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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

May 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JAMES A. BAKER, III > MICHAEL K. DEAVER RICHARD G. DARMAN FRED F. FIELDING EDWARD V. HICKEY, JR. EV,

JA15 garfice

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Ronald Kessler Request for Information Regarding DoD Costs in Support of the President

At our last meeting, you asked that DoD cost data prepared in response to Ronald Kessler's letter (TAB A) be recomputed in 1982 constant dollars, and justifications provided where appropriate. This has been accomplished and is attached at TAB B.

Before these now comparable figures tempt us to opt for release of this information, I must emphasize that each and every assumption made in pulling together these figures is subject to argument, dispute and endless follow-on information. I also suggest that the anomalies therein are potentially equally as damaging as the originals.

There is inconsistency, also, in that we cannot convert aircraft costs to constant dollars. Too many variables are involved and, further, cost-per-hour figures are those which were publicly in effect for the years in question. Thus, we have the very real possibility of Kessler adding constant to actual dollars and still managing to achieve his ends.

I see other disadvantages to releasing this information, which has been summarized at TAB C.

We also discussed points which could be used in a non-response reply. These have been incorporated in the proposed draft at TAB D. The intent here is not only to make those specific points; but, to let Kessler know that it is not a standard, perfunctory kiss-off. Rather, I tried to give some sense of the effort, research and soul-searching which, you will agree, has gone into this matter.

I recommend very strongly that DoD support cost information not be released. Without question, the non-response reply will elicit an angry Post reaction. (Although, I wonder if they really expected us to cooperate. (?)) That appears to be referable to the alternative, however. We are in a no-win situation and the only choice I see is between evil and lesser evil.

Hopefully, we can get together again as soon as possible to resolve this.

Attachments

# THE WHITE HOUSE

March 8, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ED HICKEY

FROM: Larry Speakes

Attached is the letter from Ronald Kessler of the Washington Post regarding his questions concerning money spent by the Defense Department in support of the President. It looks like he wants everything but the kitchen sink.

After you have time to look it over, let's see where we go from here.

cc: Mike Deaver

Jim Baker Mark Weinberg In addition, we need a listing of any other expenditures in support of, or on behalf of, the President and/or First Lady and/or their staffs not specifically mentioned here.

I would appreciate it if you would forward segments of the information requested as it is received. Should some of the information requested require an allocation of costs not already in existence, please inform me of those areas and provide a description of them with either an estimate of the costs or a statement that the total costs are not known and cannot be determined.

As an example of estimating costs, the cost of providing air transportation could be shown by listing the total number of hours of operation of each type of aircraft, the hourly cost of running each type, and a breakdown of the costs that make up the hourly cost figure. In the area of air transport, we would like a further breakdown by the type of trip -- those made by the President and/or First Lady and/or their staffs, those made by others in support of the President's trips, and those that do not fall into any of these categories. Any reimbursement to the government for any of these trips should be listed as well.

Our purpose is to come up with the total cost of the Presidency. Toward that end, I will continue to request similar data from each of the other agencies that provide support to the President and/or his staff. To make that job easier, I would appreciate it if you would furnish me with a list of those other agencies. Should I run into difficulty, I will call on you.

Please call me if I can help in clarifying any portion of this request.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald Kessler



The cost of providing the White House complex with mechanical, electrical, electronic and other telephone equipment and services, as well as other equipment and services."

#### Answer

The electrical and mechanical support to the White House complex is provided by the National Park Service who should be contacted to provide this information. Likewise, much of the electronic fire and security equipment is under the cognizance of the US Secret Service, Department of the Treasury who may be able to provide this information to you. Telephone and radio communication services are provided to the Commander-in Chief by the White House Communications Agency. Since this worldwide network must be able to support the President, it is not totally possible to fully isolate those services provided exclusively to the White House Complex. Most of the base-station facilities are located within the 18-acre complex, the computer center, switchboards and support offices are included in this category but are sized and staffed to serve a far wider community than just the immediate office of the President or the White House compound. The costs for providing these services (including Operating, Maintenance, Minor Construction and Composite Military Salaries) in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars was:

FY-79	<u>FY-80</u>	<u>FY-81</u>	<u>F1-02</u>
\$11,159,851	\$12,609,403	\$15,392,842	\$16,497,000

On the average, military personnel salaries account for 37% of the operating expenses at the White House Complex.

Due to the lack of modernization of equipment during the FY-79 and FY-80 periods, coupled with a steadly growing volume of communication traffic, a significant amount of work was required during FY-81 and FY-82 to replace outmoded and failing equipment with reliable communications services.

#### Question 2

The cost of goods and services purchased or ordered through any military construction fund account or sub-account, including the one known as Project No. 74, used for support of, or on behalf of the President and/or his staff."

#### Answer

We have no knowledge of any fund, account or other entity titled "Project No. 74".

The salaries and other expenses of the Military Office of the White House and of the White House Medical Unit."

#### Answer

The White House Military Office has no funding nor budget of its own, but is a coordinating office comprised of personnel from the various military services which have duties in direct support of the President. In constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars, the salaries for personnel assigned to the White House Military Office by the Department of Defense are:

FY-79	<u>FY-80</u>	FY-81	<u>FY-82</u>
\$109,938	\$104,918	\$183,511	\$269,500

The White House Medical Unit serves the President as well as other government personnel within the complex. As with other White House support units, the cost of providing medical services is broad based, sized and operated over a wide geographical area. As such, the costs to provide medical services to the President only on the 18-acre complex must include the cost of operating the permanent offices and fiscal plant much of which is designed to be transported to field locations as required. The cost to operate and maintain the Medical Unit in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars was:

FY-79	<u>FY-80</u>	FY-81	<u>FY-82</u>
\$228,825	\$247,601	\$253,246	\$263,661

The annual operating costs for the Medical Unit represents 74% for military personnel salaries, 10% for Travel and Per Diem and 7% for Operating and Maintenance expenses.

"The cost of providing the White House Complex and grounds with Marine personnel."

#### Answer

Marine ceremonial, band and guard units are not assigned to the White House complex but are tuilized on occasion for official functions on the compound much as they are used around the country. In recent years, several Marines have provided a ceremonial presence at the entrance to the West Wing office complex during those times when official visitors are being received. The cost of providing these personnel in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars was:

FY-79	<u>FY-80</u>	FY-81	FY-82
0	0	\$19,236	\$32,976

"The salaries and other expenses of Defense Department employees or consultants detailed either directly or indirectly through other agencies to support the President and/or First Lady and/or their staffs."

#### Answer

All personnel attached to one of the White House Military Support Units are on permanent assignment to that unit and are not further detailed to other White House staffs. These personnel serve in direct support of the President on a full-time basis. The Department of Defense has no contractors providing direct support to the President or the First Lady.

"The cost of providing rotary and fixed-wing air transportation for the President and/or First Lady and/or their staffs or for others designated by them, by the Air Force, Marines, or other services; the cost of providing such transport, equipment and services in support of these trips before, during or after they take place; and the cost of any other trips made at the request of the President and/or First Lady and/or their staffs."

#### Answer

The mission of Air Force One (89th Military Airlift Wing) and Marine One (Marine Helicopter Squadron One,HMX-1) are to provide routine transportation for the President and his assigns in the efficient execution of his duties. In addition, these two units have a secondary, contingency role to relocate the Commander-in-Chief and a portion of the constitutional successors to that office during times of national emergency. As such, these two airborne units are sized and staffed for their contingency roles and exercised through routine transportation requirements. It is not possible to isolate one mission from the other and hence an allocation of funding between routine and contingency missions is not possible. The costs to support and staff the aircraft of Air Force one in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars was:

FY-79	FY-80	<u>FY-81</u>	<u>FY-82</u>
\$830,422	\$831,598	\$874,200	\$910,728

Air Force One costs consist of 73% military salary, 17% Travel and Per Diem expenses and 10% Operation and Maintenance.

The costs to support and staff the aircraft of HMX-1 in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars was:

FY-79	<u>FY-80</u>	<u>FY-81</u>	<u>FY-82</u>
\$5,397,697	\$5,147,654	\$5,879,807	\$7,499,625

The break-down of HMX-1 costs consist of 66% military salaries, 21 % Travel and Per Diem and 13% Operation and Maintenance.

It should be noted that many of the services which HMX-1 must support in the general maintenance and operation (guards, aircraft rework, etc) of their aircraft are provided to Air Force One routinely by the 89th MAW in its general support role to all squadron aircraft whether or not in Presidential Support. HMX-1 therefore incorrectly appears to be a significantly larger unit than Air Force One.

Other than in the categories listed below, historical data is not maintained for the military transport scheduled by, in support of or at the behest of the

White House. Standard aircraft operating and maintenance costs (POL, spares, civilian pay, etc) and the hours flown by each type of aircraft in prior year dollars are as follows:

	FY	<b>-</b> 79	FY	7-80		7-81		-82
Type	Total	Hourly	Total	Hourly		Hourly		Hourly
Aircraft	Hours	Cost	Hours	Cost	Hours	Cost	Hours	Cost
			Presider	ntial				
C-137 C-140 VH-3D VH-1N	219.0 2.0 134.5	\$3,258 1,070 690	175.8 15.6 152.5  5.0	\$,738 1,296 870 —— 374	181.0  177.1 	\$5,221 840 ——	168.1 2.1 179.6 5.1	\$5,566 1,872 1,334 493
UH-1N	White	House Si			House M			
C-137 C-140 C-9 C-135 C-130 C-131 C-141 C-5 C-12 T-39 T-43 VH-3D VH-1N UH-1N UH-1N UH-1N UH-1H CH-46 CH-53 CH-47 HH-53	997.2 197.0 232.7 375.0 380.0 7.9 1,158.9 51.9 8.3 77.6 53.1 159.8 3.8 127.1 24.7 10.8 41.8 2.4 1.6	\$3,258 1,070 1,185 1,847 708 430 1,936 6,302 371 372 1,137 690 301 301 743 1,315 1,150 1,315		\$3,738 1,296 1.300 2,137 763 461 2,087 6,793 350 350 1,224 870  374 374 737	507.8 380.5 264.0 355.6 646.1  975.6	\$5,221 1,613 1,973 3,775 1,241  3,396 11,051 389 628  840  481  817	571.5 432.6 491.5 416.0 499.3  1,724.6 280.1 6.9 18.7  437.3 57.0 85.5 3.6 32.6 100.3  3.2	\$5,566 1,872 2,090 4,156 1,214 4,118 10,809 398 742 1,334 493 493 493 1,496 1,496

Reimbursements, given in <u>prior</u> year dollars, have been made to the government for unofficial and/or political travel performed during this administration. Similar information is not available for previous administrations:

	(20 Jan 81 - 30 Sept 81)	FY-82
Staff and Guests	\$ 6,100.54	\$ 7,128.25
Republican National Committee	14,113.73	85,368.91
Press	161,760.56	372,097.96

"Provision by the Army or other services of ground transportation with vehicles housed at the White House garage or at other locations."

#### Answer

Similar to the airborne transportation units, the White House Garage provides routine ground transportation services for the senior staff but is sized to respond to contingency relocation requirements. The cost to provide these services in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars was:

FY-79	FY-80	<u>FY-81</u>	FY-82
\$1,213,889	\$1,327,572	\$1,568,938	\$1,700,541

Only the costs for providing personnel, Travel and Per Diem and the Operation of the vehicles was supported by the Department of Defense. The costs associated with the acquisition of these vehicles was not a DOD cost. Approximately 86% of these costs go to military salaries while 8% is for Travel and Per Diem and 6% to Operating and Maintenance accounts.

"The cost of constructing, maintaining, operating and guarding Camp David and related facilities and services in Thurmont, Md by the Navy and Marines"

There were no construction costs at Camp David during the periods under question. The costs of operating the Camp facility in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars was:

FY-79	<u>FY-80</u>	<u>FY-81</u>	FY-82
\$3,143,770	\$2,964,667	\$3,247,191	\$3,118,078

The above figures reflect 71% for military salary, 1% for Travel and Per Diem expenses and 28% for the Operation and Maintenance of the Camp.

As a matter of Presidential security, the costs associated with protection and security for the President is classified.

"The cost of operating the White House Dining room or staff mess and other facilities by the Navy or other services, with a separate listing of any income received each year to offset this expense."

#### Answer

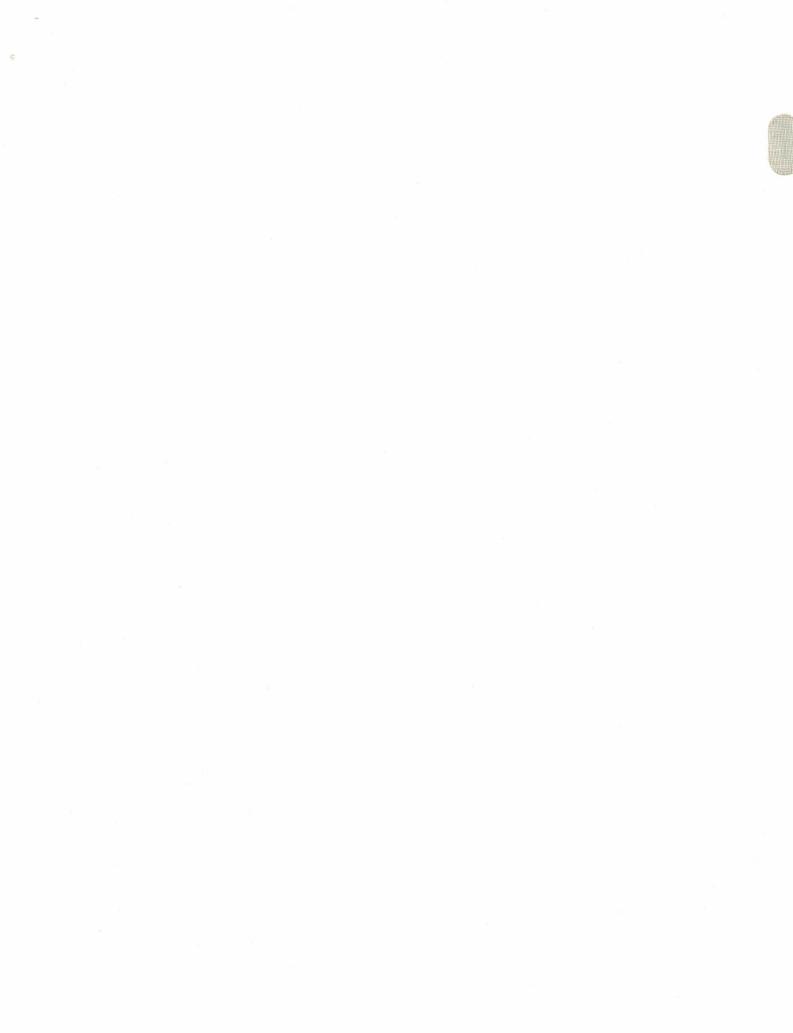
The White House Staff Mess is a Navy "closed mess", operated under the guidelines established by the Department of the Navy for such facilities. The following operating costs in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars were realized for the years in question:

FY-79	FY-80	FY-81	<u>FY-82</u>	
\$1,367,839	\$1,415,724	\$1,417,084	\$1,446,824	

These expenses represent 73% for military pay, 3% supporting Travel and Per Diem and 24% Operation and Maintenance costs.

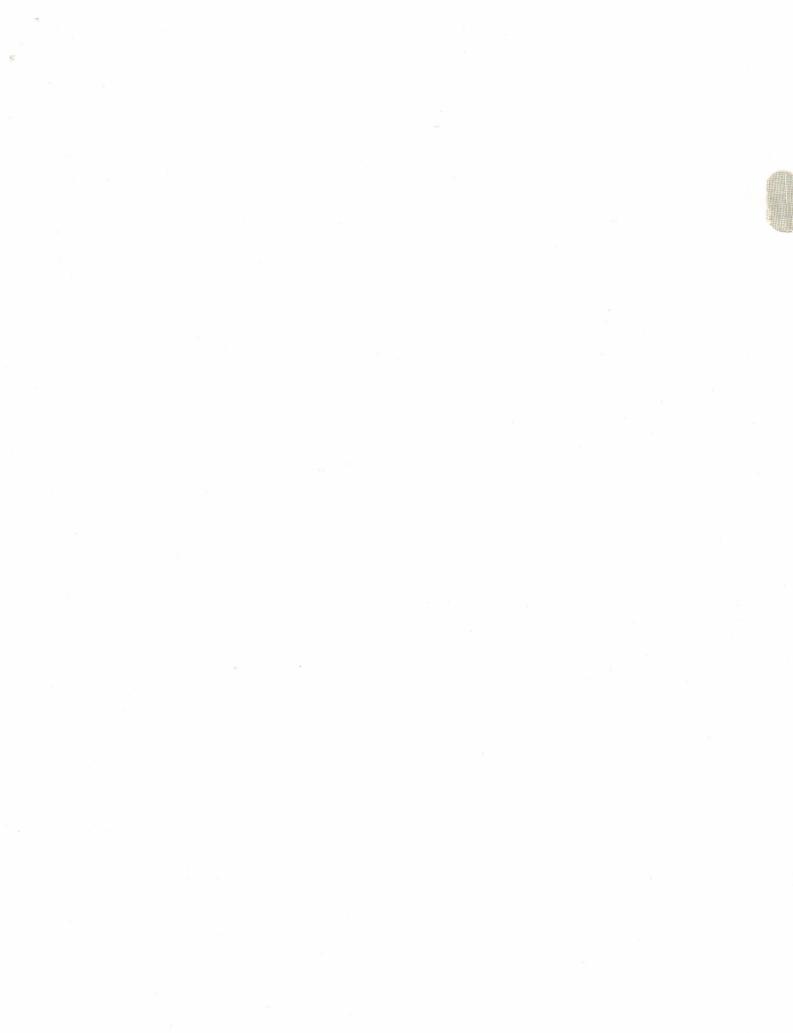
During this same period offsetting revenues collected in constant Fiscal Year 1982 dollars were:

FY-79	FY-80	<u>FY-81</u>	FY-82
\$288,646	\$290,756	\$301,287	\$285,288



# DISADVANTAGES TO PROVIDING INFORMATION

- o Precedent setting. This data not provided heretofore. No basis thereafter to decline additional requests for further information, press inquiries, details, elaboration, etc.
- o Release of this information will invite Congressional oversight of the full spectrum of DoD support activities. Subpoenas for drivers, pilots, Mess stewards, etc., are not inconceivable.
- o Release is tantamount to breaking faith with the Congressional committees who have supported our efforts in past years through the PEF.
- o Release will effectively uncover units that, for national security reasons, we would not want to be highly visible. (This information can be provided to you verbally at our next meeting.)
- o Release can lead to uncovering associated agencies with whom we do classified work. (This, also, can be provided at our meeting.)
- o Kessler's previous article demonstrates his intention to write the story in a completely negative and highly critical manner. Explanations and rationale provided will certainly be ignored, quoted out of context, or ridiculed.
- o Expect story to appear as a series of front page "exposes," citing "extravagant hidden costs," "DoD funds used to circumvent austere Federal budget," etc.
- o Headlines certain to be eye-catching, inflamatory, and resurrect the "Imperial Presidency" spectre.
- o Stories no doubt will be picked up by <u>Post</u> News Service subscribers, TV, other national media.
- o Probably will inspire other "investigative reporters."
- o Any new article keeps story alive.
- o Encourages would-be whistle blowers seeking their moment of glory. (There are thousands of personnel with present and former White House military support experience. Must assume that some will have axes to grind, or secrets they are anxious to share.)
- O If/as story picks up steam, someone sure to obtain a road map of the DoD budget.



#### DRAFT

Dear Mr. Kessler:

This is in response to your letter of March 3, 1983 concerning Department of Defense support of the President.

As commander-in-chief, head of government and chief of state, the President of the United States of America has duties and responsibilities unequaled by any other world leader. These, of course, necessitate instant availability to a multitude of resources which only the Armed Forces has the unique ability, facilities, trained personnel and requirement to provide. The Armed Forces support units must be prepared to meet national emergency contingencies and provide security assistance for the President, while affording routine administrative support, at a level mandated by Constitutional authority and vested solely in the President.

Routine administrative support services furnished by the military, while not appearing to be operationally critical, have been determined by the public, the Congress and succeeding administrations to be appropriate and befitting the Office of the President. The military units serving the President must be sized to meet the requirements of their contingency mission and practice for these potential contingencies through their day to day routine operations. Thus, routine services, highly visible to the public, provide the vital and continuing exercise of contingency requirements and capabilities needed to keep them militarily responsive should they ever be required. Occasionally, services are furnished by other units within the Defense establishment which have other mission responsibilities apart from White House support.

Thus, an organization providing support to the President and the White House may do so as a primary or collateral mission. In either case, it is most often of a dual nature with other factors also involved.

Security is a vital area of Presidential military support. Primarily, this is intrinsic to the facility itself, i.e., Air Force One, Camp David, etc. Communications, and certain other services are provided to assist the Secret Service in the execution of its protective responsibilities. The White House, however, does not discuss, comment upon, or otherwise provide information concerning either emergency contingency planning or security arrangements for the President, which could enable such procedures to be determined.

A thorough and concerted effort was made to amass the information requested in your letter and to compile it in the categories and breakdowns specified, although most of this data is not normally maintained, particularly in these formats. It became increasingly apparent, however, that separating — or attempting to quantify — organization and other costs to determine those which can be reasonably attributed to actual direct, daily support of the President is a difficult and, ultimately, impossible undertaking. Furnishing cost figures which include contingency, security, routine and collateral missions would

present an inaccurate and totally unrealistic picture, grossly distorting the true nature, and value, of the support provided by the Armed Forces to this and prior administrations.

This is not to say, of course, that the three enlisted Marines who alternate in manning the post at the White House West Wing Lobby -- and who received \$32,976 in total fiscal year 1982 compensation -- have additional, or emergency, duties. They do not. Nearly every other facet of Presidential military support does, however, have raison d'etres other than that which is most apparent to the public. Accounting systems do not differentiate between thse missions, and they should not. It is neither practical nor desirable.

A case in point, and I offer this example now only on the assumption that the passage of time has effected de facto declassification, was the former Presidential yacht. Until its disposal six years ago, I am told the SEQUOIA -- and its predecessors -- provided an alternative means of relocating the President from the immediate D.C. area when other means of transport were inoperable.

Just as time and technology often change or eliminate requirements, events frequently dictate new or expanded measures.

Following the 1981 assassination attempt, one of the areas

medical Unit. As a result, the functions of that facility now encompass far greater responsibilities than previously. While, on the surface, expenses associated with the Medical Unit could be perceived as excessive for what may be thought of as a dispensary or first-aid facility, the facts are otherwise. Costs, including recent increases, are not only legitimate but overdue. This cannot be elaborated upon, of course, since further explanation could compromise procedures and be of assistance only to those demented minds interested in their circumvention.

In this instance, therefore, as with other areas of your inquiry, right-to-know has had to be balanced against justifiable need-to-know. Obviously, Department of Defense support to the President is wide-ranging -- and, yes, admittedly substantial. Providing details of this support merely to satisfy curiosity can serve no justifiable or useful purpose. Indeed, it could prove harmful and damaging to the Nation's interests.

As a participant in this earnest, and enlightening, experience I want to assure you that the intent following receipt of your letter was to be as forthcoming, candid and responsive as possible. In fact, that was the actual direction given to

those involved in the attempt to research and develop answers to your many questions -- a very time-consuming effort, I might add. For the reasons cited, however, it simply is not feasible.

That same experience now permits me to take exception to the implication of your letter that Department of Defense funds and personnel are somehow used to secretly finance an extravagant "imperial Presidency." I realize that nothing I have already said, or could add here, will either change your mind or dissuade you from pursuit of your story to uncover corruption, root out evil and defend the American way.

Nevertheless, I am compelled to state categorically that such is not the case. Nor, have I seen any evidence that it ever was.

The members of the Armed Forces assigned to Presidential support duty fill a very valid -- and necessary -- role. With the grace of God, the complete spectrum of that support will never be demonstrated, or completely known. If it is, however, hopefully you will then join in agreeing that the expense was worthwhile.

Sincerely,

\_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Ronald Kessler
The Washington Post
1150 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20071

( Daniel

MXD - we should discuss at your convenience.

4/27 tell

Attached is a listing of commercial firms donating products to the White House Military Office.

This practice was known to exist during the Johnson Administration, and was continued throughout the Nixon and Ford Administrations. It was terminated in the early months of 1977 by the Carter Administration. Reinstituted in January 1981.

There has been no solicitation, or endorsement, of any product or service on the part of the White House Military Office.

Product inventories fluctuate depending upon delivery schedules and quantities, which are solely determined by the firms themselves.

Products are used in various places, depending upon need and practicality, i.e.

Oval Office, Cabinet Room, etc. - Jelly Beans, Candy

Guest Bedrooms, Residence - Neutrogena Products

Housekeeper's Office - Candy, Cigarettes (state dinners)

Physician's Office - Lozenges, Suntan Lotion, etc.

Executive Gym, etc. - Razors, etc.

White House Staff Mess

Kennedy Center - Champagne, Soft Drinks

Uniform Division, USSS - Shoe Polish

Military Support Units

Air Force One
Marine One
Camp David

- Products furnished as appropriate to nature of support provided

PepsiCo

Coca Cola

Avon

Best Foods

The Gillette Co.

Herman Goelitz, Inc.

Juice Bowl

Kiwi

Pepperidge Farms

Standard Brands, Inc.

Warner Lauren, Ltd.

Plough, Inc.

M&M Mars

Ragold, Inc.

Universal Match

Coors

Budweiser

Strohs

Chateau St. Michelle

Beecham Products

Neutrogena Corp.

U.S. Tobacco Co.

R. J. Reynolds

Pope, Ballard & Loos

Philip Morris

- Soft Drinks

Soft Drinks

- After Shave Lotion, Tooth Paste, etc.

Mayonnaise

- Razors, Shaving Cream, Shampoo, etc.

- Jelly Beans

- Orange Juice

- Shoe Polish

Cookies

- Peanuts

- Dodorants, Hair Spray, etc.

- Coppertone Suntan Lotion, Aspirin, etc.

- Candy

- Velamints

- Matches

- Beer

- Beer

- Beer

Wine

Sucrets Lozenges

- Soap

- Cigars

Cigarettes

- Raisins, Nuts, etc.

Cigarettes

Cigarettes Liggett & Meyers Brown & Williamson Corp. Cigarettes Cigarettes P. Lorillard Cigarettes American Tobacco Co. Tootsie Roll Industries Candy Cigars American Cigar Co. Tuna Fish StarKist Foods General Cigar & Tobacco Co. Cigars

The Wine Spectrum

Champagne

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 22, 1983

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MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM:

EDWARD V. HICKEY EVE

The attached letter that I received from John Cosgrove is passed for your information. John approached me about the possibility of the President attending the Honor America ceremony on Flag Day, June 14.

I have discussed the details of the ceremony with Paul Miller, the military ceremonies chief, and, of course, indorse the intent of the ceremony. The ceremony sounds great; however, I feel that security considerations would preclude the President's attendance.

I recommend that Fred Ryan reply to Cosgrove regretting the President's attendance and that he approach one of the Cabinet Members to serve as a Presidential representative. This is a civilian ceremony, with military support, of course; consequently, it is inappropriate for me to be approaching alternate Presidential representatives.

mik: FYI

February 9, 1983

Lle

Dear Senator Goldwater:

Mike Deaver appreciated receiving your letter concerning the White House Military Office and asked me to provide the response since this is an area of my responsibility. The Deputy Director is my immediate assistant and selecting the replacement for the incumbent is a choice which I had to make.

This presented me with one of the most difficult, albeit interesting, decisions I have faced during my tenure at the White House. The Office of the Secretary of Defense nominated only the best candidates for consideration. They are all true professionals and outstanding representatives of their services. Your endorsement of Colonel Ronald K. Sable reinforced the many other recommendations I received in his behalf and highlighted his credentials for inclusion in this select group.

Each of those nominated has the qualifications and ability to fill this position. Certainly, Colonel Sable is no exception. His record is truly impressive and gives every indication that he would perform the job in an admirable fashion. I have, however, selected another candidate. This choice was not based on a lack of qualifications among the other nominees; but, rather, on what I judged to be the superior qualifications of the individual I have selected.

Colonel Sable is obviously a very talented officer, with a particularly bright and promising future. The fact that he was selected by the Air Force to be one of its nominees is ample evidence of that. He has every reason to be proud of his achievements, and I am grateful for your thoughtfulness in writing to express your interest in this matter.

Sincerely,

EDWARD V. HICKEY, JR. Assistant to the President

The Honorable Barry Goldwater United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

-> bcc: Michael K. Deaver

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON

January 20, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM

EDWARD V. HICKEY, JR. 6.1.

SUBJECT Proposed Presidential Activity

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In our recent conversation you asked that I recommend a good event for the President on St. Patrick's Day. I again ask your reconsideration of the Washington Dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

There are a number of reasons why it makes good political sense for the President to accept the invitation:

- o There is a large American Irish constituency in the United States. Over forty million Americans identify their ancestry as Irish or part Irish and for all of them the day has special meaning. It is a day when they celebrate both their Irish heritage and the contribution of the Irish to the United States. This contribution has been made right from the earliest involvement of the Irish in the new world.
- o The President on the past two St. Patrick's days has celebrated the occasion in a special way (in 1981 at the residence of the Irish Ambassador; last year at a lunch for the Irish Prime Minister in the White House). These public celebrations of the day have proven immensely popular with Irish-Americans. St. Patricks day is virtually the only occasion in the year which allows the President to reflect the Irish heritage he received from his father and which as President of all the people he would not normally have occasion to highlight.
- o The President's two previous associations with the day served an additionally useful electoral purpose. It allowed him to deomonstrate the increasingly strong association between the Irish and the Republican Party in the United States. In the elections of 1980, the President benefited from and indeed helped produce a swing to the Republicans of previously pro-democrat ethnic constituencies in the United States. In the specific American-Irish case, the swing to the Republicans has been under way for may years and reflects the involvement of the Irish at all levels of professional life in the United States.

- o A further consideration arises this year. March will be a month in which the President will have a prominent association with the British monarch on the West Coast. This is an entirely laudable association. However, there will be noisy elements in the West Coast who will undoubtedly use the occasion to protest British policies in Northern Ireland. These protests as such will have little or no support and will be an embarrassment to many of Irish heritage. Nonetheless, they may draw attention to aspects of British policy in Northern Ireland which are often a source of wider concern. Thus, for reasons of electoral balance, there is an especially good case in 1983 for the President making a gesture towards Ireland and the American-Irish on St. Patrick's Day.
- o St. Patrick's day of course is something more than the day of the Irish; it is the day when everyone seeks to be Irish. Thus, the President's public identification with the day would seem natural and understandable for those Americans not of Irish heritage and while pleasing to Irish Americans it would not label him with a particular ethnic tag.
- o It goes without saying of course that the President's identification with Irish-America and things Irish on St. Patrick's day should be absolutely removed from the rowdy image which a few misguided Irish-Americans will present during the Queen's visit. The dinner of the Washington Friendly Sons will offer the opportunity for a distinquished and dignified celebration of the day, reflecting a pride in heritage coupled with social and professional achievement which is the essential character of most who share an Irish ancestry in America today.
- o The Society of the Frieldly Sons of St. Patrick, formed over two hundred years ago in Philadelphia, is the most prestigious Irish organization in the United States. It has chapters in all the great American cities associated with the Irish. The Washington Sons represent all that is best in the success of those of Irish ancestry in the nation's capital, whether in the areas of politics and administration, the professions, the military and the Church.
- o The "Friendly Sons" pay homage to both religious traditions in Ireland and are non-denominational in character. Indeed, they were founded as an organization which brought together the Protestant and Catholic sons of Erin in common cause to help newly arrived Irish immigrants. They are non-political as an organization. Naturally, individual members of the "Friendly Sons" share the hope for peace in Ireland and for the reconciliation of all Irishmen and they are adamantly opposed to violence.

- o The "Friendly Sons" include both Republicans and Democrats and Republicans have always been prominent in their ranks.
- o The occasion is formal but good-humored. It would allow the President an opportunity to celebrate the wit of the Irish, to mark their role in the building of the United States and to repeat his hope for peace and reconciliation in Ireland. The detail of his remarks would, of course, be considered separately.

I have been assured that a dignified entertainment program, featuring Irish artists will be provided and it should be an enjoyable evening.

I respectfully ask your careful consideration as I consider this a good event for the President.