

10/29

JC:

Pls meet with Faith +
Jack C and review with
them your recommendations
to me with respect to Part D
of Faith's memo to me. You may
make the point that I have
reviewed these and concur -
which I have and do. Thanks.

JAB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI *JW*

SUBJECT: Ethnic Strategy Recommendations

The following are my comments and recommendations regarding the proposals in part D of Faith Whittlesey's memo:

1. RNC Polling: This type of data has already been compiled to some extent with a breakdown by religion. A more specific ethnic breakdown could be helpful with regard to certain issues and policy concerns but my layman's view is that it would be less useful in general polling.

2. Ethnic Liaisons: I have serious concerns about the idea of setting up designated interest group liaisons in each agency. Though it would clearly be helpful in a political sense, there is no way to justify an "ethnic liaison" and not also a liaison for women, Hispanics, etc. ad infinitum. (In fact, we have not proceeded with a Hispanic agency liaison system for this precise reason.) An alternative is for the WH ethnic liaison (Linas Kojelis) to quietly set up a system of contacts in each agency with the help of our political liaisons. The purpose would be to make certain that the agencies are responsive to a WH ethnic strategy.

3. "Ethnic Concerns" in the Rule-Making Process: There is probably very little to be achieved by doing this, and in a legal sense it would be very hazardous. Ethnics are not a protected class within the context of Supreme Court decisions, and arguably could not be treated as such in the rule-making process without creating grounds for legal challenge. Further, "ethnic concerns" on minority issues could, in many cases, actually conflict with the concerns of protected classes. This is real "slippery slope": we could cause ourselves serious legal and political problems with little possibility of offsetting political gain.

4. Appointments: We should indeed proceed with a compilation of ethnic appointments for selective release, and should also undertake efforts to appoint ethnics to a few more visible Administration positions.

5. "Multi-Ethnic" WH Events: In general, the list of suggested events is sound. I would be cautious, though, about lumping a variety of ethnic groups together in particular events (such as luncheons or general policy briefings); we should do so only where there is clearly a common interest among the various groups. To throw Chinese or even Italians, into the same WH event with Poles simply dilutes the political impact within those particular ethnic communities. It would be far better to treat Poles as Poles: not as part of some amorphous coalition of "ethnics" (more on this point at the end of the memo).

6. Ethnic Drive: This idea, which suggests a Presidential trip devoted primarily to ethnic events, is simply a different form of the "schedule concentration" strategy we have employed regarding education and Hispanics. It is sound because it forces the media to report our basic political message (which would, of course, be lost with a lesser concentration of events). This could be accomplished in a variety of ways, including, but not limited to, a Presidential trip.

7. Consultations: This is a good suggestion in principle. Its implementation would, of course, have to occur on a case-by-case basis.

8. First Lady Participation: This could be very helpful to the Administration with a variety of groups, not just ethnics. If the First Lady agrees to do this, we should work into it gradually with primary focus on cultural and youth events (including drug treatment programs in ethnic communities).

9. State Dinners: The Social Office is apparently already working with OPL to include leaders of ethnic organizations and communities in State dinners. This should be encouraged and extended to other constituencies.

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RE: Ethnic Strategy

Page Three

10. Congressional Task Force on Ethnic Concerns:

This group of Republican representatives has asked for a meeting with the President to discuss a coordinated ethnic strategy. If the meeting is confined to issue concerns, I would suggest it be scheduled. However, the President should not be expected to involve himself in a political strategy session.

One final suggestion: it is important that an "ethnic strategy" remain a political concept on our part--a tool to guide our decision-making. We should not, however, allow Poles, Italians, Asians, Greeks, et al. to feel that they are being lumped together. Much of our appeal will be focused on each group's pride in its particular heritage and culture. It is an appeal to identifiable ethnic communities and not to ethnics who have become more scattered geographically. Thus, an ethnic strategy should truly consist of separate sub-strategies for each major group. The initial goal is for such groups to feel that the President is paying attention to the particular concerns of their community and the contributions of their culture.

8/25 MKD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 21, 1983

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We should do the
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JAB

To go for recommendations
on specific items in R.O.

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES BAKER, III
FROM FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY *FRW*
SUBJECT: Ethnic Strategy

A. Objective

To increase understanding of and support for the President's policies within ethnic constituencies; to give White House recognition to key ethnic leaders and groups; to foster good relations between the White House and ethnic Americans.

B. Target groups

1. Main target groups

Italian	12 million
Polish	8 million
Asian	5 million
Russian	3 million
Baltic	2 million
Czech	2 million
Hungarian	2 million
Greek	1 million
Slovak	1 million
Ukrainian	1 million

Events already scheduled

All of the above groups represent more recent ^mimmigrations (since 1890's), as opposed to groups such as the Germans and Irish who came to America earlier in the century. They tend to have stronger and larger ethnic communities and organizations than the older immigrant groups and, thus, have stronger identification with their ethnic heritages.

2. Secondary target groups

The "older" immigrant groups (mainly from Western Europe), are not as "reachable" as ethnic Americans because they have become more assimilated. Nonetheless, because of their large numbers, some White House outreach would be

beneficial.

German	49 million
Irish	40 million
French	13 million
Scottish	10 million
Swedish	4 million
Norwegian	3 million

C. General Strategy

1. General issues

We should capitalize on the common views we share with the main target group on the following issues:

- a. pro-family issues
- b. pro-strong US defense
- c. tough stand toward the Soviet Union
- d. fiscal conservatism, pro-balanced budget
- e. community preservation
- f. "back-to-basics" in education, tuition tax credits

2. Special issues

We should do our best to support issues of specific concern to ethnic communities: anti-defamation, overseas radio broadcasts to Eastern Europe, small business concerns.

3. Appointments

We must increase the number of politically and intellectually identifiable ethnics in key Administration positions.

4. Recognition

Ethnics complain that the White House pays too much attention to groups which are not generally supportive of the President's policies (Blacks, Hispanics, antagonistic feminists), while ignoring its natural constituency (East and South European and Asian-Americans). The number of Presidential and Vice Presidential events involving targeted ethnic groups, both in and outside of Washington, should be increased.

D. Policy and program recommendations

1. Polling

We should direct the RNC to modify its questionnaire

during general nationwide polling to include questions which would help us identify ethnic-Americans. (Example: Do you identify strongly with an ethnic heritage? If so, what is your ethnic heritage?) Through statistical correlation, we would have a more accurate picture of the ethnic communities' views on national issues than we presently have.

2. Ethnic liaisons

The President should issue a memorandum directing the head of each Department and every appropriate Agency (ex.: Civil Rights Commission, ACTION, National Endowment for the Humanities) to appoint an ethnic liaison in the Department's or Agency's Public Affairs office.

3. Federal regulations and guidelines

The President should issue a memorandum to appropriate agencies (ex.: HHS, Civil Rights Commission, Justice), which directs them to include "ethnic concerns" whenever they issue regulations and guidelines on minorities.

To kick off this program, a special Cabinet meeting should be scheduled. The President and members of the Cabinet and Senior Staff can be briefed on the political significance of ethnic Americans, issues of concern to them, what the Administration had done and should do in regard to ethnic appointments and recognition.

4. Appointments

My staff has prepared a draft questionnaire for the Personnel Office to identify ethnic-Americans who have already received Presidential appointments. Should the results be acceptable, the White House should release a published list of these appointments, just as we have released lists of Hispanic appointments. The Personnel Office should be encouraged to complete this questionnaire before the President states his re-election plans.

Priority status must still be given to identifying and appointing more ethnic-Americans to Administration posts. Special consideration should be given to filling any major vacancies or newly created positions (Cabinet rank, Supreme Court, major Presidential Commissions) with ethnic candidates. Unlike previous recent Administrations, we have no Polish or Italian-Americans in such positions.

5. Major multi-ethnic White House events

a. Ethnic press conference -- A White House and State Department briefing for editors of major ethnic newspaper editors has already been scheduled for October 18. The President will host them at a luncheon.

b. Ethnic women's meeting -- Ethnic womens' groups are generally very supportive of the President. The President and the First Lady should be committed to hosting a luncheon or reception for the heads of major ethnic womens' groups.

c. Ethnic youth meeting -- Youth organizations are of especially great importance to ethnic communities. The Vice President should be committed to hosting a major White House event for ethnic youth.

d. Ethnic Small Business conference -- Small businesses are at the heart of most ethnic communities. A White House program constructed around a Presidential event would be very appropriate.

e. White House Forum on Domestic Ethnic Issues -- The purpose of this Presidential event would be to; 1) recognize voluntarism in ethnic communities, 2) present Administration policies and recommendations on community revitalizations (enterprise zones), and 3) acquaint ethnic leaders with established Federal programs of possible interest to them (ex.; grants from ACTION, HUD, National Endowments for the Humanities and Arts, services from HHS).

f. Meeting with ethnic Republican leaders -- A special White House briefing and a luncheon with the President should be scheduled for the chairmen of of the Republican Heritage Council.

6. Other White House and outside events -- Ethnic drive

It is not the purpose of this memorandum to bypass the regular scheduling process and to suggest a list of specific ethnic events (Columbus Day, Pulaski Day, Lithuanian Folk Festival) for which the President and Vice President should be scheduled. However, it would be helpful if sometime in the near future, several events or an entire trip could be scheduled, so as to cause the media to proclaim that the President is "courting the ethnic vote." This venture would create a tremendous feeling of importance and recognition in all ethnic communities.

7. Consultations

Regular periodic consultations should be scheduled with

leaders of the three largest groups; Polish, Italian and Asian. These would include briefings on appropriate domestic and foreign policy issues, and 20-30 minute meetings with the President. Other groups should be scheduled on an "as needed" basis.

8. First Lady Participation

The First Lady is especially popular in ethnic communities. She should be encouraged to represent the President, whenever possible, at ethnic festivals, concerts, cultural programs and similar events.

9. State Dinners

We have been working with the Social Office to increase the number of invitations to ethnic leaders to State Dinners. An informal internal "affirmative action" policy should be implemented to insure Polish, Italian and Asian representation.

10. Consultation with Congress

This year the Republican Research Committee, under the leadership of Representatives Jim Martin and Marge Roukema, has initiated a Task Force to study issues of concern to ethnic Americans. The Task Force is composed of Members of Congress whose constituencies include a large proportion of ethnic Americans. In a letter dated June 3, the Task Force asked to meet with the President to coordinate White House and Congressional ethnic strategies. This meeting should be scheduled as soon as possible after the August recess.

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9/25 11:00

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