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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1981

NOTE FOR JANET COLSON

FROM: FRANK HODSOLL *Frank*

SUBJECT: Presidential Thank Yous to Congressional
and Private Sector Advisors on African
Refugee Conference Delegation

Pursuant to our conversation, attached is the Bremer-Dyke memo of April 14. I agree with Phil Hughes that we should do these letters, and do them from the President. I understand from Julia Taft that some of the private sector delegates (e.g., Jim Cheek) were miffed by the lack of attention accorded them by Jeane Kirkpatrick. The letter should help.

Thanks for your help.

ATTACHMENT

RUSTIN, BAYARD, civil rights activist, b. Westchester, Pa., Mar. 17, 1910; s. Janifer and Julia (Davis) R., student Wilberforce (Ohio) U., 1930-31; Cheyney (Pa.) State Tchrs. Coll., 1931-33; Coll. City N.Y., 1933-35; LL.D., New Sch. for Social Research, 1968; Brown U., 1972; Litt. D., Montclair State Coll., 1968, hon. degree, Mich. State U. Race relations dir., Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1941-53; field sec. Congress Racial Equality, 1941, exec. sec. War Resisters' League, 1953-55, spl. asst. to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1955-60, organizer March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 1963, pres. A. Philip Randolph Inst., N.Y.C., 1966 — Chmn. Social Democrats U.S.A.; chmn. exec. com. Leadership Conf. on Civil Rights Bd. dirs. Notre Dame U., Black Ams. to Support Israel Com., League Indst. Democracy, Internal Rescue Com., AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center, Alvin Ailey Dance Theater, Coalition for Dem. Majority, Com. on Present Danger, Ams. for Energy Independence, Freedom House. Recipient Eleanor Roosevelt award Trade Union Leadership Council, 1966; Man of Year award Pitts. br. N.A.A.C.P., 1965; Liberty Bell award Howard U. Law Sch., 1967; John Dewey award United Fedn. Tchrs., 1968; Family of Man award Nat. Council Chs., 1969; John F. Kennedy award Nat. Council Jewish Women, 1971; Lyndon Baines Johnson award Urban Coalition, 1974; Mem. UN Assn. (dir.) Mem. Soc. of Friends. Author: *Down The Line*, 1971, *Strategies for Freedom*, 1976, also articles. Address: 260 Park Ave S New York NY 10010. *The principle factors which influenced my life are: 1) non-violent tactics; 2) constitutional means; 3) democratic procedures; 4) respect for human personality; 5) a belief that all people are one.*

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Other interested members

Millicent Fenwick (R.-N.J.)
Thomas E. Petri (R.-Wis.) former Peace Corps volunteer in Somalia
Claudine Schneider (R.-R.I.)
Patricia Schroeder (D.-Colo.)

Public Members

4 Senate
4 House

- ✓ Shirley Temple Black, former Ambassador to Ghana
- Edward Brooke, former Senator, Chairman of Commission on Africa Refugees
- ✗ Billy Graham
- ✗ William P. Coleman, former Transportation Secretary
- ✗ C. Clyde Ferguson, ex Ambassador to Uganda
- ✗ Thomas R. Donahue, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO
- ✓ George Haley, brother of Alex Haley
- ✗ Father Theodore Hesburgh, head of Select Presidential Committee on Refugee and Migration Policy
- ✓ Jewel S. Lafontant, former Deputy Solicitor-General in Nixon administration
- ✗ Bayard Rustin, just visited Somalia and Sudan for IRC
- ✗ Michael Samuels, Georgetown University CSIS Director, ex Ambassador to Sierra Leone
- ✗ Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers, active in drawing Labor's attention to African Refugees
- ✗ Leonard Sussman, Freedom House

Assistant Sec

ask Dick Allen
more to check
Admission also int
with R.F.
at Westford

Dr. Alvia Thomas, President Prairie View A.M. - Houston

Foundations

Leonard Sussman, Ted
Tom Green, Howard

Bill - Kennedy

Dr. David Rogers, Harold U. Johnson Foundation, second only to Ford Foundation in overall size. Specializing in medical aid.

- ✗ Robert Mellon Scaife, Sarah M. Scaife Foundation, Scaife is head of D.C. office of International Red Cross
- Norris Sydnor, Booker T. Washington Foundation, active in African Development Program
- Franklin Thomas, Ford Foundation, largest private doner of overall aid to Africa
- Lila A. Wallace, Readers Digest Foundation
- John Coleman, Edna, McConnel, Clark Foundation, plans an African Refugee Rehabilitation Program

Private Voluntary Organizations *

Bud Hancock, World Vision (a Southern Christian relief agency)
Bishop Broderick, Catholic Relief Service, CRS operates 2 important relief program in Djibouti and Cameroun and participates in Somalia Refugee Consortium

*Department of State recommends representative of C.A.R.E., AFRICARE, and Catholic Relief Services (Bishop Broderick) be given priority consideration among the PVOs.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 3, 1981

Frank Hodsoll:

Re Geneva trip. The following four senators have been approved by Ambassador Kirkpatrick, Senator Baker and the Vice President.

Nancy Kassebaum
Allen Simpson
Charles Matthias
Daniel Inouye

Could you run these by Jim Baker before we give them to State for action.
Thanks.

Bob Thompson

P.S. We have told State to go ahead if they haven't heard from us by Monday.

Manifest

2 Vice President
Mrs Bush

Staff

Adm. Murphy
Chase

Jat
Nancy Bearg Dyke

Col. Matheny
Terry (Sec.)

Pete Teeley
hinda Lewis

Vic Gold

Joe Hagen

Mike Farley

12 Susan Porter Rose

Congressional Delegation

Sen. Nancy Kassebaum

Sen. ~~Mc Mathias~~ Charles Mc E. Mathias

Sen. Alan Simpson

Sen. Daniel Inouye

Sen. Zablocki

Cong. John C. Duns

Cong. Wm Goodling

Cong. Olympia Snowe

Cong. Wm A Gray, III

Cong. Romano L. Mazzoli ✓

Cong. Millicent Fenwick

12 Cong. Thomas E Petri ?

26

9

Public Persons

Shirley Temple Black

George Haley

Bishop Allen

Jewel LaFontant

Bill Baroody

Mr. Alvin Thomas, President - Prairie View At M

Dr. Leonard Spearman, TSU

Dr. Jim Cheek - Howard

Art Fletcher

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: JANET COLSON
SUBJECT: Delegation to Geneva
Conference on African
Refugees

Attached is Ambassador Kirkpatrick's proposed delegation.

You will note that they are asking the Vice President's Office and the Speaker to designate the congressional members.

The Vice President's office recommends the following Senators:

Nancy Kassebaum
Alan Simpson
Daniel Inouye
Charles Mathias

Do you concur in their recommendations re: the Senate members:

Yes _____ No _____

Frank:
I just spoke with Dick. The proposed Senators are fine with him.
Janet Colson
4/4/81
1155

AS

1981 MAR 3 PM 1 01

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B
S/S #

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1 APR 3 P 1: 01

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

MESSAGE NO. 000941 CLASSIFICATION Unclassified No. Pages 2
FROM: 10/LNA AMB. KIRKPATRICK x28344 6333
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION MEMO TO FRANK HODSOLL

| TO: (Agency) | DELIVER TO: | Extension | Room No. |
|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------|
| <u>WHITE HOUSE</u> | <u>FRANK HODSOLL</u> | <u>IN JIM BAKER'S OFFICE</u> | |
| | <u>ROLSON</u> | <u>(next to Oval office)</u> | |
| | <u>NANCE</u> | | |
| | <u>LENZ</u> | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

FOR: CLEARANCE INFORMATION PER REQUEST COMMENT

REMARKS: URGENT

S/S Officer: *JHK*



THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE
UNITED NATIONS

April 3, 1981

TO: Frank Hodgoll
FR: Jackie Tillman *J. Tillman*
RE: African Refugee Conference in Geneva

Attached are Amb. Kirkpatrick's preferences for the delegation to the Conference. I need two things from you:

1. White House Clearance (especially for the public members)
2. A determination about who will invite the public members -- the White House or the State Department? I am assured by staff here that they are ready to move on invitations if you'd like.

Thanks for all your help (especially for your promptness).
Let's have a drink when we get the plane off the ground!

TO: FRANK HODSOLL

FR: JACKIE TILLMAN -- 632-8344

THE FOLLOWING ARE AMB KIRKPATRICK'S CHOICES FOR THE DELEGATION TO THE AFRICA REFUGEE CONFERENCE FOR WHITE HOUSE APPROVAL:

A. USUN STAFF

1. Amb Jeane Kirkpatrick
2. Carl Gershman
3. George Moose
4. George Bensema
5. Louise Siffin
6. Security
7. Security
8. Security
9. Security

B. STATE DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL

10. Nick Platt - IO
11. Julia Taft - Gov't wide rep for refugees
12. Dick Smyser - Refugees
13. Mabel Symthe - Africa
14. Roy Stacy - AID
15. Karl Beck - Refugees

C. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

16 through 23
4 Congressmen and 4 Senators to be chosen by the Vice President and Speaker

D. PUBLIC MEMBERS (in order of Amb Kirkpatrick's preference)

24. Bayard Rustin
25. Leonard Sussman
26. Shirley Temple Black
27. Philip Johnson - CARE
28. Bishop Broderick - Catholic Relief Fund
29. Rev. Timothy Healey - Pres, Georgetown University

ALTERNATIVE

- a. Jewel Lafontante - former Dep. Sol. Gen in Nixon Admin
- b. Bill Baroody - AEI

The following are delegate alternatives about which the Amb. has no preference:

- c. C. Payne Lucas - AFRICARE
- d. David Guyer - Save the Children Fund
- e. Edward Brooke

E. MANAGEMENT AT STATE ~~(AS WHITE HOUSE REPS)~~

31. Pat Kennedy
32. Conrad Housman

**International
Communication
Agency**

*United States of America
Washington, D.C. 20547*

*Postage and Fees Paid
International Communication Agency*

Official Business Monday, July 6, 1981 - 4:00 pm

International Communication Policy
(H. R. 1957 and S. 821)

Mr. James A. Baker III

File

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS POLICY
(H. R. 1957 and S. 821)

Tab 1 -- Briefing Paper. Crisis and Opportunity:
International Communications Authority

Tab 2 -- Authority over International Communications
Policy: Status and Options

White House Talking Points

CRISIS AND OPPORTUNITY: INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY

Problem

Legislation is being actively pressed to restructure Executive Branch authority over international communications policy, with potentially severe effects on the substance and image of Administration leadership in a sector of dynamic importance. H.R. 1957 and S. 821 would remove State's policy authority, and in the process would also and irrelevantly invade ICA's authority as America's public communicator. The result would be structured confusion.

House Subcommittee Chairman Dante Fascell has scheduled hearings July 13 at which Under Secretary James Buckley can present an "Administration" alternative: the creation of a coordinator position in Buckley's office. If this were to prevail, it would spare damage to ICA; but industry leaders are strongly opposed, and if those are the only two options there is a substantial risk that the more damaging legislation will pass.

White House Stakes

U.S. information industries are the third largest contributor to our balance of trade and payments. They are experiencing dynamic growth and change. All they want from government is reliable and effective help in clearing away foreign restrictions to doing business. They have not had that under existing arrangements and they will not get it under either proposal now advancing in Congress.

For the President to accept this situation would: (1) admit a limitation on his capacity to lead in a sector of clear comparative U.S. advantage; (2) forego a significant opportunity to "deregulate" internationally; and (3) impair the operation of his public communicator, ICA, to important foreign audiences.

White House Involvement

Ronald Frankum, Deputy Director for Domestic Policy, is evidently aware of the Fascell-Buckley approach and has expressed no objection while offering no resources.

Congressional Sensitivities

If the White House were to offer strengthened resources and work through and with Buckley and Fascell, no reason appears why either should take offense. There is reason to believe that Rep. Glenn English, sponsor of H.R. 1957, would recede in favor of a Presidential alternative that industry leaders found acceptable.

Presidential Alternative: A Special Assistant in the White House and a Special Ambassador at State (See Briefing Paper, p. 2.)

Briefing Paper

AUTHORITY OVER INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS POLICY: STATUS AND OPTIONS

Background

Two bills are currently pending in Congress that would substantially reorganize the Executive Branch of government in its handling of international communications issues. Responsibility for these issues is currently dispersed among a number of agencies and departments with operational interests in the field. By statute and executive order, the three agencies with over-all policy authority are considered to be State, ICA, and Commerce. On matters touching the regular conduct of foreign affairs, State is generally conceded to be the lead agency. But its authority is fragmented among a number of bureaus and offices, with the result that in the past two years or so a number of leaders in the various affected information industries -- the mass media, telecommunications, data processing, and major users like banks and insurance companies -- have begun calling for an improved decision-making structure that can formulate policy in a timely, comprehensive, and far-sighted manner.

The most vehement industry sector has been data processing, whose U.S.-based companies believe that their comparative advantage in international sales and service is being progressively eroded by restrictionist foreign measures to which no effective U.S. counterweight has been forthcoming. After five years of seeking State Department intervention and (in their view) failing, the industry last year turned to Congress for relief. The pending legislation is Congress' response.

Legislation

H.R. 1957 and S. 821 seek to transfer authority over all communications policy issues to a new, centralized, inter-agency Committee or Task Force, under the chairmanship of the Special Trade Representative in one bill or the Secretary of Commerce in the other. Not only would this cut into the diplomatic and policy-making responsibilities of State, it would also make substantial changes in the role that other agencies currently play. For ICA, the bills would

- Lift the heart of public diplomacy out of the Agency and transfer it to a brand new and separate staff;*
- Authorize that staff to "raid" ICA for personnel, services, and facilities without the Director's consent; and
- (in the House version) deny the Director membership on the Committee that would be exercising this authority.

*See separate memorandum by the General Counsel

ICA's Advisory Commission has written all the relevant Congressional committee members to protest these provisions -- but the Agency itself has not yet taken a firm position. OMB earlier undertook to come up with an alternative position that would avert the legislation, but in the press of other matters it has not done so. The pending bills now have a strong head of steam, and in the Senate there have been efforts to make the legislation veto-proof; S. 821 is the regular FCC authorization, and the whole bill was removed only at the last minute from attachment to the Budget Reconciliation Resolution.

The House bill has been referred until July 15 to Dante Fascell's subcommittee on Foreign Affairs, which is friendly to State and ICA. Fascell has been working out an arrangement with State whereby a post of "coordinator" would be created in the office of Under Secretary James Buckley. State is agreeable, and hearings with Buckley as the Administration witness are scheduled for Monday, July 13. Industry is, however, firmly opposed to this "solution" and, although it has some reservations about H.R. 1957, if those are the only two choices it will swing its support to that bill. Sponsors of the legislation -- who themselves profess a lack of confidence in the State Department -- reasonably believe that, if the issue gets to the floor, they will have the votes.

Options for Corrective Action

The following options consider the "art of the possible" as it applies to both our parochial interests and to the overall interests of the Administration.

(1) Executive reorganization. There are two steps the President can take to meet the asserted need for change without legislation and without any incursions on present department or agency authorizations. The first is to create a Special Assistant for both domestic and international communications policy, reporting to Messrs. Meese and/or Baker. (This would not cover "communication" (singular), as entrusted to the White House Office of Communication or to ICA.) The second step is for the President to direct the Secretary of State to establish, in the office of the Deputy Secretary of State, William Clark, a Special Ambassador for International Policy supported by a staff* adequate to cover all the main heads of jurisdiction -- data communications, space communications, free flow of information, etc. -- and to develop a system of long-term career opportunities and incentives for the foreign service as a whole to become conversant with international communications policy (again, not "communication" as entrusted to ICA).

To persuade, this option would have to be presented as the President's own position and its objective would have to be described as not merely "coordination" but as policy decisiveness within established statutory allocations of authority.

*We would suggest a staff of eight, as opposed to the Buckley-Fascell two, and that they be recruited ratably from State, other federal communications agencies, and the private sector.

Pro: The Special Assistant position would meet the data-processing industry's minimum condition for backing off H.R. 1957. It would give them, and others, a point of recourse if they encounter continuing problems with the bureaucracy. More broadly, it would give due recognition to the economic and social importance of the U.S. communications sector -- like energy or the environment when they were first dealt with at the White House. The complexity and magnitude of issues like AT & T restructuring, domestically, and the New World Information Order, internationally, give them an inescapable Presidential dimension. Finally, the idea of a Special Assistant has been hanging unattended since 1976, when it was first broached by a nationwide task force of communication policy experts convened by the Aspen Institute; it is not a partisan idea.

The Special Ambassador position at State would follow precedents for the World Administrative Radio Conference in 1979 and, today, the Law of the Sea. It would strengthen and confirm State's policy leadership. Other communications agencies would be strengthened by gaining a clearer diplomatic framework towards which to address their efforts.

Con: It will be difficult in the short time available to line up common agreement behind a solution that differs from the dug-in position of key people in industry, in Congress, and at the Department of State (which has working-level White House support). The Director would have to draw down credit at the White House, and be prepared to devote substantial personal time and effort to working with it and perhaps with committee chairmen in Congress.

(2) Support Fascell-Buckley approach. Without going to the White House, the Director might support the State Department's current efforts and seek to strengthen them in the direction of option #1.

Pro: As a matter of courtesy and future good working relationships, the Director will wish to stay on good terms with Chairman Fascell and the Department.

Con: The Fascell-Buckley position has been worked out by staffers on both sides since last October; it is very unlikely to be strengthened. As it is, the position is strongly opposed by industry and by the H.R. 1957 sponsors. There is an uncalculable but strong risk that, in the absence of a viable third alternative, the two positions will come to a collision on the floor and that H.R. 1957 will prevail. Even if that does not happen, our support for Fascell-Buckley could be a disservice to the Administration. That is because its inadequacies would soon appear and within months the powerful communications industries would be back complaining that the White House had had a chance to meet their needs and had failed to do so.

(3) ICA take-over. ICA is a communication agency with an additional statutory mandate (22 U.S.C. section 1461-1) to "assist in the development of a comprehensive national policy on international communications." We might create a new Associate Director to fulfill that mandate and with the further purpose of filling whatever void the information industries perceive in current Executive Branch arrangements.

Pro: This could be done almost unilaterally, with some White House backing. It would, to the extent it was successful, tend to attract a domestic constituency to ICA which could have spill-over supporting effects on public diplomacy generally.

Con: Communications policy -- once again, distinguishing the "communication" entrusted to ICA -- stands in need of greater policy integration, not fragmentation. For ICA to take over the whole field would: precipitate an undesirable confrontation with State, engage us in unfamiliar tasks -- like spectrum allocation and instructions to ComSat -- that have nothing to do with public diplomacy, and require enabling legislation of its own with substantial risk of distortion on the way to passage. (Most of the same disabilities, by the way, would apply to other agencies like STR or NTIA or OMB whose claims to policy leadership are occasionally advanced -- in addition to which, they are not broad-gauge foreign affairs agencies.) The ICA Associate Director idea may well have merit on its own but it ought to be addressed after the current hothouse, adversarial atmosphere has cleared.

(4) Delete provisions harmful to ICA. Our Advisory Commission has written letters seeking precisely this relief, which the Director could follow up with personal calls on committee chairmen and ranking minority members.

Pro: The staff of the committees that originated H.R. 1957 and S. 821 have expressed receptivity to such an approach, saying that to date "nobody has come to see us." The harmful provisions have nothing really to do with the purposes of the bills. If this approach were to succeed, ICA would avoid damage and the Director's time and effort and involvement in inter-agency controversy would be minimized.

Con: While Congress' argument is with State and not with ICA, the issue is crystallizing into a simple yes-no question of authority in which the interests of other Executive Branch agencies are seen as incidental. Unless a viable alternative to H.R. 1957 is brought forward, there is a substantial risk that it and all of its provisions will pass. Put differently, we can seek to delete specific provisions but we cannot be certain of escaping damage unless we also apply ourselves to the larger question of a viable alternative.

Recommendation

We recommend option #1, combined with attention to the courtesies of #2 and the damage-limitation possibilities of #4. (The Associate Director idea, #3, can be taken up when the dust has settled.) Our recommendation is that the Director meet promptly with the appropriate senior White House officials to develop a plan for implementing the first option.

It must be stressed again that a new Administration position, differing from anything now being considered (which is what we recommend) must come from the upper reaches of the White House and be seen in all quarters to carry its authority. The minimum immediate objective must be to bring a credible stop to all proceedings.*

Timing Considerations

Under Secretary Buckley is scheduled to present testimony, billed as being on behalf of the Administration, on July 13. Chairman Fascell's referral jurisdiction expires July 15. There will be an extended Congressional recess perhaps starting August 1 to September 8.

*The Congress has been told too often that the Administration will be developing a position. We must have one in hand.