

Oral History: Stuart K. Spencer
Part 2
The Reagan Presidency
Interviewed by Lou Cannon
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Lou Cannon: Tell us about what Reagan did when he left the governorship and people wanted him to... Some people wanted him to be on television.

Stuart Spencer: Well, the first consideration he had when he left, the Reagans were not wealthy people at all, they were comfortable, but they weren't wealthy, was figure his ways out to make a living. So, television, radio, all those things were in his bag and he knew how to do them, and he liked to do them, and those sort of things. And it gave him the opportunity to express his belief system which he enjoyed doing. He enjoyed doing it. He said that Jane Wyman had divorced him. The group that he was working with, Hannaford and Deaver at the time, had put together a TV package, I forget which network was going to use it, where he would do a weekly commentary on TV. And he says, "No," he says, "We're going to do it on radio." And they had the usual argument you have back and forth. But I wasn't aware of this at the time. I was talking with him afterwards about it. And his point, his logic was simply, he says, "TV, you wear out your welcome too soon." He says, "Radio will last."

Cannon: You get overexposed on television.

Spencer: You get overexposed. He says, "You get overexposed." But the other sidebar to the thing is... And, we talked about it a little once, you and I, and that is the fact he was such an admirer of FDR. And as a young man growing up in the FDR era, about the only thing I can remember about FDR is the WPA and this weekly radio show.

Cannon: Fireside Chats.

Spencer: Fireside Chats, yeah. They were famous, famous. And I think that had something to do with his concern. But it does show you the street smarts the guy's got in doing radio over the long haul instead of television.

CANNON: We alluded to it but we haven't actually asked the question. Tell us about Nancy's role in all of this. The short version.

Spencer: The growth of Nancy is phenomenal. We have first meetings worth talking about, and then the first campaign meetings. We started in May... Let's say May through October, we'd meet two, three days, 1965. We would meet at the Reagans' house at least three, four times a week. With them only, Bill and I. She'd get over there in a chair and she'd sit in the chair, and curl up, and three guys going at it. We're talking about this, he asked this, and we're going back and forth. And it was mostly a situation of, you know, "Well, why am I doing this?" We had to explain it to them, and when I say that, I'll give

you an example.

One time, we were in the Central Valley, and he says... Early on, he says, "What am I doing here in Tulare?" He says... I was going to say governor, but he wasn't governor yet. We called him Ron, then. He said, "Ron, this is just like show business. We're like a stage play in New York who is out of town, works out all the wrinkles, comes back." Well, he said, "Why am I not in Santa Monica where all the votes are? You guys got me in Tulare. Well, I gave him that explanation, and he understood it immediately. So for... Those were the kind of questions that we would get continually.

But Nancy would sit and, you know, those big liquid eyes of hers, of course, and about every half hour, Patti would come roaring through the house, "Did they do this, did they do that," and get her out of the room. But she was an observer, but watched us like a hawk. Watched our body, Bill and I, our body language, our answers. She was just watching us, reading us. And as time went on, she became more of a participant, more of a participant, more of a participant, to the fact that she became the personnel director for Ronald Reagan, no matter what he was going to do. Governor, President, king, she'd be the personnel director. She made the decisions. And frankly, for the better. He couldn't fire a soul, not one soul. I fired people. Anybody... You draw a straw, you had to go fire the person. Now this is so there's a weakness, this is the biggest weakness he's got in my mind, as a leader.

Margaret Heckler, that's a good example. Peggy Heckler, she was HHS Secretary, former Congresswoman, great gal. Wasn't doing a great job at HHS. They decided they were going to get rid of her. I drew the straw. I knew Peggy pretty well. So I invite her over to the Madison Hotel for lunch and we're going through this whole thing, and she's smart enough to know that something's coming. And she says, "What are you trying to do, Stu?" She says, "Are you trying to tell me it's time to move on? You keep using the term, 'move on'" I says, "You got it." So we discussed it a little, and so forth. But then where Reagan enters the picture, she says... Well, I did do one other thing. I probably broke the law. I says, "I'll get you the ambassadorship to Ireland" -- to put the cake on it. She got excited about that. Then she says to me, she says, "I'd like to see the president one more time before I get to leave."

Cannon: Said what?

Spencer: "I want to see the president one more time, before I get to leave." And in my mind, I says, "That ain't never going to happen." And I says, "I'll see what I can try to do." Immediately, went to the White House, and said to (Chief of Staff James) Baker, "Don't you let Peggy Heckler in the Oval Office until about three months after she's somewhere else." Because this is what would've happened. She'd have walked in, told her sob story or whatever it was, and he'd have said, "I don't know what that Stu's doing. I don't know why he's doing that." He just couldn't do that to people. He could not do it to people.

Cannon: The context for this, folks, is that Reagan had always thought that Nixon had

served two terms. At the end of two terms, Reagan could run for president, but of course, Nixon didn't serve two terms. He got forced out by Watergate in '74 and so Reagan faces a phenomenon that nobody had anticipated, which is you got a sitting Republican unelected but president. And you decided to go with Ford for it in that campaign. Did you have an alternative? Did Reagan want you to help him in that campaign in '76?

Spencer: No, never. We're still in the process of the people around him, I call them the "palace guard." warfare, so to speak. Diminished to extent, but then when they got their shots, they'd take their shots. No, we heard nothing from the Reagans or anyone around him at that point in time.

Cannon: And how did you go to work for Ford? How did that happen?

Spencer: The Reagans have always felt I made a tough, conscious decision to go and try to beat him. That's not true. I had no interest in anything at that time. I was enjoying playing a lot of golf and working overseas quite a bit, and I got a phone call from Rumsfeld. They were having a lot of problems in their campaign, I guess, from (Donald) Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld came out and we started our meeting the day Squeaky Fromme tried to shoot him in Sacramento. Rummy and I were sitting in the Senator Hotel when all hell breaks loose outside and the meeting was over. Then a month later, down at San Diego at state convention, Bo Callaway shows up, who was chairman of the Ford campaign. And it became evident to me that he was sent out there to get me and bring me back. I had no problem with what I was doing because our philosophy in the company had always been -- we never ran a campaign against a sitting incumbent of our party. It was really one of the few philosophical decisions we ever made, and that would have applied even if they called me.

CANNON: Even if Reagan had called you, you still would have...

Spencer: I would have still said that. I would have tried to talk him out of running. I would've still done that. It was nothing personal about it. The only thing personal was still us and the palace guard, or by then it was me and the palace guard because Bill had gone off on other things.

Cannon: And that persisted. I remember after Ford defeated Reagan and then Carter won, that the people that you're talking to, the palace guard, they considered you a traitor.

Spencer: Yes, that's right.

Cannon: And they labeled you as such. Yet, the person who wanted you back in the campaign was Nancy. Tell us about that. The campaign now is 1980 and Reagan is on his way to becoming president, but he's really stumbling after he got the nomination there. He had a very two tough months.

Spencer: Of the palace guard by this time in history, Mike Deaver and I had made our peace. We had made our peace and we will keep talking to each other at a little about

stuff. And I got a phone call in June of that year from Mike. He says, "Do you have any interest in coming back and doing a Reagan campaign?" And I said, "What's Nancy think?" And he laughed. He started to laugh. He says, "She's pushing it." I says, "OK, then you tell her to call me. I don't need to talk to Deaver." And she called me and we had a long chat. I said, "Well, I got some ground rules." She said, "What are the ground rules?" I says, "We've got to be face-to-face to discuss the ground rules because they're going to involve a lot of people, a lot of personalities, campaign changes," and blah-blah-blah. And she says, "Well, we'll do that later, but I want you to come back."

I did do one thing, man. I made him bring together remnants of the palace guard and some of the others like Dick Wirthlin, the pollster who was the guy that I put into business but now was knifing me a lot. I made them all come to a restaurant in LA one night and sit around, and Deaver made the announcement that I was coming back to run the campaign. I went around and said, "Do you sign off, Lynn? Do you sign off, Meese?"

It was revenge, meant as revenge, right? Which I knew didn't mean a thing. They'd still keep doing what they're doing. Then I got on the plane and we went to Detroit. That's the first time I saw them for several years, the Reagans. Got an American Airline flight into Detroit. I'm sitting in the front row, first class. Reagan's seat's here and Nancy was behind us. He comes in... This is fascinating. He comes in, sits down, "Hi, Stu." And it was like a conversation we'd had seven years before, and he just picked up on it and went on. I expected him to sit there and say, "Why you'd run the campaign against me?" Bang, bang, bang. I was expecting to get mauled. Never brought it up. Never brought up that Rhodesia question. Nothing.

Cannon: That dovetail's perfectly with what Martin Anderson, who'd been an advisor, what he said after John Sears headed this coup, and then Anderson was one of these guys gone. When Sears was deposed as campaign chairman, he came back, he said, "Reagan said he was glad to see you but I said I'm not really sure he knew I'd been gone." And he said it was exactly the same story there. "He treated me like the conversation was the last one they'd had yesterday."

Spencer: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Phenomenal skill to compartmentalize things, really.

Cannon: Reagan, when he was in Hollywood, he was used to having different casts, different people around him. It unnerved some known politicians that the cast kept changing but Reagan, it was sort of part of the world. It didn't happen.

Spencer: It's part of what he was. He was easy to direct. They talked about handlers in politics, which I don't like, but he is a guy that was easy to handle. He was used to somebody telling him, "Go stand over there. No, say it this way, say it that way." That doesn't mean he hasn't got a mind of his own, and he doesn't say it to you a lot of times but...

Cannon: Pat O'Brien told me, who had rescued him for the B Films with the role of The Gipper, told me that Reagan had stayed so long in B films because when he was an A

actor but the directors liked him because he always memorized the scripts. He was always on time, and he did what they told him, and he didn't have any temper tantrums on the...

Spencer: It's a reason he was a good candidate. He showed up, he was disciplined, he knew his lines. And in this case, when he was governor or when he was running for governor, we didn't have a speechwriter. Ronald Reagan wrote every speech. Those weren't our words we were putting in there. We'd critique him, we'd do this, we tried to talk him into some occasionally, but it was his speech.

Cannon: I remember one of the things that you did in the '80 campaign, if I'm remembering this correctly, because I'm doing it all from memory, too. Memory can betray you. Is that Reagan was kind of jumpy after he made a number of mistakes and Nofziger made some mistakes. And you had Paul Laxalt, who had been governor of Nevada when Reagan was governor of California, and who was now a senator for Nevada. And I think Laxalt... He was always relaxed around Laxalt. They got along. And I think you put him on the plane for a week with Reagan just to settle him down.

Spencer: That's true. Reagan is a rhythm candidate. Just like an athlete, good pitcher gets him in rhythm, he finds and strikes in them. Good quarterback gets him in rhythm, he has the long ball. Reagan was a rhythm candidate. You knock him out of rhythm and he gets screwed up for a week, temper problem, unjust accusation problem, all the sort of things. He wasn't himself. That ad that I showed you, the Rhodesia ad... To just jump forward to prove my point, I did two things in 1976. When I went back there, everybody in Washington said, "This B-actor is never going to be President of the United States." All the wise ones.

Cannon: You're talking about 1980 now.

Spencer: Yeah, the press, everybody. The president himself didn't think the guy was going to get there. And I was the only voice in the woods saying, "This guy is tough. He's a candidate. We've got to work at this." One of my strategic tactical decisions that I made early on was, I've got to knock it off his feed, I've got to get him mad 'cause I...

Cannon: This was the Ford's campaign.

Spencer: Ford campaign '76 against Reagan. First two primaries were New Hampshire, Florida. In my mind, the President of the United States doesn't win New Hampshire primary, he's dead. I mean Reagan is just going to walk in. And as you know, it ended up close about 1,200 votes or something like that, but my plan was to knock him off his feed because I knew this about him, he's rhythm. When you get him out of rhythm, he's in trouble. So we did a couple of things. We did... It was \$80 billion things in New Hampshire. I pick things that he had said that I knew he couldn't remember. When he got a hit with an \$80 billion package, he couldn't even remember the speech.ⁱ

Cannon: And Jeff Bell, I think, had written the speech.

Spencer: Jeff Bell wrote it, correct. And what we did then... Rhodesia thing in California, I did that, not for the benefit of California. We were going to get beat in California. It was whether by 10 percent, 20 percent, we were going to get beat. So I didn't care how bad we got beat in California. If I could get a message to Pennsylvania and Ohio and so forth, and that ad...

Cannon: What ad we're talking about? The Rhodesia ad.

Spencer: We did an ad. It was on a reporter with the Chicago Tribune, and I can't remember his name, now. He came in my office one day in Washington, and then he said... He dropped by to say hello Stu. All that kind of stuff. And he's written a piece about the speech Reagan had given on Rhodesia. He'd been there. And his editors buried it in the seventh page. And he was mad. He was really... "I had a great story and I'm not..."

Cannon: What was the story?

Spencer: Somewhere, I forget, but was somewhere in the heart of the speech, he came very close to talking about declaring a war over some conflict that was going on in Rhodesia. I don't even remember the facts of the thing, but it was a Goldwater thing. You know what I mean

I was ready to find something to put him off. He was in his rhythm. He was doing good. I could see him moving around good. So I started looking for some, put the research guys back on it. They found this Rhodesia speech, and Pete was in California, and I was with the president in Cincinnati. We started doing thing in Paul Keye, who was an ad guy. He was the ad guy on it, and the three of us went midnight or on the phone talking about this whole thing, and Paul basically wrote the ad while we're on the phone and...

Cannon: That's the ad that...

Spencer: It was a print ad and our goal was to make it hairy enough that it would go viral, and it did. It was on every TV outlet that...

Cannon: And the punchline of that ad was.. "Governor Reagan couldn't start a war, President Reagan could."

Spencer: It put him out of sync. I mean, you probably know more about that than I do. You probably talked to Deaver and Nofziger and all the guys that were traveling with him. But, I understand he put his hand through the bulkhead on the airplane. "That damn Stu."

Cannon: I remember writing a story about it for The Post, and the Reagan people were all upset. For once, they weren't upset with me. They were upset with you.

Spencer: Yeah, that's right. They were very upset. Rhythm candidate, you had to knock him out of his rhythm, or if you let him run free, he was like a horse...

Cannon: Well, in 1980, he was knocked off his rhythm by a couple of things. He went to this rally, where after the convention, and he... Somebody had a Ku Klux Klan or a Carter mask or something in there, and he said that Carter's... The birthplace of the Ku Klux Klan was in Carter's hometown. And he had a couple of other things, one of them involving Taiwan. Oh, and the biggest one was he'd gone to the convention; I think it was a VFW Convention. He said that the Vietnam War was a noble cause. And it wasn't like it was any one thing, but this string of things. He was like a good hitter who was in a slump, and he missed the pitch for two weeks in a row, and he couldn't get himself straightened out. And that's when you came in.

Spencer: And part of that reason is he wasn't comfortable.

Cannon: Yeah.

Spencer: You brought up the Laxalt thing earlier. Laxalt made him comfortable.

Cannon: Yeah.

Spencer: We knew those things from his for the governor races. He had to be comfortable, happy. Mommy had to be happy. His wife, Nancy, he called her "Mommy", and everything went smooth then. He was at his top, at his best. But you...

Cannon: He didn't like to be away from Nancy for a very long time.

Spencer: Not at all.

Cannon: He would say... He would admit to me, that he's... When he'd say, "You seem a little tired." We called him Governor until he was President. I guess you did, too.

Spencer: Yeah, I did too.

Cannon: And he said, "Well, I haven't been home for whatever number of days it was, and Nancy isn't here." He liked having her around.

Spencer: Well, she was a real comfort blanket for him. There's no doubt about it. I took her out one night. I made her go with me to a union meeting in New Jersey, flew out of Dulles, went up in Buckville. (Trenton) And she didn't do many appearances, but we had a real in-road to the unions in New Jersey, and I wanted to make sure we got him, so we delivered her. We delivered Nancy to this beat up hall somewhere in Trenton, New Jersey. And they were dressed up with their Sunday best, the women, a lot of minority groups who work in stevedores and stuff. And then...

Cannon: Did she do well?

Spencer: Did well with them. We did well with them, but Nancy went there with me... I thought they were going to tear her clothes off in front of the other women. They're all dressed in the nicest clothes, and pink this and blue that and the union stuff. And they're mauling her. The women were mauling her from the place. And she came home and bitched to her husband about it. And next day, the President says to me, "You've got to treat my wife nicer than that. You've got to treat Mommy better than that."

Spencer: I said, "OK."

Cannon: There was one day on the campaign, I guess... I don't remember which. Was it '76 or '80? And Reagan... That day, I counted the number of critical stories in my paper about Reagan, one of which was written by me, there were about six, seven. And there was one, but there was this one woman, Judy Bachrach, who had written this column about Nancy. And she'd written a very catty column about the way she dressed, and she was writing it, unfortunately, not for paper... For us. She didn't work for us, she wrote for the Washington Star. And Reagan after I did the interview with him, it was a short interview, we were all there, and he was in a rotating campaign, and he said, "Can I talk to you just a minute? Lou, can you stay back?" And I see Lyn (Nofziger) was nervous, Lyn never liked it when I stayed about to staying back.

And he said, yes, and he said, "Why would a paper write something like that about my wife?" She said, she was crying up all night. That's just terrible. He didn't care a damn about all this stuff, that had been written about him. Oh, but he... When he was really... He said, "You know how it is, my wife you know she is really..." And he was... And I said... I happened there by utter luck, because I had a column in those days and our syndicate would tell us how many papers everybody had.

George Will and David Broder would always have hundreds. I had 40 or 50. And Judy was the last one, as she had only like eight papers. So I told him that, and he brightened and he said, "That's a great thing to know." He says, "I will tell her." And he wasn't even talking to me like he was a candidate for President, I was a reporter. I had given him some ammunition to take back to Nancy.

Spencer: You know that... That getting back to Nancy, his premiere personnel director for him. That was a true love affair. There's just no doubt in my mind. And they meshed like this very... Whatever arguments they had, they had alone, and I've been there for a few of them. But they're not like a lot of couples that they would be chipping at each other, they were good friends and stuff. She was part of it, she was... He would have never been elected if it wasn't for her. She did things, and personal-wise she did things, getting him to do things that he should do, that he didn't want to do. None of the rest of us could get him to do. And if you made a good case with her and she'd go do it. And she had her own methods, I don't know what the hell they were, but...

Cannon: You stayed close to her afterwards and then rest of... And...

Spencer: I was talking with her on the phone two weeks before she passed away. And it was scary, because she... We were talking along about something, gossip naturally, and all of a sudden, there's no Nancy on the phone. She dropped the phone. And I'm sitting there like this, just waiting. Waiting, waiting. She dropped the phone and walked off. I don't know what happened, I wasn't in the house where they were... But that's how incapacitated she was getting. But she was up until what? Maybe three months out, she was pretty articulate and up on things, and quizzing me and...

Cannon: She did some, I thought some things that the conservatives didn't like, when she called about the stem cell legislation, this research of stem cell embryos.

Spencer: Yeah.

Cannon: And did you ever talk to her about any of those things?

Spencer: Yeah, about stem cells.

Cannon: She knew consciously, what she thought she was...

Spencer: Oh, she knew what she was doing.

Cannon: Good, yeah.

Spencer: Her father, Loyal Davis, a doctor, was really a right-winger. But as Nancy went through the governorship and went through the presidency, she became a lot more moderate in her own belief system than she was before.

Cannon: Did you get involved, 'cause I think you did, but I'm not sure. On the arms control stuff, Reagan was...

Spencer: Yes. I think, first we should say that he was a well read, and he was thoughtful, he wanted us to have a good government. He was very strong anti-communist. And there's one other ingredient and I think people should know that they're don't, and that is Reagan believed in more Armageddon. And it was going to happen. And I think it has a lot of basis on why he got so involved in the arm thing... Arm control... Got so involved in the arm control thing. Because he thought the nuclear activity was going to be Armageddon. And so, when I got on a plane the first time back, going back to Detroit to the convention, and...

Cannon: Was it right after the Republican convention in 1980?

Spencer: Yeah, this was actually... About two hours of that flight, when I asked him the question, the very simple question, I says, "Why do you want to be president?" He started in on arms control, he started in our nuclear warfare and then he went to a plan which he outlined this plan. It was, "I'm going to build our defense forces up, we're going to

become very powerful. The economy, the Russian government, the Russian nation is deteriorating." You know, such and such. "That they have a habit of if we go... If we build a new aircraft carrier, they build a new aircraft carrier. Well, that milks their economy." He says, "But now they're getting to the point," he said, "when we build an aircraft carrier, they build two aircraft carriers."

He says, "Economics are going to enter the picture. They're going to be broke. Their strategy is staying up with us, they can't do it. They don't have the economic background. So..." And I'm simplifying this, but, "We'll keep doing our... I'll build up defenses, and build up defenses to the point that they have no option but to sit down at the table." And so that was the plan, that was the plan before he was even nominated. Now, the first three guys he could sit down with over were duds. I mean they were drunks and Brezhnev and the other two. Andropov and, half-dead or dying when he was taken over, and he lucked out when he got Gorbachev.

Cannon: Andropov was the only one of the three who could have, and he had kidney failure, he was almost terminal when he became the leader of the country.

Spencer: Yeah. So the card he draws is Gorbachev. And he had a lot of confidence, Reagan did, in his own skills as a diplomat, his own skills of relating to people and things of this nature, and so he started a personal relationship with Gorbachev, which was driving the State Department nuts. The only one over there that was going along with it was George Shultz, the secretary of state. But he was going around the system, so to speak. And his goal was to get some kind of a nuclear thing, and if you go back and research in history, it'll show you it wasn't a one way street. He gave up a lot. They needed food, he gave them food, they needed money, he gave them money. I mean, Gorbachev got something in return, and those were skills he learned at SAG, at the Screen Actors Guild. Negotiations, you see what I mean? So the three pieces of his life, every one of them comes into play when he becomes President.

Cannon: When I asked him, soon after the summit with Gorbachev in Geneva. I was interviewing him, and I asked him what was the most neglected part of his resume He answered this without thinking, so you knew it was his real belief, "The Screen Actors Guild, being president of the Screen Actors Guild." He'd led the Screen Actors Guild in its only successful strike.

Spencer: That's right.

Cannon: And I said, "What did you learn from your negotiations as president of the Screen Actors Guild? And he said, "That the purpose of a negotiation is to get an agreement."

Cannon: And I'd forgotten so much, and I can still remember, I can see him as he said this. I've just... We weren't extensively talking about the Soviets, but that's what he had in his mind.

There's one thing about Reagan that I want to, sort of explore, that I hope... Well, we've talked about it before. Reagan could be such a brilliant guy, or he could be so out of it. In 1967, when he was governor, and they were discussing the mental hospitals, I got through some, it wasn't subterfuge; it was some screw-up on their side. I got the cabinet minutes, where they were discussing the mental hospitals. Reagan's contribution to it was that as... When he... In "Kings Row," the movie, he had a hard time learning to pronounce the word, "psychiatric."

I mean, it was... And he was out of it. On the other hand, if you read the transcript of Reykjavik, and I've read it in its two English language versions, Reagan's in complete command. I mean, he's doing better than Gorbachev, and Gorbachev is no slouch. And... We all had this experience, who've known Reagan a long time, but where he could be out of it on one thing and then in command in another. How do you account, if you agree with that observation, how do you account for it?

Spencer: Well, I agree with your observation, but I can't account for it. I don't know. Later in his life, I can account for it, after he's out of office.

Cannon: When do you think the Alzheimer's set in?

Spencer: I didn't see any signs of it in the last couple of years. I didn't see any signs of it the first couple of years he was out of office. And then all of a sudden, he and I were playing golf a lot, LA Country Club. And one day we were in a cart. And I looked over, and I was driving the golf cart, I looked over at him, and he was just staring at me. And the look on his face was, "Who's this guy I'm riding with?" And I thought... Three holes later, "What I'm doing, he was here." He's back, in and out. I went home that night, I called Nancy. I says, "What the hell's going on?" And she told me they think he has Alzheimer's and he's going back to Mayo and they're going to check him out. And I thought back about it, about over the last year that I've been playing golf, we'd had some of those incidences. So, that's the only time I ever saw it.

Cannon: I didn't see it, I interviewed him a year after he was out. He was just about the way he always was. He was Reagan, some things lots of specifics and others generalities. Nancy told me that, and I researched this after she told me this, that he had hit his head very hard on this, been thrown from a horse in this...

Spencer: Mexico.

Cannon: Mexico. And apparently, there's some medical research that indicates that can trigger it. But then he also had it genetically as we've discussed. His mother had it.

Spencer: It's one of those questions, when does Alzheimer's start? I don't know. He could've had it start of it when he was president. Sure, I don't know. I never saw it making any decision-making differences until he and I were out playing golf a lot.

Cannon: Overall, is there some kind of a feeling you have about Reagan or an opinion of

him that you formed, that my questions haven't touched on?

Spencer: Yeah. There's one thing. Because I get hit with this question all the time, and people ask me, "What would Reagan think of Trump?" And I've made a conscious effort not to speak for Reagan since he's passed away. I think I know what he would say or what he would think or so forth, but I certainly haven't. But in this case, I think he'd be disgusted with the man. I think he would be just in apoplexy over the way he treats women, the way he treats other human beings. The best way I can boil it down to is, Reagan had a lot of class. Trump's got no class as a human being. He'd probably have some good jokes to tell us about how he was rated a B actor and Pat Brown said he didn't know where the bathroom was in Sacramento and he doesn't understand government stuff. He says, "I'd look like a king against this guy." I could hear him telling his own joke like that, all the things. This guy's totally unprepared for the job, Trump. And Reagan was halfway prepared for the job.

Cannon: But Reagan was more prepared as a human being.

Spencer: Definitely, definitely. Nancy? Trump really didn't, hadn't gotten legs yet while Nancy was here. The name was around, it was bouncing around and she was... Thought the man was disgusting.

Cannon: Well, she would be. And Ronald Reagan was a gentleman.

Spencer: That's right.

Cannon: That's a good way to conclude it.

ⁱ Reagan had given a speech the previous September in Chicago where he called for \$90 billion in federal programs to be transferred to the states. New Hampshire, which prides itself on not having a state income tax, capital gains tax or sales tax, would have had to impose taxes to pay for some of the transferred programs.