're pulling together.

The administration has to cut everything. Otherwise, we're all going to go down the tube. But the drug program can sustain itself. The drug program hasn't been cut out of all funds. It has funds, but the most important thing is that the parents and corporations, business people, all become involved, all know what's happening to the people who are working for them, or their children, and do something about it.

Am I really committed to this issue? Of course I am. Because it's so dangerous. Because we do stand a chance of losing a whole generation to drugs. It's a very, very dangerous problem ^{we're all facing.} ~~that we have.~~ 151

It's not just our country that has this problem. Everybody who came here to see my husband, when he would be having meetings with the men, I would be having coffee with the wives, and the wives would always bring up drugs. At first, I thought, maybe, it was just because they knew I was interested in the drug problem, but then it became obvious that they were aware that this was happening in their country. ^{is} They wanted to know. They were asking for advice. So that was the next logical step. If you could catch it for them right at the beginning, then, maybe, you could do a lot of good.

I hope I made them aware of the whole global aspect of this and gave them some suggestions and ideas. We've been at it longer than ^{many} ~~they~~ have and I hope I ^{was able to help.} ~~gave them some~~ ideas.

Nobody wanted me to do it, the drug issue. I guess they thought it was kind of a downer. It's not a ~~really~~ cheery subject.

I think I've brought it to a height of

awareness that it wasn't before. I ^{hope} think that more people are aware of how bad ^{the drug problem} it is and how widespread it is and how dangerous it is, which they weren't before. I don't see as many comedians, now, making jokes about it, thank goodness. It's not a funny ~~joke~~. I see more programs on television about it, hear more people coming forward and talking about what it's done to their lives, to their relationships, to their jobs.

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It's my understanding that there was no money cut. There was money given to the states in block grants, but money was not cut. That's number one. Number two, I don't believe ~~in with~~ anything ^{problem} ~~that~~ money is the ^{whole} answer. Money doesn't buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that there have to be. Money doesn't buy those things. Only ^{provide} people ~~buy~~ those things, and, particularly, parents.

Dr. Barbara Kellerman:

It's a volunteer work of a particular kind. It tends to fall into categories that, for lack of a better word, I would describe as

being of a feminine nature. They have to do with health. They have to do with beautification. They have to do with young children. They're the kinds of supportive, nurturing, prettifying tasks and roles that have, historically, been associated with the woman's role in this particular culture.

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Nancy Reagan's interest originally was in the foster grandparents program. It's now in drug abuse. Rosalynn Carter, who was interested in hard policy, still made it a point to become involved with mental health. Lady Bird Johnson was very involved with highway beautification. Jacqueline Kennedy redid the White House. These tend very much to be the same kinds of roles, women's roles more than anything else. It's not just a question of volunteerism.

On the issue of the relationship and the support of their husbands, the nature of that support really differs enormously from First Lady to First Lady, and the nature of that support depends on nothing as much as the relationship to the president.

First Ladies in general have not been strikingly successful in lobbying for their causes. I have to be careful when I say that because, in many ways, they have drawn

attention to their causes and attention breeds success in a way that could never have happened unless they had focused their attention on these particular issues.

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By the same token, when people look back on First Ladies, they don't particularly associate them with their causes any longer. Perhaps Lady Bird Johnson and her beautification, conservation, and wild flowers is an exception to this. My prediction is that unless Nancy Reagan becomes much bolder in her approach to her very genuine interest in drug abuse, and does more for it, she will not finally be remembered for that. She will be remembered for her tie to her husband.

Donnie Radcliffe:

It was a serious effort on the part of her aides because they felt that it was necessary for her to have a significant and meaningful project. And I do believe that she has had a long standing interest, ~~though I do not know how intensive~~, in drug abuse. But I think it sort of grew without them realizing how successful it was going to become.

I don't ^{believe} think she had her project well defined when she first came into the White House, because she was talking more about Foster Grandparents than she was about drug abuse. ¹⁵⁵ ~~I think~~ By the time a year had gone by, though, it became apparent that there had to be something more startling, more significant, for her to be involved in and her aides realized that it could well be accomplished through a project on drug abuse.

Sheila Tate:

She sits there and those big eyes focus on a kid and the kid finds himself telling his whole life story to her, and they both sit there and cry, but ^{when she the kid can say} ~~leaves saying~~, "You know, here's someone so important, and she cares about me." And that's the feeling they got from that. That started building. She would go to prevention programs where she'd learn what the problems were that they were spotting in five, six, seven-year-old kids--basically self esteem problems--and how they were dealing with it. And she was taking that camera, that media spotlight, and she was taking it and turning it around and focusing it on the

issue, which is something she cared about.

That's another thing I can't emphasize enough. Her staff didn't want her involved in that issue. We dragged our feet. We looked for alternative programs. We said, "This is depressing. How will she make an impact?" So we came up with some upbeat things, things she could affiliate with and she'd say, "This is nice, but *drug abuse is important and I want to get involved in fighting it.* I want to get involved in drug abuse, and when's our next meeting with so and so?"

She kept putting it back on course during that whole first year, and the smart thing was she recognized that if she was going to spend four or eight years involved in an issue, it was going to be something she cared about.

Mary Jane Wick:

She's always had a great concern about drug abuse in the world, not just in this country. And she feels it's a great tragedy what's happened. She has ~~great~~ compassion for individuals, great compassion.

Imagine how terrible it is to be older

in life and feel you still have something to give but you have nobody to give it to. And to be able to share that with somebody young and also have the young person be helped at the same time. It's really a wonderful program which started during the time her husband was governor of California.

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She opened the eyes of people all over the world to the drug abuse of young people because they are the future of our country and many lives are ruined because of that. I'm so proud of her. I really am.

Michael Deaver:

All I can tell you is that I can remember coming back here on an airplane with Nancy Reagan during the transition period and I said, "Have you ever thought about what you're going to do back here?" And she said, "Yeah, I've always wanted to get into the whole teenage drug abuse problem." It was not a last minute thing. It was not an attempt to simply recoup her ^{popularity} ratings. It was something she felt very strongly and still does feel very strongly about. All you have to do is go to one of those conferences.

William F. Buckley:

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I think her drug effort is extremely important to anybody who had children who grew up during the sixties. I saw a picture of her in the New York Daily News centerfold and the caption was, "Mrs. Reagan Cheers Up Billy Buckley O'Reilly," a nephew of mine who was having trouble with drugs and was in a rehabilitation place and she didn't even know we were related. I learned subsequently from him about the warmth of that exchange.

You have to remember that in California in the sixties, ~~it~~ was the home of the drug culture. You have to remember also that her husband couldn't speak at any college in California for three or four years when he was governor because they wouldn't permit him on campus. So that the impact of the drug culture and all that it tends to suggest in terms of misbehavior and civil misbehavior means a great deal to her as a result of the phenomenon of her having been First Lady of California during its most frenzied status.

I suppose that anything that any public

figure does is subject to the charge of public relations to improve an image. You can say that about Florence Nightingale, that she was concerned about her image. You can say that the Queen of England has really no interest whatsoever in antiques but she feels that she ought to every now and then go to an antique show. *But the First Lady truly, deeply cares about this problem.*

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Bonita Granville Wrather:

Ambition is a wonderful thing. I think that she has become ambitious for the good of our country. Certainly it took a great deal of ambition to plunge in ^{to} that drug program, ~~she's~~ ~~in~~ and a lot of ambition to get up in the morning and travel on planes and meet with psychologists and psychiatrists and meet with some of the young people who are on drugs and talk to them. It's been heartbreaking for her to see them. I think her ambition is channeled in a wonderful direction. It isn't an ego trip of any kind.

James Rosebush:

Every year, focusing on this international drug problem, Mrs. Reagan has sought to narrow her focus, and in some ways broaden her focus. It seemed very obvious because of all the requests she was getting from First Ladies around the world to share information and knowledge about what she'd done on drug abuse, to expand it on an international level.

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clear up?
() It wasn't suddenly, I arrived on the scene, or 1982 was here and this was a brand new plan. She made a commitment to drug abuse a couple of years before that. In fact, during that first year she was educating herself on drugs. Now, hindsight would say that should have been promoted more. People should have known that she was meeting with those people and so forth. But the fact was she was doing the right thing first, and that was becoming knowledgeable about the issue. The plan was in place all along for her to be able to get out, get to treatment centers and so forth, and she'd been to some treatment centers before.

We gave her the options. We came up with places for her to visit--treatment centers. Our role was basically to say, "Let us be your eyes and ears to go out. You want to travel

around the country. You want to talk to kids. You want to find out about their problems. Our role as a staff is to help you do that." And that's what we did. And that's where we put sixty thousand miles on the plane. 161

Watch Nancy Reagan in action. You can't fabricate love. You can't fabricate concern, at least to the degree that she's shown it. This isn't something you can manufacture overnight. You can't, instantly, have the kind of attraction back and forth that she has with kids. She's like a magnet for kids. I've been there. I've watched it. I've seen kids of all ages drawn to her for some reason. I can't put my finger on it. There's a natural attraction there.

I think there are a lot of concrete results. Thousands of parents' groups have formed coalitions to do something: Shut down the head shops; get legislation enacted; meet together to boost each others' morale and get their kids out of trouble.

Just through the television show, "The Chemical People," which she hosted, which was the largest grassroots effort ever undertaken on television, local communities are organized now to fight drugs. Making a national priority out of this issue is what a First Lady of the

United States can really do. I think she's accomplishing that.

She's got a committment in her blood now. She sees the dimensions of the problem, and she wants to solve it. She always asks wherever she goes, "What else can I do." I think you're ^{always} going to see her working hard on it.

(END CHAPTER SEVEN, END "Good Works")

Eight The First Lady
CHAPTER TEN: Nancy and Politics

Nancy Reagan:

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People say I'm a very savvy politician? Well, that's flattering. True? I don't know. Maybe that gets more into the realm of people, of having a feel for people.

My husband projects tremendous trust in the American people, really tremendous. After how many years in politics always my husband has been underestimated by whoever he might be running against, underestimated by the press. But the people have felt that he was sincere and honest and that there was an integrity there. And they responded to that.

I was upset after the first presidential debate in 1984. I thought they'd gone about it all wrong, and they had. They overloaded him. He knows all those things. They don't have to overload him.

I suggested some changes. The second one was better, wasn't it?

Did Al Haig leave because of me? No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, oh, no. Is it true that after the 1984 election I wanted to clear the dead wood out of the cabinet? I thought

that, in reading history, I'd always been given to understand that at the end of your first term that was a logical time, if you wanted to make changes, to do it. Yes, I did think that. ¹⁷⁰and what happened? Not much.

Did I want the presidency more than he did? I read that. Not true. I thought I married an actor. He was asked to run for office soon after we got married, and turned it down. He was asked by the Democrats when he was still a Democrat. And when the governorship came along, I went along with it. But that wasn't something I had carved out for our future.

Ed Rollins:

~~I think~~ The president is very pragmatic and he has very good political instincts and, very good people instincts. ^{But} I think there is no question that ^{Nancy} ~~she~~ can step back and probably take a little better view of it than he can, being involved in the day to day aspect of it.

She called me from time to time in the

course of the campaign and raised concerns about particular things that might be happening around the country. She has a very good network out there ~~among her friends~~, and, most of the time, when she calls me, she's got very valid points.

She was very concerned in the California campaign during the 1984 election that the people out there were probably not being as effective as they could have been and that Mondale was making a very heavy effort ^{in the state,} ~~out~~ there and she wanted to make sure that we were alert to it. We were, but certainly, when she made her call, I went out and rechecked everything again and made a few changes.

She's a darned good, savvy politician. I certainly would value her judgement. I think both she and the president don't like to think of themselves as politicians. He is someone who sort of shies away if you say, "Politically, Mr. President, you need to do this." But I think he has superb people instincts, and she does, too. She happens to be a much better politician with this particular candidate because she's lived with him and knows his strengths and weaknesses so well. But nevertheless, I would certainly always want her on my team.

^{believe}
I don't ~~think~~ she tries to get involved in the appointment process, but I think that she certainly want to measure people who work for her husband and wants to make sure that their effort is a total effort.

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~~I think that~~ ^I the two of them prefer not talking ahead of the actual election. I remember when Wirthlin and I were briefing the two of them coming across country on the Sunday before the election. It was very obvious that the president, according to the public opinion polls and all private polls, was going to have a tremendous victory. I think that they wouldn't believe it. They just wanted to wait until election day. ~~I think~~ ^{that's} always been their style. They didn't live as close to the polls or the numbers and what was going around the country as some of us in the day-to-day aspect of the campaign did.

She was not involved in the day-to-day ~~in any aspect~~ ^{of} of the campaign. She was the person who sat there day in and day out with the president and, basically, had to react one way or the other to what was going on and the charges that were made on the other side. ~~She did not live day to day with the campaign.~~ She

was not calling people in the campaign getting daily ~~updates~~ or weekly updates. We tried to talk to her every couple of weeks to let her know what was happening, and kept her pretty confident that we were doing what was right.

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I think that she felt that it was very, very important, as we started a second term, that we had the very best we could get, and there were some people who had not worked out effectively, as was hoped when we started this administration. I think her concerns were concerns ~~that were~~ shared by many people ^{who} ~~that~~ advised the president. She wasn't in the forefront. I think she had conversations with the head of personnel here in the White House, and with Jim Baker, and with Stu Spencer about what it was that we needed in the second term.

I think ^{all} ~~any~~ of us feel this is the big leagues and you ought to be able to play in this league, and if you can't, it's just like the National Football League or NBC News. If you can't cut it, you ought to ^{be} replaced.

^{The First Lady}
I think ~~she~~ felt that the staff had probably overbriefed the president for that first campaign debate. There was no question he wasn't as relaxed. I think it had just been the fact that he hadn't been in the arena in a long time. Mondale had fifty three debates in

the course of the primary season before our debate. It'd been four years since the president had. I think she was very concerned that he perform well the second time.

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Walking off the stage, he was the first one to make the comment that his performance in the first debate wasn't a typical Reagan performance. She felt it was imperative that maybe the staff get out of the way and the president just get ready for the second debate, the way that he was most comfortable.

Lyn Nofziger:

I think she's played a very important role in her husband's political career. She's a very smart woman. She is very politically astute. I sometimes think that if there weren't a Nancy Reagan, there wouldn't be a President Reagan or maybe even a Governor Ronald Reagan.

She has been certainly a motivating force in his life. This doesn't mean she controls him, doesn't mean that she tells him what to do, doesn't mean that he's under her influence. But it does mean that they share together ^{the} a direction in which he goes.

They're a very close couple. They talk things over. But you must remember back in the middle ~~sixties~~⁵ and early sixties, a lot of people came to Reagan and said run for governor, run for the senate, one thing or another, and he'd always said, "no." He was happier doing what he was doing. I think that if Nancy had said, "Ronnie, don't run for governor. I don't want you to, ~~run for governor~~" This is the good life," that he could probably have made the decision not to go. The fact that she was very supportive there and has been all along has been an integral part of his campaigns, an integral part of his ambitions, if you will. I think it's made all the difference in the world.

~~I think that~~ She's an advisor, ~~I think that she's~~ a confidante. ~~I think that~~ She is unafraid to tell him what she thinks he ought to hear or what she thinks he ought to do. Once again, it doesn't mean that he does it. It's not a formal role and it's not a role that sees her being active in the White House as a policy person or as somebody who views herself as part of the White House staff or the cabinet. I think Ronald Reagan has been very lucky to have Nancy there.

Stuart Spencer:

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She looks for loyalty to the president and to his programs. I can't say she looks for anything particularly. She commands loyalty, and she feels that anybody ~~that's~~ working for the president should be a loyal person.

She looks for talent that fills spots. When I came back into the Reagan operation in 1980, it was at her behest, basically, and the president's. They were having problems, politically, and she has always viewed me as a good politician, either when I was with ~~her~~ ^{them} or against ~~her~~ ^{them}, which I was in 1976. So they wanted me to come back because they felt they needed the political skills.

She usually works through other people. She informs them of what her thinking is. I think her great strength is the fact that she's a conveyor of information to staff that the president would not convey to them. The president's not the type of person ~~that's~~ ^{who} going to come down in the morning and say, "Stu, you really screwed up." He just won't do that. But he might say to Nancy, "Boy, you know, I think Stu really screwed up on that

one the other day." She'd call me up and say, "Spencer, you really screwed up!" You get the message. You could go for two or three weeks with Ronald Reagan and not know he's mad at you. 177

We include her in a lot of decision making in the political process when we're in the campaign. If we're having a discussion with the president and we're, maybe, losing the discussion, and we think it's a strong enough point that should be made, we might enlist her help if we can. She doesn't always go with us. Many times, she thinks we're wrong.

I think she's a very good politician. I think she has the skills and the instincts of a politician and she's tactically very, very, very strong. He's probably stronger strategically, but tactically, to get things done, she's very good.

He has the big picture. He understands the strategy of how he wants to get from here to there, and maybe some things that can happen. But she understands better how you get from here to there.

She is a conservative. They're like minded, ideologically, but she is always concerned about the fact that you can't govern

unless you have public approval, and she recognizes that fact. And to keep your approval ratings up, your perceptions have to be up. She wants him to be able to govern, to accomplish the things that he wants to accomplish, and he's only going to be able to do that if his approval ratings are ^{good} ~~up~~.

She didn't make life tough for me after I supported Gerald Ford over her husband in 1976, but I got several messages in the back channels ^{so} that I knew very well where she stood. I don't think I saw her from that period until 1980. I don't think I even talked to her in that period of time. I was the leper.

In 1980, I didn't want to get involved in an effort like that with all the problems that were potentially there unless I knew I had the support of the principals. I think my biggest single problem after the seventy six campaign was more with her than it was with him because he is more forgiving, in a lot of ways, than she is. So I wanted to make sure that that base was covered. I knew her feelings were stronger than his about what happened in 1976.

I think he would have probably gotten

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elected governor in 1966 with anybody else as his wife. He was a hot property in California. He was a new face. They were looking for a change and his timing was excellent. I don't think he'd have become president of the United States without Nancy Reagan. Because of her drive, her support system, she gave him through the good and the bad. He spent a lot of time on the road between 1974 and 1976, looking for the nomination. And then it was grasped away from him, so to speak, by circumstances. And then they came back, in 1980, and she was there the whole time. Tremendous support system.

Ronald Reagan maintains that the office seeks the man, and that's the major disagreement that he and I have. If you want to be president, you go get it. I mean, if you really look at Ronald Reagan's record from 1966 on, he was running for the presidency in 1968. He went out and he went after it. He wanted it badly.

In the last campaign, the president was at the top, Jimmy Baker was next, and then we all fed into Jimmy and he fed it into the president. As we were developing our ideas and concepts, we'd feed it back to Nancy if we felt there was a problem. Some parts of the

political process, like precinct organization,
phone banks, coalition building, etc., etc.,
she understands. Other things she doesn't
understand, but she ^{knows} ~~understands~~ how her
husband likes to operate. She know how he
looks best, ^{and} ~~she knows what~~ how, he's feeling,
and you just have got to keep her plugged in.

I wouldn't emphasize the toughness. I
think she can be tough, but she's a very sweet
person, too, and a very warm person. I
wouldn't want to construe that she's just a
tough woman. There are a lot tougher women in
this process than she is.

If you ask the question, "Are you
generally favorably or unfavorably impressed
with the president?," you'll probably get
numbers in the high seventies. When we use
something called a feeling thermometer, which
is a very different rating, the president's
ratings have been quite close to Nancy's.

I think the extent to which Nancy Reagan
brings a dimension of concern about important
issues to the forefront, issues that are
widely supported by a large number of
Americans, to that extent, it does help the
president. There's no doubt in my mind that
Nancy Reagan is a strong political asset to

the president of the United States.

I don't think there was a lot of concern inside the White House that Nancy was becoming a political problem. But I do recall having conversation with some of the political pros outside of the White House at that time. They said Nancy Reagan ^{could} ~~can~~ never be a major help to the presidency, ^{and} therefore, she should simply keep a low profile. If that counsel had been followed, I think it would have been a disaster for both her and the president. I'm of course personally pleased that she went a very different and much more active route.

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As I said earlier, Nancy has very good political instincts. In the latter part of eighty three and the first part of eighty four, Nancy reviewed with me at length how she viewed the potential democratic contenders, and gave me as good and as clear and as helpful an analysis of Mondale and Glenn and Hart as any of the so-called political pros. In fact, her judgements and her instincts in some ways were even more closely attuned to what the realities turned out to be than some of those who are paid for their political judgement.

In October of eighty three, she felt that Glenn simply would not get the nomination

and she didn't see the hard phenomenon of the^a January before the New Hampshire primary when he really did emerge. She did tag Hart as someone that could give Mondale a run for his money. She felt that Mondale would likely be the opponent. She ^{believed} ~~felt~~ his biggest vulnerability was his tendency, his penchant to attack, and do it in a way that would alienate rather than gain support. She was right on target on that particular judgement.

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I think she's an excellent pol, especially when it involves making judgements about people's assets and liabilities. She's able to size up political motivations rather quickly. She's been involved, very much in the background, in politics for eighteen, nineteen ^{or} years and she's learned a great deal in that period.

Nancy Reagan is a realist and she's also very willing to make some tough decisions on personnel. I think that I realized that for the first time when there was a change in the 1980 campaign staff. Nancy Reagan felt very strongly that a change should be made. She's willing to make and suggest some tough decisions.

I talk to her quite frequently. In a

number of those discussions, we review the things that I know she's interested in. She's interested in the president's job rating, the mood of the country, ~~to some extent in a general profile.~~ ^{also} She's ^{is doing.} interested how her job rating, ~~on her measures are going.~~

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She has a good deal of sensitivity about communicating messages. The president is identified as the great communicator. Well, Nancy Reagan has an awfully good sense as to what kinds of messages can be communicated clearly and which cannot. I think she recognizes correctly the importance^{ce} of leadership not only as an end in itself but the importance of having someone who is viewed as a strong leader to open up other options that wouldn't be there to a person who is viewed as less consistent and less strong. She views politics, again correctly, as a personalized activity--that is, people judging people and whether or not they trust an individual, whether or not they believe that individual is since^{re}. These are things she ranks relatively high.

Whether or not to run for a second term was an open question for Nancy until quite late. I think she was finally persuaded by November or December of 1983. She was still

very open on whether the president should run and how she felt about that until sixty days before he announced. From what I know, they sat down, reviewed it together, looked at the pluses and the minuses, the challenges that would come running for a second term. By November, by December, Nancy had pretty well decided that, given the president's feelings, she would support his running for a second term.

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Mary Jane Wick:

I think when you live in Washington, you have to talk politics. You couldn't possibly live here for four years and not discuss politics. We just discuss things in general and perhaps what's current. There are many issues she's interested in. I think their views are shared.

President Reagan:

Neither one of us every really set out to do what we find ourselves doing. When the