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P: Bohemian Grove
1 4 JUL 1981

JERRY O'DONNELL
1265 SAN MATEO DRIVE
MENLO PARK CALIFORNIA 94025

July 8, 1981

The Honorable Edwin Meese III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

We are looking forward very much to your visit to the Grove for the last weekend. Your many friends in Tiebinders Camp are extremely pleased that you will be with us from Thursday, July 23.

The attached, updated list of members and this year's guests may be useful prior to your arrival. I will send you a complete list of this year's Grove guests as soon as possible.

As I understand it, the plan is for Alan Furth to meet you and provide transportation to the Grove. He will probably be speaking to you before then and if transportation is needed for Dru Lewis this will present no problem.

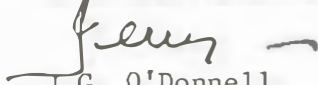
We are inviting a few of your friends in for cocktails, after the Lakeside talk, on Friday July 24 at 1800 hours. As you know, Eric Schnurmacher has been invited by the Board of Directors and he will also be a guest in our Camp.

Ben Biaginni will be contacting you and hopes you can take dinner with them on Saturday evening at Uplifters Camp. The President's Camp is Owlsnest and they have a traditional breakfast with show on the morning of July 25. It's the last Saturday -- Paul Browne has sired this for many years and I believe it's an excellent opportunity to visit with many friends of yours and the President.

You have been in our camp before and know how casual we are. You are by no means locked in; please feel free to come and go as you please. The afternoons have been warm, the evenings pleasantly cool.

I look forward to your visit. Please work through Alan [home phone (415) 547-5095 office (415) 541-2136] or with me [home phone (415) 325-9838 office (415) 989-5005] if you have any questions regard the weekend.

Best personal regards,



J.G. O'Donnell
Camp Captain - Tiebinders

cc: Mr. Alan Furth
Mr. Eric Schnurmacher

BERGLUND, William R.
Chairman
Berglund Inc.

BERNHARD, H. Bruce

BOHANNON, David D.
Chairman
David D. Bohannon Organization

BROWNE, Merrick
Vice President
Imperial Bank

BUTLER, Peter R.
Qualified Pension
Profit Sharing Consultants Inc.

DEFTNER, Robert E.
Dettner's Printing House

DIBERT, Daniel H.
Lawyer

FISHER, Peter
Lawyer
Maloney, Chase, Fisher & Hurst

FURTH, Alan C.
President
Southern Pacific Company

GENTRY, Thomas H.
The Gentry Companies, Honolulu

GILMORE, Robert M.
Retired Vice President
Southern Pacific

HECKINGER, L.H. (Sandy)
Scientific American Inc.

HOOVER, Robert C.
Vice President
The Bank of California

INGOLD, Jack

JULIAN, Lee
Transamerica
Real Estate Tax Service

KNOWLAND, Joseph W.
Actor/Writer/Speaker

KRAMER, Bauer E.
Lawyer
Aiken, Kramer & Cunnings Inc.

LANGE, Harry R.
Retired

LANGSDORF, Gaynor H.
Retired Vice President
Standard Oil of California

LOUGHRAN, Anthony H.
Executive
Pacific Telephone Co.

LOWRY, Kenneth Boardman
Kenlow Corp.

McCREA III, Thomas P.
CONTEC

McKNIGHT, Paul C.
Saylor & Hill Co.

MORRIS, Walter K.
Vice President Public Affairs
Standard Oil Company

NEUKOM, Davidson R.
Kaiser-Permanente Medical
Center Hospital

NEUKOM, John G.
Retired Managing Director
McKenzie & Co.

NICHOLSON, Warren G.

O'DONNELL, Jerry G.
President
Hong Kong Tourist Association
Retired VP, Pan American

OGBURN, Raymond R.
Vice President
California Casualty

PEOPLES, William G.
Vice President
Southern Pacific Transportation Co.

PORTER, James W.
Kelly Enterprises

RELFE, Dr. John D.
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

MEMBERS OF TIEBINDERS (page 2):

RIVERS, Christopher

SCHMIDT, Chauncey E.
Chairman
The Bank of California

SHARPE, Dr. Russell T.
Golden Gate University

SOLARI, William S.
Lawyer

SOULÉ, Lee
Chairman
Soulé Steel Company

WELTY, Col. Elmer E.
Lawyer

WRIGHT, Theodore
Wright Brothers Transportation Inc.



REVISED LIST

AS OF JULY 8, 1981

Tie Binders Camp Guests - 1981

Don Michael (Mike) Baucum - guest of Ken Lowry. Attorney in private practice; graduate of Southwest Texas State University, St. Mary's University School of Law; age 34; resides in San Antonio, TX.

John Bowles - guest of Tom McCrea. A Bohemian; Retired President, Rexall Drug; lives in Beverly Hills.

Joseph McKinley Bryan - guest of Tom McCrea. Retired Chairman of Board, Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Co.; international sportsman; lives in Greensboro, N.C.

Tom Calhoun - guest of Chris Rivers. A Bohemian; Investment Banker in San Francisco; moved to California 10 years ago; graduate of Harvard Business School.

Richard Dalake - guest of Merrick Browne. Captain, U. S. Navy, Alameda Air Station; Military Member.

Eddie LeBaron - guest of Alan Furth. General Manager - Atlanta Falcons.

Doug Marshall - guest of Chris Rivers. Assistant Professor of History at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; a Bohemian; guest in Tie Binders 1978 and 1980.

Rod McManigal - guest of Dan Dibert. A Bohemian; professional writer and director; directed 1979 Low Jinks and 1980 Spring Jinks; on Board of ACT; graduate of Lincoln College, Oxford.

The Honorable Edwin Meese, III - guest of Board of Directors, Bohemian Club. Counsellor to the President of the United States.

Paul David Pender - guest of Bill Peoples. Vice President and Group Executive, General Motors Corporation, Detroit, MI.

Michael Porter - guest of father, Jim Porter. Professional Ski Instructor, Vale, CO; coach of the U. S. Demonstration Ski Team.

Eric Schnurmacher - guest of Board of Directors, Bohemian Club. A Lawyer and guest in Tie Binders on a number of past Spring Jinks.

William S. Solari, III - guest of father, Bill Solari. A new Bohemian.

July 13, 1981

INTRODUCTION FOR ED MEESE

It is said that Edwin Meese III is the second most powerful man in the United States. While the specifics of that statement are debatable, there is little doubt that Mr. Meese is a man of tremendous influence who, behind the scenes, is having an important impact on the direction of this country.

Mr. Meese's job title: Counsellor to the President with Cabinet rank. He is, by all accounts, President Reagan's most trusted advisor. One of his functions is, in fact, Chief Policy Advisor to the President. He also bears management burden in the White House, having responsibility for the National Security Council staff, Office of Policy Development staff, the Office of Planning and Evaluation staff, and for the administration of the Cabinet.

Mr. Meese is a graduate of Yale University Class of 1953, and holds a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley.

He began his public career as Deputy District Attorney of Alameda County in 1960. Most notable among his cases there, Mr. Meese was the prosecutor of students arrested during a sit-in by the so-called Free Speech Movement.

In 1967 Mr. Meese joined the new Reagan Administration in Sacramento as Executive Clemency Secretary, shortly becoming Legal Affairs Secretary to then -- Governor Ronald Reagan.

During his years in Sacramento, Mr. Meese was the point man for the Reagan Administration's emphasis on Law and Order. Mr. Meese relentlessly pressured the State legislature for tougher laws against the criminal element. He was known as one of law enforcements best friends in State government, actively lobbying in the interest of law men and women throughout California.

Also of note was Mr. Meese's opposition to the CRLA, a federally-funded program ostensibly providing legal services to the poor. Mr. Meese suggested that what CRLA lawyers were doing was not always consistent with the stated purpose of the program. He accused them of political activities inappropriate of a tax-supported program.

After a short time in private practice, Mr. Meese joined the faculty of the University of San Diego Law School in 1977. He was a professor of Law there through the 1980 election. At times, in fact, he was seen on the campaign trail grading papers -- obviously, a man of intense concentration.

During his time in San Diego, Mr. Meese was also Director of the Center for Criminal Justice and Policy Management, an academic research center.

Since entering the White House, Mr. Meese has not lost any of his zeal for supporting law enforcement. He has become a recognized spokesman for the men and women who battle this society's criminal element.

Recently, Mr. Meese made news by pointing out that there are groups which systematically fight legislation aimed at protecting citizens or improving law enforcement.

We are grateful to have Mr. Ed Meese with us today to discuss the first six months of the Reagan Administration. And so without any further ado . . . I give you Edwin Meese, Counsellor to the President of the United States.

(Rohrabacher/TD)

July 14, 1981

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We are grateful to have Mr. Ed Meese with us today to discuss the first six months of the Reagan Administration. Gentlemen, may I present to you the Counsellor to the President of the United States, Mr. Edwin Meese, III.

(Noel C. Koch Draft--7/18/81)

It is a great pleasure to be here in Bohemian Grove with you.

I know you have had a number of other Administration officials out, and we certainly appreciate this opportunity to prosyletize, propagandize, indoctrinate and otherwise educate you all on what a masterful job we are doing running the country.

I won't violate the spirit of the occasion by delivering any sobering messages . . . but I did want to offer a perspective from the vantage point of six months in office.

The President has created an atmosphere and set a tone of confidence which I believe the American people are responding to. The Kennedys did a lot of talking about profiles in courage . . . but only Ronald Reagan has had the gumption to invite Frank Sinatra to the White House.

* * * * *

There are still those who doubt his grasp of economics, but so far he's been right on target. In the campaign he promised that we'd have a \$55 billion budget deficit, and by God that's just what we've got.

* * * * *

People back in Washington have finally begun to grasp Reaganomics. I heard an astute explanation of the trickle-down theory last week. Basically, it argues that if you do something for the economy which benefits David Rockefeller, eventually that will benefit Jay Rockefeller.

* * * * *

On the diplomatic front we've been able to achieve a kind of detente between two very determined and dangerous adversaries. I don't know how long it will hold, but at least for the present we've got a working truce between Cap Weinberger and Al Haig

* * * * *

As has been pointed out, we've had some difficulties with our personnel situation, and the hiring process has taken longer than we'd hoped. Without prejudice to Pen James, who's done a fine job, we're bringing in somebody who has a real track record in hiring . . . Bill Casey.

* * * * *

Relations with the Congress are in pretty good shape . . . we've changed some of the procedures instituted by the previous administration . . . we don't charge for the coffee and doughnuts, for example.

* * * * *

There is some dissatisfaction with the President's domestic program, and I have to say we are not doing all that well.

We're still trying to domesticate Lyn Nofziger.

* * * * *

And for myself, things have not been totally without disappointment, either.

I thought I had the Supreme Court seat wired up . . . all the reporters had me down as a shoo-in.

Unfortunately, I wasn't able to pass the physical.

* * * * *

What I find both curious and interesting after six months in Washington is that there is a process of just having the country get used to us. Or, more accurately, get used to President Reagan.

I don't mean in the usual sense of probing and measuring and assessing the new man in the White House. That typically involves looking at the players and how they operate, looking at programs, searching for weaknesses, sparring and jabbing and getting set for the end of the honeymoon.

There is something different going on, and I guess I can feel it better than I can explain it.

The thing is, goodness knows, we're making mistakes and falling short in some areas, and we are vulnerable to attack in many respects, politically as well as on points of honest difference. And we really haven't gotten a free ride . . . this isn't a long honeymoon, and maybe there hasn't even been a honeymoon.

But there is an encouraging tone in the public discourse. The politics of indignation and self-righteousness are gone and there is a new politics of civility. The President has set that tone and I think he deserves credit -- though it certainly doesn't reflect a calculated strategy; it's just the way he is. But the American people, and their representatives in Washington are caught up in this somehow, being true to their own best expectations about themselves.

And so I have a sense of a sorting out process going on, and a somewhat startled realization in some quarters that as a people we are not locked into processes, and we can do things differently, and be different, and govern ourselves more sensibly.

It's this process of discovery that interests me, and it's what I mean when I talk about America and her government getting used to each other. Lo and behold, we are not prisoners of certain political and bureaucratic fates. We really are free. We really can be what we want to be. And, after all, that's what America is all about.

When the President declared that he intended to have a cabinet government he wasn't saying anything a lot of his predecessors hadn't already said. And there were whole schools of scholars prepared to prove conclusively that you can't have cabinet government, and ample precedent to support them.

Well, surprise. We've got it. And it works.

One consequence of this has been that a lot of people -- reasonable men and women of good will -- have had to reassess the possible, and to think anew. Collegial government can work. And if it can work within the executive branch, it can work between the executive and the legislative branches. Men and women of strong convictions can act together, in a civil way, in a common enterprise for the common good. Political adversaries don't have to be governed by lex talionis.

So that is a good thing to rediscover about ourselves and about our political process.

And we're seeing this happening in many areas, large and small. With labor, for example -- the argument was that if you get rid of CETA, you dump all the participants onto unemployment lines. Well, look again. The vast majority of those who were once on CETA's make-work, short-term, unstable and unrewarding rolls have found real jobs in the private sector.

To generalize from all this, where the collapse of concrete assumptions is having its most profound and confusing effect is in that vast segment of our people, and they are disproportionately represented in the Congress, the academic sector and among journalists, who are conditioned to a programmatic approach to government.

Every problem has to be attacked with a program. Every opportunity has to be answered with a program. Every aspect of our national existence has to be governed by a policy. And, of course, all of this has to come from Washington. And it all gets itself shaped and disseminated in a welter of words that raise hopes and raise budgets and most frequently destroy both.

This Administration, insofar as it can be, will be an Administration of principle, rather than of pronouncements and programs.

I know that has a noble ring to it, but this shouldn't obscure certain realities that flow from it.

Let me explore the proposition just briefly. When I say an Administration of principle, I am not suggesting that previous administrations were guided by unprincipled people. I only suggest that certain central ideas ought to guide the course of government. That gives you a baseline and inflicts choices upon you.

Beginning in the early sixties we became fascinated with pragmatism in politics, and one of the higher compliments you could pay one of the best and the brightest was to say he was very pragmatic.

At length we learned that pragmatism made for successful politics in the short-term, bad government in the mid-term, and bad politics in the long-term. Because ultimately the best politics is good government

and the Democrats, who prided themselves on their pragmatism were not providing good government. Which is how we Republicans got where we are today.

As long as Ronald Reagan's coat-tails were, we would be foolish to think they were long enough, in and of themselves, to bring in an absolute majority in the Senate, and an ideological majority in the House. What we saw last November was a radical reaction to unprincipled government -- successive administrations and Congresses that put politics first, last and always, that tried to enshrine pragmatism as a principle in itself, and that turned a blind eye to the absence of any internal, logical consistency in the underlying philosophy.

What is the practical consequence of a principle that inflicts consistency and thus determines choices? Well, one homey example that comes to mind is this: the pragmatic, liberal thinker who is out marching for abortion on demand tends, almost universally, to be the same one who is out marching to protest capital punishment.

The first test of a principle is its capability of consistent application in practice: it is not consistent to advocate the destruction of human life at one end of the spectrum in a state of innocence and oppose it at the other for those who have themselves taken life. You have to choose. A principle forces a choice.

There is a wonderful scene in Robert Bolt's Man for All Seasons in which Thomas More is in jail, in danger of his life, and having to explain to his daughter why he cannot lie to save it. He makes a very nice argument against pragmatism when he says that "(we) have to choose, to be human at all"

As with men, so with governments. Those which compromise their humanity to advance their political prosperity will end by losing both.

This is why Ronald Reagan said, and meant what he said, that the decisions taken by this Administration are not to be determined by electoral politics, by whether we can produce a Republican Congress in 1982, or whether he can be re-elected in 1984 - should he choose to run. That edict is not only not naive, it is also not particularly selfless -- it is very damned shrewd politics. For the Democrats to learn this will not in itself be sufficient for them to restore their political pre-eminence. It will also be necessary for the Republicans to forget it.

On precedent, my guess is that will take a long time.

A number of commentators seem to have an intuitive sense of this, and I think it explains a general feeling that President Reagan is going to have the sort of seminal influence on our politics that Franklin Roosevelt had.

I know it's early days to be making firm predictions, but I think we can say with confidence that the American people have seen themselves at a watershed in terms of how they want to govern themselves. And I know I can speak with confidence about Ronald Reagan's consistency of purpose, adherence to principle, and awareness of the necessity for choosing between conflicting courses. He knows what can be safely compromised, and what cannot. And as so many of you know, that is not an opinion, it's an amply documented fact.

So there's the dime-store philosophy and the high-flown rhetoric, and I've fulfilled my obligation to be as tedious as all those Cabinet officials you've inflicted on yourselves.

Now, let me touch on some matters of more specific interest.

Including interest rates . . . We will be sorting out the results of the Ottawa summit conference over the coming weeks, but as you have seen, there is a consensus internationally that the policy of monetary restraint we have been following is a necessity, however painful. Our European allies might prefer that we loosen up and that's understandable. For our part, we might prefer that they not pursue commercial relationships with the Communist Bloc quite so aggressively, but economic realities drive these kinds of decisions and all of us have to make such accommodations as we can.

At home, the market doesn't like monetary restraints either, but the false prosperity of inflation is not an acceptable way of gratifying investors.

It has taken a rather long time to degrade this economy, and we cannot restore it overnight.

Nevertheless, I think we are well begun. The Congress, as you know, has responded very favorably to the President's economic proposals. As fiscal restraints combine with tax reductions, and new investment incentives, we will see money loosen up, and we will see, finally, that the economy is one more aspect of our national existence which is not as immutable as we convinced ourselves it was. This is one arena in which we don't have to make difficult choices. We don't

have to choose between high unemployment or high inflation. All we have to do is choose between setting the free enterprise system free, or keeping it captive to parochial political objectives. The President has already made his choice.

On this point, I have to say we take particular pride in the Reagan Cabinet. Men like Sam Pierce and Dick Schweiker, and Ray Donahue particularly, are at the cutting edge of this effort to get government spending under control. They have to deal daily with those who over the years have been encouraged to rely more and more on government for their own well-being.

In the abstract, it's easy to dismiss these people, to push them and their interests aside -- sometimes even with a certain degree of malicious satisfaction. But behind the few who make very handsome salaries milking the federal cow, are the many who really do see themselves as dependent and who have for years been encouraged to feel dependent on the federal government.

Now they have understandable fears, and these fears also are encouraged by those who encouraged their dependence. So they have to be reassured and persuaded, and they often bring the sort of hostility that flows from desperation, and they have to be dealt with. It requires understanding and compassion. It requires respect, because these are, after all, Americans -- human beings, regardless of their politics. And it requires a steadfast conviction about President Reagan and the goals of this Administration.

All these our people bring to their difficult work, and I live in constant admiration for them. It is an honor to be associated with such men and women.

On the international front, of course, we confront the problem of adjustment I mentioned earlier. The President is accused of not having a foreign policy. So there is the conflict between actions and choices governed by principle, and the expectation of a comprehensive document of some sort which reduces to rigid simplicities the complex and fluid elements of our international existence.

In this post-war era, so-called "Doctrines" have proliferated like Presidential libraries, and they are just about as useful in my view, but for many they confer legitimacy. Until we have a "Reagan Doctrine," we'll hardly even have a Reagan Presidency, much less a Reagan foreign policy.

Well, that's balderdash. We already have more foreign policies than we need. Jesse Helms has one. Ted Kennedy has one. Jimmy Carter still has a couple laying around that he didn't use. Jerry Falwell's got one.

The President is proceeding here, as he is at home, on the basis of certain principles: Keep your word, honor your alliances, help those who ask for help, don't pick fights, but keep your powder dry and make sure we've got enough of it to ensure that the home of the brave can continue to be the land of the free. We can worry about fishing rights in Pago Pago if the problem comes up. And if New York City doesn't get the point, we're pretty confident that Moscow does.

I don't want to sound cavalier about it, but I've never figured out why those who plump for pragmatism in our domestic politics insist on a dogmatic script to guide our foreign affairs.

This Administration has successfully moved relations with Mainland China to a new and more productive plane, without turning our backs on Taiwan. With our European neighbors we face an incredible array of confusing and conflicting priorities and objectives, and we are sorting out our relationships in a deliberate way, all within the framework of our mutual security interests, which all parties are working to strengthen.

Instead of launching the Administration with the traditional hollow declaration of new regard and respect for our neighbors to the south, we have simply gone ahead at every level from the President down, to restore and strengthen our relationships in this hemisphere.

So in the foreign arena, as elsewhere, the President's approach is to meet his obligations across the trajectory of principles which he was known to hold when the people elected him, and not to be swayed by ancillary expectations which have so frequently deterred those who hold the office from that steady course they may have wished to maintain when they first entered upon it.