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Morton: 3-17-83

15:35

SRW is going to do this.

She needs A speech

by close of business

3-25-83.

FI



RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR AMERICA FOUNDATION

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Patricia M. Frierson
Washington, D.C.

March 7, 1983

MEMO TO: Lee Atwater

FROM: Patti Frierson

SUBJECT: Consultant's Forum April 14

Last week we had a small meeting in Dick Wirthlin's office with our informal advisory group (see enclosed list) to discuss the direction of RGA, specifically the Consultant's Forum on April 14. Because this one is bound to be large, we decided to take advantage of the collective wisdom of the group and generate discussion on coalitions. We have three working groups (that have come out of that meeting) which are gathering this month to discuss different aspects of conservative coalitions. These groups are made up of conservative organizations, consultants (of which we hope you will meet with), and trade associations. These groups will report to the larger group on the morning of April 14. We then plan to have two representatives of these three groups speak: Hispanics, Catholics, and Labor. We believe that hearing from Faith Whittlesey would be very beneficial to the program. Eddie thinks if she is there for the morning session, her part of the program would be that much more effective so that she could comment on other's statements and ideas.

Many participants in our advisory group also believe that knowing what issues were top priority for the White House would be especially helpful for participants in the Consultant's Forum on April 14. Some mentioned a one page paper on each of the top four issues would be great coming from Ken Duberstein. I think Duberstein, as well as Whittlesey, needs to know exactly who is in this group and why it would be important for them to hear what he has to say.

Mr. Atwater
March 7, 1983
Page 2

I have enclosed a list of participants from the last meeting and a year end review, and a draft agenda for your use in discussing the program with Whittlesey and Duberstein. It is important that they know you have participated and that you and other White House officials endorse us.

Lee, I appreciate your help and support.



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RGA ADVISORY COUNCIL

Meeting February 23, 1983

Eddie Mahe

Charlie Black

Rich Bond

Susan Bryant

Don Cogman

Mitch Daniels

Joe Gaylord

Dick Thaxton

Steve Winchell

Dick Wirthlin

Bob Teeter - tentative

Jack Faris

Marc Nuttle

Patti Frierson

Dave Adams	Odell & Roper
Bill Anderson	IPA
Doug Bailey	Bailey, Deardourff & Associates
Mike Bates	Timmons & Co.
Charlie Black	Black, Manafort & Stone
Rich Bond	RNC Deputy Chairman
Vince Breglio	NRSC Executive Director
Bill Brock	USTR
Susan Bryant	NRSC Political Director
Bernadette Budde	Business Industry PAC (BIPAC)
Lou Ann Burney	National Association of Realtors
Judy Butler	NRCC Field
Lou Cannon	Washington Post
JEB Carney	GOPAC Executive Director
Cathy Chamberlain	DMI
Paul Clark	National Direct Mail
Scott Coddington	NRCC Field
Don Cogman	MAPCO, Inc, Vice President for Governmental Affairs
Pat Collins	National Association of Homebuilders, Dir., Political Affairs
Michelle Davis	White House, Office of Political Affairs
Paul Dietrich	Fund for the Conservative Majority, Executive Director
Linda DiVall	NRCC Director of Survey Research
Doug Douglas	Consultant
Tom Ellis	Congressional Club, Chairman of the Board
Frank Fahrenkopf	Nevada Republican State Chairman
Maxine Fernstrom	Bill Lee & Co
Rich Gaylen	NRCC
John Gizzi	Consultant
Joe Gaylord	NRCC Political Director
Art Gold	Consultant
Wilma Goldstein	NRCC Political Division
Greg Greaves	NRCC Field
Bill Greener	RNC Director of Communications
Carl Gregory	NRCC Field
Jane Grieger	NRCC Field
Rick Hendrix	Eberle & Associates
David Himes	NRCC Finance Division
Susan Huber	National Association of Manufacturers
Helena Hutton	National Association of Manufacturers, Mgr., Political Research
Cathy Jarman	Guest of Alex Ray
Susan Johnston	Eddie Mahe & Associates
Charlie Judd	National Direct Mail, Director
Ron Kaufman	RNC Director, Political Division
Tom Korologos	Timmons & Co., Vice President & Director of Legislative Affairs
Pete Lauer	American Medical Association
Gary Lawrence	DMI
Bill Lee	Bill Lee & Co.
Ladonna Lee	Eddie Mahe & Associates
M.E. Lewis	Stephen Winchell & Associates
Eddie Mahe	Eddie Mahe & Associates
Tony Makris	American Security Council

Mike Milligan	NRSC PAC Division
John Minarik	Consultant
Bill McInterf	NRCC Field
Neal Newhouse	Chamber of Commerce, Director of Political Affairs
Kristi Olaveson	DMI
Karl Ottosan	Lew Lehrman campaign
Tony Payton	Consultant
Joan Porte	Association of Builders & Contractors
Alex Ray	Chesapeake Media Management Group
Rom Reitdorf	Consultant
Tim Roper	Odell & Roper
Bill Rosing	Communications Consultant
Steve Saunders	Saunders & Co.
David Shepherd	Brumfield Gallagher
Betsy Sigman	DMI
Nancy Sinnott	NRCC Executive Director
Phil Smith	RNC Finance Division, Executive Director
Rod Smith	NRSC Finance Division, Executive Director
Lisa Staltenburg	National Association of Homebuilders
Ralph Stanley	Department of Transportation Spec. Asst. to the Secretary
Bob Steers	NRCC Field
Wyatt Steuart	NRCC Finance Division, Executive Director
Robert Stubor	Black, Manafort & Stone
Bob Teeter	Market Opinion Research
Dick Thaxton	National Association of Realtors
Bryan Tierney	GOPAC, Political Director
Bill Tobin	National Tax Limitation Committee
Norm Turnette	Consultant
Betsy Tyson	Odell & Roper
Kathy Wagner	NRSC PAC Division
Dave Walsh	NRCC Field
Jerry Waters	Consultant
Carol Whitney	Republican Governor's Association
Paul Wilson	Bailey, Deardourf, & Associates
Steven Winchell	Steven Winchell & Associates
Richard Wirthlin	DMI President
Richard Woodward	Consultant
Marc Nuttle	RGA General Counsel
John Davis	Consultant
Paul Carmack	DMI
Chris Bowman	NRCC Field
Brad Stowe	Congressional Club
John Buckley	National Tax Limitation Committee
John Beckner	National Multi-Housing Association
Rick Shelby	RNC, Director Campaign '82
Jay Bryant	Bishop & Bryant
Bob Heckman	Fund for the Conservative Majority
Russ Evans	Evans-Wentworth

Rick Shelby
Lee Atwater

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR AMERICA FOUNDATION -
1982 End Review

I. NATIONAL STUDY PARTNERSHIP - SPRING, 1982

Co-sponsored the National Telephone Survey of Voter Attitudes prepared by Decision Making Information for Precision Targeting, Inc. Other sponsors were Gulf Oil, the three National Republican Committees, American Medical Association, and the National Tax Limitation Committee.

II. CONSULTANTS FORUMS

A. May 6, 1982

Topic -- The sharing of recent survey research and the possible impact on future elections and legislation.

B. September 18, 1982

Topics: Impact of Economic Issues on the Election
National Democratic and Republican Advertising Campaign Review
Congressional Races Update
Decision Making in the Last Two Weeks of the Election
Senatorial Races Update
PAC Involvement in the '82 Elections and Impact on Conservative Legislation
Gubernatorial Races Update
Turnout and The National Committee Overview
The White House Perspective of the Economy and National Defense Issues

C. December 14, 1982

Topics: Analysis of Election Results and Voter Attitudes
Stay the Course
Conservative PACs
Business PACs
Trade Association PACs
Direct Mail
PAC Events - Have We Had Enough?
Impact of Independent Expenditures
Impact of the Election on Legislative Policies
The Role of the President in the Election - Themes and Messages
North Carolina Congressional Races
The Role and the Direction of the RNC
The Gender Gap and the Black Vote

III. ISSUES FORUMS

A. January 20, 1982

Luncheon held in Washington, D.C. to introduce the Foundation to political, committee, and financial attendees.

B. May 4, 1982

Topic: The President's Budget and National Defense

Speakers Included: Senator Robert Dole (R-Kan)
Senator John W. Warner (R-Va)
Congressman Barber Conable, Jr. (R-NY)
Congressman Jack Kemp (R-NY)
Congressman John LeBoutillier (R-NY)
Congressman Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tx)
Trade Representative, William E. Brock, III
Deputy Assistant to the President for Political
Affairs, Lee Atwater

C. September 18, 1982

Topic: Conservative Opportunity Society vs. Liberal Welfare State

Panelists Included: Congressman Newt Gingrich (R-Ga)
Congressman Phil Gramm (D-Tx)
Pollster, Lance Tarrance
Consultant, Lyn Nofziger

D. December 14, 1982

Topic: 1982 Election Results and the Impact of Those Results on Future
Legislative Policies

Speakers Included: Secretary of Transportation, Andrew L. Lewis, Jr.
Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz)
White House Pollster, Richard Wirthlin

Organizations with representatives in attendance at receptions and forums included:

American Medical Association
American Security Council
Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc.
BIPAC
Chamber of Commerce
Congressional Club
Fund for a Conservative Majority
GOPAC
Independent Petroleum Association
MAPCO
NABPAC
National Association of Homebuilders
National Association of Manufacturers
National Association of Realtors
National Republican Congressional Committee
National Republican Senatorial Committee
National Tax Limitation Committee
Republican Governors Association
Republican National Committee
White House

Other political, committee, and consultant speakers and attendees at receptions and forums included:

Counsellor to the President, Edwin Meese, III
Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff, Michael Deaver
Assistant to the President for Political Affairs, Edward Rollins
Senator Howard H. Baker (R-Term)
Congressman Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich)
Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Frank Fahrenkopf
Pollster, Bob Teeter
Washington Post Political Correspondent, Lou Carnon
Stephen Winchell, President of Stephen Winchell and Associates
Eddie Mahe, President of Eddie Mahe, Jr. and Associates
Doug Bailey, President of Bailey, Deardourff and Associates
Tom Korologos, Director of Legislative Affairs, Timmons and Company

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR AMERICA FOUNDATION

Draft Agenda April 14 Consultant's Forum

9:00-10:00 am Coalition Reports from working groups:
(1) Consultant's Group
(2) Conservative organization's Group
(3) Trade association's Group

10:15-11:15 am Coalition discussions (2 of the 3 named)
(1) Labor
(2) Catholics
(3) Hispanics

11:15 am Faith Whittlesey
White House Public Liaison

12:00 pm Lunch - no scheduled discussion

1:00-2:00 pm Defense (the political side of the defense issue)
Bill Greener, Sr. Pro
Anti (am asking Greener's advice) } AND/OR
Bishop Nuclear Freeze (am asking Fr. Shea)

2:00-2:45 pm PANEL for questions

3:00-4:30 pm Committee Reports
(1) Rich Bond - RNC
(2) Mitch Daniels - NRSC
(3) Joe Gaylord - NRCC

4:30-5:15 White House Legislative Agenda
Ken Duberstein

5:30 Reception

T H E

W A S H I N G T O N

I N S T I T U T E

✓ file

AN INVITATION

While the current crises in Central America have generated highly emotional debate, responsible policymakers and opinion leaders have not always had enough information on the various options available. The implications of the current problems in Nicaragua and El Salvador make non-partisan analyses and discussion essential.

The Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy is therefore pleased to announce the publication of its Task Force report: Central America in Crisis: A Program for Action. We cordially invite you to hear a panel of experts from government, the media, and the private sector, who will discuss the problems and options in that region, and respond to questions from the audience.

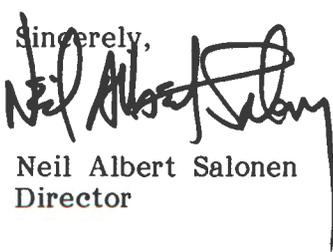
Date: Tuesday, May 24

Time: 4:00 p.m. Wine and Cheese Reception
4:30-6:00 p.m. Panel Discussion

Place: Rayburn House Office Building
Room B-354

We sincerely hope that you will attend or send a representative. Complimentary copies of Central America in Crisis will be available at the meeting; transcripts will be sent, on request, as soon as they can be prepared.

I hope to see you on the 24th.

Sincerely,

Neil Albert Salonen
Director

May 16, 1983

NAS:ov
Enclosure

Central America in Crisis

A Program for Action



THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE FOR VALUES IN PUBLIC POLICY

Is Proud to Announce the Publication of

**CENTRAL AMERICA IN CRISIS:
A PROGRAM FOR ACTION**

the report of The Institute's Task Force on Central America,
and to
invite you to attend a panel discussion of

THE CRISIS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Tuesday, May 24, 1983 at 4:00 p.m.

Room B354

Rayburn House Office Building

Participating in the discussion will be

Dr. Marcelo Alonzo

Chairman of The Washington Institute's Task Force on Central America

Mr. Eduardo Ulibarri

Editor-in-Chief of "La Nacion" – Central America's leading newspaper

The Honorable Phillip V. Sanchez

Former U.S. Ambassador to the Republics of Honduras and Colombia
and

The Honorable Jose Manuel Casanova

U.S. Executive Director, Inter-American Development Bank

4:00 p.m. Wine and Cheese Reception, 4:30 p. m. Panel Discussion

If you cannot attend but wish to receive a copy of the report and information
about The Washington Institute, please write to:

The Washington Institute

Suite 910

1333 New Hampshire Avenue, NW

Washington, DC 20036

The Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy is an independent, nonprofit research and educational organization. Its purpose is to:

- examine the underlying ethical values in public policy issues
- serve as a catalyst to create interaction among policymakers and academic experts
- communicate its research findings to appropriate policymakers

The Washington Institute evolved out of The International Cultural Foundation and the Professors World Peace Academy of the U.S.

President of WI is Dr. Richard L. Rubenstein, Robert O. Lawton Distinguished Professor of Religion at Florida State University. Director of the Institute is Mr. Neil Albert Salonen.



The Washington Institute
for Values in Public Policy



THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENSE OF TRADITION, FAMILY, AND PROPERTY

The Colombian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) has recently published in leading Colombian newspapers a timely manifesto on the country's situation after the Amnesty and the ongoing guerrilla warfare. The manifesto was published in El Tiempo, Bogota, 4/29/83; El Pais, Cali, 4/29/83; El Diario del Huila, Neiva, 4/29/83; and Diario de la Costa, Cartagena, 5/6/83.

On May 3, 1983, the manifesto was also published in El Salvador's largest newspaper, El Diario de Hoy, by the Salvadoran Social Commission, "Peace: the Tranquility of Order". Following is a translation of the publication in El Salvador.

This text may be reproduced on condition that credit be given to The American TFP.

INDIFFERENCE IS THE CHIEF ALLY OF THE GUERRILLAS

The TFP Calls On the Indifferent:

Wake up Before It Is Too Late!

For some years now, Marxist guerrilla warfare and terrorism have kept the Salvadoran nation, as well Hispanic American countries, in a trauma designed to bring them under Red dominion. This nefarious action has been aided by different forces in politics, religion, economics, and the media, which have helped to transform subversion into an offensive able to affect not only our country but the whole continent as well.

A few days ago we received a manifesto published by the Colombian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) in the principal newspapers of its country analyzing the tragic results of temporization with the Marxist guerrillas there. Although the guerrilla movement is much smaller in Colombia than in El Salvador, its danger is indisputable.

The similarities between the crises affecting our two nations, which share the same Faith, culture and ethnic heritage, are such that in spite of the differences in the magnitude of the guerrilla phenomenon in the two places, we could not fail to reproduce this manifesto here. If the communist tactics are indeed the same in Colombia as in El Salvador, and if the Red sect finds collaborators imbued with the same spirit in both countries, there is nothing more reasonable than for us to use a publication of this caliber as an element of our defense. This is all the more true when one considers its noble argumentation, based on the Catholic thought that is so deeply rooted in the mentality of our peoples.

Considering that the graver, more numerous and threatening are the crimes of the guerrillas, the more absurd it is to temporize with them, the Social Commission, Peace: The Tranquility of Order makes this manifesto known to the public of El Salvador, hoping that the truths it contains will be enlightening to many of our compatriots.

May the Divine Saviour, who has protected our nation throughout its history, continue to do so with special mercy at this crucial hour.

* * *

Here follows the manifesto:

Now that some months have gone by since the Government, with massive support from politicians, ecclesiastics and the media, promulgated the Law of

Amnesty, a number of questions which must be answered have been taking shape in the minds of innumerable Colombians.

Instead of the pacification that had been announced, the audacity of the guerrillas has taken on an unprecedented magnitude, making it possible to see the communist plan of taking advantage of all circumstances in order to convulse the nation. Now, since the measures of clemency for the guerrillas, far from placating them, have only stimulated them, one must ask: What should be said of this step taken by the authorities? What should be said about the period that they have thus opened in our country's history? And how can we face the subversive threat which, with the collaboration of accomplices unsuspected by the public, rather than diminishing, is by all indications moving toward setting off a civil war?

In the last few days, the full import of these serious questions has been shown by a number of events so significant that their mere enumeration speaks for itself:

- The discovery in Brazil that several large planes were loaded with tons of arms in a clandestine shipment from the Lybian tyranny to the guerrillas in our country and other Marxists in Central America; the foreign ministries of the continent naturally perceived the hand of Moscow in that shipment;

- Strong indications that this is an established system for supplying war materiel for the subversion of the whole continent;

- The boastful declaration of terrorist leaders that they will continue their bloody activities on a much larger scale, at the same time as many guerrillas have gone to Lybia for training;

- An instruction from the Kremlin to the various Colombian guerrilla movements to unite, as their comrades in strife-ridden Central American countries have already done, to achieve greater effectiveness in their bloody undertakings;

- The denunciation by military authorities of a Marxist plan to use the guerrillas to cut off and control part of our country as a step in bringing the whole nation under Red domination.

The Colombian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) feels obliged to answer these questions which, so to speak, are surfacing all over the country. For this purpose, we consider it necessary to examine the problem with total objectivity and impartiality, and to formulate arguments and draw conclusions with indisputable clarity. This must be done regardless of

anyone's feelings, for once unconditional pardon has been granted to the guerrillas, it would be inconceivable that there be no freedom to make objections to it.

The Ideological Action of the TFP Against Revolutionary Psychological Warfare

What is an ideological point of view? As the eminent Catholic thinker Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira says, "the communist movement is fundamentally:

- an atheistic, materialistic and Hegelian philosophical sect which deduces from its erroneous principles a complete and unique conception of man, economics, society, politics, culture, and civilization;
- a worldwide subversive organization: Communism is not just a movement of a speculative nature. By the imperatives of its own doctrine, it aims to turn all men into communists and shape the life of all nations entirely according to its principles. Considered in this aspect, the Marxist sect professes integral imperialism not just because it aims at imposing the thought and will of a minority on all men, but because this imposition affects man as a whole, in all aspects of his activity" (Cf. Transbordo ideológico inadvertido y diálogo, C.I.O., S.A., Madrid, 1971, p. 6).*

Thus, communism sought for decades to achieve world conquest through its tiny, cohesive and fanatic nuclei of militants who at times tried to win the masses over to their doctrine, fill them with hatred and throw them into class struggle, and thus seize power, and at other times fomented violent disorders and revolutions for the same purpose. The period of clear confrontation between East and West was a consequence of the openly aggressive and ferocious position of communism in the violent phase.

Nevertheless, as this conquest advanced, the apathy of the multitudes toward the egalitarian promises of communism grew hand-in-hand with their well-known resistance to its collectivist and tyrannical character. So the tactics of Red expansion underwent a number of adaptations whereby revolutionary psychological warfare gradually became its principal weapon. Thanks to this, communism gained victories which mere violence would never have obtained.

What is revolutionary psychological warfare? It is a series of resources communism uses to make nations let themselves be led into Red domination in spite of the lack of popular support. This lack of support is obvious to anyone

who is willing to see it, and could never be admitted by a movement that claims to be the defender of the masses and interpreter of their will. Revolutionary psychological warfare causes the peoples to gradually lose their will to resist and to allow themselves to be brought under regimes which impose a socio-economic system very close to the one advocated by Marx even though not declaredly Marxist; after a while, a communist regime properly speaking is established, and with this even the nation's sovereignty is impaired exactly as it would be by losing a conventional war.

In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to produce in public opinion an impression like that which would be produced by a general and stormy protest. This can be brought about by groups which, when not large enough to produce really great agitation, must at least be very violent. Their action must be complemented by that of other groups much larger in size and above all apparently less harmful which, with a good-natured and condescending tone, will advocate that the country make concessions to the violent minority.

An indispensable condition for the success of such an operation is for the different groups to play their roles with the coordination they would have if guided by one single brain; but it is vital that telltale symptoms of this coordination not show through, lest the indignation and concern caused by the hotheads prejudice the credibility of the "moderates."

In this way, the nation will be led through successive stages in which some will threateningly demand concessions that others will benevolently favor until the situation becomes such that the violent minority will appear to be both inside and outside the law: outlawed on account of their crimes and delinquencies, but tolerated by many authorities who will not only fail to take efficacious measures against them but will eagerly seek their friendship.

Thus, the target nation will go through alternating periods of violence and of pseudo peace. These lulls, mere occasions for the subversives to calmly rebuild and perfect their organization, will often occur shortly after concessions have been won and will serve to produce in public opinion the impression that those concessions did work as effective pacifying measures. But new outbursts of violence will follow as soon as the Marxists consider them a timely and probably successful means to press for further concessions.

Roger Muchielli, the well-known French specialist in psychological warfare, makes an interesting point regarding this subject. He writes: "The classical view was that subversion and psychological warfare were a war machine like any

other, employed only during hostilities. Today's States, limited by this archaic distinction, have failed to understand that psychological warfare has blown the classic distinction between war and peace to bits. It is non conventional warfare foreign to the norms of international law and the known rules of war; it is a total war that disconcerts the jurists and pursues its objectives under the shelter of their law codes. As Megret says, from now on the classic distinction between war and peace will be challenged by psychological warfare. . . free from the barriers of time, of places and conventions, an immaterial force and hence impossible to grasp and capable of all kinds of metamorphoses" (Cf. La Subversion, Ed. Bordas, Col. Connaissance, Paris, 1972, pp. 26-27. The emphasis is ours).

Thus, it is not difficult to see how public opinion easily loses sight of the coordination among the various violent and pseudo pacifist factions active in psychological warfare, and why at times it fails to realize right away that communism is the beneficiary of these maneuvers. And this double effect on the public is precisely the purpose of the continuous attacks of the more radical Marxists on their nevertheless unflagging supporters, the less radical ones.

Tolerance Has Given the Guerrillas
Much More Than They Ever Won by Violence

In spite of its difficulty in following the process, the gravity of the violence that followed the amnesty has been showing Colombian public opinion that the amnesty constituted a resounding victory of communism in and against our country: the principle of authority was shattered, the strength of the law undermined, and many crimes given impunity as long as they had been committed in order to impose a Marxist regime. As a consequence, the Red offensive goes on with even greater impetus and Colombian blood continues to be shed. An ominous precedent that may cost our country dearly has been set.

The TFP, which would have preferred not to be alone in its opposition to that disastrous measure, is nevertheless happy to have the honor of being perhaps the only exception to the generalized passivity, indolence and incomprehensible optimism with which the amnesty was received in civilian circles, and happy also that its statement strengthened the reservations of many about the amnesty.

The call published by the TFP a few days before the approval of the Law of Amnesty was not heeded by those who then had ears only for the promoters of subversion; but it was written into the annals of our history: an amnesty would bring about a transfer of the agitation "from the depths of the jungle to the centers of the major cities," in which the guerrillas would begin to promote "insurrections of worker neighborhoods against the neighborhoods of the employers." Thus, these concessions -- of which the amnesty was the first -- instead of placating the guerrillas "would only serve to increase their hopes of success through even more bitter, radical and violent extortions moving rapidly toward the total extortion." 1

What actually happened? In a certain sense much less than that; in another sense, immensely more. Of course, it would have been unheard of rashness for the guerrillas just favored by the amnesty to have carried out, in less than one hundred days, their plan to throw our major cities into chaos as a new step toward the capitulation of the authorities, and thus to seize power. That would have fulfilled the prediction of the TFP (and to give the TFP such prestige would be precisely the opposite of what the guerrillas would want) and caused enormous alarm in public opinion, completely discrediting those who promoted the concessions and, instead of opening the road to power, would have blocked it definitively.

However, in another sense the guerrillas obtained much more: during these months, reaching agreement with them has become, for many outstanding personalities in the country, a goal without which they deemed it impossible to achieve any good and stable political formula. Those who in strict justice had been considered criminals until then, began to be treated as "heroes" and "idealists" and their friendship was sought after, as if it were an honor, by many people in government hitherto regarded as their enemies. Thus, without having to wreak havoc in the cities, they took over, so to speak, the very core of their centers, where the future of the nation is decided.

In fact, the guerrillas did not have to formulate further extortions, since they were so favored that whatever they wanted from the political standpoint was voluntarily given to them. So, the general and unconditional amnesty -- which extended to practically all guerrillas and took place without their having to surrender their weapons or free their hostages -- was followed by other, even more disconcerting favors.

After the Amnesty, to Have Been a Guerrilla Entitles One to Privileges

Indeed, while honorable rural landowners are being ruthlessly and unjustly despoiled under the provisions of confiscatory socialist laws, the government distributes, to many presumably repentant guerrillas, properties that it never gave as a reward even for the most meritorious acts: the Colombian Agrarian Reform Institute (INCORA) handed over tracts to them, along with generous lines of credit, often with no guarantor but the State itself.

Where did this land come from? Most news reports in the press carefully avoid giving such details. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that some of this land, like many INCORA holdings, has been wrested from its legitimate owners without adequate compensation. This is shocking not only because it means rewarding criminals with the spoils of the innocent, but also because it constitutes a sinister fabric woven of organized injustice.

When one considers that guerrilla violence has forced the rural landowners in many regions to temporarily abandon their properties and suspend their operation for fear of kidnapping and death, thus leaving their vacated properties in grave danger of being expropriated, the granting of expropriated property to former guerrillas, by paving the way to the recognition of usurpation as legal, no longer means mere impunity for crime but an official dominion of crime over law.

In other cases, the parcels came from the patrimony of the Archdiocesan Curia of Florencia, whose bishop, Msgr. José Luis Serna, not only stood out as the ecclesiastical champion of the amnesty but also flatly declared that he had repeatedly harbored guerrillas. The national press did not tell much about how those properties had been acquired by the Archdiocese. However that may have been, it is difficult to believe that the persons whose efforts and generosity made those lands available to the Archdiocese could have imagined that they would end up in blood-stained hands, let alone become a reward for crime.

There is worse: Through a suggestive coincidence, those parcels are located precisely in one of the areas most affected by the guerrillas, as though there had been an intention to keep them in the very theater of their dreadful operations. They naturally accept this "solution" since it will enable them to keep intact the subversive organization they must have established there, instead of dismantling their networks and connections which represent such a grave threat to the country. And although the gravity of this danger is obvious, many authorities seem not to notice it.

The policy of discrimination favoring amnestied subversives and the benefits lavished on them were such that, according to Army spokesmen, 2 many people tried to pose as guerrillas so as to receive benefits which they would never obtain otherwise!

Rather than preventing violence, this process of psychological surrender by some, and of conquest by others, ensured that guerrilla violence would continue. In fact, the Marxists were trying to insinuate that there is only one way to defeat their fanatic adherence to illegality, collectivism and crime: that is, by making enormous and continuous concessions inspired -- since even most noble ideals can have the misfortune of being served by fanatics -- by what could be called "fanaticism for peace."

This "fanaticism for peace" has had, and in fact still has, numerous and prominent people who aspire to represent it and persist on going ahead with it as if they did not see the failures of the policy of concessions.

The so-called "measure of clemency" obviously benefitted the perpetrators of most shocking crimes: burning an invalid woman religious alive; 3 assassinating captured servicemen simply because they were military; 4 and, evidently, numerous kidnapping-murders. Thus, "clemency" for the criminals has taken the place that belonged to compassion for innocent victims.

As could be expected, no sooner had the guerrillas been freed by the amnesty than some of them took arms again to continue their sinister fight. 5 Likewise, the guerrillas have again started murdering peasants 6 whom they accuse of not collaborating with them or of helping the Armed Forces; they are also continuing to kidnap rural landowners to extort large and often unavailing ransoms from their families.

In view of all this, which represents an enormous capitulation to the revolutionary psychological warfare that communist imperialism wages against our country by alternating guerrilla outbursts and false pacifications, what must be done to extricate our country from this predicament and its destructive effects?

Colombia must resolve to resist the expansion of communism at all costs, whatever tactics it may use, and adhere completely to the fundamental principles of Christian Civilization which have guided our nation since the very dawn of its history. Thus, following the rules of logic, duty and honor, our country will proudly fulfill its mission today and make progress toward fulfilling its vocation in the concert of nations in the Americas.

The TFP considers it necessary to discuss these fundamental principles in greater detail, particularly those more directly at stake in the present circumstances.

Are Landowners and Soldiers Pariahs With No Right to Life?

Since outbursts of inconceivable violence have followed these incredible concessions, and since systematic impunity in the violation of a right signifies its virtual negation, one must ask those who still defend the amnesty: Is there, or do you hold that there is, a class of men so miserable as to be denied even their very right to life? Do you place in this category the landowners, whose goods the guerrillas wish to seize, and the soldiers, without whose extermination or defeat they would not be able to do so?

First of all, what should be said of the landowners, whose very condition as owners implies the risk of death? It could be objected that only their right of property, and not their right to life, is being questioned. Now, is the right of property real or not? On the basis of traditional Catholic doctrine, the TFP affirms that the right of property is a real, sacred and inviolable right without which it is impossible to constitute a legitimate social order; and that although this right — like absolutely all other rights which inhere in men as individuals, including the right to work — has a social function, it is not any weaker or more questionable for having this social function.

Anyone who thinks that this is not so, and that as a consequence a man loses nothing by being prevented from having goods of his own, or by being deprived of them, must recognize that he opposes that which the Magisterium of the Church has taught continuously for centuries.

So, when a person runs the risk of death in order to exercise a legitimate right, he is threatened not only in that right but also in his right to life. Does it make any sense for the positive law, in accordance with Natural law, to recognize that they are owners, while on that account they are left subject to guerrilla demands whose refusal would mean kidnapping and death, and for these crimes to be left unpunished?

The outcry of the guerrillas and their propagandists against large properties is unconvincing, let alone a basis for hope that their desires stop at limiting the size of properties or fortunes by confiscation. Experience

shows that people of all social classes suffer great harm to their patrimony at the hands of the guerrillas, who do not seem to care whether or not those they rob are poor.

Furthermore, although all large properties in El Salvador were wiped out some time ago by socialist and confiscatory reforms imposed by a dictatorial government, that sister nation of ours is still torn by widespread and grave strife. It is becoming a sample of what awaits countries in which the guerrillas are not defeated. After those first reforms were carried out, the guerrillas only radicalized their offensive, seeking to put an end to all remnants of property and to establish collectivism.

As to the soldiers, more than just exercising a right, they are valiantly fulfilling their obligation to preserve order. If, when they die in the fulfillment of their duty, their murderers enjoy complete impunity in spite of their having dedicated themselves to the defense of their country, then their right to life has no guarantee whatsoever. What should be said of the offensive that struck them down? What should be said about the "understanding" and benevolent attitudes toward that offensive?

Catholic Morality Condemns Marxist Guerrilla Warfare for Many Reasons

In principle, Catholic Doctrine treats guerrilla warfare in the same way it does the other licit forms of war: there can be a just war as long as the causes that move a nation to make it and the authority that makes the decision are legitimate, and as long as it aims to do good and avoid evil.

Now, is the guerrilla warfare going on in our country licit? It is not, for many reasons: not only does it not have a just cause, but the motive of those who orient it and carry it out is intrinsically evil since it is a desire to establish a collectivist and tyrannical socio-economic regime which entails the denial of all rights, the violation of all true principles, and the suppression of all freedoms. The guerrilla war aims to impose definitively the omnipotence of those who espouse the Marxist errors through unjust, constant and general violence.

But that is not all. The guerrilla warfare is not only not led by a legitimate authority, but is in rebellion against it, aiming to establish the absolute dominion of those who, because of their objectives, cannot have any legitimacy.

Consequently, the death and destruction which occur in a just war, while lamentable, cannot be classified as crimes, but they are crimes indeed when caused by the Marxist guerrillas, whose unscrupulous methods are compounded by the intrinsic iniquity of their goals.

Why Are the "Pacifists," Who Speak So Much Against War,
So Unanimously and Completely Silent About the Guerrillas?

It is extremely significant that the situation described above, so clear and indisputable once it is pointed out, is systematically covered up by many "pacifist" movements and leaders, both lay and ecclesiastic, who incessantly promote "peace" whenever war would pose a threat to the interests of communism; and, as in so many other cases, that the promoters of rapprochement are much more dedicated to making concessions supposedly aimed at pacifying, than in achieving real pacification. Interestingly enough, they frequently are understanding and sympathetic to the guerrillas and brand those who repress them as inhuman.

Consider the sad examples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, where for some years now groups of prominent clergymen have supported and applauded the guerrillas, not to mention those who helped and participated directly in guerrilla warfare. This they do as the Sacred Hierarchy watches with utmost passivity, interrupted at best by occasional and inconsequential lamentations. This shows the direction that events may take in our country. Given the dynamism of evil, it is to be feared that what has happened to our tormented neighbors in Central America may also occur in Colombia. And if the surprising ecclesiastical complacency with the guerrillas is allowed to go unchecked, it may be followed by scandalous, open approval.

A Call of the TFP to Civil and Military Authorities

Given the overwhelming failure of concessionist measures, the TFP calls on the civil and military authorities to fulfill their obligation in accordance with the law by energetically fighting the guerrillas to completely and effectively restore order and peace so as to protect our country and ensure the security of threatened populations.

Failure to do so would amount to tolerating with inhuman indifference the sufferings to which the guerrillas are subjecting large sectors of the population, which live in a state of continuous alarm and suffer outrages, losses and plunder, not to mention death and moral evils so bad that even death would almost seem preferable.

It must be recognized that timid, partial or hesitating measures only aggravate and perpetuate the problem. They not only encourage subversion but, as the experience of the last few years has clearly demonstrated, also create the erroneous impression that the guerrillas cannot be stopped.

Of course the repression should not be indiscriminate, falling on the guilty and innocent alike, nor should any exaggerated or illicit measure of coercion be employed. But, since punishment for crime is indispensable, and since those who opt for violence do so knowing that they will be opposed by force, all licit and wise measures must be taken to promptly halt this nefarious action.

Furthermore, by the enforcement of the law, Colombia will achieve two important goals: The lives of those who serve their country with idealism will no longer be excessively exposed; and, above all, it will be clear to everyone that violence and illegality are not adequate means to achieve that which is difficult to obtain by legitimate methods. It would be disastrous for the country to let Marxist violence go on with impunity, since this would give rise to a generalized conviction that any group, however small it may be, can obtain what it wants by force.

A Call of the TFP to the Population in Guerrilla-Infested Areas

The firmness of the authorities is indispensable for bringing an end to the chronic Marxist violence in our country. However, the repression they carry out, no matter how drastic, will probably not suffice without massive collaboration from the populations in guerrilla-infested areas in order to deprive the guerrillas of every element that might serve for their maintenance and growth.

Indeed, it is well known that the guerrillas depend on the help of rural populations not only for material means but also for recruitment and for protection from the law by blending in among them.

Therefore, it is evident that a population entirely opposed to the guerrillas will completely block their possibilities of action and thus eliminate them, just as a conniving population would give them means for sustenance and render their action chronic and possibly uncontrollable.

The whole country knows that the most frequent, immediate and defenseless victims of the guerrillas are the rural populations. But this is so only when guerrilla attacks target individual persons or restricted areas. When they find a general opposition of the population, the guerrillas are either defeated or simply look for a more favorable place. The only way to prevent the vengeance of subversives against those who do not collaborate with them is for everyone to continuously oppose them so that, unable to avenge themselves against a whole people, they completely abstain from any reprisals.

Thus, if necessary -- and it will be necessary in many cases -- the civil population should withdraw from troubled areas, not only to escape danger but so that the guerrillas will have no one to ask for help or to kidnap. This will also facilitate the action of the military, who will no longer have to distinguish between honorable but threatened civilians and the subversives who strive to blend in among them. The hardships entailed in moving may be painful, but they are a thousand times preferable to the moral devastation of connivance with the guerrillas, compounded by the destruction caused by the fighting.

In the beginning of this century, when the errors of the French Revolution were spreading all over the world and dominating large areas to the great prejudice of the glory of God and the salvation of souls, Blessed Ezequiel Moreno Diaz, Bishop of Pasto, stood out for his fiery combativity against them and in defense of the Faith. He was a faithful shepherd who won a place of exceptional honor in our history, in addition to eternal beatitude.

As it concludes this manifesto, the TFP expresses its wishes that the most worthy Colombian Episcopate will, like its venerable predecessor, take a combative attitude against the Marxist errors, natural successors of those of the French Revolution, and also against the violence of those promoting these errors; and that they will support the Armed Forces and the civil authorities and encourage the general population to repel the guerrilla aggression by all licit means.

The TFP lifts its eyes to Our Lady of Fatima, Who rebuked the world at the dawn of this century and predicted the expansion of communism, but also promised that after these storms Her Immaculate Heart would finally triumph. It

is She whom we hope will touch the hearts of the guerrillas, the authorities and all Colombians, snatching our country from the present conflagration to reestablish true peace, that is, not the apparent and precarious tranquility of capitulations, but the tranquility of order.

Notes:

1. "Amnesty to Guerrillas: A Pacifying Measure? Or a Transfer of the Guerrillas From the Depths of the Jungles to the Hearts of the Cities? The TFP Beseeches Our Lady to Enlighten Our Leaders" El Tiempo, Bogota, 11/9/82; El Pais, Cali, 11/11/82; El Mundo, Medellin, 11/13/82; and later on in that month in Diario de la Frontera, Cúcuta; Diario del Huila, Nieva, Diario de la Costa, Cartagena.

* Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue, in Crusade for a Christian Civilization, #4, 1982, P.O. Box 176, Pleasantville, New York 10570

2. El Tiempo, 1/17/1983
3. El Tiempo, 1/17/1983;
4. El Tiempo, 1/20/1983;
5. El Tiempo, 2/16/1983;
6. El Tiempo, 1/4/1983, 1/19/1983, and 2/11/1983.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 27, 1983

Student Body
Sapulpa High School
Sapulpa, Oklahoma 74066

To the Student Body of Sapulpa High School:

On behalf of the President, I would like to confirm presentation of this American flag to the students of Sapulpa High School.

It is encouraging to see such patriotism in this nation's young people. Many servicemen gave their lives to insure our freedom, and it is indeed commendable that you have honored the memory of these men at your 1983 Memorial Day Service.

Sincerely,



Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

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June 10, 1983

Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
U.S. Capitol
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Appreciation to you and your staff for the courtesy and help with our Memorial Day Services.

The flag given to me by the Republican Task Force in the name of the President was presented to the Sapulpa High School Students with permission from your office.

It would be very impressive to have a letter from the President to the Sapulpa High School Students confirming this and I am certain they would place this in their display with the other letters of commendations.

Please.

JP/tw

Sincerely,


John Pariseau

The Institute for Econometric Research

File

Coral Ridge Building
3471 North Federal Highway
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33306
(305) 563-9000

Glen King Parker, Chairman

Norman G. Fosback, President

July 12, 1982

The Honorable Morton C. Blackwell
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

You asked the Securities and Exchange Commission to respond to my letter to you of February 16, 1982, regarding the SEC's program of newsletter regulation and censorship. Richard W. Grant, Associate Director of the Division of Investment Management, has done so by a letter dated July 6, 1982. A copy of his letter was indicated as going to you, and a copy is enclosed.

Three statements in the SEC's response are at such wide variance with the facts that they cannot be left unchallenged:

1. Mr. Grant states, "The Commission does not censor financial newsletters and magazines." That is untrue. One of the first steps in any SEC inspection of a newsletter publisher is to obtain copies of all back issues for a twelve to eighteen month period and subject these issues to a thorough scrutiny. The inspector then advises the publisher which types of material are found to be offensive and seeks assurance from the publisher that such material will not be published in the future. In a newsletter inspection last month, for example, the inspector noted that publication's Letters to the Editor column sometimes contained letters praising the publisher's investment philosophy. The inspector ruled that such Letters to the Editor were testimonials prohibited by the Commission. He obtained an agreement from the publisher to edit all future Letters to the Editor to delete such material. The SEC's files would reveal dozens of similar cases of direct censorship over the years.

The mere knowledge that a government inspector will regularly demand a file of back issues has a chilling effect on every newsletter publisher in the country. It is not lost on the publishing fraternity that the SEC's staff is primarily liberal in its political outlook, and takes a very dim view of the "hard money, small government" opinions of many of the publishers it regulates.

July 12, 1982

In a broader sense, the ultimate censorship is to prevent an individual from publishing at all. Anyone to whom the SEC denies a publishing license (registration as an investment adviser) is subject to a total and permanent censorship.

Hence, the SEC censors financial newsletters directly by requiring publishers to delete specific material, implicitly through the chilling effect of its periodic reviews of what they have published, and indirectly by forbidding some publishers to publish at all.

2. I cannot find polite words to adequately characterize Mr. Grant's incredible statement that the SEC entire newsletter regulation and censorship program costs a mere \$58,174 a year. You and I know that there is no program in Washington that costs as little as \$58,174 a year, much less a program that involves field work and inspections in every one of the fifty states.

I suspect that this figure was conjured by totally ignoring the regional office cost of newsletter inspections, where the overwhelming majority of this work is done. As a citizen, I am offended when the government agency charged with assuring truth in financial disclosure provides such a misleading statistic to the White House.

3. The memo attached to Mr. Grant's letter concludes that the SEC has satisfied the Regulatory Flexibility Act because it has created a definition of "small newsletters" which encompasses approximately one half of all publishers. The explicit purpose of the Regulatory Flexibility Act is to protect all small businesses, not just the smallest half of an industry composed almost entirely of small businesses.

If fifty percent of the firms in any industry are deemed "small," and the other half "large," Chrysler Corporation would be a "small" business even though a one-man newsletter operation grossing less than \$100,000 a year (and therefore carrying assets in excess of \$50,000 a year) would be a "big" business.

The free enterprise system has very little to show for Mr. Carter's four years in the White House. The Regulatory Flexibility Act is one of the few bones he left us. We are chagrined that under Chairman Shad the SEC distorted the Regulatory Flexibility Act to deny its protection to several hundred small newsletter publishers.

The Hon. Morton C. Blackwell -3-

July 12, 1982

Your interest in establishing freedom of the press for newsletters is deeply appreciated by me and my colleagues in the Newsletter Association of America. We know many problems of far greater import press on the White House today, but we hope that you will continue to help support Freedom of the Press for all elements of the press.

Sincerely,



Glen King Parker

GKP:hn

Enclosure



dick hafer
THE COMICS COMMANDO

9530 ELVIS LANE • LANHAM, MARYLAND 20801

phone 301/577-7036
or 577-0738

January 5, 1983

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
Room 191
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Morton:

Thanks again for the nice time that we had at lunch a few weeks ago.
It was a real pleasure to meet you and the others.

This letter is by way of a favor to a friend and, if half of what he says
is true, a favor to our country.

Do you know of Ernie Fitzgerald, the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force?
He was involved in the C5A business and took a lot of heat for it.

He now tells me that his assistant has uncovered some very damaging
information about one of the Air Force missile programs. Ernie is very
concerned because there are staff people at the Secretary's level who
are keeping him from even contacting the Secretary of the Air Force with
the information. He wanted to know if there's anything that can be done
at the White House level to uncover this situation. He claims that an
Assistant Secretary of Defense is behind the thing.

I would not be inclined to take it seriously, except for two things: I
have always known Ernie to be a pretty straight guy and I've seen the
Army at work at the highest levels and know what can happen. (The Army
is now trying to run Julie Labs out of business. They ordered six units
and now apparently want to welch on the deal, even though there's a
signed contract.)

So, I have fulfilled my promise. If you feel that it sounds worth looking
into, you can contact Ernie at the Pentagon.

Thanks again for your kindness.

Best regards,

Dick
Dick Hafer

P.S.: Now everyone is telling me they didn't really want Ted out of the race.
You can't win! We did get him under 60%.

Marketing ideas, issues and products through cartoons

THE NATIONAL CENTER



FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

Amy Moritz
Executive Director

Dear Fellow Conservative:

For too long now Americans have been bombarded from all sides by hysterical voices asserting the imminence of nuclear war unless we accept the Soviet Union's proposal of an immediate nuclear freeze. For too long now schoolchildren have been told in class and parishioners in church that President Reagan is a greater threat to world peace than the Soviet Union.

You and I know better. We know that only a strong America can safeguard peace and liberty.

But we must also realize that the hysterical voices are becoming more shrill and more numerous. And, unless we do something, the national public "debate" will continue to be one-sided. Support for a strong national defense will be weakened, and our military strength will continue to erode. For the sake of the free world, you and I must do something.

That is why I am asking you to participate in a series of peace through strength activities this Monday and Tuesday, March 7 and 8.

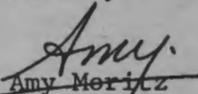
The first of these activities is a pro-America Candlelight Vigil scheduled for 8 p.m. Monday evening in Lafayette Park across from The White House. We'll sing many of America's most famous patriotic and regional songs as we demonstrate for peace through strength. Demonstrators will wear costumes depicting the situation in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Poland, Cuba and other communist nations. And we'll have graphic larger-than-life displays depicting the comparative sizes of the Soviet and American nuclear arsenals, and speakers to address our current strategic situation. Please consider joining us--and bring your family and friends along.

On Tuesday we'll rally at noon at the Senate Park, located near Constitution Avenue on the Capitol grounds. Peace through strength leaders from the Senate, the House of Representatives and the private sector will join us. We'll also be but a short walk away from a large nuclear freeze rally on the west side of the Capitol that is expected to draw approximately 10,000 people.

I know that you are one of those who has frequently been asked to contribute time and effort to the conservative cause in the past. But we have no alternative but to call upon you again. Conservative activists will rally in all 50 state capitols for peace through strength this week, but the eyes of the media will be upon our efforts here in Washington. It is imperative that these activities do not fail.

You and I know that a nuclear freeze would be dangerous. But without your help, millions of sincere Americans may not hear that message. Please consider joining us at the Candlelight Vigil Monday evening and the Rally at noon Tuesday.

Thank you in advance,


Amy Moritz

P.S. All necessary posters, banners, songbooks and materials will be provided free.

*Conservative
Circle*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 25, 1983

Dear Mike:

I am interested in your proposal to re-
invigorate the Republican Party structure
with the help of conservative leaders.
What has been the response to your letter
of November 11?

Enclosed is some material that I have
developed here. I would like your thoughts
on it. Things are somewhat up in the air
now because Mrs. Dole has gone and Mrs.
Whittlesey has not yet arrived. I understand
she will be here next week.

Let's keep in touch.

Cordially,



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

Mr. Michael A. Valerio
Papa Gino's of America, Inc.
111 Cabot St.
Needham Heights, Massachusetts 02194



Papa Gino's OF AMERICA, INC.

111 CABOT ST., NEEDHAM HEIGHTS, MASSACHUSETTS 02194
(617) 449-3300

November 11, 1982

ready for meeting.

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant To The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

Like you, I have been spending much of my time since November 2nd reflecting on the results of the election and the substantial losses we received around the Country. Along with that reflection comes a deep concern. I feel that those losses were the direct result of two major factors. First, at the state level, in most places which were lost, the State's Republican Party was financially and organizationally weak. Therefore, the Party was not able to counter the huge propoganda campaigns that the Democrats mounted against the so called failure of Reaganomics.

Second, preliminary analysis shows that although the majority of our population is in fact more closely allied to Conservative issues and the Republican philosophy, the Democrats were able to perpetuate the big lie that the Democrats represent the voter's interest more than the Republicans do.

The conclusion that I draw from our 1982 experience at the polls is that we should recognize our only real chance for victory in 1984, as in 1980, to try to effectively build the public image of the Party in those states that are weak, organizationally, and lack fund raising capabilities. If this is accomplished in time, advertising messages can be presented to the voters which would tell them that the Republicans do represent the middle class; they do want to help the handicapped; they do want to lower taxes; and that they, more than the Democrats, are willing to put criminals in prison.

Along those lines, I would like to suggest that we test our philosophy and ability to promote it in two or three states which currently have weak Republican Party structures. That test can be implemented with the help of Conservative leaders like you and our other friends by helping the Republican Party machinery in states with a view towards victory in 1984. Wherever the Party machinery was strong, we won. That was primarily because Republicans were able to tell voters that we are more in tune with

real voter concerns than are the Democrats.

Rather than re-inventing the wheel, I feel strongly that we can be successful by helping the Republican Party become stronger. It is an image building responsibility.

I would like to suggest that you and others on the list attached below have a strategy meeting on this subject if you think it is worth pursuing.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Mike". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style. Below the signature, there is a horizontal line.

Michael A. Valerio

MAV:JMG

cc: Ron Dodwin
Howard Phillips
Tom Ellis
Paul Weyrich
Richard Viguerie
Ed McAteer
Terry Dolan
Edwin Feulner
Bob Walker
Woody Jenkins

1982 ELECTION RESULTS - HIGHLIGHTS

Based upon votes for Senator or Governor, the popular votes show Democrats leading across the U.S.

Nationwide

Democratic 54.2%

Republican 45.8%

Northeast

Democratic 52.9%

Republican 47.1%

South

Democratic 58.7%

Republican 41.3%

Midwest

Democratic 51.8%

Republican 48.2%

West

Democratic 53.3%

Republican 46.7%

It appears that where President Reagan made campaign appearances for Republicans running for governor, U.S. Senate, or The House of Representatives the candidates as a group fared better than might be expected. A total of 36 such candidates won election, and 25 candidates lost where the President made a personal appearance on their behalf.

An added factor in the changing composition of Congress was re-apportionment. Of the 17 new House districts created by re-apportionment after the 1980 census, the Democrats won ten seats against seven for Republicans.

1. Source: U.S. News And World Report - Nov. 15, 1982

The results of the election are show below:

House

Net gain by Democrats 26

New Party Division

Democrats 269

Republicans 166

Seats needed to control House 218

Senate

Net gain by Democrats 1

Summary

Republicans lost seven governorships and eleven state legislative chambers. In those States and Districts where Republicans were victorious, much of the credit must go to the Party and Candidates strong organizational skills and strong Party ties. In Nevada, for example, a media campaign, help from President Reagan, and the added strength of Senator Paul Laxalt. Chic Heckt upset the incumbant. Other states with strong grass roots Party organizations and loyalties include California, Indiana and Virginia. In New England, the bright spot shines on New Hampshire where John Sununu won the governorship and stands in a key Party leadership position with Senator Humphrey.

*Conservative
Cases*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 9, 1983

Mrs. John H. Wachter
550 Clark Street
Westfield, NJ 07090

Dear Mrs. Wachter:

Thank you for your letter of February 5 to the President regarding the recent column by M. Stanton Evans. Many people reading that column presumed that the events described in it actually happened. They did not.

Stan Evans, who worked with me in the first Reagan Presidential effort in 1968, and has had a long acquaintance with the President, was in this case writing a facetious piece. The quotes attributed to Mr. Baker and others here were the creation of Stan Evans' imagination.

I am sure that Mr. Evans would confirm that he was writing "tongue in cheek". You could contact him through the local paper which ran his column or write to him at:

Mr. M. Stanton Evans
Education & Research Institute
401 C Street, N. E., Suite 301
Washington, D. C. 20002

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,



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

550 Clark Street
Westfield, NJ 07090
5 February 1983

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

As a very long-time supporter of yourself and your Conservative policies, I am extremely upset by the column of M. Stanton Evans, published last night in the Elizabeth, NJ Daily Journal, in which he stated that your Chief of Staff, James Baker, "has decided with regret 'that President Reagan should resign.'"

How dare a subordinate, an appointee of the president, say such a thing publicly? What would happen if the Administrative Assistant of the president of a multinational corporation should have the temerity to publicly call for the resignation of his boss?

I EARNESTLY ^{by} REQUEST YOU TO STOP TAKING THIS "GAFF" FROM BAKER and his like -- including those Baker designates as "a pretty good team, Darman, Duberstein and Gergen"-- and give them their "walking papers" without further ado.

They have NEVER tried to help you nor subscribed to your objectives and political philosophy.

Now when Baker has the insolence to insult you, he does not belong at your side. I see he stated: he and Deputy Chief of Staff Richard Darman have had to spend 'as much as an hour or an hour and a half' arguing Reagan out of deeply held beliefs....."

What business have they even TRYING to argue the President out of his "deeply held beliefs" on the basis of which he received a very positive mandate from the electorate?

It seems to us at the grassroots that the time is past for you to be so forgiving and conciliatory. If these men object to your policies, it is for them to go work for the Democrats somewhere or write insulting columns or go on TV. BUT THEY CERTAINLY SHOULD NOT REMAIN IN KEY POSITIONS: at the White House.

PLEASE listen to those of us who believe in you and support you and get rid of the Trojan horses.

Sincerely,



Mrs. John H. Wachter

ESW

*Conservative
Circle*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 18, 1982

Dear Mrs. Wachter:

Thank you so much for your encouraging letter of support for President Reagan and his efforts to decrease the burden of the Federal Budget.

I commend you and the Republican Conservative Action Club for your outstanding efforts in support of Jeff Bell.

President Reagan draws great strength from knowing that millions of Americans like you are supporting him at the most important level of American politics.

Thank you so much for your support and for taking the time to share your thoughts with me.

Sincerely,

Morton C. Blackwell

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

Mrs. John H. Wachter
Republican Conservative Action Club
P.O. Box 85
Fanwood, N.J. 07023



REPUBLICAN CONSERVATIVE ACTION CLUB

of Union County
P.O. Box 85, Fanwood, N. J.

*Draft response
thanking her for
the support of
the President's Budget
& New Federalism*

19 May 1982

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell,

I am enclosing herewith a page of signatures signed last night at a public meeting of the Citizens Committee for the New Federalism, an ad hoc committee of the Republican Conservative Action Club of Union County.

These affirm support for President Reagan's Budget for 1983 and for his New Federalism programs.

We feel that something has to be done to counteract the constant lies being spewed forth by the mass media about the President and his priorities.

As you will note from the second sheet enclosed, we were addressed by Assemblyman Chuck Hardwick of Westfield, who presented a ringing endorsement of Mr. Reagan and all he has undertaken to do for the country.

Our club was founded in 1963, before Goldwater, and has been trying to act as "The Conscience of the Republican Party." Seven of our members are actively engaged in volunteer work at the campaign headquarters of Jeff Bell for Senate here in Westfield.

We want you to know that the grassroots of this country continue to be supportive of President Reagan, as they were in the 1980 election in spite of the venom of CBS et al.

Sincerely,

Evelyn S. Wachter

Mrs. John H. Wachter,
Secretary

ESW
2 encl

Conservative Causes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 18, 1982

Gregg:

Dear Mr. ~~Hilton~~:

Thanks for the article on Senator Symms.

I'll try to enlighten him in regard to what I said in the article I wrote for the New Right Report.

What appears to be good intention and responsible action does not always contribute to the well-being of our country.

Thanks for keeping me informed on matters such as this.

Sincerely,

Morton

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

Mr. Gregg Hilton
Hilton Communications, Inc.
The Congressional Building, Suite 208
422 First Street, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

Hilton Communications, Inc.

The Congressional Building, Suite 208
422 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 546-4994

The Chrysler Building, Suite 5011
405 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017
(212) 682-6580

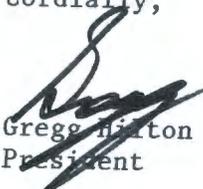
April 30, 1982

Mrs. Maiselle Shortley
c/o Mr. Morton Blackwell
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Maiselle:

Attached is the item on Symms that we discussed. I hate too see our guys do things like this, and Morton might want to send him the item he wrote for the New Right Report. Anyway, keep Terry out of trouble, and I'll be expecting an invitation to your next party.

Cordially,


Greg Hilton
President

Enclosure: As stated

*wrote of thanks.
not saying I'll
try to enlighten
Sen. Symms.*

SYMMS GIVES BACK MONEY TO UNCLE SAM

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Senator Steve Symms returned over \$170,000 to the U.S. Treasury from a surplus of unused funds that had been appropriated for the operation of his offices in Washington and in Idaho during 1981.

Senator Symms said that he is very pleased that his efforts to reduce staff expenses, cut back on supplies and eliminate other costs have been paying off.

"I have always been convinced that every area of the government can find areas where significant savings will result from better management and a concerted effort to avoid waste," he said, adding that "our offices in the Congress are no exception."

Each senator's office is allocated a certain amount of money each year in order to hire a staff, maintain offices and respond to thousands of letters and inquiries from constituents. Each senator receives an appropriation based on the population of his state. The amount for Idaho is relatively small.

"Even so," said Senator Symms, "we were able to save the taxpayers more than \$170,000 in 1981. That won't balance the Federal budget, but every kind of saving helps."



Idaho's Senator Steve Symms returned \$170,834.93 to the U.S. Treasury from funds his Washington, D.C. and Idaho offices saved over the last year. Secretary of the Senate, William Hildebrand, happy to accept the check, said Senator Symms funds "may not balance the federal budget, but every kind of savings helps."

*Conservative
Values*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 10, -1982

Dear Mr. Brenn:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of June 6.

Rest assured that I know the difference between a realist and a pragmatic opportunist. I see too many of the latter.

Congratulations on your decision to work hard to elect conservatives in 1982. We need all the help we can get.

Cordially,

Morton C. Blackwell

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

Mr. Fred Brenn
2442 Hampton St.
East Meadow, NY 11554

6-5-82

DEAR MR. BLACKWELL,

I have Read your interview with John Rees in the Review of the News April 29, 1982. Through out the interview I noted a strong refusal to being a Realist and although I draw some sustenance in having a Conservative as special Assistant to the President, being at the grass roots and having to support this government with my labor and tax dollars I am far from being satisfied with the Administrative personnel surrounding the President. Realism can sometimes be equated to pragmatism, of which there is a great abundance. You must know and Realize the very serious infiltration of the Bush Liberal influence in the White House. The disgraceful dismissal of RANDAL ALLEN and the non support of Sec LEHMAN on the naming of the Sub. Corpus Christi, to name two incidents. The sooner the President Realizes he is supposed to set National Policy and not jump through hoops for the Liberal Establishment the sooner we will return the Republic to its original purpose. I have not been able in 1 1/2 years of letter writing to the President, who processes the letters and of what ideology these people own. Do Conservative letters get the basket treatment or what? I also know that these 82 Congressional elections
OVER

will make or Break the Republic, not
As you have stated in the Article
About getting the switching of Conservatives
in the Administration. I am working to
elating more Conservatives to the Congress.
However, if the President doesn't get
rid of the Hays, etc in the Administration
and especially in the State Dept, the Liberal
hold overs will take over with their
Leader, who is already chosen. I would
Sincerely hope you get to read this letter and
~~the~~ reply (which I do not get from Admin.
officials) would be appreciated, but not
required. Actions speak louder than words.

Yours for the Retention of Republic
Sincerely
Fred. BRENN

2442 Hampton St.
East Meadow, N.Y. 11554

O.S. Note the Turn about of the State
Dept. on now granting visas to the
400 Communist Connected Antinuclear Activists.
Coincidence? Hardly - A contrived staged
production by pro Communist factions in the
State Dept, a known fact!!

File

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY
208 EAST 75TH STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 249-1200

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 25, 1983

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Thank you for accepting the invitation to our recent reception in honor of Center member, Edwin C. Meese III, and Mrs. Meese, at the Metropolitan Club in Washington, D.C.

A number of the distinguished guests present on that occasion have inquired regarding Center membership, which includes a subscription to the award-winning Presidential Studies Quarterly, the volumes in the Proceedings Series, and invitations to the Center's programs.

Believing you would find interest, we enclose an invitational response form and reply envelope.

Cordially yours,

R. Gordon Hoxie
R. Gordon Hoxie

RGH/cdj

Enclosure

P.S. Mr. Meese is the author of the lead article on the Institutional Presidency in the Spring issue of Presidential Studies Quarterly off the press next month. *RGH*

AMERICAN PUBLIC RESEARCH COUNCIL

10701 Marbury Road
Oakton, Virginia 22124

703-281-0333

August 2, 1982

File
↙

The Honorable Morton Blackwell
The White House
New Executive Office Building - Room 2008
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Friend:

Many thanks for your invitation to attend the briefing by Eugene Rostow last Friday. Wish we had more time to do a serious task--to try and persuade serious-minded Members to vote for the President's Bill.

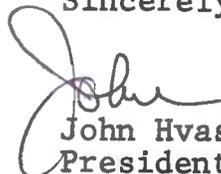
The best that we can do in this space of time is to send telegrams from the RNC--Heritage Division to those Members who rely on our help in the forthcoming campaign. We will also appeal to specific individuals whom we know personally.

Next time let's organize ourselves for a more thorough approach.

USE US....because we can be promoting the best ideals for our Country as well as for our President.

Take care and keep in touch.

Sincerely,


John Hvasta
President

JH/dc

This guy
invited 2
others & was
very enthusiastic
after the
meeting

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL *mcb/is*

SUBJECT: Americans for Reagan Agenda

Here is the data you requested on ARA. Their address is 888 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Suite 902, Washington, D. C. 20006. Their phone number is (202) 835-0818.

They apparently have five directors. They are:

1. Lyn Nofziger
2. Dr. Alfred Balitzer, Professor, Claremont Men's College. Head of Republican National Committee's Coalition Division January - December, 1981.
3. Alan Heslop, Director of Rose Institute for State and Local Government. Rose Institute is nominally bi-partisan but specialized in consulting with state Republican parties on redistricting; worked with GOP in California and Pennsylvania.
4. & Donald and Fernanda Sammis. Sammis is a successful builder
5. in Southern California. He provided \$100,000 seed money to start up ARA.

ARA currently has one staffer, Grover Norquist. In addition to the seed money, ARA has raised \$25,000 in cash and has \$45,000 more in pledges, almost all from Southern California. They are organized as a lobby and have applied for 501 (c) (4) status with IRS.

Over \$25,000 in cash

\$45,000² pledge

Application for 501(c)(4) at IRS

ARA

Lyn Nofziger

Dr. Fred Basitzer - ^{Professor} ~~Government~~
Merrill Gally

~~Dir~~ Coalition Division at
~~HR~~
RNC

Jan ~~19~~ - Dec 1981

Alan Alesop - Dir. of Rose Trust
for State & Local
Govt.

nominaly
Bipart

Pa - Cal - GOP redistricting

Donald ^{+ Fernandez} Sammis - Builder in So. Cal
provided \$100,000
seed money

888 17th St. NW Suite 902

20006

202-835-0818

Bitsey Steve

John Brady - production

~~Bitsey Steve~~

Craig Hiller

THE NATIONAL CENTER



FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

Amy Moritz
Executive Director

August 19, 1982

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liason
Room 191 Old Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

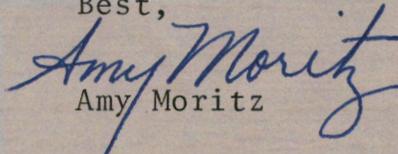
Enclosed are fifty copies of the brochure of our new committee "Americans for Religious Freedom."

I hope that you find them adequate for the task we are attempting to accomplish. I cannot thank you and Doug enough for your assistance in preparing them. The materials you sent and the Robert Cord book you were kind enough to lend me was instrumental in its preparation.

If at all possible, I would like to ask of you one more favor. We are currently putting together a report of our activities for current/potential donors, and we would very much like to include a letter from you stating that you appreciate our circulation of informational materials on the prayer in school amendment with our report.

Thanks again for your help. I'll let you know how things progress.

Best,


Amy Moritz

Enclosures

Committee to Prevent Nuclear War

413 East Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 543-1286

ACTIVITY SUMMARY

June 11-14, New York City

From Friday, June 11 through Monday, June 14, The National Center's Committee to Prevent Nuclear War organized several activities in New York City to prevent the nuclear freeze advocates and radical liberals from completely monopolizing the city's press attention for the weekend.

On Friday morning, the Committee sponsored a press conference at which Rep. William Carney (R-NY-1) for his sponsorship of H.R. 297 opposing an immediate nuclear freeze. Following the award presentation, a number of organizations made statements to publicly record their opposition to an immediate nuclear freeze (see attached).

The press conference was covered by New York TV Stations 2 (CBS), 5 (independent), and 9 (NBC), the New York News World, Cable News Network, WBAF radio, and the National Catholic Register. At the press conference CNN arranged for a 1 p.m. interview with both Rep. Carney and Leonard Holihan of the Coalition for Peace Through Security which was shown both on CNN and the CBS Network Evening News, and Channel 2 (CBS-NY) arranged for a seven minute live debate between Amy Moritz of The Committee to Prevent Nuclear War and a pro-freeze rally organizer on the five o'clock news.

On Saturday The New York Times carried a story about a reversal of a nuclear freeze resolution in the town of Washington, Connecticut, which partially credited The Committee to Prevent Nuclear War with the reversal (see attached copy).

On Saturday the Committee joined several other groups to stage a counter-protest at the massive pro-freeze demonstration. This counterdemonstration received coverage on Channel 2, 5, 11, and 7 as well as national PBS. Numerous reporters and photographers covered the counterprotest as well, although the extent of our coverage in the print media, if any, will not be known until our clipping service completes its work.

On Saturday evening the Committee arranged for Leonard Holihan, as an expert in western civil defense planning, to debate a leader of Physicians for Social Responsibility (radical freeze group) live for one-quarter of an hour long show on national PBS television.

On Monday the Committee held an informational table at New York's Grand Central Station from 7 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. Ten to 15 volunteers were constantly present to hand out "Preventing Nuclear War" brochure to commuters, and slightly over 15,000 brochures were distributed. This activity received media coverage on the noon, evening and night broadcasts of Channel 9 and the evening and night broadcasts of Channels 2 and 5 (in each instance the coverage consisted of an interview regarding our opposition to the freeze and our national activities opposing it). Radio interviews were conducted by two stations, one unidentified and the other radio AM 88 (CBS), which played the story during the evening and through Tuesday morning drive time.

The activities in New York were arranged by the staff of The National Center with the full time assistance of Peter Nassetta of the Coalition for Peace Through Security and Ian Ballon of Students for Peace and Security.

Committee to Prevent Nuclear War

413 East Capitol Street, S.E. New York numbers:
Washington, D.C. 20003 212/661-9600 x1409
(202) 543-1286

STATEMENT OF JUNE 11, 1982 ROOSEVELT HOTEL NEW YORK

The Committee to Prevent Nuclear War is presenting its first annual Winston Churchill Memorial Award to Representative William Carney for his active sponsorship of House Resolution 297, which supports true and meaningful nuclear arms reduction.

We are pleased to be joined at this forum honoring Representative Carney by representatives of numerous groups who feel, as we do, that a nuclear arms freeze at current levels is not the most effective way to prevent the occurrence of a nuclear war. Each of the individuals and organizations represented at this forum has its own perspective on this issue, perspectives which will be brought out in their written and oral statements.

The Committee to Prevent Nuclear War has dedicated its 1982 activities to the goal of encouraging a true debate on the nuclear issue, with an emphasis on the tried and true method of preventing war by maintaining parity between competing powers while negotiating a verifiable arms reduction treaty. Our activities have centered around public education programs, and we are pleased to honor today Representative Carney, whose many public statements and whose actions in the House of Representatives have gone far to assist us with our public education goals.

Committee to Prevent Nuclear War

413 East Capitol Street, S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

(202) 543-1286

PRESENTATION OF AWARD: The Committee to Prevent Nuclear War's Winston Churchill Award, presented to The Honorable William Carney by Amy Moritz

Remarks by Rep. Carney (R-NY-1)

Remarks by Colonel Eileen Bonner, Reserve Officer's Association

Remarks by Francis Leonard Holihan, Director, Coalition for Peace Through Security, London, England

Remarks by Mr. Rod Richardson, Washington, Connecticut

Remarks by Midge Decktor, Committee for a Free World

Remarks by Stuart Schwartzstein, Freedom House

Remarks by Karen McKay, Director, Committee for a Free Afghanistan

Remarks by Ian Ballon, Students for Peace and Security

Remarks by Lori Merryman, College Republican National Committee

Remarks by Reverend Roger Fulton, Committee to Inspire National Character and Honor

Remarks by Jim McFadden, American Catholic Committee

Remarks by Senor Arauna, Cuban-American Committee

Remarks by others as introduced.

Time for questions.

With the exception of Rep. Carney, individual remarks will be limited to approximately three minutes.

Call for Arms Halt Rejected, But Town Remains Divided

By SAMUEL G. FREEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Conn., June 11 — Voters here have reversed their earlier adoption of a resolution calling for a freeze on the production of nuclear weapons.

The decision, in a referendum vote on Tuesday, was the latest skirmish in what one resident termed a "cold war" that began after approval of a freeze resolution at a town meeting April 13.

The result of the referendum — 394 votes against the resolution, 341 for — indicates how closely loyalties are divided in this town of 3,600 residents, who are not accustomed to controversy. But the tally alone does not show the intensity of the campaign, which included charges of smear tactics and outside agitation.

"If you wish to vote for the Brezhnev, Kennedy freeze," one resident, Michel Craig, wrote in a flier he distributed before the April vote, "I recommend you also vote to have Washington, Conn., renamed Marx, Moscow, or Misinformed."

Irritations Remain

Having won in the referendum, Mr. Craig has tempered his rhetoric. But advocates of the freeze are still irritated by the intimations that their number — including clergymen and at least one octogenarian — are well-meaning, but unwitting, pawns of Soviet aims.

"It's the old redbaiting idea, trying to link a grass-roots American movement to Russia," said the Rev. Thomas Kelso, pastor of the New Preston Congregational Church. "This brings back cold war fears. That's ridiculous, but it is extremely divisive."

Both sides agree that this community made an unlikely setting for such divisions. The town is placid (a current issue is whether one of its two post offices should be closed), prosperous (in the top 20 in the state in per capita income) and conservative (a better than 2-to-1 margin for Ronald Reagan in 1980).

It is hardly, they say, a harbor for subversives.

Even most freeze advocates, Mr. Kelso said, were surprised by how quickly the resolution came up locally. They expected a vote this fall; the Democratic Town Committee put the item on the agenda in April.

"It was premature," Mr. Kelso said. "We won, but we didn't have a chance to do much educating."

Still, the 154-to-81 vote hardly seemed controversial at the time. More than 400 communities nationwide have approved the same resolution — "To request a freeze on nuclear weapons by the United States, the Soviet Union and

all nations" — according to Karin Flerke, co-director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse in St. Louis. So had 35 town meetings, 14 town councils and the General Assembly in Connecticut, according to the leaders of the state's freeze movement.

Only the City Council in Rome, Ga., had reversed an approval, said Miss Flerke, who added that the vote here was the first time an electorate had reversed such a resolution.

When it came, however, the tempest rose quickly. Mr. Craig, an airline pilot who was in Bombay, India, at the time of the first vote, began petitioning for a referendum to reverse the result within days of his return. He and nine volunteers gathered 65 more than the required 200 signatures.

Then Roderic Richardson, home for the summer from Columbia University, distributed 5,000 pamphlets propounding the deterrence viewpoint from a table in the downtown area. He got them from the Committee to Prevent Nuclear War, a group based in Washington, D.C.

Octogenarian Sets Up Booth

And Kay Faulkner — an 80-year-old who said her political life began with a 1952 drive to draft Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court for the Presidential nomination — set up her own booth with fliers advocating a nuclear arms freeze from the American Friends Committee.

"You don't know anything," she said one passer-by told her. "All of this is managed by the American Communist party."

Five local clergymen, including Mr. Kelso, issued a statement to their congregations endorsing the freeze resolution as the "moral position."

The statement ignited more controversy. Mr. Richardson, for one, contended, "They have no business giving ecclesiastical sanction to a political issue on which people disagree."

The disagreement apparently spurred Tuesday's high turnout — 735 voters, compared with 820 in the last municipal election. Even Mr. Craig managed to cast his ballot before flying to London.

When contacted there and informed of the results, Mr. Craig said he planned to meet soon with other activists who opposed a freeze. They hope to petition for referendums in other Connecticut towns, he said.

Mr. Kelso scoffed. "One so-called victory in Washington," he said, "does not cancel out a grass-roots movement. It's foolish to assume too much from it."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1982

Page 34

TRIBUTE TO WRIGHT STATE
UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF PRO-
FESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1982

● Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I would like to note that Friday, June 11, 1982, marked an auspicious occasion, the graduation of the Charter Class of the School of Professional Psychology of Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio.

This school was created by an Act of the Ohio General Assembly in 1977, for the purpose of educating and training doctors of psychology. Friday, its first such group of students graduated from a program fully accredited by the American Psychological Association.

I take personal pleasure in recognizing the accomplishments of the School of Professional Psychology, and wish to congratulate the Ohio General Assembly for its wisdom and foresight in establishing the only such program in the State of Ohio.

I wish, further, to note the diligent personal efforts and achievements of its dean, Ronald E. Fox; its associate deans, Allan G. Barclay and Russell J. Bent; its assistant deans, Duke Ellis and James T. Webb; and of its faculty and students.

Finally, I am confident that the graduate of this school will go forth and serve the citizens of the State of Ohio well, and will make significant contributions to the science and profession of psychology.

As a Representative from the State of Ohio, the Buckeye State, I commend this program to the eyes and attention of my distinguished colleagues in the Congress of the United States.

ALLSTAR FOOTBALL CLASSIC
FOR BERKS AND SCHUYLKILL
COUNTIES

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1982

● Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the U.S. Congress an important event which will take place in my congressional district on June 19, 1982 at 8:00 p.m. This occasion is the first annual Berks-Schuylkill County Senior Charity Bowl Benefit. It will be an all-star football classic, encompassing the participation of 29 high schools from Berks and Schuylkill Counties. Sixty young men will take part in the game.

The Berks County Lions Club and the Pottsville Kiwanis-Lions-Rotary Clubs, along with the American Bank are sponsoring this event. The proceeds are for charity.

This first all-star football classic represents the community spirit of helping one another, which is the very foundation of our Nation. I think that it is indeed fitting that this event is recognized in the U.S. Congress. It is my hope that this is just the first in a long line of annual Berks-Schuylkill Senior Charity Bowls and that this excellent example continues to underline the importance of aiding those in need.

I know that my colleagues will join me in wishing the participants of this fine event, the utmost success.●

TRADE, NOT AID, IN THE
CARIBBEAN

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1982

● Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, amidst the dialog surrounding the proposed Caribbean Basin Initiative, one fact must be kept in mind: The long-term goal of the CBI is to encourage friendly Caribbean nations to rebuild themselves through trade, not aid. This will require encouragement of their indigenous industries to develop to the point where they can provide lucrative exports.

It is frustrating to see subcommittee amendments that discourage the development of these industries.

One such amendment would eliminate duty-free treatment for footwear and leather goods coming from the Caribbean. Yet, only three-tenths of 1 percent of these products now entering the United States come from the Caribbean. Caribbean footwear for export consists primarily of sandals and slippers and would not adversely affect the U.S. domestic shoe industry. Passthrough arrangements would not be encouraged by the CBI.

Some proposals would deny duty-free treatment to the importation of Caribbean mushrooms in cans for fear of botulism poisoning. This criticism does a disservice to the Food and Drug Administration, which has been effectively enforcing the regulations governing importation of canned food products. Botulism cases that have emerged have involved not imported products, but domestic products.

If we are to strengthen our friends in the Caribbean, we must allow them to build on their strengths, to expand, and to export. We should encourage trade, not aid, for long-term growth and economic security in the Caribbean. In doing so, we will also be working on behalf of the best long-term foreign policy interests of the United States.●

WINSTON CHURCHILL
MEMORIAL AWARD

HON. GERALD B. H. SOLOMON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1982

● Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, last Friday one of our colleagues was honored for his leadership in initiating the nuclear arms reduction proposal which now has more sponsors than any other in Congress.

WILLIAM CARNEY, our colleague from eastern Long Island's First District, was presented the "Winston Churchill Memorial Award" by the Committee to Prevent Nuclear War at a ceremony in New York City June 11. The committee was joined by 20 other groups, including the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in citing BILL for his work on House Concurrent Resolution 297.

The Winston Churchill Award quotes that famous leader on one very crucial point which all of us who are committed to peace through strength would agree to: "To urge the preparation of defense is not to assert the imminence of war."

At this time I would like to include for the RECORD BILL CARNEY's remarks when he accepted this award.

Remarks by WILLIAM CARNEY follow:

REMARKS BY WILLIAM CARNEY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, FIRST DISTRICT, NEW YORK

I am greatly honored to be presented with this award. I thank you for this presentation and, especially, for the support it shows for what has become the leading nuclear reductions proposal in the Congress.

House Concurrent Resolution 297 now has 172 sponsors. The identical resolution in the Senate has 61 supporters. On Wednesday, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported a resolution which incorporates the essence of both these resolutions.

I think this resolution represents the safe, sane and sensible approach to nuclear arms reductions. The fact that we have more members of Congress supporting this approach is evidence to me that we are on the right track. The diversity of the groups represented here today demonstrates the wide support our approach has outside Washington as well.

If I might single out just two of the groups here today as particularly significant, they are the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Reserve Officers Association. If there is any group in our society who knows best the individual and collective price of peace and freedom, it is our veterans.

My concerns over the issue of nuclear arms reductions was elevated last October when a group of constituents asked to meet with me at my District office. It was a church group, and they wanted to know if I would support a freeze on nuclear weapons. They had been given what became the Kennedy-Markey proposal, and they asked me to support it.

What impressed me about the group was their sincerity. They wanted a world that is free of the threat of nuclear war. So do I. So does every peace-loving person on this earth. But when I started taking a hard look at the freeze proposal they gave me, it became more and more evident that—despite the good intentions of my constituents—the freeze at current levels their pro-

posal contained put the safety and security of this country in danger of the very threat that they wanted most to eliminate.

And the threat right now is the imbalance of forces between the United States and Soviet Union—not the existence of our nuclear arsenals. The superpowers have had nuclear weapons for the past 32 years. But what has developed in the past 10 years has been an imbalance in those forces. And it has been precisely that imbalance that has created the instability in the world and the fear of nuclear war that we are seeing now.

By freezing our forces at current levels, we are also freezing that imbalance and that instability. Therefore, any proposal for freezing nuclear forces must address the need for parity, or equality, of forces.

Second, a nuclear freeze at current levels without an assurance that these levels will be substantially reduced is unacceptable. To allow current levels to remain is not enough. We must instead seek major reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the world.

Additionally, a successful arms-control agreement must speak to verifiability. Although other proposals call for verification, if we were to freeze nuclear weapons under the prevailing conditions, adequate verification could not be obtained. To date, lack of on-site inspections is a serious flaw in existing agreements. Given the Soviet record of compliance with international agreements, adequate verification procedures take on an even greater importance when dealing with nuclear weapons.

The history of Soviet compliance with international agreements is one that is very scarred. In the area of chemical warfare, for example, the Soviets signed the 1972 disarmament agreement calling for the destruction of biological and toxic weapons. Yet there is irrefutable evidence that the Soviets or their surrogates have used chemical and biological warfare in Afghanistan, Laos and Kampuchea. Thus, verifiability is an essential prerequisite to any nuclear reduction proposal we enter.

From this analysis of arms-control needs came our resolution. And what our resolution calls for is that the United States should propose to the Soviet Union a long-term, mutual and verifiable nuclear force freeze at equal and sharply reduced levels of forces.

It is the fervent wish and hope of all Americans for a world that is at peace for all mankind. Although that is our wish, we have to deal with the world as it is today while we work towards a world we would like to have. And the reality of our situation in the world today is this: that since the signing of the SALT I treaty in 1972, there has been a major shift in the balance of power in the world. This shift has not been to the advantage of the United States and the free world, and it threatens the overall world peace.

In the past, the Soviet Union has enjoyed conventional military superiority. But the U.S. strategic superiority had always served to keep Soviet ambitions in check. Since 1972, the United States has lost its margin of strategic superiority. It is very easy to determine how this dangerous shift has been allowed to happen. In the past decade, the Soviet Union has exceeded the United States in military expenditures by an estimated 710 billion dollars. During that same period, the Soviets have introduced 23 new or substantially upgraded strategic systems while the United States has introduced just three. The result is a world that is much more dangerous than it was 10 years ago, and it is that more dangerous and unstable world that we see so many people in this country and abroad reacting to now.

President Reagan recently stated that the Soviets now enjoy a clear margin of military superiority. Acknowledging information I have access to, I am reluctantly forced to agree with Mr. Reagan. Although this claim has been challenged by some, no one can ignore the fact that the Soviet Union is demonstrating an increasing willingness to use their military might for political purposes in direct opposition to United States' and freedom's interests. Soviet military superiority is being flaunted in Latin America, Africa, Southeast Asia, Poland and Afghanistan. If the U.S. is committed to increasing world stability and the prospects for world peace, it must seek to restore a more favorable balance of nuclear weapons in the world.

As I've said, a nuclear freeze at current levels of forces would perpetuate the current imbalance and its accompanying instability. I don't think I have to tell anyone in this room that the Soviets are very skillful negotiators. Therefore, we must take into consideration that a freeze at current levels is much too simplistic a solution for such a dangerous and complicated problem as arms control. If the Soviets did not recognize the enormous advantage they would gain by a simple freeze, Soviet President Brezhnev would never have endorsed the Kennedy-Markey resolution.

Giving credit where credit is due, the Reagan Administration has approached the issue of arms control in a thoughtful and determined manner. Its START proposal is a bold plan that would substantially reduce nuclear weapons on both sides—by one half to one third—and therefore help reduce the likelihood of nuclear war. In the I.N.F. talks—the theater or intermediate range missile talks now underway in Geneva—we are prepared to propose that we would discontinue the planned placement of Pershing II and land-based cruise missiles in Europe if the Soviets would remove their 900 warheads now targeted on western Europe. New life has been breathed into the M.B.F.R. negotiations (mutual balanced force reductions) with the Administration's proposal to reduce NATO strength to 700 thousand troops if the Soviets would reduce their Warsaw Pact force to equal numbers.

Clearly, President Reagan has demonstrated a willingness to initiate safe, sound, sensible approaches to the entire question of disarmament—approaches designed to lessen the present instability in the world and to lessen the likelihood of nuclear war through accident, miscalculation or design. These initiatives should be embraced by all the peoples of the world, and it is our responsibility as citizens concerned with the preservation of the human race to encourage the Soviet Union to recognize the spirit and sincerity in which they have been offered.

Finally, I would like to say a word about the United Nations' General Assembly's second session on disarmament for which I am a congressional adviser to the United States delegation. This forum is in the position to lend the weight of world opinion and encouragement to the United States and Soviet Union to come to the negotiating table in the spirit of good faith and cooperation to produce substantial, equitable and verifiable reductions of arms.

Once again, I am honored to have received this award, and I thank you for your support of our efforts to produce a world that will be free of the threat of nuclear war for all future generations. ●

THE INTER-COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1982

● Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of the House to the outstanding record of community service that is the history of the Inter-Community Hospital of Covina, Calif., which will soon celebrate its 60th anniversary of service.

The Inter-Community Hospital, a nonprofit institution, has become a landmark in the east San Gabriel Valley for quality health care. The hospital began serving San Gabriel Valley residents in 1922. Through the years, hospital growth has matched valley growth, as Inter-Community kept pace with the increasing health care needs of the communities it served. Today, the 274-bed, full-service medical facility provides complete diagnostic treatment, and rehabilitation services, including medical, surgical, orthopedic, pediatric, maternity, and psychiatric care.

Through the years, the Inter-Community Hospital has been an important focus for community involvement. Community residents give over 50,000 hours of volunteer service each year to their community hospital, and many donations are received from the community each year. Community residents also form the Inter-Community Hospital Auxiliary and Men's Club which contribute to the hospital through service and contributions.

On July 31, 1982, the Inter-Community Hospital's 60 years of contributions to the community will be honored by a birthday ceremony and celebration. I think I can speak for the whole House in extending our appreciation, and in wishing the Inter-Community Hospital many, many more years with the friends it has made during the last 60 years of service. ●

SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATION DEVELOPMENT ACT

HON. PARREN J. MITCHELL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1982

● Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, today, I have introduced the Small Business Innovation Development Act of 1982. This bill includes the text of the changes proposed by the House Small Business Committee to the innovation bill, H.R. 4326. These changes were previously printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 18, 1982, on pages H2302 and H2303 as an amendment to H.R. 4326.

The bill introduced today is identical to the amendment previously printed except for the correction of a GPO

FREEDOM FOR RELIGION

*QUESTIONS AND
ANSWERS ON PRESIDENT
REAGAN'S PROPOSED
CONSTITUTIONAL
AMENDMENT TO PERMIT
STATES AND LOCALITIES
TO MAKE THEIR OWN
DECISIONS REGARDING
PRAYER IN PUBLIC
SCHOOLS*

Presented by



AMERICANS
FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

“Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God?”

--Thomas Jefferson

On May 6, 1982 President Ronald Reagan announced his support for a constitutional amendment which would permit states and localities to permit school prayer if they so desired. Since then, many questions have been raised about this amendment. What would the amendment do? What would be its results? How, exactly, is it worded? What is the story behind this amendment?

To help answer public questions like these, Americans for Religious Freedom has prepared the following analysis of the school prayer issue.

WHAT IS THE STATUS TODAY OF PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

In 1962 and 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that group prayer or Bible readings by students in public schools were an impermissible "establishment of religion" by the state and a violation of the First Amendment.

This ruling has since been interpreted very broadly to mean that even one minute of silence for meditation in public schools is unconstitutional; that even recitation of a verse carrying no reference to God before school meals is unconstitutional; that even students can be prohibited from saying grace on their own initiative before meals; that even meetings of self-organized student prayer meetings inside or outside of school hours cannot take place on public school grounds.

WHY DID THE SUPREME COURT MAKE SUCH A RULING?

The Supreme Court stated that permitting prayer of any type in public schools is an implicit governmental support of theism (that is, belief in God), as opposed to non-theism, which is the belief that there is no God. This implicit support of theism was held to conflict with the First Amendment's prohibition of the establishment of a national religion. Critics of this ruling point out that the reverse is now occurring; that is, a ban on school prayer is an implicit governmental support of non-theism.

WHY DO SUPPORTERS OF PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS BELIEVE THAT THE SUPREME COURT RULING IS IN ERROR?

Supporters of prayer in public school cite repeated actions and statements by the founding fathers and by U.S. Presidents and acts of Congress through the years which support a firm non-sectarian religious foundation for our nation. Supporters cite extensive evidence as proof that the founding fathers were not opposed to voluntary prayer or meditation, and that the United States is constitutionally a theistic nation. For nearly two centuries, in fact, young Americans were able to pray in school.

IS THERE BROAD SUPPORT FOR PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

Yes. The *New York Times* reported in May of 1982 that polls show that from 69 to 85 percent of the American people support prayer in public schools. In the 97th Congress, thirteen bills and nine proposed constitutional amendments favor school prayer.

WHAT IS THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S VIEW ON THIS ISSUE?

President Reagan announced on May 6, 1982 that he was sending to Congress a proposed amendment to the Constitution in support of school prayer. This amendment was sent to Congress on May 17, and has been introduced in both Houses of Congress. The full text of the proposed amendment reads: "Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No person shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer."

WHAT WOULD BE THE RESULT OF THIS AMENDMENT?

This amendment would end the federal level universal opposition to voluntary prayer in public schools while formalizing the prohibition against coerced prayer. This amendment would make it possible for the states and localities to decide whether or not they wished to permit prayer in schools. Those states and localities favoring it could have it; those opposed could continue to oppose it. In effect, the amendment would simply transfer the decision about prayer in schools from the federal to the local level.

WHAT KINDS OF PRAYERS ARE LIKELY TO BE USED IF THE AMENDMENT PASSES?

The likely result of passage of this amendment is that, in those states which opt to permit prayer, one of the following actions will be approved:

- Permit a brief period of silent meditation at the beginning of the school day.
- Permit students to say grace at the lunch table at their own initiative.
- Permit the organization of voluntary prayer groups by students on school property outside of class hours.
- Permit students who so desire to read a short prayer or inspirational work at the start of the school day.

COULD A LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD WRITE A PRAYER FOR THE STUDENT'S USE?

Yes, but it could not require students to participate. Examples of two prayers widely adopted by local school boards before 1962 include:

- The Regent's Prayer (New York State):
Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country.
- "America" (fourth stanza):
Our father's God, to Thee, Author of Liberty, to Thee we sing. Long may our Land be Bright with freedom's holy light, Protect us by Thy Might, Great God our King.

WHAT WOULD PREVENT SPECIFIC PRAYERS OR RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES FROM BEING IMPOSED ON SCHOOLCHILDREN?

The amendment absolutely forbids public schools or other governmental agencies from requiring *anyone* to participate in *any* religious exercise. This constitutional right of refusal will be an absolute safeguard against imposition of specific forms of worship on individuals. It should be kept in mind that, prior to the 1962 Supreme Court ruling, local school authorities all over the United States demonstrated a tremendous respect for both religion and diverse views about religion. After all, a major part of the American political tradition is a respect for diversity and freedom of religion.

Please return form to: **COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**
P.O. Box 8857, Washington, D.C. 20003

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

I have read your brochure and would like _____ more free copies to distribute.

I have (written phoned) my congressman about the discharge petition. His reaction was (yes no undecided
 still awaiting a reply).

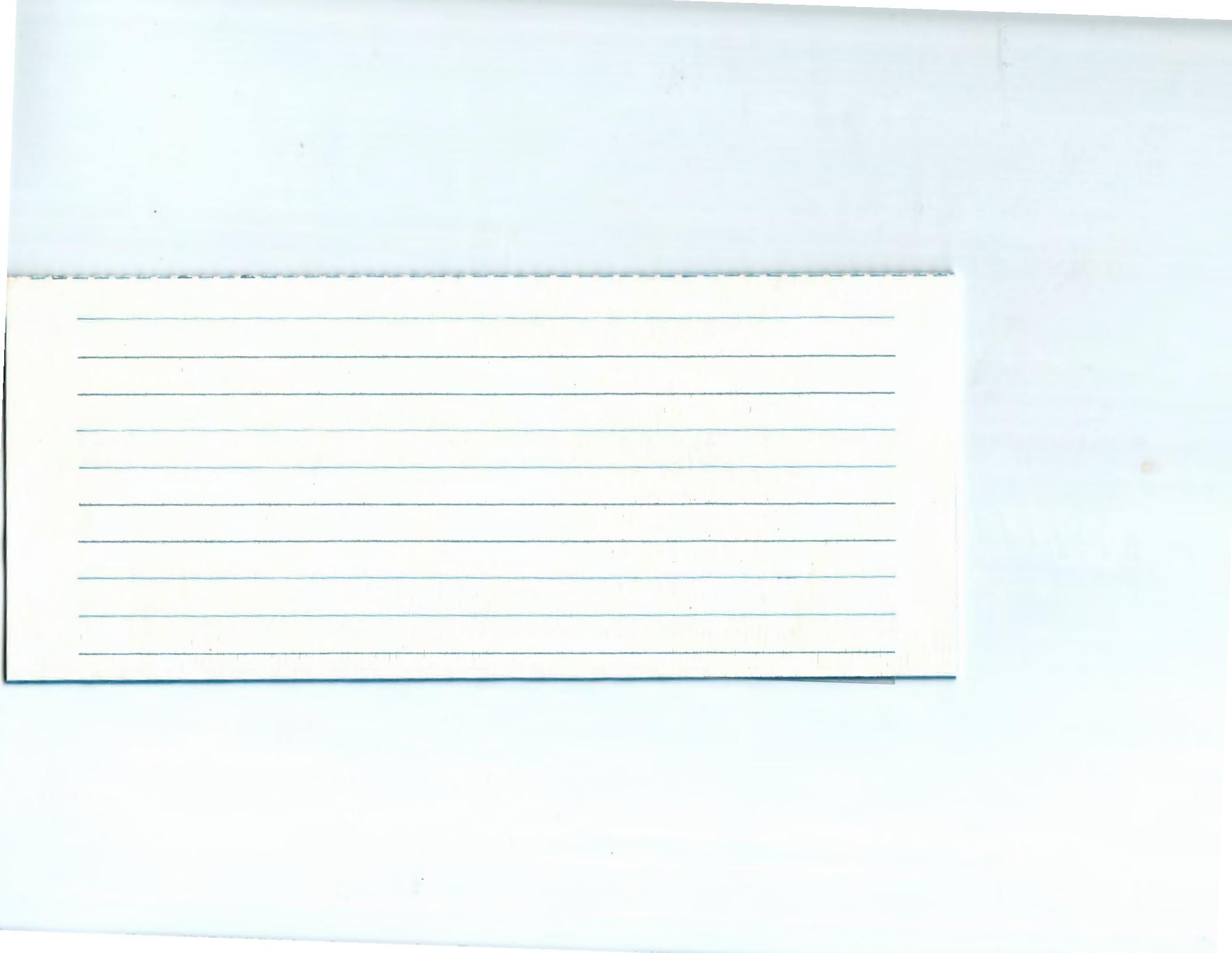
I have written (a letter letters) to local newspapers (please attach copies if possible) _____.

I have had one or more of these letters printed _____ (please attach copies). I will write a letter but first need more
information on this aspect of the issue: _____

_____ (continue on other side of this page)

I have distributed the brochure and written letters, and now I want to do even more. I (have do not have) ideas on how to
proceed, so please (contact me do not contact me) with suggestions.

I have read your brochure and would like to remain on your mailing list.



IS PRESIDENT REAGAN'S AMENDMENT LIKELY TO PASS?

Strong public support for returning the power to make decisions about school prayer to the states and localities bodes well for the amendment. But, before the amendment is sent to the state legislatures for the approval of three-quarters of the states for ratification, the message must be approved by Congress. This is where the amendment will meet its toughest challenge.

WILL THE AMENDMENT BE APPROVED BY CONGRESS?

Before the amendment can be voted on by the full Congress, it must be approved by the Judiciary Committees of both the House of Representatives and in the Senate. Senator Strom Thurmond, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has indicated that the proposed amendment will pass quickly through his committee to allow a vote by the full Senate. On the House side, however, Judiciary Chairman Peter Rodino has made no such statement. In fact, it is believed that he will try to prevent the bill from leaving his committee. Without passage of the amendment through Rodino's Judiciary Committee, the House of Representatives cannot vote, and the amendment will never be passed on to receive the decision of the state legislators.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO ASSURE THAT THE STATES GET THE OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON THIS ISSUE?

Your state will never have a chance to consider the amendment unless Congress votes on it. And that will not happen unless the measure goes to the floors of the House and Senate. Check on whether the measure is being bottled-up in committee. Ask your congressman to sign a discharge petition to get this resolution out of the House Judiciary Committee and on the House floor for a full vote by the body.

WHAT ELSE CAN I DO?

Educate others about the fairness implicit in President Reagan's proposed amendment. Make sure that your neighbors and associates know that this amendment will not force students to pray. It does not even force states and localities to allow students to pray. It simply permits states and neighborhoods to decide if they favor prayer in school or not—without federal interference.

HOW CAN ONE PERSON EDUCATE OTHERS?

It's not difficult. Write letters to your local newspapers, or call radio talk shows. Explain the facts of the issue. Distribute this brochure in church, to your neighbors, friends and associates. Set up an information booth at a local shopping center, county fair or school event. We'll give you—at no charge—as many copies of this brochure as you can distribute.

HOW CAN I FIND OUT MORE ABOUT THIS ISSUE?

Write to Americans for Religious Freedom for more information. Or, for an in-depth study of the constitutional issues involved, you might wish to read Robert L. Cord's *Separation of Church and State: Historical Fact and Current Fiction*, available from Lambeth Press, 143 East 37th Street, New York, New York 10016, for \$18.45.

★ ★ ★ ★

Keep us informed about your activities! Return the attached form to us to let us know how we can improve our materials to serve you better, and how we can help you if you wish to join us in this educational venture.



AMERICANS
FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

P.O. Box 8857
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 543-1286



**NATIONAL
LEGAL CENTER
FOR THE
PUBLIC INTEREST**

1101 17th STREET, N.W.
SUITE 810
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 202/296-1683

DATE

*Presentation
at Kingston
on 5/6*

*by
Bill Howard*

Ernest B. Hueter,
President

Dear _____:

There is now an excellent opportunity to contribute to the strengthening of our Federal Judiciary.

The Supreme Court ruled last June that the system of bankruptcy judges created by Congress in 1978 violated Article III of the Constitution by awarding them Article III powers without giving them the Article III protections of life tenure and irreducible salaries. Bankruptcy judges are Article I judges, the Court told Congress. They cannot decide nonbankruptcy matters without the Article III protections.

The Court's decision has divided Congress into two camps. Presently pending on the Senate and House Calendars are two bills reflecting two responses. Under the Senate measure, bankruptcy judges would continue to serve fourteen-year terms as Article I judges but would relinquish to the district courts nonbankruptcy matters. Should the House measure prevail, the bankruptcy judges will be given Article III status with the concomitant protections of life tenure and irreducible salaries.

Whichever they ultimately choose -- and at this writing it appears that the Article I approach will prevail -- President Reagan will face the task of having to appoint nearly two hundred and thirty bankruptcy court judges. In addition, should the Senate get its way, he will also have to appoint twenty-four circuit and fifty-one district court judges.

The Administration, therefore, needs input. You and your organization could be of great help in identifying qualified candidates for these judgeships. The National Legal Center, as a continuation of its program to aid the Administration in the identification of qualified judges, is serving as a clearing house for recommendations.

Qualifications looked to in the past for bankruptcy candidates are:

- . At least seven years of practice and some familiarity with bankruptcy law.
- . Experience in U.C.C. law representing creditors, banks, retail companies, etc.

In the alternative, lower level state court judges would be attractive candidates. You might also bear in mind the Administration's desire to appoint women and minorities.

You are asked to solicit your board, advisory committees, and membership for the names of qualified candidates for bankruptcy judgeships -- and for circuit and district court judgeships in the event new ones are created.

Recommendations should come from at least one endorser familiar with the experience and ability of the candidate and should be accompanied by a detailed curriculum vitae. Obviously it should be established that the candidate is willing to serve before submitting a recommendation.

Your letters of recommendation will be forwarded directly to the appropriate offices without comment. Should you wish the organizational source to be identified, your letter of transmittal will be included.

Prompt action is advisable.

Sincerely,

Ernest B. Hueter

Enclosures

- (1) Provisions for bankruptcy judgeships under S.1013 and H.R.3.
- (2) Provisions for new District and Circuit Court judgeships under S.1013.

The following is the text of the House bankruptcy bill, H.R. 3. In regard to the number of new bankruptcy judges it provides for, it differs from the Senate bill, S. 1013, only in that the Senate measure would create one additional judgeship for each of the two districts marked with asterisks (**).

"§ 152. Appointment of bankruptcy judges

"The President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, bankruptcy judges for the several judicial districts, as follows:

<i>"Districts</i>	<i>Judges</i>	
<i>Alabama:</i>		
Northern.....	4	**
Middle.....	2	
Southern.....	2	
<i>Alaska.....</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>Arizona.....</i>	<i>4</i>	
<i>Arkansas:</i>		
Eastern.....	1	
Western.....	1	
<i>California:</i>		
Northern.....	7	
Eastern.....	4	
Central.....	12	
Southern.....	3	
<i>Colorado.....</i>	<i>4</i>	
<i>Connecticut.....</i>	<i>2</i>	
<i>Delaware.....</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>District of Columbia.....</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>Florida:</i>		
Northern.....	1	
Middle.....	2	
Southern.....	3	
<i>Georgia:</i>		
Northern.....	4	
Middle.....	2	
Southern.....	1	
<i>Hawaii.....</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>Idaho.....</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>Illinois:</i>		
Northern.....	8	
Central.....	2	
Southern.....	1	

Indiana:	
Northern.....	2
Southern.....	4
Iowa:	
Northern.....	1
Southern.....	1
Kansas.....	3
Kentucky:	
Eastern.....	1
Western.....	2
Louisiana:	
Eastern.....	2
Middle.....	1
Western.....	2
Maine.....	2
Maryland.....	2
Massachusetts.....	4
Michigan:	
Eastern.....	4
Western.....	2
Minnesota.....	4
Mississippi:	
Northern.....	1
Southern.....	2
Missouri:	
Eastern.....	3
Western.....	3
Montana.....	1
Nebraska.....	1
Nevada.....	2
New Hampshire.....	1
New Jersey.....	5
New Mexico.....	1
New York:	
Northern.....	2
Southern.....	7
Eastern.....	6
Western.....	3
North Carolina:	
Eastern.....	2
Western.....	1
Middle.....	2
North Dakota.....	1
Ohio:	
Northern.....	8
Southern.....	7
Oklahoma:	
Northern.....	1
Eastern.....	1
Western.....	2
Oregon.....	4
Pennsylvania:	
Eastern.....	3
Middle.....	2
Western.....	3

<i>Puerto Rico</i>	2
<i>Rhode Island</i>	1
<i>South Carolina</i>	1
<i>South Dakota</i>	1
<i>Tennessee:</i>	
<i>Eastern</i>	2
<i>Middle</i>	2
<i>Western</i>	2
<i>Texas:</i>	
<i>Northern</i>	3
<i>Southern</i>	3
<i>Eastern</i>	1
<i>Western</i>	2
<i>Utah</i>	2
<i>Vermont</i>	1
<i>Virginia:</i>	
<i>Eastern</i>	3
<i>Western</i>	2
<i>Washington:</i>	
<i>Eastern</i>	1
<i>Western</i>	4
<i>West Virginia:</i>	
<i>Northern</i>	1
<i>Southern</i>	1
<i>Wisconsin:</i>	
<i>Eastern</i>	3
<i>Western</i>	1 **
<i>Wyoming</i>	1

* * * * *

The Senate measure, S. 1013, would also provide for an additional seventy-five circuit and district court judgeships. The breakdown of distribution is as follows:

With respect to the Circuit Courts, two additional judges for the first circuit, two for the second circuit, two for the third, one for the fourth, two for the fifth, four for the sixth, two for the seventh, one for the eighth, five for the ninth, two for the tenth, and one for the District of Columbia Circuit

With respect to the District Courts, the Senate bill would authorize:

Alabama	
Southern.....	1
Alaska.....	1
California	
Central.....	4
Connecticut.....	1
Florida	
Southern.....	3

Georgia
 Middle.....1
 Hawaii.....1
 Illinois
 Northern.....3
 Southern.....1
 Kentucky
 Western.....1
 Louisiana
 Western.....1
 Maryland.....1
 Massachusetts.....1
 Michigan
 Eastern.....2
 Mississippi
 Northern.....1
 Southern.....2
 Missouri
 Eastern.....1
 Montana.....1
 New Jersey.....3
 New York
 Northern.....1
 Eastern.....2
 Oklahoma
 Western.....1
 Rhode Island.....1
 Tennessee
 Eastern.....1
 Western.....1
 Texas
 Eastern.....2
 Western.....1
 Virginia
 Eastern.....1
 Washington
 Western.....1
 Wyoming.....1

The Senate bill would also create judgeships in the following districts; with the proviso that the first vacancies to occur in those districts five years later would not be filled:

Arkansas
 Western.....1
 Illinois
 Northern.....1
 Indiana
 Northern.....1
 Massachusetts.....1
 New York
 Western.....1
 North Carolina
 Eastern.....1
 Ohio
 Northern.....1
 Washington
 Western.....1