

5/10/79 [1]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MAY 10, 1979

MR. PRESIDENT

ESTHER PETERSON'S HUSBAND,
OLIVER, DIED LAST NIGHT.
ALTHOUGH HE HAD BEEN IN POOR
HEALTH AND HAD RECENTLY
BROKEN HIS HIP, HIS DEATH
WAS UNEXPECTED.

(A LETTER IS BEING PREPARED
FOR YOUR SIGNATURE.) HOWEVER,
YOU MAY WISH TO CALL ESTHER
ALSO.

*suggest
brood-
was then*

PHIL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1979

To Esther Peterson

Rosalynn and I share
your sorrow. Please let me
know if there is anything
we can do for you.

We will be remembering
you in our prayers.

Love,

Jimmy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/11/79

bill/rick--

i think this is the last
of the 'disclaimers'

thanks--susan

5/11/99

Dear Susan -

Please be advised that my signature
scribed to the communication to the
President on the Rhodasion question was
unauthorized and mailed without having
known about the statement.

If you need further information
please give me a call.

— Ben Brown

May 11, 1979

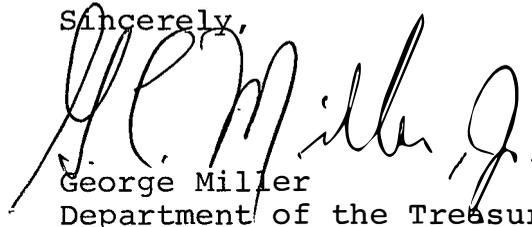
Ms. Susan Clough
Secretary to the President
of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ms. Clough:

Regarding a letter that was sent to the President from Mr. William W. Allison, CSA, on behalf of a group of Georgians, my name should be deleted. Unfortunately, I was not given an opportunity to review, comment or approve any letter addressed to the President.

Since I am a member of the Carter team, I do not think it appropriate to express any concerns I might have about Administration policy in the manner that has taken place.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "G. Miller, Jr.", written in a cursive style.

George Miller
Department of the Treasury

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/10/79

ben brown called about
rhodesia letter. was very
upset that his name had been
used without his permission....
that he knew nothing about
letter until receiving a
copy.

--SSC

May 10, 1979

TO : Ms. Susan Clough, The White House

FROM: Charles E. Clark
Veterans Administration

SUBJ: Disclaimer of Memorandum dated May 7, 1979
Subj: Proposed Draft Position on Rhodesia

Per my conversation with you on Thursday, May 10, 1979, regarding the memorandum concerning the proposed draft position paper on Rhodesia with attached letter to the President, I hereby disclaim any knowledge of the memorandum or its contents, except that it was hand delivered to my office on Wednesday, May 9, 1979, between the hours of 9 a.m. and 5 p.m.

I had been called by Ms. Rita Samuels, Community Services Administration, last Friday, May 4, 1979, and asked to attend a get together of Georgians after work. The issue of Rhodesia was never raised during my presence nor had I personally discussed this particular issue with anyone either prior to or during this get together

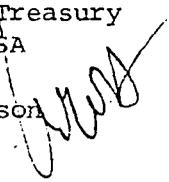
Upon reading the memorandum on Thursday, May 10, 1979, I immediately called Ben Brown, and he too, disclaimed any knowledge of the memorandum or its contents. What is even more annoying is the draft memorandum had been distributed with my name on it without my authorization or furthermore knowledge. This memorandum is sent as my disclaimer and I would like for this memorandum to become part of the record.

Attached is the memorandum dated May 7, 1979, and letter to the President which was received in my office on May 9, 1979.

Attachments

MEMORANDUM

TO: Randolph Blackwell, Commerce
Benjamin D. Brown, C/M Presidential Campaign
Charles Clark, Veterans Administration
William Clements, SBA
Doris Crenshaw, W.H. Conference on Small Business
Willie Delaney, Womens Bureau, DOL
Jake Henderson, International Development
Alexis Herman, Womens Bureau, DOL
Bernard Lee, EPA
Mew Soong Li, Commerce
John Lewis, ACTION
George Miller, Treasury
Rita Samuels, CSA

FROM: William W. Allison 
Convenor

SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Position Paper on Rhodesia

DATE: MAY 7 1979

I am submitting the proposed Draft position paper on Rhodesia for your assessment and advice.

Hopefully, we will be able to submit the final copy to the President no later than Thursday, May 10, 1979.

If you would like to suggest changes or additions in any way please feel free to do so.

I look forward to hearing from you.

President

~~Jimmy Carter~~

James Earl Carter

Dear Mr. President:

We, as some of the Black leadership from the State of Georgia wish to express our profound concern that the United States maintain a firm and honorable policy with respect to South Africa and particularly Rhodesia. In the next few weeks, you will be called upon to make difficult decisions in response to Congressional initiatives to lift Rhodesian sanctions and pursuant to your statutory obligation under the Case-Javits Amendment to make a determination as to the fairness of the recent elections in Rhodesia. We believe that our experience in the U.S. civil rights struggle, our historic and present commitment to the democratic process, and our abiding belief in the capability of peoples to live as brothers and sisters in non-racist societies, enable us to provide insights that may be helpful in your decisions. We will analyze three common arguments in favour of lifting Rhodesian sanctions and attempt to answer them one by one.

1. Recent elections show a transition to majority rule justifying U.S. recognition of the internal settlement in Rhodesia.

Our basic premise is that the recent elections in Rhodesia were a sham designed to give only the appearance

of democratic process. The elections must be judged in the context of the Constitution on which they were based and the political climate in which they were conducted. The Constitution of Rhodesia preserves the privileges and political control of the white minority for a fixed period of at least 10 years. The so-called Declaration of Rights has so many loopholes that it is meaningless and bears no resemblance to our Bill of Rights. No wonder that Blacks were never given an opportunity to approve the Constitution; it was approved only by whites, less than 2% of the population. ~~It should be obvious,~~ that the mere fact that, under the internal settlement government, the prime minister would be black, is of little import. It is perhaps the regime's most egregious insult to black people's intelligence to expect that we would accept a minority controlled government ^{Simply} merely because a black individual assumes titular leadership.

The political climate in Rhodesia is much like that of a small American town in the South at the height of the civil rights movement in the 1950's and 60's. Intimidation and violence were ever present, though perhaps not visible to the outside observer with no familiarity with the lives and problems of the people who live there. Without visible protection from impartial authorities, people are terrified to express their views, much less express opposition to the whole election

process and to the Government that is conducting the election. In Rhodesia, 90% under martial law, with no outside supervision, and no assurance of secret ballots, it is ludicrous to expect individuals to risk their lives, families and jobs in order to vote honestly or protest by refraining from voting. In any case, political choice and free expression were unknown, as the two majority opposition parties were not allowed to participate and press censorship continued up until a few days before the elections.

2. In light of these criticisms, how does one account for the large voter turn out?

This question is best answered by reference to the Soviet Union and other totalitarian societies, where citizens regularly turn out in large numbers to "vote" for candidates in elections where they have no choice. It should be evident that the Rhodesian regime's very future depends upon recognition by the external world and that, in their plan, a large voter turn out was essential for international recognition of the internal settlement. For this reason they would stop at nothing, including massive shipments of citizens from the countryside to polling places and enlistment of employers to recruit employees, in order to ensure a large voter turn out.

It has been alleged that the Government over the last several months has pursued a policy of starvation in the countryside by withholding food from the rural areas, in order to force persons to come to urban areas where it would be easier to control and obtain their votes. We have no information as to the accuracy of this last allegation. However, it is credible in light of what we know about the past behavior of the Rhodesian regime.

3. Weren't these elections, in spite of their weaknesses, fairer than the vast majority of elections by African governments recognized by the U.S.?

This question demonstrates an attitude that we find patronizing and racist in the extreme. Underlying this question is the view that democracy is only for European countries, and that we cannot expect much more of Africans. It also ignores the basic fact that oppression in Rhodesia is bounded on racism and is therefore all the more acute and difficult for individuals to challenge and overthrow. We have overthrown, to a large extent, the yoke of racism in the United States and because of that, we should be particularly sensitive to the uniquely debilitating and cruel force of racism in other societies. Finally, this argument ignores the fact that democracy and fairness in other societies in the world is, only to a limited extent, subject to U.S. influence and involvement. In the context of Rhodesia, governed by United Nations resolutions, the United

States and the nations of the world have an opportunity to stand up for democracy and against racism.

In conclusion, we urge you Mr. President and your Administration to take a strong stand against any Congressional initiative to lift sanctions and further to make the determination under the ^{Case-} same Javits Amendment concerning the fairness of the Rhodesian elections in light of the points we have made above. This issue is at the heart of your African policy, but it is also at the heart of your political relations with Black Americans. We have whole heartedly supported Andrew Young and applaud the beneficial effect he has had on your Administration's African policy. Any abandonment of this sound policy will be a severe disappointment to us.

On behalf of:

Randolph Blackwell, Commerce
Benjamin D. Brown, C/M Presidential Committee
Charles Clark, Veterans Administration
William Clements, SBA
Doris Crenshaw, White House Conference on Small Business
Willie Delaney, Womens Bureau, DOL
Jake Henderson, International Development
Alexis Herman, Womens Bureau, DOL
Julius Hollis, Export/Import Bank
Bernard Lee, EPA
John Lewis, ACTION
George Miller, Treasurer
Rita Samuels, Community Services Administration

Sincerely,

William W. Allison, Convenor
CSA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
5/10/79

Secretary Vance
Zbig Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Note: Ben Brown says that he
did not authorize use of his
name on this letter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/10/79

rick --

please have copies
sent to brzezinski and
vance....and then keep
original in your things
(would, however, appreciate
a copy being sent to me
too)

thanks--susan

Post - include a footnote
That ^{Ben} Brown says he did
not authorize use of
his name on this letter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
5/9/79

~~Susan~~

Rick suggests that you give the attached letter to the President.

We have also sent fyi copies to Hamilton, Z. Brzezinski and L. Martin.

Patti Maloomian

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/9/79

rick --

since most of these
folks seem to be
federal employees/appts....
thought you should best
determine appropriate
handling!

thanks--susan

Susan - file
cc: 3619, Cy
J

May 8, 1979

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We, as some of the Black leadership from the State of Georgia wish to express our profound concern that the United States maintain a firm and honorable policy with respect to South Africa and particularly Rhodesia. In the next few weeks, you will be called upon to make difficult decisions in response to Congressional initiatives to lift Rhodesian sanctions and pursuant to your statutory obligation under the Case-Javits Amendment to make a determination as to the fairness of the recent elections in Rhodesia. We believe that our experience in the U.S. civil rights struggle, our historic and present commitment to the democratic process, and our abiding belief in the capability of peoples to live as brothers and sisters in non-racist societies, enable us to provide insights that may be helpful in your decisions. We will analyze three common arguments in favour of lifting Rhodesian sanctions and attempt to answer them one by one.

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**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

The President
May 8, 1979
Page two

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The President
May 8, 1979
Page three

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In conclusion, we urge you Mr. President and your Administration to take a strong stand against any Congressional initiative to lift sanctions and further to make the determination under the Case-Javits Amendment concerning the fairness of the Rhodesian elections in light of the points we have made above. This issue is at the heart of your African policy, but it is also at the heart of your political relations with Black Americans. We have wholeheartedly supported Andrew Young and applaud the beneficial effect he has had on your Administration's African policy. Any abandonment of this sound policy will be a severe disappointment to us.

We appreciate your support in this matter.

Sincerely,

William W. Allison

William W. Allison
Convener

The Convened Group

Dr. Randolph Blackwell, Commerce
Mr. Benjamin D. Brown, C/M Presidential Committee
Mr. Charles Clark, Veterans Administration
Mr. William Clement, Small Business Administration
Ms. Doris Crenshaw, White House Conference on
Small Business
Ms. Willie Delaney, Womens Bureau, Department of
Labor
Mr. Jake Henderson, Jr., Henderson International
Ms. Alexis Herman, Womens Bureau, Department of
Labor
Mr. Bernard Lee, Environmental Protection Agency
Mr. John Lewis, ACTION
Mr. George Miller, Treasury
Ms. Rita Samuels, Community Services Administration

May 11, 1979

Dear Ms. Clough:

I was in attendance at a meeting on May 4, 1979 called by Rita Samuels. The purpose was to provide attendees at the meeting with an understanding of the procedures and accomplishments of the White House Conference on Small Business and to hear progress reports from other persons attending.

The issue on Rhodesia was raised as I was leaving. I made no comments on the subject, nor did I consent to signing or including my name on any correspondence to the President or anyone on the matter.

The purpose of this note to you is to disclaim my involvement in the May 8 letter to the President on the Georgians' position on Rhodesia.

Thank you for attention in this matter.

Sincerely,



Doris Crenshaw
Associate For Operations
White House Conference on
Small Business

Ms. Susan Clough
Personal Assistant to
the President
White House

U.S. Department of Labor

Office of the Secretary
Women's Bureau
Washington, D.C. 20210



Reply to the Attention of: SW

May 11, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: SUSAN CLOUGH

FROM: *AS* ALEXIS HERMAN
Director

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on Rhodesia

It has been brought to my attention by Ms. E. Draper that a memorandum was sent to the President on the above subject which included a list of names, including mine.

Since I have not signed nor even seen a document pertaining to this issue, I wish to have my name removed from this document.

U.S. Department of Labor

Office of the Secretary
Women's Bureau
Washington, D.C. 20210



Reply to the Attention of: SW

May 11, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: SUSAN CLOUGH
FROM: WILLI ^{WLD} DELANEY
Special Assistant to the Director
SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on Rhodesia

It has been brought to my attention by Ms. E. Draper that a memorandum was sent to the President on the above subject which included a list of names, including mine.

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Frank
C

STATE AND PARTY REPORT

19 MAY 1979 7:28 PM PAGE 1

ROLL NO. 141

H RES 212

YEA-AND-NAY

CLOSED 19 MAY 1979 7:24 PM

AUTHOR(S):

I AGREEING TO THE RESOLUTION

APPROVE EMERGENCY STANDBY AUTHORITY FOR GASOLINE RATIONING

	YEA	NAY	PRES	NO
DEMOCRATIC	152	106		17
REPUBLICAN	7	140		12
OTHER				
TOTAL	159	246		29

$258 \overline{) 152} = 60\%$ Demos (+)
 $147 \overline{) 140} = 95\%$ Reps (-)
 ~~$133 \overline{) 140} = 95\%$~~

26 states
 50% or more
 Demos "aye"

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

NEW YORK

ADDABBO	NAY
ADDRO	NAY
BIAGGI	NY
BINGHAM	YEA
CHISHOLM	NAY
DOONEY	NAY
FERRARO	NAY
GARCIA	YEA
HANLEY	NAY
HOLTZMAN	YEA
LAFALCE	YEA
LUNDINE	NAY
MC HUGH	YEA
MURPHY (NY)	NAY
NOYAK	YEA
OTTINGER	YEA
PEYSER	YEA
RANGEL	YEA
RICHMOND	YEA
ROSENTHAL	YEA
SCHEUER	YEA
SOLARZ	YEA
STRATTON	YEA
WEISS	NAY
WOLFF	NAY
ZEPERETTI	NAY

CARNEY	NAY
CONABLE	NY
FISH	NAY
GILMAN	NAY
GREEN	NAY
HORTON	NAY
KEPP	NAY
LEE	NAY
LENT	NAY
MC EHEN	NAY
MITCHELL (NY)	YEA
SOLOMON	NAY
BYDLER	NAY

NORTH CAROLINA

ANDREWS (NC)	YEA
FOUNTAIN	NAY
GUDGER	NAY
HEFNER	YEA
JONES (NC)	YEA
NEAL	NY
PREYER	YEA
ROSE	YEA
WHITLEY	YEA

BROYHILL	NAY
MARTIN	NAY

NORTH DAKOTA

ANDREWS (ND)	NAY
--------------	-----

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

OHIO

APPLEGATE	NAY
ASHLEY	YEA
HALL (OH)	YEA
LUKEN	NAY
HOTTLE	NAY
BAKAR	NAY
PEASE	YEA
SEIBERLING	YEA
STOKES	NAY
VANIK	YEA

ASHBROOK	NAY
BROWN (OH)	NAY
DEVINE	NAY
GRADISON	NAY
GUYER	NAY
HARSHA	NAY
KINDNESS	NAY
LATTA	NAY
MILLER (OH)	NAY
REGULA	NAY
STANTON	NAY
WILLIAMS (OH)	NAY
WYLIE	NAY

OKLAHOMA

ENGLISH	NAY
JONES (OK)	NAY
STEED	NAY
SYMAR	NAY
WATKINS	NAY

EDWARDS (OK)	NAY
--------------	-----

OREGON

AUCOIN	NAY
DUNCAN (OR)	YEA
ULLMAN	YEA
WEAVER	YEA

PENNSYLVANIA

ATKINSON	NAY
BAILEY	NAY
EDGAR	YEA
ERTEL	NAY
FLOOD	YEA
GAYDOS	NAY
ARMY	YEA
KOSTRAYER	NAY
LEDERER	NAY
HOORHEAD (PA)	YEA
MURPHY (PA)	NAY
WURTHA	YEA
MYERS (PA)	NAY
MALGREN	YEA
YATRON	NAY

CLINGER	NAY
COUGHLIN	NAY
DOUGHERTY	NAY
GOODLING	YEA
MARKS	YEA
MC DADE	NAY
RITTER	NAY
SCHULZE	NAY
SHUSTER	NAY
WALKER	NAY

RHODE ISLAND

BEARD (RI)	NAY
ST GERMAIN	NAY

SOUTH CAROLINA

DAVIS (SC)	YEA
DERRICK	YEA
HOLLAND	YEA
JENNETTE	YEA

CAMPBELL	NAY
SPENCE	NAY

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

SOUTH DAKOTA

DASCHLE NAY

ABDNOR NV

TENNESSEE

BONER YEA

BOUQUARD YEA

FORD (TN) YEA

GORE YEA

JONES (TN) NAY

BEARD (TN) NAY

DUNCAN (TN) NAY

QUILLEN NAY

TEXAS

BROOKS YEA

DE LA SARZA NAY

ECKHARDT YEA

FROST NAY

GONZALEZ YEA

GRAMM YEA

HALL (TX) NAY

HANCE YEA

HIGHTOWER YEA

KAZEN YEA

LEATH (TX) NAY

LELAND YEA

MATTOX NAY

PICKLE YEA

ROBERTS YEA

STENHOLM NAY

WHITE NAY

WILSON, (TX) NV

WRIGHT YEA

WYATT YEA

ARCHER NAY

COLLINS (TX) NAY

LOEFFLER NAY

PAUL NAY

UTAH

MC KAY NV

HARRIOTT NAY

VERMONT

JEFFORDS NAY

VIRGINIA

DANIEL, DAN NAY

FISHER YEA

HARRIS YEA

SATTEFIELD NAY

BUTLER NAY

DANIEL, R.W. NAY

ROBINSON NAY

TRIBLE NAY

HAMPLER NAY

WHITEHURST NAY

WASHINGTON

BONKER YEA

DICKS YEA

FOLEY YEA

LOWRY YEA

MC CORMACK YEA

SWIFT YEA

PRITCHARD NAY

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

MISSOURI

BOLLING
 BURLISON
 CLAY
 GERHARDT
 ZIMMORI
 SKELTON
 VOLKNER
 YOUNG (MO)

YEA
 YEA
 NAY
 YEA
 NAY
 YEA
 YEA
 NAY

COLEMAN
 TAYLOR

NAY
 NAY

MONTANA

WILLIAMS (MT)

NAY

MARLENEE

NAY

NEBRASKA

CAVAHAUGH

NAY

BEREUTER
 SMITH (NE)

NAY
 NAY

NEVADA

SANTINI

NAY

NEW HAMPSHIRE

D'AMOURS

NAY

CLEVELAND

NAY

NEW JERSEY

FLORIO
 GUARINI
 HOWARD
 HUGHES
 HAGUIRE
 HINISH
 PATTEN
 RODINO
 ROE
 THOMPSON

YEA
 YEA
 YEA
 YEA
 YEA
 YEA
 NV
 YEA
 YEA

COURTER
 FENWICK
 FORSYTHE
 HOLLENBECK
 RINALDO

NAY
 YEA
 NAY
 NAY
 NAY

NEW MEXICO

RUNKELS

NAY

LUJAN

NAY

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

MARYLAND

BARNES YEA
 BYRON NAY
 LONG (MD) NAY
 RIKULSKI NAY
 MITCHELL (MD) NAY
 SPELLMAN YEA

BAUMAN NAY
 HOLT NAY

MASSACHUSETTS

BOLAND YEA
 BONEHELLY YEA
 BRINAN YEA
 EARLY YEA
 HARKEY YEA
 HAYROULES YEA
 HOAKLEY YEA
 O'NEILL YEA
 SHANNON YEA
 STUBBS YEA

CONTE NAY
 HECKLER NAY

MICHIGAN

ALBOSTA NAY
 BLANCHARD YEA
 BONIOR NAY
 BRODHEAD YEA
 CARR NAY
 CONYERS NY
 DIGGS YEA
 DINGELL YEA
 FORD (MI) YEA
 KILBEE YEA
 HEDZI YEA
 TRAXLER YEA
 WOLPE YEA

BROOMFIELD NAY
 DAVIS (MI) NAY
 PURSELL NAY
 SAWYER NAY
 STOCKMAN NAY
 VANDER JAGT NAY

MINNESOTA

NOLAN NY
 OBERSTAR NAY
 SABO YEA
 VERTO YEA

ERDAHL NAY
 FRENZEL NAY
 HAGEDORN NAY
 STANGELAND NAY

MISSISSIPPI

BOVEN NAY
 MONTGOMERY NAY
 WHITTEN NAY

HINSON NAY
 LOTT NAY

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

ILLINOIS

ANNUNZIO	YEA
COLLINS (IL)	NAY
FARY	NY
NIKVA	YEA
MURPHY (IL)	YEA
PRICE	YEA
ROSTENKOWSKI	YEA
RUSSO	NY
SIMON	YEA
STEWART	YEA
YATES	YEA

ANDERSON (IL)	YEA
CORCORAN	NAY
CRANE, DANIEL	NY
CRANE, PHILIP	NY
DERWINSKI	NAY
ERLENBORN	NAY
FINDLEY	NAY
HYDE	NAY
MADIGAN	NAY
MC CLORY	NAY
MICHEL	NY
O'BRIEN	NAY
RAILSBACK	NY

INDIANA

BENJAMIN	YEA
BRADENAS	YEA
EVANS (IN)	NAY
FITHIAN	YEA
HAMILTON	YEA
JACOBS	NAY
SHARP	YEA

DECKARD	NAY
HILLIS	NAY
MYERS (IN)	NAY
QUAYLE	NY

IOWA

BEDELL	YEA
MARKIN	NAY
SMITH (IA)	NY

GRASSLEY	NAY
LEACH (IA)	NAY
TAUKE	NAY

KANSAS

GLICKMAN	NAY
----------	-----

JEFFRIES	NAY
SEBELIUS	NAY
WHITTAKER	NAY
MINN	NAY

KENTUCKY

HUBBARD	NAY
MAZZOLI	NAY
NOTCHER	NAY
PERKINS	NAY

CARTER	NAY
HOPKINS	NAY
SNYDER	NAY

LOUISIANA

BOGGS	YEA
BREAUX	NAY
HUCKABY	NAY
LEACH (LA)	YEA
LONG (LA)	NY

LIVINGSTON	NAY
MOORE	NAY
TREEN	NY

MAINE

EMERY	NAY
SNOWE	NAY

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

CONNECTICUT

COTTER
DODD
GIAINO
HOFFETT
RATCHFORDNAY
YEA
YEA
YEA
YEA

MC KINNEY

YEA

DELAWARE

EVANS (DE)

NAY

FLORIDA

BENNETT
CHAPPELL
PASCELL
FUBUA
GIBBONS
NUTTO
IRELAND
LENNAN
NICA
NELSON
PEPPER
STACKYEA
NAY
YEA
NAY
YEA
NAY
NAY
YEA
YEA
NAY
YEA
YEA

BAFALIS

NAY

KELLY

NAY

YOUNG (FL)

NAY

GEORGIA

BARNARD
BRINKLEY
EVANS (GA)
FOULER
GINN
JENKINS
LEVITAS
MAYHIS
MC DONALDYEA
NAY
YEA
YEA
YEA
YEA
YEA
YEA
NAY

GINGRICH

NAY

HAWAII

AKAKA
HEFTELYEA
NAY

IDAHO

HANSEN
SYMSNAY
NAY

ROLL NO. 141

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

WEST VIRGINIA

HOLLIDAY	YEA
RAHALL	NAY
SLACK	NAY
STAGGERS	NAY

WISCONSIN

ASPIN	NAY
BALDUS	YEA
KASTENMEIER	YEA
OBRY	NV
REUSS	YEA
ZABLOCKI	YEA

PETRI	NAY
ROTH	NAY
SENSENBRENNER	NAY

WYOMING

CHENEY	NAY
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* * * * * E N D O F R E P O R T * * * * *

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1979

Mr. President -

You converted a lot of
Republicans this morning -
Great remarks - very well
received. Your SALT remarks
were particularly effective!

F.Y.I. - As every person
attended, they were handed a
packet of materials, which
included our new materials
on SALT and your N.Y.
speech.

We'll win this - Thanks
to your eloquence and sincerity.

Love,



1970

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/10/79

Bob Lipshutz

The attached was
returned in the
President's outbox
and is forwarded
to you for your
information.
See President's note.

Rick Hutcheson

3:00 PM

①

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB LIPSHUTZ *BL*
RE: Selection of Federal Judges

Thursday, at 3:00 p.m., you will be meeting with the Attorney General and me concerning another group of judges being recommended by us.

Pursuant to your recent direction, I am attaching a brief resume of persons recommended by the Circuit Court of Appeals Nominating Commissions for the Ninth Circuit, Northern Division (Washington, Oregon, and Alaska), and for the fourth seat in the State of Texas for the Fifth Circuit.

With reference to the Ninth Circuit, all of us are recommending the appointment of Ms. Betty Fletcher of the State of Washington.

With reference to the Texas seat in the Fifth Circuit, the Attorney General and others are recommending the appointment of Sam Houston Johnson. However, I am recommending U.S. District Court Judge Patrick Higginbotham. In my May 2 memorandum to you reporting on the status of the affirmative action efforts, I outlined my rationale for making this recommendation.

The second seat in Florida for the Fifth Circuit also may be ready for discussion, and therefore I am attaching a list of these nominees.

Although it is not on the agenda, you may wish to discuss the pending appointment in the First Circuit, specifically with reference to Archibald Cox.

Also on the agenda are District Court judgeships in Arizona, Mississippi, and Michigan.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BOB LIPSHUTZ *RLJ*

RE:

Omnibus Judgeship Act: Minorities and Women

Recently a few Congressmen, as well as outside groups, have complained that too little is being achieved in terms of appointing minorities and women to the 152 new judgeships created by the Omnibus Judgeship Act (see attached article; there are also another 15 vacancies which have arisen through normal attrition). In fact the picture is not as bleak as has been painted, but there are trouble spots, some of which can be addressed.

CIRCUIT COURTS

As you know, we have much more control over appointments to circuit courts than district courts. The final results will show that we have done a good job overall at the circuit level.

There are 35 new circuit judgeships. Assuming, as appears likely, that a black and an Hispanic male and a white woman can be among the five new judges from California, then the 35 new circuit judges will include ten women, four blacks and two Hispanics (one of the women is black). This will mean that a total of 15 of the 35 new circuit judges will come from non-traditional ranks. These individuals are, as a whole, well qualified for appointment, so both the quality and the number of minority and female judges at the circuit level should be impressive. This should serve not only to blunt criticism but also to generate political benefits.

There is, however, one serious problem: the absence of black circuit judges in the South. The two southern judicial circuits are the Fourth (Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia) and the Fifth (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas).

If events continue to follow their present course, there will be no blacks among the ten judges on the Fourth Circuit (three are new) and only one--Joseph Hatchett of Florida--among the 26 judges of the Fifth Circuit (eleven are new).

Except for Frank Johnson of Alabama, moreover, the other individuals now being appointed to the Fifth Circuit do not have recognized civil rights credentials.

We have already begun receiving pointed inquiries from black groups about the absence of black circuit judges in the South. The concern they raise is legitimate, and three steps can be taken to address it.

1. Appoint Nate Jones to the Sixth Circuit. Although the Sixth is not a southern circuit, it includes Kentucky and Tennessee and is important to black southerners. You have earlier appointed a black to the Circuit--Damon Keith of Michigan--but more recently have nominated two individuals who are perceived as being conservative on civil rights issues--Bailey Brown of Tennessee and Cornelia Kennedy of Michigan.

Appointing Nate Jones, now General Counsel of the national NAACP, will restore the balance in the Sixth Circuit. The appointment will also be helpful with black groups generally, since Jones is one of the two blacks in whom civil rights groups are most interested (the other is Julius Chambers of North Carolina).

2. Appoint Patrick Higginbotham to the Fifth Circuit. Higginbotham is a white district judge in Dallas (there are no blacks on the Texas list who merit serious consideration). He is strongly supported by black and Hispanic groups because of his record as a private attorney and as a judge.

Higginbotham is contending for one of the four Texas seats on the Fifth Circuit. As I understand it, the principal concern voiced about him is that he is a Republican--President Ford appointed him to the district court in 1976--and one of the other nominees from Texas, Carolyn Randall, was also thought to be a GOP member. It was feared that it would be politically harmful to appoint two Republicans from Texas. Whatever the merits of that argument, the chairman of the Texas nominating panel informed the Attorney General on May 1 that Randall is not a Republican.

In any event, focusing on Higginbotham's party affiliation ignores the fact that he is backed by traditionally Democratic constituencies, that he is strongly supported by the local Democratic leadership in north Texas--including the chairmen of the counties embracing Dallas and Fort Worth--and that other prominent Texas Democrats have also endorsed him, such as Bob Strauss and John Dalton.

Appointing Patrick Higginbotham would help us with minority groups. The appointment would also be seen as a reaffirmation of your commitment to merit selection.

3. Appoint Julius Chambers to the Fourth Circuit. This would be the most dramatic, but also the most difficult of the three steps I am suggesting. Chambers is an exceptionally talented lawyer. He is black and is a partner in what is probably the finest integrated law firm in the country. Chambers and his firm have long been identified with civil rights litigation both in his native North Carolina and throughout the South.

There are two problems with appointing Chambers. First, although his name appeared on an earlier North Carolina list, the panel inexplicably failed to include him on the present list, sending instead five white males. (This may have been due in part to the Chairman's failure to inform the panelists of your February 5 letter urging active consideration of minority and female candidates.) The second problem is that Senators Morgan and Helms are both opposed to Chambers, although Helms is more vociferous.

Addressing both problems: I believe first that a good argument can be made that merit principles would not be violated by Chambers' nomination, even though he is not on the present North Carolina list, since he had earlier been certified as being qualified by the same panel. Second, while Helms' opposition is a given, Morgan is perhaps more flexible. In a recent article Morgan is reported to have said that he would have backed Chambers had he been on the present list. That statement may have been made simply for public consumption, but it could give us some leverage. (Note: we acceded to Morgan's wishes on the last North Carolina vacancy by appointing neither Chambers nor Judge James McMillan. You have also recently fulfilled an earlier promise to Morgan by nominating Charles Winberry to the district court, although Winberry's qualifications are marginal; the ABA approved him by a 6-5 vote.)

If Julius Chambers is not selected, no black is likely to be appointed to the Fourth Circuit. The only other possible candidate would be Franklin Cleckley of West Virginia University Law School, who appeared on the list for that state, but you have already decided to appoint Jim Sprouse for the West Virginia seat. That decision could be reversed, but it would make more sense--from the perspective both of politics and legal competence--to appoint Chambers.

Summary of Circuit Court Recommendations

I recommend that you approve the selection of Nate Jones and Patrick Higginbotham and that you authorize serious exploration, particularly by the Attorney General and Frank, of the possibility of appointing Julius Chambers.

_____ Approve Nate Jones (6th Circuit)	_____ Disapprove
_____ Approve Patrick Higginbotham (5th Circuit)	_____ Disapprove
_____ Approve serious consideration of Julius Chambers (4th Circuit)	_____ Disapprove

DISTRICT COURTS

Because of the role of the Senate, the situation at the district court level is less positive. There are 117 new district judges, and we have received recommendations from Senators for most of them. (We are still waiting for final recommendations for seats in Alabama, California, North Carolina and Ohio--a total of about 16--as well as from a few other states with one or two vacancies.)

At the moment, we can be reasonably sure of appointing eleven women (three of whom are black) and seven black and three Hispanic males. These figures should improve somewhat after the final selections for states such as California are factored in, but the overall results for the district courts will not compare to those achieved for the circuit courts.

There is little that we can do at the district court level other than to continue to negotiate with Senators. In some cases, e.g., Illinois and Oregon, they have agreed that the next district court vacancy will go to a woman. One forthright step, however, can be taken in the immediate future: to nominate a black for a district court judgeship in Virginia. Harry Byrd's commissions have submitted the names of ten white males for the four Virginia seats, and the appointment of a qualified black would be solid evidence of your commitment to a more representative judiciary. Both the Attorney General and we have been searching for such an individual, and it appears that we may have found one, although final checking is necessary.

Finally, it is worth noting that in the District of Columbia, where you can make district court appointments free from Senatorial constraints, you have appointed four exceptionally able individuals, including a black (John Penn) and a woman (Joyce Green).

Moratorium on Carter Judgeships to Be Sought

By Robert Pear

Washington Star Staff Writer

Several congressmen, expressing disappointment with the number of blacks recommended to be federal judges, plan to request a moratorium on appointment of judges by President Carter.

They said yesterday that they plan to join leading civil rights organizations in an appeal to Attorney General Griffin Bell and Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which holds hearings before Senate confirmation of judicial nominees.

Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., said that he was "outraged" at the underrepresentation of blacks, other minorities and women among judicial candidates and nominees. The situation, he said, is "absolutely shocking."

For the Carter administration to promise more black nominees, then not deliver, is the "sheerest political hypocrisy," Conyers said.

Appearing with Conyers at a news conference on judicial selection, Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., said flatly, "There is discrimination being practiced here."

HE RECALLED that he was the author of an amendment to the 1978 Omnibus Judgeship Act that urged the president to appoint minorities and women to federal courts.

Edwards, a Judiciary Committee member, said he was "appalled by what appears to be a continuation of business as usual" in the appointment of federal judges.

Lists submitted to the Justice Department by senators and by citizen nominating commissions "compel me to conclude that the intent and spirit of my amendment are not being met," Edwards said.

The judgeship act created 117 new federal district judgeships and 35 circuit judgeships, giving President Carter an opportunity to add 152 new federal judges to the S25 on the bench.

Junius W. Williams, president of the National Bar Association, the largest organization of black attorneys, said there were 11 blacks and five Hispanics among the persons recommended to the Justice Department for 79 of the new District Court seats. Among 138 candidates for 35 appellate court seats, 15 are black and four Hispanic, according to an unofficial count.

EDWARDS SAID he intends to hold hearings on the number of minorities and women employed by federal courts in the South.

Edwards and Conyers said they would join other activists in urging the Senate not to confirm any more judges until the list of nominees has "better balance" with respect to race and sex.

Similar complaints have been voiced before. Bell acknowledges that he has been disappointed with the nominating commissions. Other Justice Department officials say they are shocked to find some liberal senators recommending only white males. Carter repeatedly has said he would press for the appointment of minorities and women.

Brent Simmons of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund said that Carter had appeared sincere about nominating black lawyers, but had turned in a "sham performance" to date. With the 1980 presidential election approaching, he said, the White House would be well advised to heed the complaints of blacks.

THERE ARE TWO particularly lively judgeship controversies developing in Georgia and Michigan.

The Southern Regional Council, a civil rights research organization, said this week that Georgia's two Democratic senators had recommended Dudley H. Bowen Jr. for "purely political" reasons. Bowen, a former federal bankruptcy judge now practicing law in Augusta, Ga., helped raise funds for Sen. Sam Nunn's 1978 re-election campaign.

Steve Suits, executive director of the council, said that Nunn and Sen.

Herman E. Talmadge, in recommending Bowen, had unfairly passed over a qualified, prominent, experienced black lawyer, John Ruffin, also of Augusta.

The lesson, Suits said, is that "race is a burden and politics is king in selecting federal judges."

Meanwhile, Cornelia Kennedy, chief judge of the U.S. District Court for Eastern Michigan, is a front-runner for the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. She is a white woman.

Conyers, a Michigan congressman,

said that her "staunch conservative positions on civil rights and the rights of criminal defendants" have caused alarm among civil rights groups.

ANN K. MACRORY, director of the Judicial Selection Project, representing a coalition of public-interest groups, said the Justice Department itself was partially responsible for problems in the selection process.

"The Justice Department and the White House have made it impossible for us to participate in the selection process," she said.

Macrory said the Judicial Selection Project and other interested groups had recently filed suit against the Justice Department under the Freedom of Information Act. The purpose, she said, is to obtain biographical information on judicial candidates as well as the letters of recommendation and transmittal supporting the nominations.

The Judicial Selection Project includes officers of Common Cause, the AFL-CIO, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the National Organization for Women and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Northern Ninth Circuit (Alaska, Oregon, Washington: three vacancies)*

Robert Boochever (Alaska, white male) -- Justice, Alaska Supreme Court since 1972; Chief Justice since 1975.

James Fitzgerald (Alaska, white male) -- U.S. District Judge since 1975; previously served on Alaska Supreme Court, 1972-1975, and on lower state court, 1959-1972.

George Joseph (Oregon, white male) -- Judge, Oregon Court of Appeals since 1977; career previously included private practice, work in county government and law teaching.

Hans Linde (Oregon, white male) -- Justice, Supreme Court of Oregon since 1977; Professor of Law, University of Oregon, 1959-76; also appeared on the list of candidates submitted for the District of Columbia Circuit.

> Otto Skopil (Oregon, white male) -- U.S. District Judge since 1972; private practice, 1946-1972. *Repubs want him (to be replaced by woman)*

> Jerome Farris (Washington, black male) -- Judge, Washington Court of Appeals since 1969; private practice 1958-1969.

* Betty Fletcher (Washington, white female) -- private practice in large Seattle firm since 1956; partner since 1963. *Excellent*

Charles Smith (Washington, black male) -- Professor of Law at University of Washington since 1973; served as state court judge 1966-1973.

Robert Utter (Washington, white male) -- Justice, Washington Supreme Court since 1971; lower court judge 1964-1971.

*There is no requirement that each state receive one seat; e.g., two could be given to Washington and one to Oregon.

Western Fifth Circuit (Texas: one vacancy)*

James Greenwood, III (white male) -- associated with a large Houston firm since 1961; partner since 1972; principal work has been in state courts on behalf of insurance company clients.

Clarence Guittard (white male) -- justice of an intermediate state appellate court since 1971; chief justice since 1976; previously served on state trial court 1961-1970.

Morris Harrell (white male) -- associated with large Dallas firms since 1955; antitrust practice; past president of Texas Bar Association.

Patrick Higginbotham (white male) -- U.S. District Judge in Dallas since 1976; previously worked for large Dallas firm; helped organize the legal services program in Dallas in the late '60's and early '70's and served as vice-chairman of Dallas legal services.

Check on him
Andrew Jefferson, Jr. (black male) -- private practice since 1975; served as state court judge 1971-1975; previously served on legal staff for Humble Oil 1968-1971, and as Assistant U.S. Attorney 1962-1968.

Samuel Johnson, Jr. (white male) -- judge, Texas Supreme Court since 1973; served as judge in lower state courts 1959-1972; district attorney 1955-1958.

William Justice (white male) -- U.S. District Judge in Tyler since 1968; U.S. Attorney 1961-1968.

John Onion, Jr. (white male) -- judge, Texas Court of Criminal Appeals since 1967; Presiding Judge since 1971; previously served on lower state courts 1957-1966.

A. Phillips Peden (white male) -- judge, intermediate state appellate court since 1967; served on lower state courts 1951-1967.

David Richards (white male) -- partner in Austin firm since 1969; clients have included AFL-CIO and civil rights litigants; also served as special counsel to Consumer Affairs Committee.

Carl Walker, Jr. (black male) -- Assistant U.S. Attorney in Houston since 1961; private practice 1956-1961.

Jerre Williams (white male) -- Professor of Law, University of Texas, since 1950; has also served as a labor negotiator.

*You have already selected three of the four Texas nominees: Reynaldo Garza, Carolyn Randall and Thomas Reavley.

12

3:00 PM

Western Fifth Circuit (Louisiana: one vacancy)*

Marian Berkett (white female) -- partner in private firm since 1937 (66 years of age); specializes in estate work and also handles workmen's compensation, probate, tax and surety work.

Pascal Calogero, Jr. (white male) -- Justice of Louisiana Supreme Court since 1974; Counsel to Louisiana Stadium and Exposition District 1970-1973; private practice 1958-1970.

Adrian Duplantier (white male) -- state court judge since 1974; private civil practice 1956-1974.

Marcel Garsaud, Jr. (white male) -- Dean, Loyola Law School, since 1970; law professor at Loyola 1963-1970; tax specialist.

Harry McCall, Jr. (white male) -- private practice since 1939 (63 years old); specializes in civil litigation.

Daniel Sartor, Jr. (white male) -- private firm since 1957; ~~general~~ corporate practice.

Albert Tate, Jr. (white male) -- Justice of Louisiana Supreme Court since 1970; served on lower state courts 1954-1970.

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*You have already selected Henry Politz for the other Louisiana vacancy.

<u>Circuits:</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total 95</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
4 th Md, NC, SC, Va, WVa	10	3	
5 th Ala, Fla, Ga, La, Miss, Tx	26	11	
Nate Jones? 6 th			
<u>District</u>		117	7

Mc Curn (wm) N chf NY Moynihan
 Hillman (w) W " Mich
 Gibson (B)
 Beatty ESTL. Ill
 Tate W La
 (9th) Fletcher N Wash
 Mrs Diggs Taylor (BW) Mich
 Collins Ariz
 Senter N Miss Fred books (5) & later

9:30 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH SENATORS CHURCH, JAVITS AND PELL

Date: Thursday, May 10, 1979

Time: 9:30 a.m. (20 minutes)

Place: Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *f.m./pd*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss SALT.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background

Church, Javits and Pell were not able to attend the Wednesday afternoon briefing because the State Department Authorization Bill was on the Floor.

Clearly, their votes will be crucial. It would be a good idea to discuss with them how they visualize the Senate timetable and ask them when they plan to begin the SFRC hearings.

You might also want to characterize the Wednesday afternoon briefing. You might mention that you were concerned about the emphasis placed on speculation about what would happen if SALT were defeated. You might ask their help in directing the Senate debate onto the substance of SALT rather than on that hypothetical question. You could tell them that there will be a demand for material and one-on-one briefings and that Frank's office stands ready to provide everything they need.

You probably will want to repeat your statement about the need to be able to exchange ideas freely about sensitive information.

Church will be speaking to the International Research and Exchange Board on SALT. You might want to discuss the speech with him.

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B. Participants

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho), wife's name: Bethine

Committee assignments:

Committee on Foreign Relations (Chairman)
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
Special Committee on Aging

Senator Jacob Javits (D-N.Y.), wife's name: Marion

Committee assignments:

Committee on Foreign Relations (Ranking Minority Member)
Committee on Governmental Affairs
Committee on Human Resources

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), wife's name: Nuala

Committee assignments:

Committee on Foreign Relations
Committee on Human Resources
Committee on Rules and Administration (Chairman)
Joint Committee on the Library (Chairman)
Joint Committee on Printing (Vice Chairman)

C. Press Plan

White House photo only.

III. TALKING POINTS

As appropriate

8:30 AM

①

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1979

MEETING WITH AMERICAN RETAIL FEDERATION

Thursday, May 10, 1979

8:30 a.m. (10 minutes)

State Dining Room

From: ANNE WEXLER *AW*

I. PURPOSE

To greet the officers, Board of Directors and members of the American Retail Federation and to seek their support on Administration initiatives.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: The American Retail Federation is holding its 44th Annual Meeting in Washington. It is the umbrella organization for virtually the entire retail industry. The retail industry as an employer accounts for over 36% of the Gross National Product and the industry employs over 13 million people. The industry in general and the Federation in particular have been one of the Administration's strongest sources of business support despite a large number of Republican members. The President of the Federation is Lloyd Hackler who has helped the Administration in its dealings with constituent groups and Congress as much as any business leader in Washington. Mr. Hackler serves with Ralph Lazarus (Federated Department Stores) and Jean Head Sisco (Carter-Hawley-Hale Stores) as retail representatives on the President's Advisory Commission on Multilateral Trade Negotiations.

B. Participants: Membership of the American Retail Federation

C. Press Plan: White House Photo and Press Pool

III. TALKING POINTS

As prepared by Gordon Stewart

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

GORDON STEWART 

SUBJECT:

Talking Points for Dropby at the American
Retail Federation 5/10/79

I. Special Note

- A. It is now recommended that you use the material on inflation and MTN as an introduction to your own explanation of SALT. It will be your first forum since the announcement. It is also an opportunity for these business people to feel a sense of participation in international history as it is made.
- B. As retailers they are enthusiastic about the lower tariffs and more consistent rules that could result from the Multi-lateral Trade Negotiations. They will work to pass it. It was to have been the major point this morning.
- C. As Republicans not so many will agree on SALT. More might after you speak about it. At least you will not be preaching to the choir.

II. Opening (per Loyd Hackler)

If any of you doubt the close consultation between retailers and myself -- just ask your friends at Sears. I am pleased to report they have taken my suggestion and are holding a Surprise Spring Sale -- 5% off on everything across the board.

III. Inflation

- Grant
Food Stores*
- A. The Administration is happy to acknowledge Sears' contribution to the fight against inflation. We would naturally rather name good examples than bad.
- B. Some of you may not love the voluntary wage-price standards. Most of you would hate mandatory controls. We appreciate your help in making them work. We also hope they help you in your relations with the consumer at the point of sale.
- C. Please remember that the guidelines are only part of the struggle to stop the erosion of inflation.
1. We are moving towards a balanced budget. The deficit is less than half what it was when I ran for office.
 2. We are trying to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy. We may occasionally screw up. We do not intend to stop trying.
 3. We are vigorously eliminating over-regulation. Your support for our air-line and trucking actions is appreciated. Your help with S755 (Regulatory Reform Act) will be.
 4. We have a good Hospital Cost Containment bill. Along with a gradual approach to health insurance it should help ease inflationary pressures on employers. We need your help.

IV. Multilateral Trade Negotiations

- A. All of the above strategies on inflation are inter-related with foreign policy. For example, I am asking Esther Peterson to emphasize the consumer benefits of MTN as we work together for passage.

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- B. I am also counting on the excellent record of consultation between the White House and the retail industry to produce a united point of view. MTN is only one example. Our privacy legislation and the wage-price standards are others. So is Civil Service Reform. These form a base for cooperation on such long-term challenges as actually passing the MTN.
- C. None of the broad problems facing the country on which we could work together will yield to easy solutions. Hard work is no guarantee of success. It can guarantee that if success finally comes it will be real.

V. SALT

- A. Even the great breakthroughs such as the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty signed here last month or the Tokyo round of MTN are only steps along the way. We need your long-range commitment to study our policies with us as they are developed.
- B. That is what I would like you to do along with me on SALT-- Consider the facts and weigh the alternatives.

VI. Endings

- A. We're asking you to advise --and suggest. Consent would be fine of course. In some cases we will settle for compliance. Best of all will be our continuing cooperation. I look forward to it. Because we cannot wage any campaign on real problems if we are divided by old conflicts between the public and private sectors.
- B. Of course there will be differences. We each have to find and test our "pricing-points" until we reach agreements on the best ways to move our country forward. That's one reason this White House was built -- to help us come together to maintain the peace and pursue the happiness of all the people of this nation and this world.