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FOIA

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POTTER, CLAIRE

24

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	LIST	RE. MEETING ATTENDEES	1	ND	B6

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Her uphill battle: Close gender gap

Last fall, when the White House recognized that President Reagan was not as popular among women as among men, Dee Jepsen, wife of Iowa Republican Sen. Roger W. Jepsen, was appointed liaison to women.

But to some feminist organizations, Jepsen's appointment is a confirmation of, rather than a solution to, the Reagan gender-gap problem.

"I'm in a hot seat," said Jepsen, a conservative and committed Christian. "I knew that when I stepped in here ... and I know it's old-fashioned, but I felt that there is such a thing as sacrifice and commitment. I felt I could contribute."

Jepsen, an amateur oil painter, pointed to a portrait in her office that she had done of Mother Teresa to explain why she had taken the job. "There is such a power in that kind of sacrifice and vocation."

Despite Jepsen's vocational call, feminist groups are wary of the Reagan administration's commitment to women.

"She's window dressing," said one official of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs who asked not to be identified.

"We know that this administration is not sympathetic to women," said the official.

WASHINGTON SCENE

By KAREN DE WITT

"Reagan is against the Equal Rights Amendment, reproductive choice, and he won't support the Women's Economic Equity Act. That doesn't sound very supportive of women."

Though opposed to abortion and the ERA, Jepsen said that she has a special interest in "fairness and equality," noting that she worked for a law to give benefits to military wives. She defends Reagan's record and interest in women.

"There are many things that are available to women that they're just not aware of," she said. She cited changes in tax laws that were beneficial to women: The elimination of the inheritance taxes on 99.7 percent of estates so that widows don't have to sell off businesses or farms to meet tax demands; tax credits for child-care to help working mothers; and the raising of the amount that homemakers can contribute to retirement accounts.

Kathy Wilson, president of the National Women's Political Caucus, said that there are, indeed, some signs that the administration is taking women more seriously.



By Jeanne Markin, Special for USA TODAY
JEPSEN: "I'm in a hot seat. ... I felt I could contribute."

"The president's budget message, particularly his mention of pension and insurance equity issues, was a step in the right direction," Wilson said. "It would be better if he supported the Women's Economic Equity Act, but it is a start."

On the other hand, the National Organization for Women, the largest and most powerful women's rights group, has given up on the Reagan administration and does not speak to Jepsen; nor Jepsen to NOW.

"Reagan has a widely recognized policy to help the rich and hurt the poor, and the poor in this country are largely women and children," said NOW President Judy Goldsmith. "What we've seen from Jepsen and heard about her confirms this."

Jepsen is succinct in her feelings about NOW.

"They haven't contacted me and I haven't contacted them," she said. "They are not supportive of this administration."

the July that dumps hundreds of inches of rain on this nation of 700 million, has always hit Kerala, on India's extreme southwestern coast, first. When the monsoon reaches Kerala, the rest of the nation knows that relief from the broiling heat that as of yesterday had killed 100

state that is 100 percent dependent on hydroelectric power, this year's tardy monsoon is beginning to have wide-ranging — and long-lasting — economic effects as well.

Declaring the water shortage that has left Kerala's reservoirs well be-

to go filled the street corners. The city's few parks were packed. The city's wealthier businessmen turned to the many hotel bars in town, some rolling in as early as 10 a.m.

State lottery-ticket salesmen, who

white shirt and tie. "But the monsoon is so late now, I'm starting to fear for what could happen to our whole economy. Who knows? I just might win and be able to retire in peace."

the government. Then, in December, officials at the electricity board began warning government officials that a shortage was looming in the event of another weak monsoon, but conservation measures were delayed

second, turn you into a sopping sponge.

"For this, all we can do is wait. When it comes to the monsoon, we are powerless against nature."

FRW file

Phil Sig 6-10-83

Whittlesey loses a role at White House

By Saul Friedman and Joyce Gemperlein
Investigator Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The job of courting women's votes for whatever campaign might be ahead for President Reagan in 1984 has been taken away from Faith Ryan Whittlesey, the highest-ranking woman in the White House, and put in the hands of a group headed by White House deputy chief of staff Michael K. Deaver.

According to a senior White House official, the Deaver group was formed about two weeks ago after administration staff members became concerned that Whittlesey was doing little to recognize or to close the "gender gap" — the growing opposition to Reagan and his policies among some women — that has become a threat to the President's re-election chances.

A senior White House official said Whittlesey, director of the Office of Public Liaison, has shown little empathy for lower- and middle-class working women.

Another senior White House official said that Whittlesey was thought to be politically unrealistic in her attitude toward women's issues and that she had been "spending her time playing to the right."

The White House official said Whittlesey did not seem to be initiating programs.

The job of the Office of Public Liaison involves listening to the concerns of various ethnic, business, religious, women's and community groups, relaying the information to Reagan and high-level policy-makers and playing the President's bowtie to those same groups.

In a speech in Indianapolis this week, Reagan's chief political adviser predicted that women would control the outcome of the 1984 elections.

Yesterday, Judy Goldsmith, president of the National Organization for Women, denounced the President's record on women's issues and vowed to defeat Reagan in 1984.

But according to the first senior official, Whittlesey announced

that she was satisfied that Reagan's attitudes on such issues as the Equal Rights Amendment were not hurting him with women voters and that he did not have to worry about the gender gap.

One senior staff aide said the feeling was that Whittlesey should not be saying such things because she is expected to be "partisan" for women.

In addition, polls have consistently shown that Reagan does more poorly on issues among women voters than among men.

But in interviews and in private strategy meetings at the White House, according to officials, Whittlesey has insisted that there is no gender gap.

That attitude, which coincides with the views of staunch conservatives, prompted Deaver and other White House officials with a more pragmatic view to form a new "core group" to come up with ideas and tactics to deal with issues in which women have a special interest.

The women's-issue "core group," headed by Deaver, has as its mem-

bers David Gergen, White House chief of communications; Edwin Harper, director of domestic policy development; Richard Darman, deputy to chief of staff James A. Baker 3d; Edward Rollins, Reagan's chief political adviser; Margaret M. Heckler, secretary of Health and Human Services; Elizabeth Hanford Dole, former liaison director and now secretary of transportation, and Whittlesey.

A senior staff aide said that the group would try to deal with the gender-gap issue, which had not been addressed by a group called the Women's Coordinating Council, which was formed last summer by Deaver and Baker and which Whittlesey leads.

Members of the council include Whittlesey; Heckler; Harper; Becky Norton Dunlop, director of the Office of Cabinet Affairs, and Mary Jo Jacobl, Dee Jepsen and Judi Buckalew, all assistants to Whittlesey who deal with women's groups.

The purpose of the council is to advise the President and cabinet

members about what women are thinking, Buckalew said recently. She said the council has held several meetings.

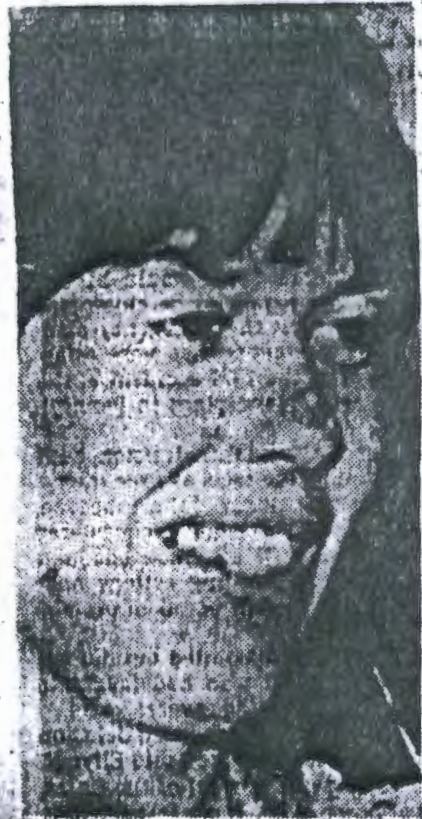
But a senior staff aide, a woman, said no formal meetings of the council were held before the Deaver advisory panel was formed.

Buckalew said she was uncertain about the mission of the new Deaver women's group.

She defended Whittlesey's handling of women's issues. She said she was not aware of any dissatisfaction among women in the White House with Whittlesey. Whittlesey was unavailable for comment.

However, in a June interview, Whittlesey said she felt that, in many cases, she had been misunderstood. She said that she was staunchly in favor of women's rights and that she believed women were important forces in government.

She said, however, that she did not feel or espouse the kinship or sisterhood toward organized women's groups that she felt some would like her to have.



Faith Ryan Whittlesey Denies 'gender gap' among voters

four top honore

What's this I hear about gender gap?

Please, enough already with all this gender gap crap! Seriously, has there ever been another subject about which so much garbage has been written and spoken?



Newsweek magazine reports that Faith Whittlesey, director of President Reagan's Office of Public Liaison, has "alienated" feminists with her opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and her "tepid support" for measures to equalize pension benefits for men and women. In one meeting with the president, Whittlesey reportedly "stunned" her male colleagues by asserting that the gender gap — what Newsweek calls the "disproportionate displeasure with Reagan among female voters" — is overrated. Because of her heresy, it is said, "White House planners" who disagree with Whittlesey have vowed to limit her role in policy decisions on this "sensitive issue" during the campaign.

Expressing his views on the gender gap, pollster Lou Harris says, "Women have always been more sensitive than men about human life." How do we know this? Because by a majority of 51 to 48 percent men say they are not very worried about "the world plunging into nuclear war," whereas by a majority of 59 to 39 percent women say they are very concerned about this.

Even Ed Rollins, the president's chief political adviser — and a man's man if ever there was one, whatever this means — is doing Alan Alda imitations by making speeches in which he wrings his fists about the possibility of the women's vote making the GOP a permanent minority party.

But, such assertions are specious. The idea that Faith Whittlesey could do anything to "alienate" feminists is sheer fantasy because they have never supported and will never support Ronald Reagan. Never. As for Harris' statistics, his interpretation of this data is ludicrous on its face and reveals nothing other than his own prejudices.

An equally plausible interpretation of the Harris data is that men and women simply disagree about the *likelihood* of a nuclear war. These data don't necessarily say anything about anyone's sensitivity toward human life. As for Rollins, well, he's just saying what he's told to say by his male bosses on the White House staff who feel threatened and resent Whittlesey's outspoken independent views — the kind of views, incidentally, she was hired to present to the president.

But, despite the fact that anonymous White House backstabbers — believed to be Mike Deaver and David Gergen — have denounced her as a "cold woman" (how's that for a sexist remark!) with a "more-conservative-than-thou-style" who spends too much time "playing to the right," Whittlesey is absolutely correct. The gender gap is overrated. And she is also correct when she says the president can best appeal to women by stressing such issues as education, drugs, crime and the economy — rather than expensive, big government special-interest legislation favored only by the feminists and their allies in the media and on the White House staff. This is solid Reaganite thinking.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1983 / PAGE 3A

Furthermore, may I ask: What exactly does it mean to say that the displeasure with the president among female voters is "disproportionate"? What precisely is the number that would be deemed proportionate? And why? These are not rhetorical questions. If, in some areas, the president has more support among men than women — and he does — why is it not said that the Democrats have a male gender gap?

According to the 1980 Census, the smallest ethnic group in the United States consists of 1,756 Turkish Cypriots. Has anyone polled these people? After all, in a close election, this group could elect a president. And what about the largest ethnic groups — the Irish, the French, the Italians? And what about the 26,000 Estonians in this country? The 32,000 Maltese? The 33,000 Icelanders? The 39,000 Albanians? Is the president pleasing or displeasing these folks?

Certainly the Democrats have noted Mr. Reagan's appeal to that most neglected of all voting blocs — the American male. Why aren't Deaver, Gergen and Company concerned about playing to *this* constituency? In a recent interview, Rep. Tony Coelho, D-Calif., chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, warned that blue-collar Democrats are drifting toward Mr. Reagan because he is seen as "gutty." Coelho says:

"They want somebody who's gutty. If we don't put up somebody they perceive as gutty, he will win." Saying it is too early to tell if any of the Democratic presidential candidates are sufficiently gutty to defeat the president in 1984, Coelho says of the blue-collar Democrat and Mr. Reagan: "That person likes someone who relates to him . . . who doesn't eat quiche. They like Reagan's guttiness. . . . They may not like what he says, but he's gutty. He's out there doing what he says."

So, put that in your gender gap and smoke it, Mr. Deaver, Mr. Gergen and all you other wimps in the White House who, unlike Faith Ryan Whittlesey, have panicked in the face of the feminist onslaught.

As for yourself, Mr. President, listen to Whittlesey. She knows what she's talking about. Anybody who's alienating feminists has to be doing a lot that is right. And as for that new women's issues "core group" — the one just formed by Deaver — dump it, sir. Real men don't need such groups to advise them. Just be yourself, Mr. President, and your policies will be successful with the voters regardless of their race, creed, color or national origin.

Footnote: In response to my query asking if he's still backing Whittlesey, White House Chief of Staff Jim Baker says: "You're darned right I am. I recommended her to the president for the job she holds and I called her several times in Switzerland (where she was the U.S. ambassador) to ask her to take it. I have no reason to doubt her ability to do a good job for the president."

OPL
memo file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 23, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL OPL PORTFOLIO MANAGERS

FROM: RED CAVANEY 
SUBJECT: Photographers and Presidential Meetings

As you are aware, the inclusion of any personal/company/organizational photographer in a meeting with the President must be cleared, in advance, with the Press Office. In those cases where this procedure is not followed, we run the risk of creating an embarrassment for the President, as well as reflecting unfavorably on the professionalism of both Elizabeth and the rest of us.

A recent case in point: the March of Dimes photographer, following the Oval Office "Official Photographer Only" session, went to AP and UPI and tried to sell his roll of film to them. As you might suspect, this caused quite a flap.

Whenever possible, please try and use the White House photographer to minimize problems and in other instances ensure we comply with the proper procedures.

Thank you.

Distribution:

- Morton Blackwell**
- Bob Bonitati
- Jack Burgess
- Thelma Duggin
- Michael Gale
- Dee Jepsen
- Virginia Knauer
- Diana Lozano
- Mary Elizabeth Quint
- Bob Steeves
- Bill Triplett
- Wayne Valis
- Adis Vila
- Henry Zuniga

cc: Elizabeth H. Dole

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 13, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ELIZABETH DOLE

FROM:

Larry Speakes 

We encountered a serious problem last week with the photographer from the March of Dimes. Without approval from anyone in the Press Office, the photographer took his film from the Oval Office to the Associated Press and United Press International and allowed them to choose and release a photograph of the President with the March of Dimes child. Fortunately, in this instance, the photograph was harmless.

However, we run the risk of major problems whenever organization photographers take it upon themselves to share their film with the wire services. We could end up with an unflattering photograph of the President or a photograph of sensitive documents.

Unless there is press coverage, we should no longer have organization photographers present in meetings with the President. If there is a need for the organization to have photographs of the event, our office will arrange with the White House photographer for prints to be made available quickly. In this way, we assure that photographs of the President serve his best interests.

cc: James A. Baker, III
Michael K. Deaver
Michael Evans

FRW
file

SPEECH DRAFT

CONSULTANTS FORUM, RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR AMERICA FOUNDATION
11:15 am 20 minutes remarks, 25 minutes Q&A, 50-60 people expected
April 14, 1983 at Embassy Row Hotel (Massachusetts Ave. -off Dupont Circle

Chaired by Joe Rodgers

Thank you Mr. Rodgers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your topic for today is coalition building, and I am particularly pleased that you have invited me to participate. My job description for the President is to help develop a consensus for the policies of this administration. In fact, my job assignment largely consists of coalition building, getting people to change their political habits and join us in creating a new governing majority.

Sometimes it is only our style which makes some of our natural allies feel uncomfortable around us. The most successful political leaders intuitively adjust their style.

Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, for instance, once made a speech to a very large audience in which he made repeated references to "them people." After his speech a young reporter came up to him and said, "Senator, you kept saying 'them people.' Don't you know it is correct to say 'those people?'"

"Young man," Dirksen replied, "I have observed that out there there are a great many more of "them people" than of "those people."

P I believe it is clear that we must resume the building process which resulted in the formation of the 1980 winning coalition. Members of that coalition united to defeat the liberal Democratic leadership in the White House and in the Congress.

Opposition coalitions are much easier to form than governing coalitions. To transform the 1980 winning coalition into a new,

normal governing majority, we should carefully study our one modern American example of a stable coalition builder: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Roosevelt coalition was built from very disparate elements.

It contained for instance:

- segregationist Southern Democrats.
- unions with white-only membership clauses.
- Eastern intellectuals who abhorred racial segregation.
- big city machines largely based on Catholic, ethnic groups.
- virtually the entire rural, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant South with its strong tradition of anti-Catholicism.

Despite these and many other divisions, Franklin Roosevelt built in 1932 a new governing majority which controlled our Congress or the White House, or both, for 48 years, with the single exception of the first two years of the Eisenhower Administration.

How did Roosevelt achieve this? Here are some of the secrets of his lasting success:

First, he kept the issue initiative by launching and fighting hard for a steady stream of policy proposals, even though he knew many of them would lose in Congress.

Second, he kept his coalition together by giving each element of it frequent, solid reasons to stay aboard.

Third, he re-ran each ensuing election on the central themes of his 1932 success, particularly pitting the always more numerous "have nots" against the "haves".

Fourth, he used legislation, his administrative powers, and the prestige of his office to build the political power of the key elements of his coalition, particularly organized labor.

Fifth, Roosevelt cheerfully used confrontation with opponents of his policies to motivate his coalition.

Sixth, he accepted the most intense unpopularity with a minority to achieve unique popularity with the majority of Americans.

We should not forget that FDR built a stable winning coalition while the Great Depression raged all during the 1930s. Economic prosperity, or its lack, proved largely irrelevant to his success.

The 1980 Reagan winning coalition has the potential to become a new, normal governing majority in American politics. In 1980, the old FDR coalition practically fell apart.

Liberal Democrats lost because they were liberal Democrats. Much as those of us who led the Reagan campaign might like to think that our Presidential victory provided the coattails on which all those GOP Senate and House candidates rode to victory, the facts tell a different story.

Most people do not realize how many of the GOP Senate and House candidates who beat incumbent liberal Democrats in fact outpolled our presidential ticket. In this category were, among others, Senator Kasten, Senator Grassley, Senator Mattingly, Senator Gorton, and Senator Andrews.

All of these candidates won a greater percentage of the vote in their states than did the Reagan-Bush electors.

We had an excellent national ticket. We had a well organized national campaign. But the truth is that the Reagan-Bush ticket was the beneficiary of the same coalition which benefited the opponents of George McGovern, Birch Bayh, Frank Church, and all the other fallen liberal Democrats.

The 1980 elections brought together a winning coalition of three rapidly growing sources of political strength:

FIRST -- The Republican party's national organizations, including its volunteer auxiliaries. The college Republicans, for instance, grew in 1980 from 250 clubs to more than 1,000 clubs. In fund raising, the figures for the GOP are very impressive. (Quote from Table A)

10012
1975-76

RNC, Rep. Senatorial and Congressional Committees	\$43.0 Receipts \$38.0 Expenditures
All other Rep. Party Committees*	\$ 2.7 Receipts \$ 2.3 Expenditures
REPUBLICAN TOTAL	<u>\$45.7 Receipts</u> \$40.3 Expenditures

1975-76

DNC, Dem. Senatorial and Congressional Committees	\$14.9 Receipts \$14.4 Expenditures
All other Dem. Party Committees*	\$ 3.3 Receipts \$ 3.3 Expenditures
DEMOCRATIC TOTAL	\$18.2 Receipts \$17.7 Expenditures

1977-78

RNC, Rep. Senatorial and Congressional Committees	\$59.2 Receipts \$62.8 Expenditures
All other Rep. Party Committees	\$25.3 Receipts \$23.1 Expenditures
REPUBLICAN TOTAL	<u>\$84.5 Receipts</u> \$85.9 Expenditures

1977-78

DNC, Dem. Senatorial and Congressional Committees	\$14.4 Receipts \$14.5 Expenditures
All other Dem. Party Committees	\$12.0 Receipts \$11.4 Expenditures
DEMOCRATIC TOTAL	<u>\$26.4 Receipts</u> \$25.9 Expenditures

1979-80

RNC, Rep. Senatorial and Congressional Committees	\$119.7 Receipts \$129.1 Expenditures
All other Rep. Party Committees	\$ 41.5 Receipts \$ 41.0 Expenditures
REPUBLICAN TOTAL	<u>\$161.2 Receipts</u> \$170.1 Expenditures

1979-80

DNC, Dem. Senatorial and Congressional Committees	\$18.7 Receipts \$18.4 Expenditures
All other Dem. Party Committees	\$18.4 Receipts \$16.5 Expenditures
DEMOCRATIC TOTAL	<u>\$37.1 Receipts</u> \$34.9 Expenditures

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission

All figures have been adjusted for transfers among party committees.
State + local party committees not included in 1975-76

File: Mtgs.

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

To: Officer-in-charge
Appointments Center
Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on Tuesday, June 7, 1983

for Morton C. Blackwell of OPI:
(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VISITED) (AGENCY)

- ARENAZA, Ernesto
- BALESTRA, Ricardo
- BLANCO VILLEGAS, Jorge
- BOTANA, Natalio
- CAMILION, Oscar
- CURUTCHET, Julio
- DIAZ, Rodolfo Alejandro
- GOYENECHÉ, Eduardo
- VICARIO, Jose
- BOUCHEY, L. Francis

MEETING LOCATION

Building OEOB

Requested by THOMANN, Joyce

Room No. 194

Room No. 191 Telephone 2657

Time of Meeting 4:30 p.m.

Date of request June 7, 1983

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to three (3) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

ARGENTINE PARTICIPANTS TO ATTEND WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING

ERNESTO ARENAZA, President, CARBOMETAL

~~EDUARDO ARRIETA~~

RICARDO BALESTRA, Liberal Party Leader - Province of Corrientes

~~FELIX DE BARRIO, Director of the Argentine American Chamber of Commerce
and President of Liquid Carbonic Argentina~~

JORGE BLANCO VILLEGAS, Director of SOCMA

~~CARLOS BLAQUIER~~

NATALIO BOTANA, Political Economist-Catholic University, Buenos Aires;
Board of Criterion Magazine

~~ARMANDO BRAUN, Former President of the Argentine Chamber of Commerce~~

~~WENCESLAO BUNGE, President WOBSA, President Fundacion de Hemisferio~~

OSCAR CAMILION, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Political Leader
of Movimiento de Intergracion y Desarrollo

~~CARLOS CARBALLO, International Economist, President FINAMERICA~~

~~ROBERTO CORRES CONDE, President Instituto Torcuato de Tella~~

JULIO CURUTCHET, President Asociacion Argentina de Cultura, Inglesan
President, Italia y Rio de La Plata Holding

RODOLFO ALEJANDRO DIAZ, Peronist Leader; Former Secretary of the Senate,
Province of Mendoza

~~CARLOS DIEHL, President, Consejo Empresarial Argentino~~

~~ANTONIO ESTRANY Y GENDRE, Director, BRIDAS, S.A.~~

EDUARDO GOYENECHÉ, Economist, Union Industrial Argentina

~~EMILIO HARDOY, Conservative Leader; Editor LA PRENSA~~

~~DAVID LACROZE, Former President, Argentine Grain Board~~

~~HECTOR A. MAIRAL, Visiting Scholar, Harvard University~~

~~ARNALDO MUSICH, Former Argentine Ambassador to the United States~~

~~ESTEBAN TAKACS, Former Argentine Ambassador to the United States~~

~~JORGE REINALDO A. VANOSSI, Political Leader, Union Civica Radical~~

JOSE VICARIO, President, J.E. Vicario y Asociados, S.A.

~~FEDERICO ZORRAQUIN, President of the Banco Comercial Del Norte~~

~~RICARDO ZINN, President Sevel, Fiat Peugeot, Argentina~~

L. FRANCIS BOUCHEY (American), President Council for Inter-American
Security (to accompany group)

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Ronald Reagan Library

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RB 6/9/2011
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1 LIST

1 ND B6

RE. MEETING ATTENDEES

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Services, Inc.**

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Telex: 710-822-9282

May 11, 1983

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
OEOB
Washington, D.C. 20500

*Ask Lyn Bouchey
about this group.
Let me know
MB
ok per Lyn*

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

As I mentioned to you at the last Monday Club meeting, Southern Cone Publishing and Advisory Services is sponsoring a private, off-the-record seminar for political and business leaders from Argentina and the U.S. The seminar will address the subject of Opportunities and Challenges Facing U.S.-Argentine Relations and will be held June 6, at the Cosmos Club.

The first elections in a decade have been set by the Argentine government for October 30. In early June, the election campaigns will be quite fluid and the platforms of the diverse political parties will be open for evaluation--and suggestion. These elections will be a pivot point in Argentine history and it will be an especially opportune time for the U.S. to make known its concerns about Latin America.

The Argentine participants of the seminar deliberately represent a broad range of political parties: there are officials of the MID, Movimiento de Integracion y Desarrollo; two trade-unionist wings of the Peronist party, CGT-Brazil and CGT-Azopardo; the Liberal Party and the Radical Party (UCR). Undoubtedly, from this group will emerge officials of the new civilian government.

The Argentine participants have asked to meet with U.S. leaders in Washington the Tuesday following the seminar on June 7, and have asked our Washington office to schedule appointments.

If at all possible, would you please arrange a White House briefing for this group or refer the request to the right office. From the enclosed list, generally it is the political officials who would like to attend the briefing.

As their visit to Washington is less than a month away, would you please give me a call as soon as possible to answer your further questions.

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
May 11, 1983
Page 2

We do not have programs printed yet but to give you a better feel for the other attendant activities to the seminar, there is a kickoff dinner Sunday evening at which Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas O. Enders will speak; there is a luncheon Monday which the Secretary-General of the OAS, Alejandro Orfila will address and a concluding participants dinner Monday evening at which Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, Richard T. McCormack will be the keynote speaker.

Confirmed seminar presentations will be made by:

Paul Craig Roberts
Carlos Caballo
Philip E. Coldwell

Richard V. Allen
Natalio Botana
Mark Falcoff
Ambassador Arnaldo Musich

I believe the briefing would be an instructive, positive gesture towards the Argentine visitors as well as an occasion to rally support.

Your anticipated courtesy is appreciated.

Sincerely,



Sally Chapdelaine
Washington Representative

Enclosures

JUNE SEMINAR LIST OF ATTENDEES

Argentine participants:

Ricardo Balestra, Liberal Party Official
Corrientes Province
Natalio Botana, Political Economist-Catholic University,
Buenos Aires; Board of Criterio Magazine
Armando Braun, former President of the Argentine Chamber
of Commerce;
Wenceslao Bunge, President WOBSA; Pres. Fundacion de Hemisferio
Felix De Barrio, President of Liquid Carbonic Argentina;
Carlos Carballo, International Economist; Pres. FINAMERICA
Oscar Camilion, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and
Political Leader of Movimiento de Integracion Y
Desarrollo (MID);
Roberto Cortes Conde, President Instituto Torzuato Di
Tella
Carlos Dietl, President, the Consejo Empresarial
Argentino;
Jorge Triaca, General Secretary Plastic Union, Azopardo; Peronist
Fernando Donaires, Official CGT-Brazil; Peronist
Luis Maria Gotelli, former President of The Consejo
Empresarial Argentino, currently President of
The Banco de Italia Y Rio de la Plata;
Arnaldo Musich, former Argentine Ambassador to the United
States;
Bernado Neustadt, Publisher EXTRA Magazine; Columnist, political
commentator; TV-Radio news commentator
Alexander Perry, President of the Association of American
Chambers of Commerce in Latin America;
William Reynal, President, Argyrum Corporation;
Jorge Reynaldo Vanossi Agustin, Political Leader of UCR
Union Civica Radical;
Esteban Takacs, former Argentine Ambassador to the United
States;
Dr. Ricardo Zinn, President of Sevel, Fiat-Peugeot, Argentina
President Carlos Pellegrini Foundation, Argentina (A non-
profit political and economic research organization);
President Southern Cone Publishing & Advisory Services, Inc.

Federico Zorraquin, member of the Council of
Argentine-American Businessmen, President of the Banco
Commercial Del Norte.

U.S. participants:

Richard Allen, Richard V. Allen Company; former National Security
Advisor
Esteban D'Amico, Vice President for Latin American Affairs,
Southtrust Bank of Alabama;
John Avery, Company Group Chairman, Johnson & Johnson
International;
Richard D. Barrett, Executive Vice President, First
American Bank, N.A.;
Glenn C. Bassett, Jr., Executive Vice President, Council of
the Americas;

Walter Bastian Country Specialist-Argentina, U.S. Department of Commerce;

Barbara Bennett, Vice President and Group Manager, Latin America, American Security Bank;

Richard Brolly, Director of International Operations, ITT-World Communications;

P.R. Burgdorf, Credit Manager-International Division, Shell Oil Company;

John R. Campbell, Vice President, Morgan Guaranty Trust;

Jorge Carnicero, Chairman, Dynelectron Corporation;

Raul Castro, Castro, Ziff and Rhodes; former U.S. Ambassador to Argentina;

Norma Coldwell, International Economist, Riggs National Bank;

Philip E. Coldwell President, Coldwell Financial Consulting; former Governor, Federal Reserve

Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs;

Mark Falcoff, Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute;

Jack Geiger, Vice President for Government Affairs, Gould Pumps, Inc.;

James R. Greene, Vice Chairman, American Express International Banking Corp.;

Joseph Grunwald, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, Brookings Institution;

Anne Helgen, Loan Officer/International Division, First National Bank of Boston;

Edward Hidalgo, (former Secretary of the Navy) partner, Mays, Valentine, Davenport & Moore;

Dennis Jett, Desk Officer for Argentina, U.S. State Department;

Bruce M. Juba, International Economist, Department of the Treasury;

Charles Leik, Deputy Vice President, Latin American Division Eximbank;

James J. Lenehan Director, International Representative, Rockwell International;

Candelario Martinez, Sales Manager, International Division, Pectin Oil;

Ambassador Alejandro Orfila, Secretary General/Organization of American States; former Argentine Ambassador to U.S.

Burke Reilly, International Division, Ford Motor Company;

Paul Craig Roberts, Senior Fellow, Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies;

David Scott, Chairman and CEO, Allis-Chalmers Corporation;

Roger D. Semerad, Executive Vice President, Brookings Institution;

Daniel A. Sharp, Director, International Relations, Xerox Corporation;

Peter Sherer, Division Chief, Argentina/Bolivia, World Bank;

Timothy Stanley, President, International Economic Policy Associates;

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

To: Officer-in-charge
Appointments Center
Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on March 15, 19 83

for MORTON C. BLACKWELL of OPL
(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VISITED) (AGENCY)

- PRATT, Larry
- KAMENAR, Paul
- PINES, Burton
- BREGER, Marshall
- ABRAMOFF, Jack
- PHILLIPS, Howard
- MORITZ, Amy
- DINGMAN, Richard
- ANTOSH, Steve
- ROSSI, Michele
- BUTLER, Gregory
- WOOSTER, Martin
- FALWELL, Jerry
- HOUSTON, John
- JONES, Gordon
- FIELDS, *Charles H. Clarence*
- DENHOLM, David
- NEAL, Susan
- AVAKIAN, Michael
- FEATHERSTONE, Mary Christine
- WALKER, Robert
- BLACKWELL, Helen
- ANDERSON, William
- FRANCISCO, Doug

MEETING LOCATION

Building OEOB Requested by BLACKWELL
 Room No. 248 Room No. 191 Telephone 2657
 Time of Meeting 3 pm Date of request March 14, 1983

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to three (3) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

SECOND -- The business and association political action community. Corporate political action committees, for example, increased dramatically in numbers

<u>Year</u>	Number of Corporate PACs	\$ Expended by Corporate PACs (millions)
1974	89	
1976	433	\$ 5.8
1978	784	15.2
1980	1,204	31.2
1982	1,467	42.2

THIRD -- The grassroots conservative organizations. There are no comprehensive figures charting the growth of the range of conservative organizations. It is safe to say, however, that conservative lobbys and PACs in aggregate have at least doubled their receipts and their memberships each biennium since 1972.

Just as important as healthy party warchests, the number of business PACs and the size of grassroots group membership, though, was the excitement of battle. Activism from elements of our coalition was at an all time high because every drop of discontent with liberalism was channeled together and directed at the same targets -- Jimmy Carter, George McGovern, Frank Church, Birch Bayh and so on.

After the 1980 elections, the various elements of the President's winning coalition continued to grow in members and financial resources. But the level of activism in behalf of our candidates in 1982 was much lower.

Enthusiasm and level of activism are hard to compute quantitatively, but we can measure "close enough for government work." Virtually every conservative grassroots lobby will confess that their election time budgets for long distance telephone, travel to hot races, and mail in targeted areas was in 1982 only a small fraction of that in 1980. The Moral Majority, for instance, greatly reduced its election period expenditures and had its top state leaders gather for a conference in the Bahamas ten days before the 1982 elections.

There is every reason to believe that the party organizations, the business and association PACs, and the grassroots conservative organizations will continue to prosper in 1983 and 1984. The question is: What will be their level of activism, of enthusiasm, in the 1984 elections?

If we hope to have a winning coalition again in 1984, we must profit from the successful model of Franklin Roosevelt's coalition building.

It seems to me that several do's and don't's ought to guide us.

1. We should encourage the growth of each element of our coalition. That means we should help our party organizations and their warchests to continue to grow. We should spend greater budgets on party leadership training programs and on membership recruitment for the party auxiliaries: The Republican Women's Federation, Young Republicans, College Republicans, Teen Age Republicans.

2. In the area of the business political action community, we should encourage the formation of new PACs by the many major corporations and associations which haven't yet created their own PACs. We should encourage this community to be more active in recruiting from its own ranks high quality U.S. House and Senate candidates. We should praise those existing business and association PACs which target their contributions on Republican candidates who are in close races rather than limit their giving only to incumbents, who usually are not in danger.
3. For the grassroots conservative organizations, we should take the needed steps to convince their identified activists that their vital interests are at stake. The response of voters they influence is critical. Properly approached and shown that others in our coalition are prepared from time to time to inconvenience ourselves in behalf of their issue priorities, these activists will become less concerned with splitting hairs of doctrine and more concerned about working together to achieve real gains.

At this point, I must point out that, while the financial and membership resources of grassroots conservative groups grew in 1981 and 1982, their political enthusiasm waned, ^{in part} because the leaders of both parties in the Congress decided to avoid record votes on many of their key issues. Prior to the 1982 elections, in the 97th Congress there were:

No votes in either House on gun control.

Virtually no votes on right to life.

Virtually no votes on school prayer.

No votes on pornography

No votes on the death penalty.

No votes on tuition tax credits.

No votes on busing.

No hard-fought up or down votes on defense preparedness.

No vote on eliminating Hobbs Act exemption from
prosecution of union violence.

Virtually no votes on political use of compulsory
union dues.

Only one, short fight in both Houses on the Balanced
Budget - Tax Limitation Amendment, too soon before
the elections to have much impact.

Thus most of the conservative issues on which millions of people
had been identified and activated were virtually absent from the
headlines and absent from the TV news programs. For ten years
the Congressional Record had been for conservatives a gold mine
of record votes on most of these issues. Not in 1981 and 1982.

Many of these high-intensity liberal vs. conservative issues are
already scheduled for greater congressional action in this congress
than in the last. We should encourage fights and record votes in both
Houses of Congress on these issues. Protracted fights, lasting at
least a couple of months, are necessary for grassroots groups to
fire up their activists.

4. We should be prepared to go forward vigorously in areas which have been low priority for two years. The President necessarily had to concentrate on solving the staggering economic problems inherited from the liberal Democrats who preceded us. Now that all signs point to an economic recovery, we cannot sit back and expect to reap election victories in 1984. Democratic leaders are already pushing new programs for a liberal welfare state. We must take the offensive with legislation for our vision of a conservative opportunity society. There will be many legislative battles for the next two years. The question remaining is whether the Congress will be debating the liberals agenda or ours, whether we will be often on the offensive or entirely on the defensive.
5. We should all learn to be more tolerant of the issues of highest priority for each element of our coalition. This does not mean that every business PAC leader must vigorously push for tuition tax credits . But each smart businessman should realize that the tuition tax credit activists, for example, can be a vital element in a coalition to defeat many radical, anti-business candidates. Similarly, party officials should not publicly attack conservative movement PACs, and New Right leaders should not savage party campaign committees who are obliged to support all GOP nominees. In short, as Ben Franklin said, we must hang together. In every way we should encourage better communications and closer cooperation between elements of the President's winning coalition. We have much more ^{reason} than ever before to be together on such issues as the defeat of the Democratic budget. There is no reason why the business oriented trustees of Yale should not see their

common cause with pro-family, social issue activists and vice versa. The liberal welfare state is trying to swallow both of them.

6. We should join together to fight liberal attempts to change the rules of politics to hamper political activities of elements of our coalition. Right now, Tip O'Neill is working to cripple PACs by law, and a liberal majority at the Federal Election Commission has sent to Congress new regulations which would end the ability of our grassroots groups to lobby candidates and open the door to huge new labor union political spending.

To me, base broadening means increasing the numbers and effectiveness of elements of a stable political coalition. It does not mean trying to make friends of our enemies by making enemies of our friends. For too long, too many national structures of our party operated on the lowest common denominator basis. Party structures should be run by leaders willing to carry the banner of bold colors the President has so often mentioned.

Given a clearcut choice between the President's winning coalition and the remains of the old Roosevelt coalition, I believe the American people will vote with us as they did in 1980.

In retrospect, perhaps we should have been more willing to go forward and to risk losing battles in the past two years. Politics is by its very nature confrontational. We should be often on the attack rather than always on the defensive. Sen. Bill Armstrong says he has noticed that most candidates win who appear in their campaigns to

be on the offensive in rhetoric against candidates who appear on the defensive in rhetoric.

We will never have the record votes in Congress we need to invigorate badly needed grassroots activists if we allow virtually any Republican a veto power over bringing up any issue for a record vote.

One reason why the Democratic party has dominated in most recent election years is that they usually tolerate but never defer to their conservative minority.

Activist elements of the national Democratic coalition know how the Democratic leadership will come down on every issue. GOP's customary lowest common denominator operating basis is a formula for permanent minority status. If we want to win only when the liberal Democrats become insufferable, if we are satisfied with our party as the short half of a one and a half party system, then we should continue business as usual.

If, on the other hand, we want to create a new governing coalition around our party as a new majority party, many of us must change our ways. We must learn from history. We must build the elements of our coalition. We must be sympathetic to each other's differing issue priorities. We must seek to illuminate the differences between our rival coalition ^{and us} on the high intensity issues which alienate millions of traditionally Democratic voters from the liberal Democratic leadership. And we must learn to tolerate but not to defer to Republicans outside the political mainstream of our winning coalition.

FRW
File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 13, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

FROM MORTON C. BLACKWELL 

I am a member of the Philadelphia Society which is meeting in Chicago Friday and Saturday.

It is my intention to take Friday as a day of annual leave in order to participate in this meeting of "conservative" intellectuals.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FRW file
file

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR AMERICA FOUNDATION

DATE: April 14, 1983
LOCATION: Embassy Row Hotel
Mass. Ave.
TIME: 11:15 - 13:00
FROM: Susan Graf

I. PURPOSE:

To hear your perspective of building a coalition and the role the White House will play in this building.

II. BACKGROUND:

Responsible Government for America Foundation is a catalyst organization that spans party organizations and special issue groups. They are issue oriented, not candidate oriented.

III. REMARKS:

Attached

IV. Press Plan:

Closed meeting.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

11:00 depart office - west basement Embassy Row Hotel, Lower level
11:10 met by Patty FRIERSON - taken to conference room
11:15 introduced by Joe RODGERS, Chairman
20 minute remarks
20 minute Q & A's
12:00 lunch
13:00 pick up by WH driver - taken to WW 2 Office

THANK YOU MR. RODGERS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

YOUR TOPIC FOR TODAY IS COALITION BUILDING, AND I AM PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT YOU HAVE INVITED ME TO PARTICIPATE. MY JOB DESCRIPTION FOR THE PRESIDENT IS TO HELP DEVELOP A CONSENSUS FOR THE POLICIES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION. IN FACT, MY JOB ASSIGNMENT LARGELY CONSISTS OF COALITION BUILDING, GETTING PEOPLE TO CHANGE THEIR POLITICAL HABITS AND JOIN US IN CREATING A NEW GOVERNING MAJORITY.

SOMETIMES IT IS ONLY THE STYLE OF SOME ELEMENTS OF OUR COALITION WHICH MAKES SOME OF OUR NATURAL ALLIES FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE AROUND US. THE MOST SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL LEADERS INTUITIVELY ADJUST THEIR STYLE.

SEN. EVERETT DIRKSEN OF ILLINOIS, FOR INSTANCE, ONCE MADE A SPEECH TO A VERY LARGE AUDIENCE IN WHICH HE MADE REPEATED REFERENCES TO "THEM PEOPLE." AFTER HIS SPEECH A YOUNG REPORTER CAME UP TO HIM AND SAID, "SENATOR, YOU KEPT SAYING 'THEM PEOPLE'. DON'T YOU KNOW IT IS CORRECT TO SAY " THOSE PEOPLE?"

" YOUNG MAN," DIRKSEN REPLIED, " I HAVE OBSERVED THAT OUT THERE THERE ARE A GREAT MANY MORE OF "THEM PEOPLE" THAN OF "THOSE PEOPLE."

I BELIEVE IT IS CLEAR THAT WE MUST RESUME THE BUILDING PROCESS WHICH RESULTED IN THE FORMATION OF THE 1930 WINNING COALITION. MEMBERS OF THAT COALITION UNITED TO DEFEAT THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND IN THE CONGRESS.

OPPOSITION COALITIONS ARE MUCH EASIER TO FORM THAN GOVERNING COALITIONS. TO TRANSFORM THE 1930 WINNING COALITION INTO A NEW, NORMAL GOVERNING MAJORITY, WE SHOULD CAREFULLY STUDY OUR ONE MODERN AMERICAN EXAMPLE OF A STABLE COALITION BUILDER: FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE ROOSEVELT COALITION WAS BUILT FROM VERY DISPARATE ELEMENTS. IT CONTAINED FOR INSTANCE:

- SEGREGATIONIST SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS.
- UNIONS WITH WHITE-ONLY MEMBERSHIP CLAUSES.
- EASTERN INTELLECTUALS WHO ABHORRED RACIAL SEGREGATION.
- BIG CITY MACHINES LARGELY BASED ON CATHOLIC, ETHNIC GROUPS.
- VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE RURAL, ANGLO-SAXON, PROTESTANT SOUTH WITH ITS STRONG TRADITION OF ANTI-CATHOLICISM.

DESPITE THESE AND MANY OTHER DIVISIONS, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT BUILT IN 1932 A NEW GOVERNING MAJORITY WHICH CONTROLLED OUR CONGRESS OR THE WHITE HOUSE, OR BOTH, FOR 48 YEARS, WITH THE SINGLE EXCEPTION OF THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION.

HOW DID ROOSEVELT ACHIEVE THIS? HERE ARE SOME OF THE SECRETS:

FIRST, HE KEPT THE ISSUE INITIATIVE BY LAUNCHING AND FIGHTING HARD FOR A STEADY STREAM OF POLICY PROPOSALS, EVEN THOUGH HE KNEW MANY OF THEM WOULD LOSE IN CONGRESS.

SECOND, HE KEPT HIS COALITION TOGETHER BY GIVING EACH ELEMENT OF IT FREQUENT, SOLID REASONS TO STAY ABOARD.

THIRD, HE RE-RAN EACH ENSUING ELECTION ON THE CENTRAL THEMES OF HIS 1932 SUCCESS, PARTICULARLY PITTING THE ALWAYS MORE NUMEROUS "HAVE NOTS" AGAINST THE "HAVES".

FOURTH, HE USED LEGISLATION, HIS ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS, AND THE PRESTIGE OF HIS OFFICE TO BUILD THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF HIS COALITION, PARTICULARLY ORGANIZED LABOR.

FIFTH, ROOSEVELT CHEERFULLY USED CONFRONTATION WITH OPPONENTS OF HIS POLICIES TO MOTIVATE HIS COALITION.

SIXTH, HE ACCEPTED THE MOST INTENSE UNPOPULARITY WITH A MINORITY TO ACHIEVE UNIQUE POPULARITY WITH THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS.

WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT FDR BUILT A STABLE WINNING COALITION WHILE THE GREAT DEPRESSION RAGED ALL DURING THE 1930s. ECONOMIC PROSPERITY, OR ITS LACK, PROVED LARGELY IRRELEVANT TO HIS SUCCESS.

THE 1980 REAGAN WINNING COALITION HAS THE POTENTIAL TO BECOME A NEW, NORMAL GOVERNING MAJORITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS. IN 1930, THE OLD FDR COALITION PRACTICALLY FELL APART.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS LOST BECAUSE THEY WERE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS. MUCH AS THOSE OF US WHO LED THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN MIGHT LIKE TO THINK THAT OUR PRESIDENTIAL VICTORY PROVIDED THE COATTAILS ON WHICH ALL THOSE GOP SENATE AND HOUSE CANDIDATES RODE TO VICTORY, THE FACTS TELL A DIFFERENT STORY.

MOST PEOPLE DO NOT REALIZE HOW MANY OF THE GOP SENATE AND HOUSE CANDIDATES WHO BEAT INCUMBENT LIBERAL DEMOCRATS IN FACT OUTPOLLED OUR PRESIDENTIAL TICKET. IN THIS CATEGORY WERE, AMONG OTHERS, SENATOR KASTEN, SENATOR GRASSLEY, SENATOR MATTINGLY, SENATOR GORTON, AND SENATOR ANDREWS.

ALL OF THESE CANDIDATES WON A GREATER PERCENTAGE OF THE VOTE IN THEIR STATES THAN DID THE REAGAN-BUSH ELECTORS.

WE HAD AN EXCELLENT NATIONAL TICKET. WE HAD A WELL ORGANIZED NATIONAL CAMPAIGN. BUT THE TRUTH IS THAT THE REAGAN-BUSH TICKET WAS THE BENEFICIARY OF THE SAME COALITION WHICH BENEFITED THE OPPONENTS OF GEORGE MCGOVERN, BIRCH BAYH, FRANK CHURCH, AND ALL THE OTHER FALLEN LIBERAL DEMOCRATS.

THE 1980 ELECTIONS BROUGHT TOGETHER A WINNING COALITION OF THREE RAPIDLY GROWING SOURCES OF POLITICAL STRENGTH:

FIRST -- THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING ITS VOLUNTEER AUXILLIARIES. THE COLLEGE REPUBLICANS, FOR INSTANCE, GREW IN 1930 FROM 250 CLUBS TO MORE THAN 1,000 CLUBS. IN FUND RAISING, THE FIGURES FOR THE GOP IN FINDING NEW SOURCES ARE VERY IMPRESSIVE.

SECOND -- THE BUSINESS AND ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMUNITY. CORPORATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES, FOR EXAMPLE, INCREASED DRAMATICALLY IN NUMBERS

YEAR :	NUMBER OF CORPORATE PACS	\$ EXPENDED BY CORPORATE PACS
1974	89	
1976	433	\$ 5.8
1978	784	15.2
1980	1,204	31.2
1982	1,467	42.2

THIRD -- THE GRASSROOTS CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS. THERE ARE NO COMPREHENSIVE FIGURES CHARTING THE GROWTH OF THE RANGE OF CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS. IT IS SAFE TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT CONSERVATIVE LOBBYS AND PACS IN AGGREGATE HAVE AT LEAST DOUBLED THEIR RECEIPTS AND THEIR MEMBERSHIPS EACH BIENNIUM SINCE 1972.

JUST AS IMPORTANT AS HEALTHY PARTY WARCHESTS, THE NUMBER OF BUSINESS PACS AND THE SIZE OF GRASSROOTS GROUP MEMBERSHIP, THOUGH, WAS THE EXCITEMENT OF BATTLE. ACTIVISM FROM ELEMENTS OF OUR COALITION WAS AT AN ALL TIME HIGH BECAUSE EVERY DROP OF DISCONTENT WITH LIBERALISM WAS CHANNELED TOGETHER AND DIRECTED AT THE SAME TARGETS -- JIMMY CARTER, GEORGE MCGOVERN, FRANK CHURCH, BIRCH BAYH AND SO ON.

AFTER THE 1980 ELECTIONS, THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S WINNING COALITION CONTINUED TO GROW IN MEMBERS AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES. BUT THE LEVEL OF ACTIVISM IN BEHALF OF OUR CANDIDATES IN 1982 WAS MUCH LOWER.

ENTHUSIASM AND LEVEL OF ACTIVISM ARE HARD TO COMPUTE QUANTITATIVELY, BUT WE CAN MEASURE "CLOSE ENOUGH FOR GOVERNMENT WORK." VIRTUALLY EVERY CONSERVATIVE GRASSROOTS LOBBY WILL CONFESS THAT THEIR ELECTION TIME BUDGETS FOR LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE, TRAVEL TO HOT RACES, AND MAIL IN TARGETED AREAS WAS IN 1982 ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF THAT IN 1980. THE MORAL MAJORITY, FOR INSTANCE, GREATLY REDUCED ITS ELECTION PERIOD EXPENDITURES AND HAD ITS TOP STATE LEADERS GATHER FOR A CONFERENCE IN THE BAHAMAS TEN DAYS BEFORE THE 1982 ELECTIONS.

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, THE BUSINESS AND ASSOCIATION PACS, AND THE GRASSROOTS CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO PROSPER IN 1983 AND 1984. THE QUESTION IS: WHAT WILL BE THEIR LEVEL OF ACTIVISM, OF ENTHUSIASM, IN THE 1984 ELECTIONS?

IF WE HOPE TO HAVE A WINNING COALITION AGAIN IN 1984, WE MUST PROFIT FROM THE SUCCESSFUL MODEL OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S COALITION BUILDING.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT SEVERAL DO'S AND DON'T'S OUGHT TO GUIDE US.

1. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH OF EACH ELEMENT OF OUR COALITION. AND WE MUST CONSTANTLY ASSURE EACH ONE WITH MEANINGFUL ACTION THAT NONE IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED. THAT MEANS WE SHOULD HELP OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR WARCHESTS TO CONTINUE TO GROW. WE SHOULD SPEND GREATER BUDGETS ON PARTY LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS AND ON MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT FOR THE PARTY AUXILIARIES: THE REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S FEDERATION, YOUNG REPUBLICANS, COLLEGE REPUBLICANS, TEEN AGE REPUBLICANS.
2. IN THE AREA OF THE BUSINESS POLITICAL ACTION COMMUNITY, WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE FORMATION OF NEW PACS BY THE MANY MAJOR CORPORATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS WHICH HAVEN'T YET CREATED THEIR OWN PACS. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THIS COMMUNITY TO BE MORE ACTIVE IN RECRUITING FROM ITS OWN RANKS HIGH QUALITY U.S. HOUSE AND SENATE CANDIDATES. WE SHOULD PRAISE THOSE EXISTING BUSINESS AND ASSOCIATION PACS WHICH TARGET THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS ON REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES WHO ARE IN CLOSE RACES RATHER THAN LIMIT THEIR GIVING ONLY TO INCUMBENTS, WHO USUALLY ARE NOT IN DANGER.

3. FOR THE GRASSROOTS CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS, WE SHOULD TAKE THE NEEDED STEPS TO CONVINCe THEIR IDENTIFIED ACTIVISTS THAT THEIR VITAL INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE. THE RESPONSE OF VOTERS THEY INFLUENCE IS CRITICAL. PROPERLY APPROACHED AND SHOWN THAT OTHERS IN OUR COALITION ARE PREPARED FROM TIME TO TIME TO INCONVENIENCE THEMSELVES IN BEHALF OF THEIR ISSUE PRIORITIES, THESE ACTIVISTS WILL BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH SPLITTING HAIRS OF DOCTRINE AND MORE CONCERNED ABOUT WORKING TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE REAL GAINS.

4. FOR THE PAST 2 YEARS THE PRESIDENT NECESSARILY HAS HAD TO CONCENTRATE ON SOLVING THE STAGGERING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS INHERITED FROM THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS WHO PRECEDED US. NOW THAT ALL SIGNS POINT TO AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY, WE CANNOT SIT BACK AND EXPECT TO REAP AUTOMATIC ELECTION VICTORIES IN 1984. DEMOCRATIC LEADERS ARE ALREADY PUSHING NEW PROGRAMS FOR MORE SPENDING AND TAXATION AND CALLING IT A FAIRNESS INITIATIVE. WE MUST TAKE THE OFFENSIVE WITH LEGISLATION FOR OUR VISION OF A SOCIETY OF OPPORTUNITY AND GROWTH. THERE WILL BE MANY LEGISLATIVE BATTLES FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. THE QUESTION REMAINING IS WHETHER THE CONGRESS AND THE NATION WILL BE DEBATING THE LIBERAL AGENDA OR OURS, WHETHER WE WILL BE OFTEN ON THE OFFENSIVE OR ENTIRELY ON THE DEFENSIVE.

5. WE SHOULD ALL LEARN TO BE MORE TOLERANT OF THE ISSUES OF HIGHEST PRIORITY FOR EACH ELEMENT OF OUR COALITION. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT EVERY BUSINESS PAC LEADER MUST VIGOROUSLY PUSH FOR TUITION TAX CREDITS. BUT EACH SMART BUSINESSMAN SHOULD REALIZE THAT THE TUITION TAX CREDIT ACTIVISTS, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN BE A VITAL ELEMENT IN A COALITION TO DEFEAT MANY RADICAL, ANTI-BUSINESS CANDIDATES. SIMILARLY, PARTY OFFICIALS SHOULD NOT PUBLICLY ATTACK CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT PACS, AND NEW RIGHT LEADERS SHOULD NOT SAVAGE BUSINESS LEADERSHIP AND PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES WHO ARE OBLIGED TO SUPPORT ALL GOP NOMINEES. IN SHORT AS BEN FRANKLIN SAID, WE MUST HANG TOGETHER. OUR CAUSE IS ONE. IN EVERY WAY WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE BETTER COMMUNICATIONS AND CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S WINNING COALITION ON THE BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES. WE HAVE MUCH MORE REASON THAN EVER BEFORE TO BE TOGETHER ON SUCH ISSUES AS THE DEFEAT OF THE DEMOCRATIC BUDGET. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE BUSINESS ORIENTED TRUSTEES OF YALE SHOULD NOT SEE THEIR COMMON CAUSE WITH PRO-FAMILY, SOCIAL ISSUE ACTIVISTS AND VICE VERSA. THE BIG TAXING AND SPENDING LIBERAL WELFARE STATE IS TRYING TO SWALLOW BOTH OF THEM. AND THE GRASS-ROOTS CONSERVATIVES SHOULD CONSIDER TRYING TO HELP THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY ON THE CLEAN AIR BATTLE. GOVERNMENT REGULATORS WHO IN THEIR EXCESS OF ZEAL COST JOBS IN FACTORIES ALSO WANT TO INTRUDE IN LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT OFFICES.

6. WE SHOULD JOIN TOGETHER TO FIGHT LIBERAL ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE THE RULES OF POLITICS TO HAMPER POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF ELEMENTS OF OUR COALITION. RIGHT NOW, TIP O'NEILL IS WORKING TO CRIPPLE PACS BY LAW, AND A LIBERAL MAJORITY AT THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION HAS SENT TO CONGRESS NEW REGULATIONS WHICH WOULD END THE ABILITY OF OUR GRASSROOTS GROUPS TO LOBBY CANDIDATES AND OPEN THE DOOR TO HUGE NEW LABOR UNION POLITICAL SPENDING.

TO ME, BASE BROADENING MEANS INCREASING THE NUMBERS AND EFFECTIVENESS OF ALL ELEMENTS OF A STABLE POLITICAL COALITION. IT ALSO MEANS THAT PARTY STRUCTURES SHOULD BE RUN BY LEADERS WILLING TO CARRY THE BANNER OF BOLD COLORS THE PRESIDENT HAS SO OFTEN MENTIONED. OUR LEADERS MUST BE SUPERB COMMUNICATORS^{of ideas.}; WE MUST HELP ALL OF THEM LEARN TO DO THAT *well and inspire new membership.*

IF WE WANT TO CREATE A NEW GOVERNING COALITION AROUND OUR PARTY AS A NEW MAJORITY PARTY, MANY OF US MUST CHANGE OUR WAYS. WE MUST LEARN FROM HISTORY. WE MUST BUILD AND ENCOURAGE THE ELEMENTS OF OUR COALITION CAREFULLY AND PAINSTAKINGLY. ^{The job will tell them.} WE MUST BE SYMPATHETIC TO EACH OTHER'S DIFFERING ISSUE PRIORITIES. WE MUST SEEK TO ILLUMINATE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR RIVAL COALITION AND US ON THE HIGH INTENSITY ISSUES WHICH ALIENATE MILLIONS OF TRADITIONALLY DEMOCRATIC VOIERS FROM THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP. I AM CONFIDENT WE CAN DO IT. I CAN ASSURE YOU I AM DETERMINED TO TRY.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FRW
file

April 14, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

FROM MORTON C. BLACKWELL

Kerry Moody who is in charge of the White House complex for GSA gave me the attached letter to Jerry Carmen from former Governor Mel Thompson.

Governor Thompson wants a speaker for a 5,000 man encampment May 5 of fundamentalist ministers and laymen gathered from around the country in Oklahoma.

I suggested Kerry contact Sven Kraemer of the NSC staff as an appropriate speaker.

Moody sent Kraemer the attached memorandum. Kraemer is brilliant and very good at discussing defense issues with religious activists. He is an active Lutheran layman.

Kraemer is willing to go if Judge Clark okays it. I strongly suggest you let Judge Clark know you think it would be a good idea for us to be represented at this meeting.



April 14, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Sven Kraemer
FROM: Kerry B. Moody
SUBJECT: Speaking Request

The attached letter gives me some brief background about the event, but let me elaborate further.

In the past while on the staff of former Governor Thomson, I attended this forum. It is primarily a religious gathering bringing together ministers and laymen for religious instruction and training. Every year they have a mystery speaker often a public official or some other well known personality. Naturally it is always someone who is sensitive to the "Christian issues" of such a gathering.

You should probably speak 30 - 45 minutes and explain the Christian ethics as they relate to your position on the NSC. Naturally, you may speak about the virtues of the Reagan program in this area. I would guess that more than 95% of the audience would be Reagan supporters and they will come from all over the United States. It isn't often we get such a large forum to talk about the good things happening in the Reagan Administration.

If I can answer further questions or be of help in any other way, please call me on x3815.



Mt. Cube Farm

Orford, N.H. 03777

"LIVE FREE OR DIE" — NEW HAMPSHIRE'S MOTTO

March 29, 1983

Mr. Jerry Carmen
General Service Administration
6th Floor
18th & E Street
Washington, D.C. 20405

Kimishee

GSA
ADMINISTRATOR (A)

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RECEIVED

Watts Clinic

vice-president

Dear Jerry:

It was almost like old times to see you and Bob and others of bygone days at the Bob Smith gathering last Saturday night. I enjoyed your remarks and thought you did an excellent job by speaking off-the-cuff. Try to do more of it!

The purpose of this note is to ask if you could speak to Secretary Watts relative to a speaking engagement on May 5th at the Choctaw Nation's Campground in Tuskahoma, Oklahoma before a gathering of fundamental ministers and laymen -- the number of which is about 5,000.

The campground meeting is organized by Reverend Riley Donica, who had me speak to these patriotic people of God-fearing stock on two different occasions in the past.

Reverend Donica would be glad to provide more details for the Secretary if it is possible for him to address this excellent audience. He is prepared to pay all expenses for the Secretary and to provide a modest honorarium. If you could be of help to me in this matter, I would be most grateful.

Syrup-making permitting, I hope to be in Washington one or two days next week. If I am, I will be in touch with you.

With warm regards and best wishes to Anita,

Sincerely,

Mel

Meldrim Thomson, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

FROM MORTON C. BLACKWELL

In thinking about the proposed strategic missile defense strategy, I came up with this point:

The current doctrine of massive retaliation in case of nuclear attack and its cousin, Mutual Assured Destruction, rely on our ability to match the Soviets in a "balance of terror." Each side is to keep the other side in terror of a possible nuclear exchange.

Unfortunately, there is no major country in the world today less expert in or comfortable with the use of terror as an instrument of national policy than the United States. And there is no major country more expert in or comfortable with the use of terror than the Soviet Union.

Shifting to a strategy based more on defense and less on offense destroys much of the advantage which now accrues to the Soviets due to their greater facility in the uses of terror.

Perhaps this point can be worked into our arguments supporting the President's new strategy.