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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1982

Miss Julia Habel  
2829 Cameron Road  
Falls Church, VA 22042

Dear Miss Habel:

Mrs. Dole has asked me to respond to your letter of August 4 regarding the President's proposed tuition tax credit legislation.

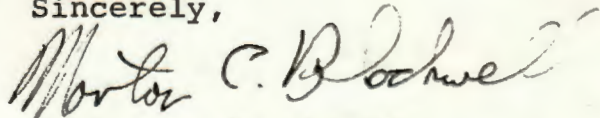
I am afraid you have wrong information regarding the President's proposal. You suggest that tuition tax credits might subsidize bastions of racism. To the contrary, there are very tough provisions in the bill which would prevent tax credits for payments made to any racially discriminatory school.

You also are concerned about the exercise of religion in public schools and you suggest that people might be forced into religious participation. The President's proposed voluntary prayer amendment specifically prohibits any government agency from requiring any person to participate in prayer.

The Supreme Court has already addressed this subject of "coercion" with respect to the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag. The Court held that no one could be required to recite the Pledge in school but that setting aside a time for the Pledge was not infringing on the rights of those students who did not wish to participate.

Enclosed are copies of White House Issue Updates on the subjects of tuition tax credits and prayer in schools. I hope this information will be of use to you.

Sincerely,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

Enclosures.

*Jack says  
if you don't want to  
answer this he will*

AUG 7 RECD JTB

2829 Cameron Road  
Falls Church, Virginia 22042  
August 4, 1982

The Honorable Elizabeth Dole  
Director, Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mrs. Dole:

I write as a Republican and as a private citizen,  
although I do work for a Senator on the Hill.

~~I want to~~ While attending London School of  
tuition-tax credits. While attending London School of  
Institute of Education, I did a contrastive analysis of  
Great Britain's requirement for religious instruction in  
public schools vs. our own tradition policy of separation of  
church and state. According to the Education Act of 1944  
there, the schools were required to teach an Anglican version  
of Christianity. I have nothing against the Anglican Church;  
however, as history transpired, many of the dissenting congregations  
suffered-including the Methodists. The children of  
these dissenters were persecuted in school.

Let me first of all establish that I do not hate  
Jerry Falwell; however, I do not agree with much of his  
theology(I am a former seminarian as well); nor do I feel  
that his tactics(E.g. using Christian jargon to smear his  
enemies- real and imagined)are exactly Christ-like. The question  
I put to you is, would you want your children to be forced to  
express their faith as he seems to think is the only correct  
expression? I come from Lynchburg, Virginia where my father  
is a clergyman, and let me assure you that there is a tendency  
for Mr. Falwell to put down other Christian communions there.  
I am afraid that to "go" with this tuition-tax credit bit is  
to set an unhealthy and perhaps dangerous precedent in our  
nation. Our traditional approach of separation of Church and  
State has protected us all-from coercive religion. Can you  
envision Christ forcing people to follow him-by laws? It  
seems to me he offered a gentle invitation -"Come follow Me."  
Also, can you not imagine a time when our nation has a  
"Christian" counterpart to the Shiite Islamic explosion? To  
challenge the leaders of such a movement would cause one to  
be labelled "the Great Satan". If that should happen, we  
are headed towards facism - a facism which could make the  
Nazis look tame.

Also, the move towards "tuition-tax" credits  
is a comment, I feel, not necessarily on the lack of religion

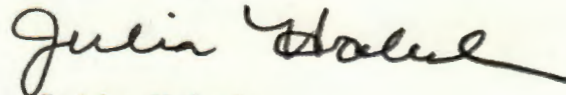
in our public schools but on the quality of the education itself. Many parents send their children to Catholic schools - not merely because they are Christian but because they are better academically. As a former teacher I can attest to the need in our public schools for an upgrading of standards. I can also attest that I shared Christ there - not so much in overt rhetoric but in and through my person. Christ has said we shall be known by the fruit we bear. He said, "You are my witnesses", using a verb of being. My father, who desegregated a black school in the Lynchburg area has often told me, "Christ is more caught than taught". The older I become, I believe this. We teach by who we are.

I do not think the public schools are godless. Where else in our society are all children, all minorities, going to be given a fair shake? I have seen many Christian academies used as a bastion of racism-in the name of Christ. Are we going to sanction such? Believe me, the Republican Party will be blamed for this. Also, I remind you that God will have the last say. Righteousness, we are told, exalts a nation, and righteousness does not preclude JUSTICE.

Please use your good name and your expertise to express this point of view to our President.

Think again. We will reap what we sow.

Most cordially,



Julia Habel

cc/Dr. Edward Bauman  
Americans United for Separation of Church and State

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
September 3 1982

Richard W. Johnson Jr  
National Legislative Director  
NCOA  
219 North Washington St.  
Alexandria, Va, 22314

Dear Richard,

Thank you for your recent letter concerning the employment of military spouses. I am certain that you will be delighted to see from the enclosed Executive order that the original OPM draft has been accepted by the OBM with only minor amendments.

The order was signed on May 12 this year.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1982

The Honorable John Paul Hammerschmidt  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear John Paul:

Please excuse the delay in responding to your letter of August 5. As you know, ACTION has withdrawn its request for interagency agreement funding from the Veterans Administration. This was done to avoid any appearance of the Vietnam Veterans Leadership Program (VVLDP) weakening other veterans programs. To have done so would have been counter to the goals of the VVLDP and this Administration.

The VVLDP was approved by President Reagan on July 16, 1981, as a means to "complement the already existing federal, local, and private veterans program." The program, as approved was to be funded by ACTION and by fund transfers from other federal agencies which have an interest in veterans. The catalytic involvement of the Federal government will cease by September 30, 1984. To date, the Department of Health and Human Services has provided \$850,000 in community services funding and the Department of Labor has provided \$850,000 in Employment and Training Administration grant funding. In the past, neither of those sources has adequately addressed the needs of veterans.

In little more than a year, the VVLDP has established twenty local programs, all developed and implemented by successful Vietnam veterans. Each project director and each volunteer chairman of the local programs and almost all board members are Vietnam combat veterans. Three hold the Congressional Medal of Honor, approximately half the chairmen and project directors hold at least one Purple Heart and a number are severely disabled as a result of their service to the nation. These people are typical of the more than 500 unpaid volunteers who have stepped forward to help solve the lingering problems of their fellow veterans. For the most part, these individuals are highly successful people who are able to work at the highest levels of their communities on behalf of Vietnam veterans. They have volunteered over 26,000 hours of time to help solve problems.

The programs are working in a number of different areas, including the following:

1. Job development and placement. This is done, typically, in cooperation with existing agencies and programs. VVLP activity focuses on developing high-level contacts with employers to secure their assistance in making jobs available for Vietnam veterans.
2. Major recognition events which present Vietnam veterans in a healthy light that emphasizes their continuing contributions to our society.
3. Small business assistance and development. Typically pro bono services are provided by volunteers to assist in development of Vietnam-verteran-owned small businesses.
4. Education of health professionals regarding particular Vietnam veteran health problems.
5. Public education efforts designed to affirm the pride and integrity of military service and destroy the false stereotypes of Vietnam veterans as drug-crazed killers, guilt-ridden victims, etc.

As you know, a VVLP has been implemented in Arkansas under the leadership of Leon Clements, an official with the Arkansas Bankers Association and Don Grigg, a veteran who served two tours in Vietnam, the second as an Army hospital administrator in spite of the fact that he lost a leg as a result of wounds suffered during his first tour as an infantry officer. Don Grigg left his post as personnel director of the University of Arkansas in Pine Bluff to become project director of the Arkansas VVLP.

Please contact this office, or ACTION directly, if we can provide any further information. We welcome your interest and look forward to your continued support of this exemplary program.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth H. Dole  
Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

AUG 5 RECD RC

DEMOCRATS  
G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY, MISS.  
DON EDWARDS, CALIF.  
JACK BRINKLEY, GA.  
RONALD M. MOTT, OHIO  
BOB EDGAR, PA.  
SAM B. HALL, JR., TEX.  
DOUGLAS APPELATE, OHIO  
MARTIN LEATH, TEX.  
WILL BONER, TENN.  
SHELBY, ALA.  
FLA.  
DASCHLE, S. DAK.  
BOB STUMP, ARIZ.  
WAYNE DOWDY, MISS.  
PHIL GRAMM, TEX.  
AUSTIN J. MURPHY, PA.  
BYRON L. DORGAN, N. DAK.  
ANTONIO WON PAT, GUAM

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY  
CHAIRMAN

U.S. House of Representatives  
COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS  
335 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
Washington, D.C. 20515

REPUBLICANS  
JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT, ARK.  
MARGARET M. HECKLER, MASS.  
CHALMERS P. WYLIE, OHIO  
ELWOOD HILLIS, IND.  
HAROLD S. SAWYER, MICH.  
GERALD B. H. SOLOMON, N.Y.  
JIM JEFFRIES, KANS.  
BOB MC EWEN, OHIO  
JIM DUNN, MICH.  
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, N.J.  
ALBERT LEE SMITH, JR., ALA.  
DENNY SMITH, OREG.  
MARK SILJANDER, MICH.  
JOHN L. NAPIER, S.C.  
JAMES L. NELLIGAN, PA.

August 5, 1982

MACK FLEMING  
CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

Mrs. Elizabeth H. Dole  
Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Elizabeth:

I am informed that certain Administration officials at the White House are about to direct the Veterans Administration and other agencies to transfer 3 million or more dollars to ACTION to fund one of that agency's programs relating to veterans. Assuming for the moment that ACTION's proposed program is meritorious, I, nevertheless, feel that such a transfer of funds would be a very serious mistake and I urge you to do what you can to prevent it. My request is made for the following reasons:

- a. Any ACTION program should be justified through the usual budget and appropriations process and not with a "backdoor" transfer of funds appropriated for other purposes. ACTION has had ample time to seek funds for this or any other program.
- b. This proposed transfer is an example of forcing "absorption" of the costs of a program rather than obtaining of appropriations.
- c. VA's General Counsel has advised its Administrator that any transfer of funds for the purpose indicated is of very questionable legality.
- d. My position as Ranking Member of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee causes me to be particularly knowledgeable of VA's budget. It is understood that over one million dollars is proposed to come from that budget which is already very tight with funding substantially reduced from VA's original request. VA's General Operating Expense account is very strained and it is my understanding that that account is the only one from which any transfer could be made--even if the legal obstacles were overcome--without specific Congressional approval.



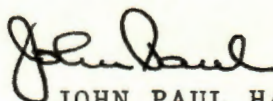
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Dole

August 5, 1982

Page 2

It is imperative--in my view--that all programs of the Government stand on their own merits. ACTION's proposed veterans program should follow the normal course of budgeting. If it is a good program--and I trust that it is--then it is my belief that the Congress will act responsibly. But in no event should VA's budget and appropriations or those of other agencies be used for programs other than those justified in the normal manner. I trust you will agree and your assistance toward that end would be most appreciated.

Sincerely,



JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT  
Member of Congress

JPH/wpd

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7 1982

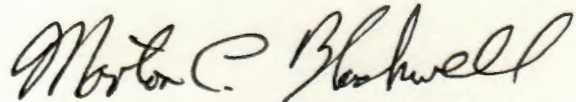
Norman A. Howard  
PO Box 7554  
Philadelphia  
Pennsylvania 19101

Dear Mr. Howard

I am writing to you concerning your request for tickets for the State of the Union address in January 1983. I would dearly love to be of help but unfortunately the Office of Public Liaison does not receive an allocation of tickets for this event. I will not have a ticket myself.

To obtain tickets you will have to apply to your Senators and U.S. Representative, and I suggest that you write as soon as possible.

Sincerely,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
For Public Liaison

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1982

Lt. J. G. Andy Baan  
USS Manitowoc (LST 1180)  
FPO New York, N. Y. 09578

Dear Andy:

Nothing would please me more than to take a little cruise on your ship in November. My kids would love it, too. Unfortunately, the night of the trip is election night.

I am fully committed that evening to our biennial conservative election night social gathering.

It was certainly interesting for you to be unloading U. S. troops at Beirut. That is the kind of amphibious landing I like - unopposed.

It was great to have you at my Roast, but I am sorry you had to listen to all those lies!

Drop in and see me when the Pentagon next calls you in for orders.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9 1982

Mr. Paul Mercer  
Youth for Peace with Freedom  
30a St James's Square  
London SW1Y 4JH  
United Kingdom

Dear Paul,

I enclose the text of the film "Attack on the Americas" as mentioned in my letter of last week. I will send the film itself as soon as is possible. The film is available to you at no cost on the condition that it is shown at six colleges minimum this term. It would help if you were able to send me any programmes, newsletters or press cuttings from the screenings.

I hope that you will be able to circulate this properly - it will certainly help you to do so.

yours,



Mark

OPL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1982

Mr. Grover J. Rees, III  
Assistant Professor  
University of Texas Law School  
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Rocky:

Now that the Congress is considering the proposed Voluntary School Prayer Amendment the President has proposed I want to take the time to thank you for your immense help to us.


You did the initial research for the prayer amendment working group composed of Gary Bauer and me. You briefed various Administration policy makers on the constitutional law aspects of this question.

You drafted for us the amendment which, with hardly any significant change, was subsequently sent by the President to the Congress. You drafted questions and answers about the proposed amendment which were adopted virtually in their entirety by the White House. Thus your analysis was the basic information printed for distribution at the Rose Garden event May 6, as the President announced his intention to propose this amendment.

As the amendment worked its way through our White House decision making process, you made yourself constantly available for our repeated questions on legal and policy implications of the proposal.

Few historians of our era may trouble themselves with the origin of President Reagan's initiative on behalf of voluntary school prayer. Many of us whom you helped, however, will always remember with gratitude and admiration the central role you played in this historic event.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to  
the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1982

Dr. Ronald E. Johnson  
Accelerated Christian Education  
2600 Ace Lane  
Lewisville, TX 75067

Dear Ron:

Thanks for sending me a copy of the letter from Steve Symms regarding tuition tax credits.

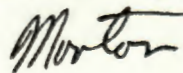
Steve has told me that he does not believe tuition tax credits will be passed this year. He has some problems with the concept because of the spending implications. I hope that when we do get a vote in the Senate on the subject, he will be supportive.

One reason why some of our best conservatives from rural states are not enthusiastic about tuition tax credits is that the public school systems in rural states tend to be more like the public schools of thirty or so years ago. That is, the education achievement levels, the dedication of the teachers, the school discipline, and the inculcation of patriotism and traditional moral values have not disintegrated.

In urban and industrial states the situation is, of course, much worse.

I remain hopeful that we can find a way to pass tuition tax credits this year.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

*Letter Bookend  
Pres. and for House  
White House  
Washington, DC*

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 16, 1982

*See me  
for letter*

Ronald E. Johnson  
Accelerated Christian Ed., Inc.  
2600 Ace Lane  
Lewisville, Texas 75067

Dear Ronald:

Thank you for your recent letter.

I appreciate having your views in support of tuition tax credits. Such credits have been considered by the Congress in recent years and I have supported the concept in the past.

As you know, the Administration has proposed a tuition tax credit to parents of children who attend private and parochial schools. In promoting the legislation, the President said that it is important to the continued vitality of our society that parents have a meaningful choice between public education and the many forms of private education that are available. However, the additional burden of paying private schools tuition severely limits the ability of many families to choose the nonpublic educational alternative for their children. Tuition tax credits would lighten the double burden.

S. 2673, introduced by Senator Dole and referred to the Senate Finance Committee, would give families tax credits equal to 50 percent of the tuition paid, up to \$100 per elementary and secondary student in 1983, \$300 in 1984, and \$500 thereafter. Because of this years' budgetary constraints, however, it may not be possible to pass the tuition tax credit bill or any other new or expanded tax expenditure this Congress. Estimates of the revenue loss to the Treasury from this proposal alone start at \$100 million and run up to \$1 billion annually (by the time the credit is fully phased in.)

While tuition tax credits are not likely this year, you may

*Dear Montez,*

*Is this really consensus of Congress?*

*Ron Johnson*

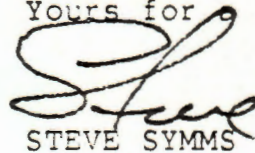
*NOT  
by a  
long  
shot*

Ronald E. Johnson  
July 16, 1982  
Page 2

be assured that the issue will continue to receive study and consideration for inclusion in possible future tax bills.

With best regards, I am

Yours for a free society,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Steve".

STEVE SYMMS  
United States Senator

SS/acb



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1982

Mrs. John Cowell Fosgate  
106 S. Interlachen, Apt. 619  
Winter Park, Florida 32789

Dear Mrs. Fosgate:

Thank you for your letter of August 27 relating to the President's proposed voluntary prayer amendment.

There is much in your letter that I agree with, but I think there are excellent reasons to support the President's proposed amendment.

You say that "we may pray in secret every hour of the day wherever we are." One tragic result of the series of anti-prayer decisions by the Federal courts is that prayer in school has been reduced to the status of pornography, liquor, and other drugs. That is, prayer is so "dangerous" that school authorities must prevent any public expression of prayer.

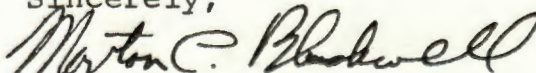
Did you know that one Federal court upheld a principal's ruling that kindergarten children could not say grace before a meal? A Federal court has also ruled that public school children may not assemble voluntarily to pray on school premises before or after class.

Last June I delivered a commencement address at a public high school in Manassas, Virginia, and the principal apologized to me for "breaking the law" by having a Baptist minister offer an invocation. This is not neutrality; this is not freedom of religion; this is surely not what the founders of our country intended by the First Amendment.

This is a difficult problem, and honorable people can disagree as to what should be done about it. Enclosed is a copy of a White House Issue Update which discusses the matter in more detail.

I hope this information is of interest to you.

Sincerely,



Morton C. Blackwell

Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1982

Mr. Jhoon Rhee  
Chairman of the Board  
AMICO, Inc.  
6210 Chillum Place, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20011

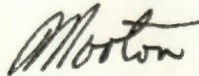
Dear Jhoon:

My family and I really enjoyed dinner at your home and we are looking forward to being with you Sunday afternoon.

Enclosed is a copy of the exchange of memoranda regarding the 1982 elections. I am sorry the first batch did not get to you. I believe it may have been sent to an old address.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1982

Dr. Robert Billings  
Director of Regional Liaison  
Department of Education  
Room 4153  
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Bob:

I enjoyed very much speaking to your Schedule C personnel.

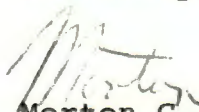
I hope you all take to heart my thought that your resumes are not improving with age at the Education Department.

You asked for material relating to my remarks. Here are three items:

1. My exchange of memos with Jim Pinkerton.
2. My recent letter to Dick Wirthlin
3. The party committee fund raising data.

I hope these are helpful to you.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1982

Dr. Robert Billings  
Director of Regional Liaison  
Department of Education  
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.  
Room 4153  
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Bob:

This is to introduce Lewis S. Doherty IV who is in the D. C. area seeking employment.

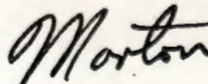
I have known Lewis for many years. He is currently a member of the Young Americans for Freedom National Board.

Lewis was the Youth for Reagan Chairman at LSU in the 1980 Republican Presidential primary. Lewis is hard working and a dedicated conservative. His grandfather and his uncle were instrumental in supporting conservative youth activities in Baton Rouge twenty years ago when I got started in politics. He has a fine background.

Lewis has a long record of campaign activities. He has worked on the staff in the Louisiana House of Representatives. His previous job ended due to a 10% reduction in force at the State Legislature.

I would very much appreciate it if you would talk to Lewis and see if you could find a suitable slot for him. He knows he can't start at the top here. I can assure you, though, that you will not go wrong by finding an opening for him.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1982

Rev. Kenneth Copeland  
7860 Sky Lake Drive  
Fort Worth, Texas 76179

Dear Ken:

I enjoyed very much having breakfast with you and your charming wife and Johnny Johnson yesterday morning.

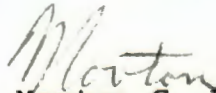
You have a powerful and influential ministry and it is clear you are making changes in the world.

We discussed the changing climate in America and I thought you might like to have these three items:

1. My exchange of memos with Jim Pinkerton regarding the two major continuing coalitions in American politics.
2. My letter to the President's pollster, Richard Wirthlin, regarding the mechanisms by which Franklin Roosevelt created a new governing majority in America.
3. My letter to Jenkin Lloyd Jones regarding the nature of communism.

I look forward to working with you often in the days to come.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

Enclosures

40  
3128 North 17th Street  
Arlington, Virginia 22201  
September 17, 1982

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12958 as amended Sect. 3.2(c)  
BY NARA RW DATE 10/31/14

If you could find an additional \$100,000 or more to distribute to your favorite twenty challengers to liberal incumbents this year, would you do it?

Would you take a little of your valuable time to do it?

Would you invest \$1,000 to do it?

I think you would. I hope you will. Here is how.

You are a widely recognized campaign activist. You have been an early supporter of many candidates who went on to win upset victories. You can use your good reputation for spotting potential winners to mightily boost the chances of conservative challengers in close 1982 races.

Here is a simple plan which will work for you:

1. Get a list of the top few hundred corporate and association PACs.
2. Send each PAC a letter, either a personal letter or a letter on your organization letterhead. List your picks for the top challengers in close 1982 races. Urge each PAC to make immediate, substantial contributions to each candidate.

Your letter could point out examples of winning candidates you supported in past elections before most "experts" thought they had a chance. Point out that, in the general pessimism about the 1982 elections, we are in danger of missing golden chances to upset some of the worst and most vulnerable liberals in Congress.

You might want to give a few comments about each of the races you pick for 1982. You might offer to provide additional information upon request.

For each candidate, list an address, a phone number and, perhaps, a contact.

Big PAC leaders have millions of dollars still on hand, and they know they can be held publicly accountable if they act unwisely.

Why not use the leverage you have earned? Can you think of a better way to get attention and resources to your favorite challengers?

I am making this strong suggestion separately to several of our major conservative political activists.

Will you do your part? Will you act immediately?

Cordially,

Morton C. Blackwell

P. S. Please send me a copy of the letter you send to PACs.

Mr. Paul M. Weyrich  
Committee for Survival of a Free Congress  
721 Second Street, N. E.  
Washington, D. C. 20012

Mr. Bill Anderson  
Independent Petroleum Association  
1101 16th Street, N. W. 2nd Floor  
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mr. Joseph Coors, President  
Adolph Coors Company  
Golden, Colorado 80401

Mr. John T. Dolan  
National Conservative PAC  
1500 Wilson Blvd., Suite 513  
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Mr. Richard Viguerie  
The Richard Viguerie Company  
7777 Leesburg Pike  
Falls Church, VA 22043

Mr. Reed Larson  
National Right to Work Committee  
8001 Braddock Road  
Springfield, Virginia 22160

Mr. Alan Gottlieb  
Citizens Committee for the Right to  
Keep and Bear Arms  
1601 - 114th Street, S. E.  
Bellevue, Washington 98004

The Honorable H. L. "Bill" Richardson  
Gun Owners of America  
6162 Sunrise Vista Drive, Suite 100  
Citrus Heights, CA 95610

Mr. Tom Ellis  
Congressional Club  
P. O. Box 829  
Raleigh, N. C. 27602

Mr. Ralph Galliano  
Congressional Majority Committee  
1011 Arlington Boulevard  
Suite 326  
Arlington, VA 22209

Mr. David Y. Denholm, President  
Public Service Research Council  
Suite 600, 8330 Old Courthouse Road  
Vienna, Virginia 22180

Mr. Lou Barnett  
Citizens for the Republic  
1253 Seventh Street, Suite 200  
Santa Monica, CA 90401



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1982

Mr. Curtis M. Dombek .  
Editor-in-Chief  
Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy  
Harvard Law School  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Curtis:

Thanks for sending me a second copy of the transcript of my remarks at the Federalist Society Conference.

I edited these remarks once before and believe they were sent to you by Peter Keisler. I had a bit of time, though, and re-edited them since the original could not be located.

As you see, the transcript badly needed editing. I am more of an activist and strategist than a polished speaker.

Hope this will be helpful to you.

Cordially,

*Morton C. Blackwell*  
Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

cc - Mr. Peter Keisler  
4619 Yale Station  
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

HARVARD JOURNAL of LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY  
HARVARD LAW SCHOOL  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

September 1, 1982

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

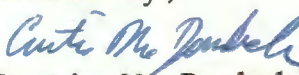
Dear Mr. Blackwell:

As current Editor-in-Chief of the Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy, I write regarding the belated publication of the proceedings of the Symposium on Federalism at Yale. It is my understanding that Deborah Waire Post, of the Houston firm of Bracewell & Patterson, has informed you by letter of the tragic death of her associate Steve Eberhard, who had undertaken to edit and publish the proceedings of the Conference. I also understand that in her letter, Ms. Post indicated that she would be publishing the proceedings in Houston. Although I have not been apprised of the full extent of any communications Ms. Post may have had with you, I have recently received the most current set of transcripts from Houston, and the present Journal staff will be completing the editing and publication of the proceedings.

The records which Ms. Post sent us indicate that you have not yet received a copy of the transcript of your remarks. Accordingly, I have enclosed a copy which you may edit and return to us at the above-captioned address. After all editing has been completed, we will send galleys to those speakers who have requested them in their questionnaires. Publication will follow promptly.

We apologize for the extensive delays which we have experienced. We thank you for your patience as we carry this project to completion.

Sincerely,

  
Curtis M. Dombek  
Editor-in-Chief

CMD

Student Organizations and Activism

Mr. Morton Blackwell

~~I know that everybody has had a long time here and I do not anticipate taking a great deal of time for you this afternoon.~~

~~With respect to student organizations of a philosophical orientation, most people do not really have much grasp of what is going on politically in the college campuses~~

*have little knowledge of campus political organizations.*

~~respect to organization.~~ I confess that with respect to the left, my information is a bit out of date. But ~~with respect to~~ conservative operations, I am reasonably current. There are about 3,600 colleges and universities in the United States, and the great majority of them have no conservative student organization of any type.

Back when I left the Republican National Committee as executive director of the College Republicans, in November of 1970, we had about 900 College Republican Clubs out of those 3,600 campuses ~~and a period of decline ensued.~~

~~I do not want to say it is cause and effect, but a period of decline ensued, so that~~ by May of 1980 there were only about 250 College Republican organizations. I ~~had been~~ asked by Bill Casey to oversee the national Reagan youth effort, ~~and~~

*Reagan Campaign many of*

*in April, 1980*

*and ✓*

conducted a training program through that summer and placed

30 full time ~~field men~~ <sup>youth coordinators</sup> working in ~~the~~ <sup>in targeted states.</sup> Youth for Reagan ~~operation~~ <sup>for</sup> and also ~~got~~ <sup>were applied</sup> additional resources in through

~~the~~ College Republicans, ~~so that~~ <sup>November,</sup> by the 1980 elections in ~~Novem-~~  
ber, we had slightly over 1,000 College Republican Clubs.

~~Unlike past experience,~~ <sup>Remarkably</sup> there has ~~not been~~ <sup>was not</sup> a falling off ~~a~~ <sup>after the</sup> since ~~that high point in November of 1980,~~ <sup>election.</sup> and ~~largely~~ due

to a vigorous training program ~~financed~~ <sup>funded,</sup> ~~by Dick Richards,~~ <sup>chaired by Dick Richards,</sup> ~~which conducted~~ <sup>funded</sup> 50 intensive three day schools last fall and about ~~25 or~~ <sup>25</sup> 30 this spring, ~~and also did a~~ <sup>Richards also supported</sup>

~~whole~~ <sup>a</sup> lot of field work on local campuses, ~~they now have~~ <sup>Right</sup> there are about 1,150 College Republican organizations, ~~an all-time record~~ <sup>an all-time record</sup>

<sup>probably</sup> You ~~may~~ have seen literature from Young Americans for Freedom <sup>in recent</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>years.</sup> Most of you ~~probably~~ <sup>some of</sup> have. ~~That literature,~~ <sup>for</sup> I am afraid, ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> not unusual in political organizations, ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> a little bit

misleading. The best of their literature, the least mislead-  
ing, describes <sup>YAF having</sup> it as 80,000 or 100,000 members and supporters.

~~It happens that in January 1980,~~ <sup>1980</sup> they ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> in Young Americans for Freedom a total student membership of 2,108 people.

~~That has increased somewhat.~~ <sup>1982</sup> I do not know what the ~~current~~ <sup>current</sup>

figures are, but someone disgruntled with that state of affairs leaked a copy of their information ~~around~~ <sup>at that time.</sup> ~~Intercol-~~ <sup>1980</sup> legiate Studies Institute <sup>the other, best known</sup> has representatives on a few hundred campuses, very few <sup>local</sup> organizations.

~~I think it is very important that we look at the problem of~~  
~~trying to get in-depth organization in as many places as possible.~~  
<sup>P</sup> Our need is conservative on as campuses

~~That is what I was sort of asked to talk about here and then~~  
~~make some comments about activism in general.~~ There are ~~about~~ about

~~find, something in the vicinity of 200 law schools in America,~~  
~~and if this organization,~~ If the Federalist Society,

conservative, is going to really have a major impact across  
the nation, ~~I think it is very important that we go far~~ you must

beyond the number of campuses that are represented here.  
And in doing so, ~~I think it is important to~~ you should

always the maxim which I have been selling to some of you  
over a long period of time: ~~and that is that~~ it is organiza-

tional technology ~~that~~ which usually determines success ~~to a very great~~ of philosophically oriented groups  
~~extent.~~

~~Conservatives~~ <sup>B</sup> Back in the Goldwater days, when I first  
became <sup>politically</sup> active in the early 1960s, <sup>conservatives</sup> had the belief that being

right, in the sense of being correct, was sufficient to  
prevail--that victory would naturally fall into our deserving

hands like a ripe fruit off of a tree. <sup>P</sup> We believed in the  
Sir Gallahad theory--"I will win because my heart is pure."

But that is not the way the real world works. <sup>PP</sup> Most organiza-

tional technology is philosophically neutral, ~~and the tech-~~ E  
niques which you use to organize a College Republican Club  
or a Young Americans for Freedom club or a Federalist Society

club, ~~all of those are roughly analogous. Similarly, it~~  
~~could be a Young Democrat Club, or a Young Socialist Alliance~~  
club, <sup>or the National Lawyers Guild.</sup> ~~or~~ Different emphases for different sorts of organiza-  
tions, certainly different potentials for growth of a mass  
base, ~~but basically the same techniques.~~

First, some things ~~that I would suggest~~ <sup>should</sup> you avoid. Avoid  
trying to send letters to all of the students; that is  
terribly inefficient financially. Avoid ~~trying to put up~~ <sup>reliance on</sup>  
posters ~~attracting people;~~ <sup>to recruit</sup> that ~~really~~ <sup>sign people up.</sup> does not ~~do a great~~  
~~deal.~~ I think, ~~very importantly,~~ <sup>These three "logical" approaches</sup> avoid paid space advertise-  
ments. ~~All of these things~~ <sup>have been tried many times and</sup>  
by many well meaning people, ~~and~~ <sup>they are not very useful in</sup>  
getting large numbers of people to affiliate.

Some ~~of the things that would be useful,~~ <sup>A technique</sup> I believe ~~would be~~ <sup>to</sup>  
inserting <sup>tensor</sup> little stories about your ~~projects~~ <sup>formation and activity</sup> in various  
conservative publications, ~~and~~ <sup>go through a broad spectrum:</sup>  
~~of them,~~ National Review, American Spectator, Intercollegiate  
Review, Reason Magazine, Conservative Digest, <sup>Human Events</sup> and so forth,  
~~and~~ <sup>encourage law students to write to a given address to</sup>  
get information ~~to get contacts.~~ <sup>on the Federalist Society.</sup> You might write <sup>for student contacts</sup> to lists  
of <sup>conservative</sup> faculty members ~~that could be~~ acquired through ISI or  
Heritage Foundation or interviews with conservative law

faculty whom you know already. You ~~might want to~~ <sup>should</sup> actually write or visit school newspapers. I often use that ~~as a way~~ <sup>method</sup> to find the right ~~people.~~ <sup>students.</sup> ~~The~~ school newspapers are ordinarily very left wing, ~~I have found over the years that~~ <sup>but</sup> if you present yourself at a school newspaper office as a field man for ~~such and such an~~ <sup>a conservative</sup> organization and ask who are the right wing activists on ~~this~~ campus <sup>they will usually tell you.</sup> they know, because they have ~~been subjected to attacks from these people.~~ <sup>often</sup> ~~over a long period of time and they generally will not hesitate to tell you.~~ ~~That will give you some initial contacts.~~ <sup>P</sup> However, an essential element for getting large numbers of people is a membership table.

~~I am reminded of the story that~~ Congressman Phil Crane often tells ~~He was an undergraduate at Hilledale but he went to graduate school at Indiana University--Bloomington. He tells the story how during the college registration period,~~ <sup>a story about his registration at</sup> ~~he~~ had paid his fees, and he walked ~~out into~~ <sup>up to a</sup> ~~an open area~~ <sup>which sported</sup> and there was a little card table ~~and a big photograph of Eleanor Roosevelt, and the caption on it was "Know your enemy."~~ <sup>the photo</sup> He sensed instinctively that this organization was his, ~~and so he signed up, and they did very well.~~ <sup>so I can't take the time here.</sup> The techniques for running a good membership table take about 45 minutes to tell ~~and I will go through that~~ but I do suggest

Intercollegiate Studies Institute

~~you that it would be highly desirable to set up membership tables at every law school.~~  
Set up ~~one which is~~ an arresting table, which ~~perhaps you can find a suitable~~ ~~maybe has a~~ photograph of Teddy Kennedy that ~~says "know your~~ ~~enemy~~ or Tip O'Neill, ~~or whomever.~~ Set ~~it up~~ in an area of maximum foot traffic, and so forth, just as ~~though~~ <sup>if</sup> you were ~~trying to solicit members in a college Republican or other~~ <sup>ing</sup> ~~organization.~~ <sup>for any other student</sup>

~~I think~~ you should set up some sort of an incentive program. Most people ~~who are~~ in ~~any~~ youth political organization <sup>s</sup> are totally localized to their own campus, <sup>es</sup> <sup>but</sup> and yet it is extraordinarily easy, in my experience, for anybody to go <sup>to another</sup> ~~into any~~ campus and organize anything. <sup>The left has often proved</sup> You can run a dirty dishrag up a flag pole on any college campus in America and somebody will salute. If you understand organizational technology, you can get a big crowd out for the ceremony. ~~So my suggestion to you is to~~ <sup>HP</sup> ~~give people an incentive to~~ <sup>you do not now have</sup> organize law schools where there are not ~~currently~~ organizations, and if you wind up with anything like a budget, I <sup>you do not</sup> ~~would suggest~~ <sup>you create a</sup> a specific, ~~wonderful~~ beautiful pin, perhaps with a diamond in it, or a ~~synthetic~~ <sup>To be</sup> ruby if you cannot afford a diamond, ~~which is~~ awarded only to people who have organized a Federalist Society on a campus other than their own. ~~It gives some sort of incentive.~~ ~~If you are going to~~



*Or*                      *a*

~~have an effort to organize out there,~~ give people ~~some~~  
~~recognition for what they have done or some certificate~~  
signed by a number of federal judges on your advisory commit-  
tee or whatever.

I ~~think it is quite important that you~~ structure the organiza-  
tion ~~properly~~ <sup>*carefully*</sup> because <sup>*awkward*</sup> ~~structure~~ can strangle <sup>*you*</sup> ~~an organization.~~

*P* Try to set up a national structure, ~~presuming you are going~~  
~~to have one,~~ which provides maximum service, includes a  
strong executive, but avoids opportunities for a great  
amount of patronage to an executive board. <sup>*P*</sup> Many organizations  
have troubles along <sup>*these*</sup> ~~these~~ lines. <sup>*P*</sup> Young Americans for Freedom, <sup>*for instance,*</sup>  
is frequently racked with internal problems, ~~and it is~~ largely  
because ~~the~~ people who are on their national board have ~~a~~  
~~certain amount of~~ patronage at their disposal, <sup>*and expense accounts*</sup> ~~and~~ budgets  
for <sup>*national*</sup> ~~travel around here and there and various other things,~~  
~~expense accounts.~~ If you have a strong executive, ~~and~~ without  
perquisites to be passed out except in the area of service, <sup>*primarily*</sup> <sup>*fieldwork,*</sup>  
I think you would <sup>*will*</sup> be better off. Also, ~~it is very important~~  
<sup>*P*</sup> to establish <sup>*a fair*</sup> ~~whatever~~ decision making apparatus you have to  
select your <sup>*national*</sup> ~~chairman,~~ <sup>*officers*</sup> ~~make~~ sure there are iron clad guarantees  
<sup>*to*</sup> that prevent cheating in credentials fights. ~~If you are~~  
<sup>*P*</sup> ~~going to~~ have numbers of members of a club, <sup>*and a proportion*</sup> ~~certified,~~ <sup>*one*</sup>  
<sup>*national convention*</sup> ~~number of~~ delegates <sup>*30*</sup> per ~~100~~ members of the club or whatever.

no new P

Require local membership lists to be filed and available ~~for inspection~~ for inspection three months or so before your elections of national officers. This will discourage credentials, hanky-panky, which is very destructive.

you want to ~~make very sure that that is laid down in concrete~~ with a <sup>say</sup> three month time delay where nobody can run in a lot of paper members. You ~~want to~~ <sup>should</sup> wherever possible, avoid all

of those internal problems of organizations where people spend their time and efforts bickering and fighting with one another. <sup>establish</sup> If possible, I would try to get a field organizing program, ~~to have~~ <sup>Sand</sup> field men who are working, at least part

time, maybe as volunteers, ~~with~~ with expenses paid, going to out doing field organizing. <sup>at</sup> organize law schools where you are not yet represented.

You ~~need to~~ <sup>should</sup> study a lot of different elements of youth political organization. Perhaps the one which is most relevant to you would be ~~the matter of~~ fund raising for the

local organizations. ~~because~~ <sup>to</sup> one of the things that obviously you are going to do is get speakers <sup>expense money for</sup> coming to your campus. <sup>you may need to help</sup> getting your people <sup>get</sup> to good conferences, somewhere.

I ~~wrote a manual~~ <sup>Leadership Institute</sup> which a number of you have who have been through my schools have seen, <sup>a manual I wrote</sup> years ago for College Republicans called "How to Budget and Finance Your Club" and

<sup>In</sup> it is the famous fool proof fund raising formula ~~with~~ <sup>by which</sup> which, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, <sup>money</sup> I raised thousands and thousands of dollars yearly for conservative youth activity.

<sup>of hat procedure</sup> ~~and it~~ works very well for a local clubs, -

~~I think it is of preeminent importance for you, however, to~~

~~understand the importance of studying, not just the issues,~~

PP → ~~but~~ <sup>In general,</sup> studying ~~how to win.~~ I think I ~~that~~ is what made the difference between the Old Right and the New Right. That

~~is,~~ we came to a <sup>new understanding</sup> ~~conclusion~~ after the Goldwater defeat, different <sup>conservatives</sup> ~~ones~~, at different rates and to different extents.

~~that~~ we owe it to our philosophy to study how to win, ~~and~~

~~that~~ the ~~ideal~~ <sup>most effective</sup> person is ~~not~~ <sup>not the one</sup> ~~someone~~ <sup>most</sup> simply who is knowledgeable on all the issues, ~~but somebody who is~~ <sup>We need people</sup> both philosophically sound and technologically proficient.

~~Thus, I have suggested when you study, you do not study just issues, you~~

~~do a fair amount of studying how to win and many of the rudiments of the techniques are very important. The oppor-~~

~~tunity always exists for~~ A philosophically oriented organization <sup>can</sup> ~~to~~ degenerate through destructive agitation over exceed-

ingly fine points of doctrine, ~~where~~ <sup>can</sup> you spiral down into insignificance, where your last two members confront one

another, and one yells at the other, "It is not enough that you are for everything that I am for--if you are not for it

for the same reasons, to hell with you." ~~Immensely important~~

I think, to ~~study~~ <sup>enable</sup> how to win, ~~and~~ study those things which <sup>your</sup> are important ~~to~~ you to implement the philosophical ideas,

~~which you have~~

Federalist Society

~~I would suggest that~~ At least 25% of all of ~~your~~ training efforts should ~~be~~ not ~~just~~ <sup>be</sup> discussing the fine points of doctrine and legal philosophy. ~~but in fact,~~ ~~study such~~ ~~things as~~ <sup>How to get the right people into the study of law.</sup>

*You should be the prime source of expertise on these topics.*

- ① 1. how to get the right people into the study of law.
- ② 2. how to get into the right law school.
- ③ 3. how to succeed in law school.
- ④ 4. law student participation in politics and government.
- ⑤ 5. how to get better people on law faculties.
- ⑥ 6. how to get a good clerking job.
- ⑦ 7. how to become a judge.
- ⑧ 8. how to make sure the right people get to be judges.

*as a conservative*

~~And in doing this sort of thing, I suggest it is important that you look for established expertise. There are many people who have learned these lessons on these questions which I threw out to you already. They learned it in the school of hard knocks, but~~

Look for

~~the trouble with the school of hard knocks for most of us is, while it teaches its lesson well, by the time you graduate, you are too old to go to work. So it is important to~~

~~find those people who have established the expertise, and let them share it with you. Philosophically sound people who~~

There are

~~have become proficient in these areas of achievement, get them to make systematic presentations to others on how they achieved success. This may perhaps not be as intellectually~~

*you and*

satisfying as elegant discussions on fine points of doctrine, but it will surely triple the effectiveness of your organization. ~~It may actually~~ <sup>you may</sup> save your organization from collapsing when your current leaders complete their stay at law school.

I have seen the program. Unfortunately, I was not able to be here for the rest of the program. It would have been very much interesting to me, but I observe that you found that there are some new and very outstanding judges. It is no accident that <sup>you found</sup> there are some new and outstanding judges, <sup>to speak on this program</sup> ~~it is because there is~~ <sup>Because of the</sup> change in the national elections in 1980, <sup>that</sup> that there are these new and outstanding judges and people with your political <sup>and judicial</sup> philosophy now have an opportunity to serve on the bench, <sup>Federal</sup> whereas before they did not.

In <sup>next</sup> order to elaborate on that, I want to share with you some thoughts ~~of mine~~ about the real nature of politics, and how <sup>achieved that change,</sup> we got where we are and where we are headed. <sup>Ⓟ</sup> I made some election predictions <sup>for</sup> over a long period of years about elections ~~the congressional elections~~ for a newsletter called The New Right Report, published by my ~~long time employee~~ Richard Viguerie, the conservative direct-mail expert who <sup>also</sup> publishes Conservative Digest and New Right Report. In ~~1980~~ <sup>1980,</sup> In January, I predicted the Republican Party would win a net of seven new Senate seats and 35 new House seats. Mr. Viguerie, very frankly, was disinclined to publish those predictions because he thought them to be <sup>overly</sup> wildly optimistic. The actual numbers were 12 in the Senate and 33 in the House: <sup>Ⓟ</sup> I was guessing in January, <sup>1980 more accurately</sup> ~~closer~~ than most people were guessing in

October. I made my evaluation<sup>s</sup> based not on a careful study  
race by race as to how many were likely winners and how many  
were likely losers, but on a measurement of the aggregate, <sup>rival</sup>  
resources ~~which were~~ available to the political process. I  
started from <sup>an uncommon</sup> ~~the~~ premise, ~~that~~ <sup>≡</sup> what determines the success of  
a political endeavor is, very frankly, not what most people  
think it is, ~~or the real nature of it is not.~~ Most people  
think <sup>an election</sup> ~~it~~ is ~~a~~ <sup>simply a</sup> ~~simple~~ contest between two candidates. ~~or~~  
others think it is the vigorous contest between everybody in  
one political party ~~versus~~ <sup>and</sup> everybody in the other political  
party. ~~or~~ Others think of a political contest essentially  
as a contest over two points of view to prove which one is  
right. None of these <sup>are</sup> are adequately descriptive, in my  
judgment, of the real nature of the political process. <sup>in my view,</sup> What  
we have, ~~in fact,~~ is a system in which the numbers and  
effectiveness of the activists, <sup>contesting</sup> on the respective sides are  
what determines the outcome of a political contest. If that  
is true, and if we ~~can~~ <sup>and monitor</sup> measure the sources of activism which  
come into play in the political process, we can ~~then~~ predict  
where we are headed, ~~if we can continue the measurement of~~  
~~these sources of activism.~~

I want to ~~quickly~~ <sup>briefly</sup> outline <sup>1</sup> for you the major sources of  
activism which contributed to <sup>1980</sup> that election <sup>and made it possible for</sup> ~~which allowed~~

some of these estimable gentlemen<sup>1</sup> to get appointed to ~~the~~  
federal judgeships. <sup>on your program</sup> P The first source of activism is the  
party structure. The Republican Party structure is, by any  
measure, immensely better off than the Democratic Party  
structure. I did studies of ~~what happened~~ in the party  
committees, <sup>funds</sup> after 1976 elections, 1978 elections and 1980  
elections. The dollar resources are very impressive. P In

the biennium ~~concluding with the 1976 elections~~, there was a  
total of ~~about \$45 million~~ <sup>\$45.7</sup> ~~that was~~ <sup>received</sup> by ~~the~~ <sup>major committees</sup> of the Republi-

can Party. ~~On the other hand~~, in 1977-78, the total receipts  
reported to the Federal Election Commission by Republican  
organizations were ~~\$81 million~~ <sup>\$84.5</sup>, almost doubled. In 1979-80,  
the total receipts were ~~\$161 million~~ <sup>\$161.2</sup>, doubled again. P The

comparable figures <sup>for the</sup> Democrats in 1976 was \$18 million,  
in 1978, it was \$27 million, in 1980 it was \$36 million. <sup>So</sup>  
not only is the Republican Party raising a lot more money,  
but it is growing at a much faster rate. <sup>Next,</sup> ~~I then compare~~

the 1981 receipts to the 1979 receipts, ~~in order~~ to get more  
current figures and <sup>to</sup> compare comparable nonelection years.

In 1979, the Republican Party--the three big committees, the  
National Committee, senatorial committee and congressional  
committee--aggregated ~~\$33 million~~ <sup>\$33.5</sup>. In 1981, they aggregated  
~~\$80 million~~ <sup>\$80.8</sup>, almost tripled. In 1979, on the other hand,  
the Democratic Party reported \$4.9 million and in 1981 they

reported about \$8.3 million, less than doubled. Again, the margin of lead is increasing. ~~Another thing that is interesting in this respect~~ <sup>party</sup> is the number of contributors. <sup>Also</sup> Seventy-five percent of the ~~money that came in~~ <sup>\$80.8 million</sup> in 1981 <sup>for national</sup> to the Republican ~~National Committee~~ <sup>groups</sup> was in contributions of \$25 or less. Seventy-five percent of the money that came into the Democratic National Committee in 1981 was in contributions of \$500 or more, ~~which means that we have~~ <sup>≡</sup> approximately two million people ~~who~~ actually made voluntary contributions to the Republican Party in 1981, and only a few hundred thousand ~~who~~ gave contributions to the Democratic Party. ~~[Type~~

~~change]~~ <sup>≡</sup> **At every level, the training programs of the GOP organizations ~~are~~ are incomparably ~~great~~ superior ~~in numbers~~ to their Democratic counterparts.**

**≡** The second source of activism for the President's winning coalition of 1980 was the business and association political action committees. <sup>≡</sup> Twenty years ago, there were hardly any political action committees ~~x~~ except those of organized labor. Changes in the law, changes in court decisions and the successful example<sup>s</sup> of some pioneers have caused a revolution to take place in the political action community. The corporate and association political action committees total now about 1,850 and new ones are being founded every week.

Moreover, they are very quickly growing. <sup>in numbers of contributors</sup> ~~Those that were~~ <sup>They</sup> ~~preexisting~~ are finding ~~out~~ better ways to raise funds, ~~and~~ they have more total dollars available to them.



4  
~~There is another, more significant aspect of it, and that is~~

<sup>More over,</sup>  
their pattern of giving has altered. Until the 1980 elections, the great majority of the contributions from these corporate and association political actions committees went to democrats, ~~surprisingly so, but they did go to democrats,~~ largely to liberal democratic incumbents. <sup>Many of</sup> These business and association leaders were attempting to buy access to incumbent politicians rather than to influence the course of

~~elections.~~ In 1980 that switched around. <sup>They gave by</sup> ~~it was~~ about a 60/40 ratio to republican candidates, ~~but it was more significant than just that.~~

<sup>each election cycle to</sup> The numbers of these contributions that are going to challenger candidates against incumbents is on the increase. The percentage of their money going to pro-free enterprise candidates for open seats is on the increase.

<sup>comparably</sup> In the opposition coalition ~~you have~~ ~~a circumstance where~~ organized labor is ~~still~~ doing a very good job, ~~and~~ they have been doing a very good job over many years, ~~in~~ getting resources out of the labor movement into politics.

But they do not have much area left for growth because there are no major unions left without political action committees, and they have for years been extracting all the money ~~that~~ they reasonably can get. ~~They have known~~

~~that it was important and they have all been doing it.~~ -- Even now, the great majority of the major corporations and trade

associations in the United States do not have political  
action committees, ~~not so with the unions~~ <sup>what is it that they do</sup> There is no way  
for the unions to greatly increase their ~~amount of~~ <sup>political</sup> resources,  
~~they can bring in~~ because they have been trying to think  
~~about how to do that for years.~~ They cannot just <sup>increase</sup> double their  
assessments <sup>without limit</sup> because they operate in <sup>something of</sup> a free market system,  
where they are losing certification elections, they cannot  
double their income by doubling their political assessments  
any more than the maker of a washing machine can double his  
profits by doubling his prices. He might just price himself  
out of the market, ~~so they really do not have much of an~~  
~~area for growth available to them.~~

The third source of activism for the President's winning  
coalition <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ the voluntarily supported conservative grass  
roots organizations which are growing up all over the place.  
They come in all shapes and sizes and descriptions. Some of  
them are focused in on a cluster of related issues like  
right to work, right to life, tax limitation or gun control.  
Others of them are broad spectrum-~~are~~ conservative on  
virtually every issue-<sup>like</sup> Committee for the Survival of a  
Free Congress, the Conservative Caucus, <sup>the American Conservative Union,</sup> the National Conser-  
vative Political Action Committee. In this category I place  
the religious right, <sup>as well as</sup> the Heritage Foundation, the Federalist

Society and other groups whose primary contribution is intellectual, ~~as an organization, not to say as individuals.~~

Ⓟ <sup>conservative</sup> These organizations are reasonably new phenomenon, at least ~~as major factors in the public policy process. They~~ <sup>to get very big, and</sup> did not start getting big until the mid-1970s. The growth pattern is spectacular. Terry Dolan told me day before yesterday that in the first quarter of 1980, he raised \$900,000. In the first quarter of 1982, he raised \$1.7 million. Ⓟ All of these groups were afraid that the <sup>proverbial</sup> little old lady in Peoria, who is responsible for making these voluntary contributions, would ~~give up making contribu-~~ <sup>stop giving</sup> ~~tions~~ after 1980 elections, ~~because~~, after all, if you have beaten Jimmy Carter, George McGovern, Frank Church, Birch Bayh, and all the rest, the victory is ~~over~~. <sup>ours.</sup> We won. Why should <sup>we</sup> you keep making contributions? ~~But to the~~ <sup>Ⓟ To the</sup> surprise and pleasure of most of the leaders of these groups, the contributions not only did not decline, they have increased. I know of none of these groups that did not do better in 1981 than they did in 1979, and many of them did better in 1981 than they did in 1980. The early returns from 1982 indicate a continued, very rapid growth.

Ⓟ <sup>Significantly, an almost universally high priority of conservative groups is their political training programs.</sup>

Ⓟ On the opposite side, ~~the opposite~~ <sup>the liberal</sup> coalition has its <sup>own</sup> voluntarily supported grass roots groups, ~~as well~~. There are not very many of them, but the <sup>Americans for</sup> ~~SDA~~, the National Committee for <sup>Democratic Action,</sup>

an Effective Congress, the environmentalist groups and others come to mind. They have been ~~doing a good job of~~ trying <sup>this election cycle</sup> to raise additional funds but ~~there are not very many~~ <sup>when</sup> of them ~~and~~ you look at their <sup>financial</sup> reports and they are not showing great and spectacular growth. ~~They are showing some~~ growth. ~~And there are~~ <sup>liberal PACs are</sup> some new ones that are being founded. Many of the defeated democratic politicians of 1980 elections have ~~gone out and~~ formed new groups. George McGovern has one called, ironically I believe, the Americans for Common Sense. Frank Church sent me a letter for a group called Democrats for the 80's. It was a computerized letter ~~that~~ <sup>which</sup> began "Dear Morton". The thrust of the letter was that ~~we~~ <sup>I</sup> ~~had to~~ <sup>should</sup> give money to this group because ~~we are~~ <sup>The nation is</sup> subjected to all sorts of danger because Ronald Reagan has named ~~all of~~ these terrible right wingers to his administration, ~~and~~ <sup>Church's</sup> ~~there was a list of six~~ <sup>letter listed examples.</sup> I think I was number 4 on his list. ~~But these groups~~ <sup>I doubt</sup> by the very nature of direct mail, <sup>They</sup> ~~even if~~ <sup>can't raise</sup> there exists a large reservoir of liberals out there just waiting for Frank Church and George McGovern to ask them for money, ~~a proposition which I dispute because I have~~ <sup>untold liberals</sup> a ~~prejudice~~ <sup>my</sup> belief is that liberals prefer to do good with other people's tax money rather than make voluntary contributions, ~~even if I am wrong and there are many people~~ out there just waiting to give money, the dynamics of direct

<sup>make</sup>  
mail are such that it is a practical impossibility for these groups to be ~~major~~ <sup>raise major</sup> factor in producing resources for the 1982 elections. Direct mail ~~operates in such a fashion that~~ <sup>not requires initially</sup> you do ~~not~~ <sup>expensive mass</sup> a lot of mailings to people who have never contributed before, ~~and~~ <sup>only</sup> these mailings may break even. It is the people who contribute to the initial <sup>prospect</sup> mailings who you subsequently solicit for contributions where the organization <sup>to</sup> gets its net funds ~~to do the operations of the group~~. Frankly, it cannot be done before the 1982 elections, <sup>very well by any new groups</sup> for these groups to have a lot of resources.

<sup>might</sup>  
You would say that that ~~exhausts~~ <sup>discuss</sup> the categories. We have ~~got~~ the party groups, the business groups, the union groups, the voluntarily supported groups, ~~and~~ <sup>that</sup> that does exhaust the sources of activism for the President's winning coalition. But there is another source of activism for the opposition <sup>coalition,</sup> which is a major, ~~source,~~ <sup>source,</sup> a generally unrecognized source, and that is ~~the huge amount of federal funds that go in~~ <sup>for</sup> through grants <sup>to organizations</sup> or <sup>for</sup> outright <sup>government</sup> expenditures which have historically over the last several years built up to very massive expenditures for political advocacy <sup>purposes,</sup> ~~organizations~~. My own <sup>view</sup> feeling is that it is not legitimate for tax money to go to advocacy groups. I think it would not be appropriate for tax dollars to go either to Phyllis Schlafly's ~~Stop~~ or

Eagle Forum Organization on the one hand, or to the National Organization for Women ~~and its organizations~~ on the other hand. It is a fact that Mrs. Schlafly's <sup>group</sup> has never received nor even asked for any government funds, but ~~it is also a fact that~~ <sup>an affiliate arm</sup> the National Organization for Women, ~~gets grants from many sources, including, in the 1980-81 period,~~ <sup>got</sup> a grant of over half a million dollars, ~~for one of their subunits.~~

Frankly, <sup>Remarkably,</sup> we have found that no one in the federal government has a good listing of all the money that goes out in ~~this~~ <sup>to advocacy groups.</sup> grants procedure. That money is spent in a great variety of ways. Many of those programs are very blatant ~~and have been~~ ~~in the past, going out and doing~~ political organizing. <sup>Your tax dollars are training</sup> ~~Training~~ people how to organize precincts, <sup>and</sup> organizing people to do voter registration drives, ~~with federal funds, and~~ guess where they register people--in liberal democratic areas. <sup>Grant money pays for</sup> ~~Doing~~ get-out-to-vote drives to increase voter turnout, ~~and~~ <sup>guess</sup> where--liberal democratic areas. ~~The~~ <sup>the VISTA</sup> VISTA program. We looked at ~~their~~ <sup>was largely concerned with</sup> training operation and it is just filled with information about how to organize people politically. The 300,000 CETA jobs ~~and the public~~ <sup>assistance</sup> service employment--~~300,000 of these jobs~~ <sup>were</sup> largely given over to patronage employees for local democratic machines.

Most of you, <sup>probably</sup> ~~probably~~, in your home towns, saw some type of political scandal with respect to CETA. That ~~has~~ happened.

④ Times are changing.

it ~~was endemic~~ across the country. The fact is that, for several reasons, the resources <sup>going</sup> ~~coming in through~~ <sup>into</sup> the political spectrum <sup>to</sup> the political activism through this source ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> this year greatly reduced, ~~because~~. First, the total dollar amount that ~~is being~~ made available for ~~these~~ <sup>of any kind</sup> grants to nongovernmental groups has decreased. <sup>Second,</sup> Some programs have been abolished, such as the whole 300,000 CETA <sup>public assistance - jobs</sup> program, ~~300,000 of these~~ public service jobs. In other cases ~~by no means all cases,~~ <sup>Third, many</sup> ~~but in many cases~~ people who are <sup>now</sup> making the decisions as to who gets <sup>new</sup> grants are people who share the President's political philosophy, ~~and~~ people who are inclined <sup>to oppose</sup> ~~not to favor~~ giving grants of money ~~to people who are~~ <sup>for</sup> running advocacy programs. <sup>There is a new priority for</sup> ~~and they are doing~~ programs which help the needy rather than <sup>help</sup> ~~organize~~ liberal democrats.

<sup>have reduced by</sup>  
All those factors ~~together combine~~ to mean inevitably that ~~this year there will be~~ literally millions ~~and millions~~ of ~~dollars less of~~ tax dollars <sup>the amounts</sup> going into ~~these~~ programs ~~which~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~provide~~ political advocacy. In ~~net~~, I see every source of activism for the President's winning coalition <sup>still</sup> in the period of growth. I see every source of activism for the opposition ~~and~~ ~~static~~, ~~growing~~ but not at too great a rate, or, ~~in fact~~ in one significant case, shrinking-dramatically, ~~and~~ therefore, I am prepared to fly in the face of everybody

else's predictions. <sup>Ⓟ</sup> Everyone is predicting doom and gloom for the Republican Party this year. I do not believe ~~so~~ it. My own predictions of January of this year were that the ~~party~~ <sup>GOP</sup> will pick up a net of four seats in the Senate and a net of 15 seats in the House. <sup>Ⓟ</sup> I based ~~that~~ <sup>those predictions</sup> again not on a careful study, race-by-race, <sup>say for sure</sup> because you never can ~~tell~~ <sup>individual</sup> what is going to happen in <sup>individual</sup> races. Witness the death ~~last night~~ yesterday afternoon <sup>Ⓟ</sup> of Congressman John Ashbrook. ~~It is just too soon to tell. He died suddenly yesterday in Johnstown, his hometown. You cannot tell.~~ ~~But~~ you can measure the sources of activism that ~~are there~~ and the quality of expertise ~~that is going to go into these things~~ <sup>politics.</sup> <sup>on that basis,</sup> and there is every reason to think ~~we~~ <sup>the GOP</sup> can have great gains.

~~It is not inevitable and~~ <sup>Ⓟ</sup> ~~no one can~~ <sup>always</sup> predict these things with certainty. ~~But I believe there is a close analogy, and I will conclude with this analogy,~~ <sup>an</sup> between what President <sup>Franklin</sup> Roosevelt did in the 1930s and what is going on today.

<sup>Ⓟ</sup> President Roosevelt put together a new governing majority in America which was reasonably stable, at least, for 48 years.

<sup>Ⓟ</sup> There were many keys to <sup>Roosevelt's</sup> ~~his~~ success. One of the keys was not that he solved the Depression in the 1930s, because as you all know, the Depression did not show <sup>Ⓟ</sup> much sign of improvement until World War II came along. Yet in 1934,



*congressional*  
Roosevelt gained <sup>1</sup> seats, rather than lost, ~~and~~ broke what *He*  
some people describe as ~~the~~ <sup>an</sup> iron law, that Presidents'  
parties lose in mid-term elections. The secrets of Roose-  
velt's success, in my judgment, were these.

First, he kept the issue initiative. He kept everybody  
talking about ~~that~~ his programs ~~were~~ to solve the problems  
of the country. He reduced ~~the~~ <sup>his</sup> opposition to ~~simply~~ carping  
about and reacting to his plans. Throughout the 1930s,  
~~hardly any serious person could conceive~~ <sup>the public perception was</sup> that the Republican  
Party had <sup>no</sup> a plan to pull us out of the mess of the Depres-  
sion. Roosevelt's plan <sup>^</sup> did not pull us out of it, but he  
was the only one who had <sup>any recognizable</sup> such a plan. ~~I~~ do not think ~~it is~~  
~~necessary~~ <sup>must</sup> that there be a great economic turnaround this  
year for ~~us~~ <sup>the GOP</sup> to win more seats. Not only <sup>should there</sup> ~~are there going to~~  
be more republican seats, let me say parenthetically, there  
are likely to be more conservative Democrats in the next  
Congress than there are <sup>now</sup> ~~this time~~, because lots of these  
sources of activism are applying themselves in democratic  
primaries, particularly in the south. ~~That was the first of~~  
~~Roosevelt's secrets of success.~~

*the*  
The second secret of <sup>the</sup> success of Franklin Roosevelt <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ that  
he was able to hold his coalition together. There were some

There were  
very disparate elements in the Roosevelt coalition. ~~You had~~  
segregationist southern democrats, ~~you had~~ unions with white  
only <sup>membership</sup> clauses, ~~and you had~~ liberal intellectuals, and civil  
rights organizations. That was just one <sup>of many</sup> areas of <sup>diversity in</sup> ~~confronta~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~tion~~ <sup>coalition</sup> where there were inconsistencies. But still, ~~that his~~  
coalition held together and <sup>became a</sup> ~~was a~~ normal governing coalition.

Another major secret of his success was that  
~~The other factor that I think is most important about what~~  
Roosevelt did was ~~that he kept the focus on his enemies. He~~  
kept <sup>attacking and casting blame on</sup> ~~everybody talking about~~ his enemies. He himself contin-  
ued ~~casting the blame, continued to the extent that he~~  
~~could, to attack Herbert Hoover. He probably died in April~~  
1945 <sup>mumbling on</sup> ~~giving a speech attacking~~ Herbert Hoover. Surely he  
did for the rest of his life <sup>he made attacks on</sup> ~~what he called~~  
the "economic royalists" and the <sup>malefactors</sup> ~~malefactors~~ of great wealth."

He retained those same themes. To the extent that he could,  
<sup>Roosevelt</sup> ~~he~~ reran the 1932 elections in 1934 and 1936 and 1938 and so  
forth. While the Reagan presidency has managed to hold ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup>  
coalition together, while we have managed to retain the  
issue initiative, at least to date, it is yet uncertain ~~as~~  
~~to~~ how well we are going to focus in on rerunning ~~the~~ <sup>for us in 1980</sup> subse-  
quent elections on the same themes which won ~~the last time~~.  
I think it is possible to do so, ~~but whether or not we are~~  
~~going to do it depends~~.

Confrontation was a key. Roosevelt was the most  
beloved president of this century. His supporters virtually worshipped  
him. ~~It is~~ Interesting, though, ~~that~~ he was almost certainly  
the most deeply despised president of this century. His opponents  
loathed him, ~~but~~ <sup>even</sup> long after his death. ~~Perhaps~~  
the next most beloved 20<sup>th</sup> century president was Dwight  
Eisenhower. In contrast to Roosevelt, hardly anyone hated  
~~him~~ Eisenhower, but he was a political failure and left  
~~no era~~ <sup>no era</sup> of political success for his party.

There were two ways we could have played this budget <sup>second-year fight.</sup> ~~matter~~ which we just had. I was not privy to the internal decisions on ~~how~~ the (budget final) figures, ~~came out~~, but I think it is safe to say that the 1983 <sup>Reagan</sup> budget represents somebody's judgment of ~~about~~ the best which could come out of the Congress. <sup>P</sup> Certainly no one has suggested that ~~that~~ <sup>this</sup> budget is what the President thought was the ideal budget for the United States. <sup>P</sup> ~~The problem with~~ <sup>the</sup> putting this budget forward with <sup>such a</sup> ~~the~~ large deficit ~~on it is that it did not accomplish what some people may have thought it would, because it~~ neither placated our foes nor enthused our friends. In fact, ~~in many ways~~ elements of the President's winning coalition are in some ways disoriented, because here is our president coming up with that <sup>deficit</sup> ~~The alternative would have been to put forward something much closer to what the President thought would be a good budget, to fight the battle and then lose where unavoidable,~~ <sup>P</sup> ~~and then~~ <sup>we could more easily have</sup> reconstituted the ~~same~~ coalitions of 1980 in the 1982 election. We would have had <sup>basically the same lineups,</sup> ~~and we know~~ <sup>how</sup> the last chapter of that book reads. ~~That might have been a different course,~~ but ~~we are embarked on a slightly different one from that.~~

My time is up.

The deficit would have been clearly and correctly pointed on the liberal Democratic leadership.  
and the some level of enthusiasm.