

9/17/80 [1]

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
memo	From Brown to The President (2.pp.) re: Weekly Activities of Sec. of Defense/enclosed in Hutcheson to Mondale 9/17/80	9/12/80	A

FILE LOCATION

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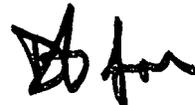
MEMORANDUM

#5134

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
SUBJECT: Intelligence Oversight



We may have the opportunity to obtain acceptable intelligence oversight based on an arrangement recently worked out between the Senate and House Intelligence Committees. We need your guidance on how to proceed.

Comprehensive intelligence oversight by Congress was a fundamental feature of the intelligence charter that was waylaid this year because of conflicting legislative priorities. Even though the charter is no longer under consideration, intelligence oversight language has continued in a variety of legislative vehicles.

The first comprehensive oversight proposal was S.2284, which was passed by the Senate both as a free-standing bill and as an amendment to the FY 81 Intelligence Authorization bill. S.2284 requires prior notification of intelligence activities, including covert actions, but only to the two intelligence committees. Also, at your instruction, we established with the Senate that S.2284 provides both statutory and constitutional bases for withholding sensitive information and prior notice in extraordinary circumstances. Thus, you would not be remitted to your constitutional prerogatives alone if you were to decide to modify notification procedures in exceptional cases.

Because your flexibility to respond to extraordinary circumstances was established, we indicated our support for S.2284. Subsequently, however, floor colloquy between Senators Huddleston and Javits spoke of your having only a constitutional basis for withholding prior notice, and we withdrew our support until the statutory basis as well was re-established. After protracted negotiations, we agreed to make this point in an exchange of letters, which are at Tab A of Ben Civiletti's attached concurring memorandum and which will be read into the record by Senator Huddleston.

At the same time, the House was struggling to develop an agreed comprehensive oversight bill. As a first step, it passed the Zablocki amendment to the FY 81 Foreign Assistance Authorization bill. This amendment applies only to covert activities, it reduces the recipient committees from eight to two, and it has an effective waiver provision for extraordinary circumstances. The Senate appears unwilling to agree to such limited oversight, however, and has therefore refused to go to conference on this bill.

As a means to break the deadlock, the House Intelligence Committee has proposed breaking away from its comprehensive bill, H.R. 7668, and instead passing S.2284, with modifications, in the Intelligence Authorization conference. At the request of the House, we have worked out an acceptable statutory addition and agreed report language, which are at Tab B of Ben's memorandum. In effect, this statutory and report language establishes that the Congress is authorized to receive sensitive intelligence, but that you have both statutory and constitutional bases for withholding sensitive information and prior notice in extraordinary circumstances from even these authorized recipients.

Although there is some attraction to supporting the more limited Zablocki language, your advisers recommend that we agree to the Senate-House accommodation on S.2284. First, it is an acceptable bill, and probably the best comprehensive approach we will see; making the case for a strong, effective intelligence effort is easier if one can reassure critics that activities of the intelligence community will be subject to broad congressional scrutiny. Second, we have been working with the Senate for so long on S.2284 that backing away now would be viewed as a breach of faith by Bayh, Huddleston, Mathias, et al. Finally, there is no assurance that the Zablocki language has adequate congressional support, and, if we support it vice S.2284, we may continue a deadlock that is blocking passage of a bill providing you increased flexibility to respond to crises.

Lloyd Cutler, Frank Moore, and Stan Turner concur in the following recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you authorize us to give Administration support to the Senate-House compromise on S.2284.

Approve ✓

Disapprove _____

J

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 11, 1980

①
/

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALFRED E. KAHN *fred*

SUBJECT: Membership of the Economic Revitalization Board,
and tripartitism generally

You face a series of decisions in the weeks ahead that could result in a radical transformation of our society. I refer to the decisions about the membership of the Economic Revitalization Board and your ultimate response to their recommendations, along with whatever comes out of our existing ventures in tripartitism, in steel and in autos.

I will try very hard to avoid hyperbole, especially because I have such confidence that your own instincts and intellectual convictions here are the same as mine. At the same time I feel compelled by the convictions of a lifetime to point out the dangers of setting in motion a process that may prove politically difficult to control.

The danger I see is that -- despite the care with which you have delineated its functions -- the Board and the other tripartite groups could prove to be instruments for the cartelization or, more precisely, the syndicalization of our economy, under the leadership of big business and organized labor, in very much the same way as happened to the Italian and German economies in the 1920s and 1930s.

It can happen here. It did, under NRA -- which fortunately was short-lived and was followed by a strong shift of the New Deal back to liberal principles, emphasizing a vigorous promotion of freer trade and competition. (The attached article from the Wall Street Journal appeared, believe it or not, after I first wrote these preceding ideas. The references to the (early) New Deal and NRA are accurate, I believe, though the references to your decisions and attitudes are, I sincerely believe, wrong. It is only the danger that I think it accurately describes.) And NRA lived on -- in such legislation as the Motor Carriers Act of 1935 and the Civil Aviation Act of 1938.

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I obviously choose those last examples intentionally. The alliance between business and strong unions is precisely the kind of alliance that we had to combat in bringing about airline and trucking deregulation: it was no accident that we were opposing, in the one case, both the airline pilots and the major carriers, and in the second case, the teamsters and the truckers.

I know there is a general belief that a collaboration between these two interests, in the presence of public representatives, is the way to attack our major industrial problems. I do not deny that there are ways in which this collaboration could prove fruitful. But the dangers are immense; I believe they cannot be exaggerated.

The danger is that business and the more powerful unions will, together, use the access to government provided by these tripartite institutions, to the loan guarantees, grants and other privileges that the industrial development authority would have available to it, to protect themselves from the retribution of the competitive market, to suppress competition, to impose on this country an oligarchy of big labor and big business to the disadvantage of the great majority of the American people, including the great majority of American workers (who are, of course, not organized in unions).

Why were the teamsters so opposed to trucking deregulation? Their wages, as of January 1980, were 71 percent higher than the average wage of all private non-farm workers, 58 percent higher than the average for manufacturing; and they had increased by 180 percent in the preceding decade, while at the same time all private non-farm workers' wages had gone up only 105 percent and all manufacturing wages 107 percent.

I have presented you with similar figures about automobile workers' wages, and I think you are aware that the same thing is true of steel.

Now we are putting the heads of those unions with their business counterparts in a position that -- whatever our intentions -- enhances the likelihood of their being able to marshal the power and resources of the government further to ensconce their already preferred positions.

To avoid these dangers, it seems to me absolutely essential that the Economic Revitalization Board be composed of people, to the greatest extent possible, keenly aware of the historic dangers, absolutely dedicated to competition and the public

interest, determined rigidly to circumscribe the scope and recommendations of the Board, and who do not define the public interest as whatever it is that the leaders of a big union and a big business get together to agree upon. And powerful and independent enough to stand up against a very powerful coalition of this kind.

I have made suggestions about possible appointees to the Board, some strongly positive for people who I think would meet these criteria, and some strongly negative for people under active consideration who would in my opinion not meet them. Jack Watson and Arnie Miller have been very responsive. But you still will have choices to make -- among people representing relatively narrow and specialized interests and constituencies and people with outstanding public stature, with broad, liberal humanistic reputations and a keen awareness of the historic dangers of powerful coalitions of powerful private interest groups. (And I observe with chagrin that someone like Archibald Cox, who seems to me outstandingly to meet this description -- the way a William O. Douglas or a Thurman Arnold would have in the past -- has been dropped. On the other side, people apparently on the list like Bob Solow, Bill Bowen, Ed Levi would be excellent.)

My reason for writing this memo is to entreat you in making your choices and in dealing with the recommendations of these groups, to do so in full recognition that your decisions could well have a powerful effect on the course of our history.

Attachment

Reagan's Comments on Fascism and the New Deal

By MELVYN B. KRAUSS

The Democrats find it preposterous that Ronald Reagan should claim that Italian fascism inspired the New Deal.

This claim was in fact made by Mr. Reagan during his campaign to be the Republican Party's candidate for President in 1976. Time magazine (May 12, 1976) quotes Mr. Reagan as saying that "fascism was really the basis for the New Deal. It was Mussolini's success in Italy, with his government-directed economy, that led early New Dealers to say 'but Mussolini keeps the trains running on time.'" The Time quote was offered by the Democrats at their 1980 National Convention as proof that Mr. Reagan is not fit to be President.

Whether we should deny—or vote—Mr. Reagan the U.S. presidency because he charged that fascism Italian style provided the basis for New-Dealism American style is debatable. But the quote should at least merit him a good mark on economic history. Mr. Reagan's insight that Mussolini's Italian "corporate state" and Roosevelt's short-lived "corporate state" in the U.S. were structurally identical not only is correct, but demonstrates an intellectual sophistication that many professional economic historians would envy.

Of course, it is difficult to equate the New Deal of the 1930s with a regime notorious for its imperialism, anti-Semitism and goonism. Italian fascism indeed was all these terrible things—but it was more. Italy under Mussolini developed a unique economic structure known as the corporate state. Before Mussolini teamed up with Hitler, the Italian corporate state had many foreign admirers. Among these were the Swedish Social Democrat Gunnar Myrdal and FDR.

There were two aspects of Mussolini's corporate state that appealed to early welfare-staters. First, the corporate state claimed to have reconciled labor and capital. That it did so at the expense of consumers—as the Italian scholar Ernesto Rossi points out—either was not recognized or considered important by those intent on building the welfare state.

Second, Mussolini concerned himself that vital public services be provided in an efficient manner. This is why New Dealers made so much of Mussolini's apparent ability to get the trains running on time. Observers of modern Italy with its perennial public-sector strikes and public-service disruptions may well wonder how Mussolini did it. The answer is that trains in Italy are a public enterprise, and Mussolini banned trade unions in the public sector.

Mussolini's ban on public-sector unions is interesting because it was an exception

to the general principle by which economic activity was organized in the corporate state. In each major private industry, the Italian corporate state collectivized both workers and employers into separate groups on the basis of exclusive representation. The union bosses and captains of industry were expected to bargain and reach agreement over such key economic variables as wages, prices, hours of work etc. and then submit their agreement to the government for final approval.

The weakness of the corporate state is precisely this characteristic: that the important economic decisions are made by the bosses of industry, labor and government through a political process. This is of course the opposite of a competitive market economy where these economic decisions are made by private individuals interacting freely in the marketplace. There is, of course, no reason to believe that the political settlements negotiated by the bosses in any way produce results that are appropriate to the society's essential economic needs.

The corporate state constituted the economic basis of Italian fascism, the New Deal and the European welfare state. The legal basis for the New Deal in this country was the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The NIRA was short-lived, being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the A.L.A. Schechter poultry case in 1935.

According to the Supreme Court summary of the Schechter case, "Section 3 of the NIRA provides that 'codes of fair competition,' which shall be the 'standards of fair competition' for the trades and industries to which they relate, may be approved by the President upon application of representative associations of the trades or industries to be affected, or may be prescribed by him on his own motion."

That the NIRA constituted a marked departure from traditional American economic practice is clear from the following:

"The authority sought . . . was not merely to deal with 'unfair competitive practices' . . . Rather, the purpose is . . . to authorize new and controlling prohibitions through codes of laws which would embrace what the formulators would propose, and what the President would approve or prescribe, as wise and beneficent measures for the government of trades and industries, in order to bring about their rehabilitation, correction and improvement."

Finally, Schechter's lawyers argued that "the evident intention was to allow the freest latitude in formulating so-called codes of fair competition in order that the unofficial ideas of preponderant majorities in particular trades and industries, if they happened to coincide or could be made to coincide with the President's idea of 'fair competition,' might be enacted into law."

What was the NIRA if not Mussolini's corporate state model?

The Carter administration's recently announced "reindustrialization policy" (R.I.P.) to revitalize American industry

makes it clear that Jimmy Carter is in the true Roosevelt tradition of embracing the corporate state model whenever America's economy gets into serious trouble.

The President's new Economic Revitalization Board, headed by Irving S. Shapiro, the industrialist, and Lane Kirkland, the labor leader, has been created "to foster cooperation between government and the private sector in dealing with matters of industrial policy." But just as in the case of the NIRA, it seems doubtful that the consumer and taxpayer will be well served when economic decisions are imposed upon them by labor, government and industrial bosses. In a competitive market economy, the consumer is king. But in the tripartite world of the corporate state, the consumers' interests are systematically subordinated to those of the bosses.

Jimmy Carter has tipped his cards as to what his approach to industrial policy will look like should he be re-elected. Four more years of Mr. Carter may mean a full-blown corporate state in this country. Ronald Reagan, on the other hand, has shown a commendable sensitivity to the dangers of corporatism. In the forthcoming months of the campaign, it would be useful if Mr. Reagan could elaborate his Time magazine quote stressing, in particular, how the issue he raised relates to America's present economic difficulties.

The author, professor of economics at New York University, is currently visiting the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

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WSJ 9/9/80

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
722 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

September 8, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Gus Speth 
SUBJECT: Economic Revitalization: Important Considerations

Nationally, we appear to be moving rapidly into a formative period for forging new relationships between government and business. I want to invite your attention to a set of considerations that ought to be prominent factors in any decisions that are made. Besides affecting productivity, jobs, and growth, our decisions in this period will have lasting consequences for the nation's environment, the future course of government regulation, the balance of power among major segments of society, and corporate social responsibility.

° Importance of regulation in reindustrialization. Many business leaders when asked what government can do to reduce inflation or improve productivity, single out environmental, consumer and related regulations for attack. Thus, regulatory relaxations easily become part of the bargaining process when assistance policies are developed with industry group participation. To allow this to happen beyond, for example, the modest extent contained in the recent auto package would be a serious error, for two reasons.

First, if major industries are being revitalized, it is essential that environmental and other public protection regulations be relied on to guide the process so that we will not bequeath to future generations problems like the environmental ones which we discovered in the 1960's and 1970's. We should also encourage careful environmental and community planning in the siting and design of new industry facilities and their infrastructure, such as transportation facilities. In short, "reindustrialization" offers a major environmental opportunity to overcome the poor planning of the past. We should not let that opportunity pass.

Second, these regulations do not appear to be a major cause of declining productivity or increasing prices. A February 1979 macroeconomic analysis by Data Resources, Inc. found that between 1970 and 1978 federal environmental legislation added only about 0.3 of a percentage point to the annual rate of increase of the CPI; i.e., a 9.4% inflation rate would have been 9.1% without federal environmental requirements. Moreover, DRI found that environmental regulation actually reduced unemployment by an average of 0.25 of a percentage point per year over the same period; these regulations added about 250,000 jobs in 1978.

An August 1980 Harvard Business Review article that examined U.S. business management practices argues that corporate management itself is a major cause of our sluggish economic performance primarily because of a commitment to "short-term cost reduction rather than [to] long-term development of technological

competitiveness". Explanations based on "proliferation of regulation" and several other commonly cited factors were found inadequate to account for the decline in our relative position.

° Exclusion of the public. Reliance on a tripartite "partnership" of government, industry, and labor for reviewing industries and developing new policies can exclude important segments of the affected public, e.g., consumers, those with environmental concerns, affected communities. The concern is being increasingly expressed that the tripartite approach could forge an alliance among the most powerful forces in U.S. society to the exclusion of others.

The public participation movement of the last generation has been premised on the perception that government typically serves as a broker among competing interests; those who are not at the bargaining table are not effectively represented. Thus, the tripartite approach could result in basic economic policies being developed and decided without full consideration of the interests and concerns of many segments of the public.

It is important, I believe, to broaden the tripartite arrangement to include a fourth element representing consumer, environmental, and community interests. I hope this broader concept will be reflected in the membership of our Industrial Revitalization Board.

° Corporate Social Responsibility. A commendable effort is apparently underway to reduce the adversarial relationships between government and business. Unfortunately, some industry complaints about adversarial relations are a call to return to an earlier time when business got most of what it wanted from government. They forget that other key groups in our society have "adversarial relations" with government and would also like government to be more responsive to their concerns. For example, environmental, consumer, civil rights, and civil liberties groups have often sought redress for what they perceive to be government unresponsiveness.

Reducing adversarial relations with business must not be a one-way street. As we help industry, we should also seek and expect to receive greater cooperation in achieving national objectives. We should, for example, seek greater business responsiveness to complying with environmental and consumer requirements. We also need to work with the business community on building a stronger sense of social responsibility within corporations and on ensuring greater public involvement in corporate governance. Both sides -- business and government -- stand to gain from a new approach which supplements external government regulation with a new focus on efforts to improve internal corporate decisionmaking on social issues. Numerous proposals have been developed over the years for accomplishing these objectives.

The economic revitalization program is an important opportunity for improving both the nation's economy and its environment. These concerns are interdependent and should be considered together as the program is being developed and implemented. I ask that I be included in the follow-up and further development phases of the program. Do you approve?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 17, 1980

NOTE FOR: RICK HUTCHESON
FROM: ERICA A. WARD *EAW*
SUBJECT: Meeting with Governor Edwin Edwards,
Wednesday, September 17

The President should be alerted to the fact that Governor Edwards is currently representing Giant Refineries, Inc., in connection with several civil and criminal prosecutions for violation of Department of Energy regulations. DOE has issued Notices of Probable violation in two cases, and one of the cases has been referred to the Criminal Division at the Department of Justice.

The Governor requested a meeting earlier this week with Secretary Duncan to discuss these cases. Duncan's office explained that it was illegal for the Secretary to discuss pending enforcement actions, but that he would be happy to see Governor Edwards on any other issues. The Governor chose not to have the meeting.

Bob Strauss is fully aware of this problem and will make sure that Governor Edwards does not raise it.

File
not
submitted

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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September 17, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANNE WEXLER *AW*

SUBJECT: AUDIENCE AT SIGNING CEREMONY FOR AGREEMENTS
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA

Attached is a list of state and local officials and other dignitaries who have indicated they will attend the signing ceremony this afternoon.

The remainder of the audience consist of people who have been involved in U.S./PRC relations and business, labor and other state and local officials involved in textile, civil aeronautics and maritime matters. In particular, port and shipping officials from around the country have been invited and we are receiving reports indicating their great enthusiasm for the maritime agreement and their invitation.

This morning, Jody's office conducted a special briefing for the networks so that they will understand the significance of this event in completing the normalization process. At 11:30 a.m. Bill Miller and David Newsom are briefing the White House press with the same emphasis on the completion of normalization. After the signing ceremony, each of the relevant agencies will brief their press on the specific agreements.

Separately, Frank Moore will submit a list of Congressmen expected to attend.

J. Paul Austin
Chairman, Coca-Cola

J. Ronald Brinson
President, American Association
of Port Authorities

Jane Byrne
Mayor of Chicago

A. W. Clausen
Chairman, Bank of America

Frank Drozack
President, Seafarers International Union

Loyd Hackler
President, National Retail Federation

The Honorable and Mrs. Averell Harriman

Neil Hartigan
President, First National Bank
of Chicago

Lars Eric Lindblad
Lindblad Travel, Inc.

John Lyons
President, International Association
of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers

John J. O'Donnell
President, Airline Pilots Association

John O'Leary
Mayor of Portland, Maine

Jack Otero
Vice President, Brotherhood of Railway,
Airline & Steamship Clerks

Roy Orr
President, National Association of Counties

Christopher Phillips
President, National Council for United
States-China Trade

Charles S. Robb
Lieutenant Governor, Virginia

John Rousakis
Mayor of Savannah, Georgia

Joe Smith
Mayor of Charleston, West Virginia

Marvin Taub
Chairman, Bloomingdale's

Shannon Wall
President, National Maritime
Union of America

Jerry Wurf
President, AFSCME

2:30 PM

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE

Fm/psd

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FYI, no action necessary

Following is a list of those Members of Congress we expect at today's China signing:

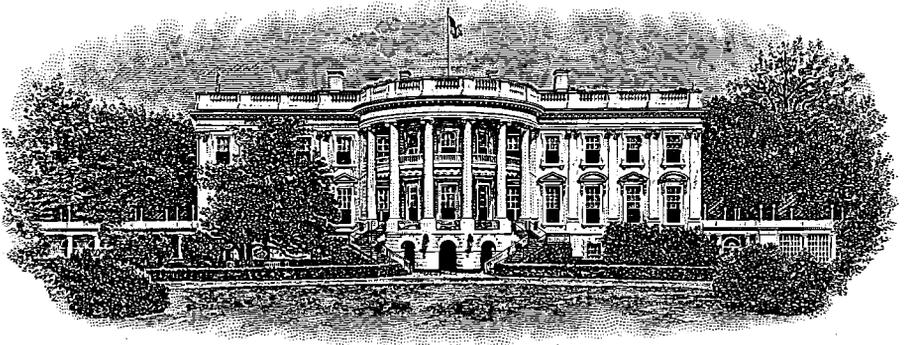
Senate

Henry Jackson
John Glenn
Danny Inouye
Mike Gravel

House

Bill Alexander
Ike Andrews
Frank Annunzio
Les AuCoin
Berkley Bedell
Mario Biaggi
Jonathan Bingham
Don Bonker
David Bowen
James Broyhill
Phil Burton
Charles Dougherty
Tom Downey
Vic Fazio
Bill Frenzel
Sam Gibbons
Cecil Heftel
Jack Hightower
Jim Jones
John LaFalce
Bill Lehman
Dan Mica
Steve Neal
Mary Rose Oakar
Peter Peyser
Marty Russo
Jim Scheuer

Bennett Stewart
Sam Stratton
Charles Vanik
Ted Weiss
Lester Wolff
Leo Zeferetti



美利坚合众国总统

欢迎

阁下莅临

在白宫举行的美利坚合众国与

中华人民共和国之间的

协定签字典礼

一九八〇年九月十七日

THE PRESIDENT

welcomes you to

THE WHITE HOUSE

on the occasion of the

SIGNING CEREMONY OF AGREEMENTS

BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

September 17, 1980

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SUMMARY OF DAILY POLITICAL REPORT

16 September 1980

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8:00 AM political meeting

Following up on President's Atlanta statement, the Congressional Black Caucus will be attacking Reagan on civil rights today.

Speaker O'Neill will be asked to respond to statements by Anderson and Lucey that they would not mind if Reagan were elected. Wexler will get this material to the ADA.

Jack English working on possibility of NDC endorsement in NY.

Geraldine Ferraro working with Steve Aiello on ethnic strategy.

Massachusetts. Kevin White endorsement postponed. Gov. King, Tommy O'Neill and others participating in statewide speakers bureau.

New York. Former Koch aide helping Reagan with Jewish voters. Joe Timilty announced as Western NY coordinator.

Pennsylvania. Party poll shows Carter-Reagan tied at 36%, with Anderson at 19%.

Florida. Marshall trip to Jacksonville and Tallahassee received good press.

South Carolina. President's trip received extensive coverage.

Indiana. Purdue poll: Reagan 37, Carter 22, Anderson 3, Und 38.

Michigan. IBEW endorsed C/M after pro-Carter speech by Lane Kirkland.

Missouri. Following his visit, the President jumped up in Kansas City polls.

Ohio. President's Cleveland trip went well. Story about Steubenville woman who endorsed Reagan after being shown in Rafshoon ad getting a lot of play.

New Mexico. Bruce King and Jerry Apodaca named as C/M co-chairs.

Oklahoma. Andy Coats, Senate nominee, has not yet endorsed C/M. Congressional Liaison will contact him.

South Dakota. McGovern's poll shows him only 4 points behind Abnor. McGovern trailed by 20 points six weeks ago.

Texas. Good coverage of President's trip. C/M ERA pickets welcomed Ford and Bush to a Texas U appearance.

DAILY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

Chip	So. Alabama	Campaigning
Goldschmidt	Akron, OH	Media and Labor Meetings; GOP Convention
Reagan	Wash., D.C.	
Bush	Cleveland, OH	Realtors Convention; Ethnic Luncheon
	Columbus, OH	Fundraiser; State GOP Convention
Ford	St. Petersburg FL	
	Asheville, NC-----	Cancelled
	Sarasota, FL-----	Cancelled
Anderson	Quad Cities, IA	Iowa Editors' Meeting, St. Louis <u>Post-Dispatch</u>
	Minneapolis, MN-----	Cancelled
	Edwardsville, MO	Edwardsville High School Speech
	Wash., D.C.	Debate Books
Lucey	Springfield, MA	Interview, NBC Affiliate WWCP; Walking Tour at Fair
	Worcester, MA	Editors Board Meeting, Telegraph and Gazette;
		Holy Cross Speech on Energy
	Boston, MA	RON

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

Pres.	Wash., D.C.	Hispanic Congressional Caucus Dinner
V. Pres.	Kansas City, MO	
	St. Louis, MO	
	Memphis, TN	
1st Lady	Wash., D.C.	Hispanic Congressional Caucus Dinner
Chip	Rural Mississippi	Campaigning
Marshall	Detroit, MI	AFL-CIO
Ted Mondale	Fayetteville, NC----	Cancelled
Bush	Kalamazoo, MI	Rally, Western Michigan University; Church Event
	Flint, MI	(Tentative) Kiwanis Club
Ford	Traverse City, MI	Luncheon, State Senator Allen (Tentative)
Anderson	Minneapolis, MN-----	Cancelled
	Springfield, IL-----	Cancelled
	Cincinnati, OH-----	Cancelled
	Wash., D.C.	RON

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

V. Pres.	Little Rock, AR	State Convention; Fundraiser
	Lansing, MI	State AFL-CIO
1st Lady	Orlando, FL	Speech
	Charleston, SC	
Chip	New Orleans, LA	State HQ Opening; Departs Atlanta
Marshall	Lansing, MI	AFL-CIO
Bush	Detroit, MI	Media; Econ. Club of Detroit
	Harrisburg, PA	Rally
	Carlisle, PA	Federation of Sportsmen Speech
Anderson	Cincinnati, OH-----	Cancelled
	Detroit, MI-----	Cancelled
	Wash., D.C.	RON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

Pres.	Niles, IL	Polish National Alliance
E. Norton	Los Angeles	L.A. Black Women's Forum
Landrieu	Corpus Christi TX	Mexican/American Democrats
A. Young	Los Angeles	
Bush	Wash., D.C.	GOP Meeting (Tentative)
	Mechanicsburg PA	Towers Senior Citizens
	Baltimore, MD	GOP Fundraising Meeting

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21

A. Young	Oakland, CA	
Reagan	Baltimore, MD	League of Women Voters Debate
Anderson	Baltimore, MD	League of Women Voters Debate

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22

Pres.	Springfield, IL	
	Torrance, CA	Town Meeting
	Los Angeles, CA	AFL-CIO
Anderson	Chicago, IL	
	Philadelphia	Fundraiser; RON

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23

Pres.	Los Angeles, CA	
	San Jose, CA	
	Portland, OR	Walking Tour; Fundraiser
	Tacoma, WA	Fundraiser
V. Pres.	Rochester, NY	
	Eau Claire, WI	
	Minneapolis, MN	RON
Strauss	New York City	Fundraiser
Reagan	Ft. Lauderdale	(Tentative)
	Miami	(Tentative)
Anderson	Harrisburg, PA	
	Scranton, NY	
	New York City	RON

17 sep 80

Jody Powell:

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc:

Frank Press

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
/	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
	NO DEADLINE
	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

ACTION
FYI

	ADMIN CONFID
	CONFIDENTIAL
	SECRET
	EYES ONLY

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIDENBERG
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
/	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	HUFSTEDLER
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	MUSKIE
	AIELLO
	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	MOSES
	PETERSON
/	PRESS
	RECORDS
	SANDERS
	SHEPPARD
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE

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J

The scientific evidence that the earth was formed about four and a half billion years ago and that life developed over this period of time is convincing.

I believe that responsible science and religion work hand in hand to provide important answers concerning our existence on the earth.

My own personal faith leads me to believe that God is in control of the ongoing processes of creation.

Insofar as the school curriculum is concerned, state and local school boards should exercise that responsibility in a manner consistent with the Constitutional mandate of separation of church and state.

Mr. President,

For Scientific American— They are asking for positions on evolution from three top candidates. JSP

WASHINGTON
17 sep 80

Attorney General Civiletti:

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc:
Gene Eidenberg

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
✓	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
	NO DEADLINE
	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

ACTION
FYI

	ADMIN CONFID
	CONFIDENTIAL
	SECRET
	EYES ONLY

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
✓	EIDENBERG
✓	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
✓	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	HUFSTEDLER
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	MUSKIE
	AIELLO
	BUTLER
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	FIRST LADY
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	MARTIN
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	MOE
	MOSES
	PETERSON
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	RECORDS
	SANDERS
	SHEPPARD
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

September 15, 1980

*This is
better
J*

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Your Memorandum of August 30
"Seizure of Vessels Bringing
Illegal Cuban Entrants to the
United States"

Background

In response to the problems posed by the continuing, limited flow of boats referred to in your memorandum, the Justice Department has been pursuing a highly aggressive and comprehensive law enforcement program. In recent months, our policy and practice has been to:

1. Arrest and charge the captain and crew and, if possible, the owner, of every vessel landing illegal aliens at Key West. Subsequently, grand jury indictments are obtained. More than 70 such cases are awaiting trial, with the first cases scheduled for October 20, 1980.
2. Fine boat owners or operators \$1,000 per alien. Lawsuits are being filed at a rate of dozens per week to collect the fines.
3. Seize the vessel as security for payment of the fines. In light of recent court decisions, however, most of these seizures are only constructive. They do, however, subject the operator to immediate contempt of court proceedings if the boat returns to Mariel.
4. Seize the vessel for purposes of forfeiture whenever the consent of the owner has been shown.

In recent months, we have seized and taken custody of more than 50 vessels -- nearly half of all those landing passengers at Key West. In the remaining cases, we lacked proof of owner consent.

5. Develop all available information indicating possible criminal conspiracies among the Cuban/Americans in the Miami area to organize and finance the flotilla.

Further Initiatives

We have closely monitored the continuing arrivals at Key West. Through most of the summer, the rate of arrivals has averaged 1-2 boats and 100-200 Cubans per day. A few weeks ago, however, the number of boats and refugees doubled. More recently, the flow returned to its earlier level. Nevertheless, instructions have been issued to INS to seize every boat immediately, upon arrival, whether or not we have proof of owner consent. Our policy is that the owner must prove he neither knew of, nor consented to, the use of his vessel to transport illegal aliens. Therefore, every boat is now being seized and actually held in INS custody pending final rulings by the Court on permanent forfeiture. Papers are being filed with the Court for this purpose on an expedited basis.

We are seeking to accelerate the filing of Court papers necessary to the prosecutions, forfeitures and fine collection proceedings. A full-time unit for these purposes has been created in the United States Attorney's Office in Miami and its size is being increased from 6 to 18 selected attorneys. In addition, we are meeting with the Court to seek the earliest possible dates for the necessary trials and hearings.

We are now using a grand jury to investigate possible conspiracies and supporting it with increased efforts from FBI, Customs and INS, each of whom have assigned a large number of additional investigators drawn from around the country.

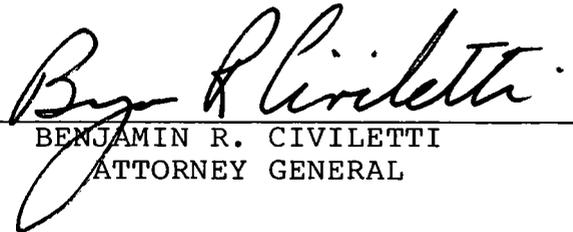
Legislation

On the basis of careful research, we concluded that the present forfeiture statute would support our seizing boats even without proof of owner consent and shifting to the owner the burden of coming forward to prove lack of consent. Accordingly, implementation of this policy does not require amendment to the statute. We have also closely reviewed the related regulations; they require no changes. ✓

Nevertheless, we believe passage of a pending amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act that would eliminate altogether the requirement of owner consent would greatly simplify our effort to obtain court orders for forfeiture. At our request, House sponsors have agreed to sever this measure from its parent legislation. Present plans call for its consideration on the suspension calendar with passage likely by the week of September 22, 1980. We are working with the Senate and are confident of parallel action. As suggested in your memorandum, we are in close liaison with Frank Moore's office in this regard.

I want to assure you that all these matters are receiving priority attention and are being monitored actively through various daily and weekly reports and regular review meetings personally conducted by Judge Renfrew and Mr. Shenefield, under my supervision.

Respectfully Submitted,



BENJAMIN R. CIVILETTI
ATTORNEY GENERAL

August 28, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL CABLE

Bill

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SUBJECT: Selected House Races

This assessment of House races is based on many sources including the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, Congressional Quarterly, other analyses of House races and the White House Congressional Liaison staff's assessment of the situation.

Democratic Open Seats (23 total)

<u>CD#</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Democratic Candidate</u>
------------	--------------	------------------	-----------------------------

Stay Democratic

31	Calif.	Wilson	Dymally
2	Ga.	Mathis	Hatcher
1	Ill.	Stewart	Washington
2	Ill.	Murphy	Savage
13	Mich.	Diggs	Crochett
16	N.Y.	Holtzman	
14	Pa.	Moorhead	Coyne
3	Oregon	Duncan	Wyden
4	TX	Roberts	Hall
14	TX	Wyatt	Patman

Likely to Stay Democratic

3	Conn.	Giaimo	Lecherman
4	Mass.	Drinan	Frank
14	Mich.	Nedzi	Hertel
15	N.J.	Patten	Dwyer
22	Ohio	Vanik	Eckert
1	S.C.	Davis	Ravenel

Contested

2	Conn.	Dodd	
6	Minn.	Nolan	Baumann
2	WVa	Staggers	Hamilton

Probably Republican

8	Mo.	Ichord	Gardner
2	NB	Cavanaugh	
32	N.Y.	Hanley	
3	Va.	Satterfield	Mapp

House Democratic Incumbents Re-election Difficulty

Great Difficulty

1. Udall - Arizona
2. Johnson - California
3. Corman - California
4. Kogovsek - Colorado
5. Stack - Florida
6. Evans - Indiana
7. Jacobs - Indiana
8. Leach - Louisiana
9. Long - Maryland
10. Barnes - Maryland
11. Wolpe - Michigan
12. Albosta - Michigan
13. Maguire - New Jersey
14. Murphy - New York
15. McHugh - New York
16. Ullman - Oregon
17. Weaver - Oregon
18. Myers - Pennsylvania
19. Lederer - Pennsylvania
20. Kostmayer - Pennsylvania
21. Beard - Rhode Island
22. Jenrette - South Carolina
23. Mattox - Texas
24. Eckhardt - Texas
25. McKay - Utah
26. Fisher - Virginia
27. McCormack - Washington
28. Lowry - Washington

Some Difficulty

1. Lloyd - California
2. Wirth - Colorado
3. Fithian - Indiana
4. Brademas - Indiana
5. Sharp - Indiana
6. Howard - New Jersey
7. Ambro - New York
8. Wolff - New York
9. Peyser - New York
10. Preyer - North Carolina
11. Gudger - North Carolina
12. Edgar - Pennsylvania
13. Musto - Pennsylvania
14. Daschle - South Dakota
15. Foley - Washington
16. Kastenmeier - Wisconsin

Difficulty

1. John Burton -- California
2. Smith - Iowa
3. Bedell - Iowa
4. Volkmer - Missouri
5. Ferraro - New York
6. Zeferetti - New York
7. Ottinger - New York
8. Andrews - North Carolina
9. Neal - North Carolina
10. Luken - Ohio
11. Hall - Ohio
12. Ashley - Ohio
13. Synar - Oklahoma
14. Boner - Tennessee
15. Pickle - Texas
16. Wright - Texas
17. Frost - Texas
18. Harris - Virginia
19. Baldus - Wisconsin

Opportunities in Republican Seats () = no incumbent

Likely Democratic

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------|------------|
| 41 | California | (Wilson (R)) | Wilson (D) |
| AL | North Dakota | (Andrews (R)) | Dorgan (D) |
| 19 | Ohio | Williams (R) | Meshel (D) |

Good Chance

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------|----------|
| 27 | California | Dornan | Peck |
| 4 | Colorado | (Johnson) | Barragan |
| 5 | Florida | Kelly | |
| 16 | Illinois | (Anderson) | Aurand |
| 20 | Illinois | Findley | Robinson |
| 8 | Indiana | Deckard | Sinder |
| 3 | Iowa | (Grassley) | Cutler |
| 2 | Kansas | Jeffries | Keys |
| 3 | Kansas | Winn | Watkins |
| 5 | Michigan | Sawyer | Spirk |
| 7 | Minnesota | Stangeland | Wenstrom |
| 2 | New Hampshire | (Cleveland) | |
| 1 | New York | Carney | Townry |
| 5 | New York | (Wydler) | Bunstein |
| 30 | New York | (McEwen) | Krupsak |
| 21 | Pennsylvania | Marks | DiCarlo |
| 15 | Pennsylvania | Ritter | Reibman |
| 22 | Texas | Paul | Andrews |

Contests

2	California	Clausen	Bork
11	California	Royer	Lantos
14	California	Shumway	Cearney
AL	Delaware	Evans	Maxwell
1	Idaho	(Symms)	Nichols
1	Maine	Emery	Pachin
9	New Jersey	Hollenbeck	Ambrosio
2	South Carolina	Spence	Turnipseed
2	South Dakota	(Abdnor)	Stoeffern
6	Wisconsin	Petri	Goyke

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SUMMARY OF DAILY POLITICAL REPORT

September 12-15, 1980

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8:00 AM meeting - 9/16/80.

Jordan/Watson to try to get scheduling decisions made on interviews with ethnic media when the President is in D.C.

Louisiana. Now that congressmen have won their primaries (except Buddy Leach, in runoff), they seem more willing to be openly supportive.

Maryland. Black Ministerial Alliance endorsed C/M. President's brief weekend trip was helpful.

Texas. President's visit received good coverage.

Florida. So far, we have received no political mileage from our support for recreational-lease reform - just damage from failure of Congress to act.

Arkansas. Former Kennedy coordinator calling all Kennedy delegates encouraging their support for C/M.

Tennessee. Chip's trip very successful; good press.

South Carolina. Gov. Riley opened our headquarters. AFL-CIO endorsed C/M.

Mississippi. Charles Evers likely to endorse Anderson.

Delaware. Private poll shows a Carter-Reagan tie without Anderson, Carter trailing by 7 points in 3-way race. An active Anderson campaign underway.

Connecticut. First Lady's Hartford trip went well. Strauss reports Sen. Ribicoff had high praise for her speech.

West Virginia. First Lady's trip received good coverage.

Rhode Island. Private poll: Carter 36, Reagan 32, Anderson 14.

New York. Trips by First Lady to Syracuse and VP to NYC went well. Kraft story p.1 on all three NYC dailies.

Michigan. Reagan poll: Reagan 34, Carter 30, Anderson 16.

Ohio. Cuyahoga County poll: Carter 47, Reagan 33, Anderson 20. A weak showing in Cleveland, due to Anderson.

Wisconsin. Anderson and Reagan have opened offices in Madison.

Nevada. Anderson headquarters closed in Las Vegas. A Sun editorial called for Harold Brown's resignation due to Stealth leak issue.

Colorado. NBC poll: Reagan 41, Carter 29, Anderson 17.

Idaho. Statewide meeting of several thousand Hispanics endorsed C/M.

Oregon. Anderson received good coverage from Portland visit.

California. Reagan campaign says they won't be "smokescreened" into spending more time in California than they need to; Reagan plans 4 campaign days in California, a \$1.5 million budget raised entirely in-state. Anderson endorsed by Rev. Cecil Williams, influential Black leader from N. California.

Illinois. Statewide poll attached.

Labor. Bill Dodds, a respected UAW operative, will be coordinating our effort with union retirees.

MID-WESTERN REGION/STATES

ILLINOIS

POLL: Tribune headline - "Carter, Daley, Dixon lead in Tribune Poll"

For whom vote for President? (809 phone calls, September 5 through 10; Market Facts, Inc., for the Chicago Tribune)

	<u>Anderson</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Statewide	14%	22%	27%	3%	35%
Chicago	9%	9%	50%	2%	29%
Suburban Cook Cty.	19%	23%	20%	2%	37%
Metro. Cook Cty.	11%	31%	14%	6%	38%
Rest of Illinois	15%	28%	19%	2%	37%

Which party do you think:

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>No Difference</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
is better able to handle inflation?	34%	26%	22%	19%
is better able to handle unemployment?	32%	34%	18%	17%
is more likely to keep us out of war?	24%	42%	17%	17%
is better able to manage government?	34%	33%	16%	16%
has made a better proposal for decreasing taxes on business?	36%	25%	12%	27%
has made a better proposal for decreasing taxes in individuals?	32%	33%	13%	22%

	<u>Dixon</u>	<u>O'Neill</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Neither</u>
Statewide	46%	25%	28%	
Chicago	58%	14%	26%	2%
Suburban Cook Cty.	50%	22%	21%	8%
Metropolitan Area	28%	36%	32%	4%
Rest of State	40%	30%	28%	2%

<u>State's Attorney:</u>	<u>Daley</u>	<u>Casey</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Over-all county	43%	39%	2%	16%
Chicago	53%	29%	3%	14%
Suburban Cook Cty.	30%	51%	1%	18%

DAILY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

Pres.	Atlanta, GA Greenville, SC Spartanburg, SC Lyman, SC	Church Event; Airport Dedication Fundraiser Startex Mills Tour BBQ with C/M Volunteers Fundraiser
1st Lady	Cleveland, OH Rock Island, IL Chicago Suburbs Chicago	Event Tentative Event Tentative Daley Fundraiser
Chip Goldschmidt Reagan	Montgomery, AL Canton, OH San Antonio, TX Harlingen, TX Corpus Christi Houston	Stark County Democratic Dinner Rally Address Hispanics Rally Unity Dinner
Bush	Austin, TX Houston, TX	Rally with Ford, U of Texas GOP Fundraiser of the Century
Ford Anderson	Cape Girardieu MO Denver, CO Boulder, CO St. Louis, MO	Campaign for Emerson (vs. Congressman Burlison) Press Conference, Denver Hilton; Luncheon Rally, U of Colorado (Environmental Speech) Local Media; University Club; RON
Lucey	Wash., D.C.	Interviews with Sperling and Gutman

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

Chip Goldschmidt Reagan Bush	So. Alabama Akron, OH Wash., D.C. Cleveland, OH Columbus, OH	Campaigning Media and Labor Meetings; GOP Convention Realtors Convention; Ethnic Luncheon Fundraiser; State GOP Convention
Ford	Asheville, NC Sarasota, FL	
Anderson	Quad Cities, IA Minneapolis, MN Edwardsville, MO Wash., D.C.	Iowa Editors' Meeting, St. Louis <u>Post-Dispatch</u> Cancelled Edwardsville High School Speech Debate Books
Lucey	Springfield, MA Worcester, MA Boston, MA	Interview, NBC Affiliate WWCP; Walking Tour at Fair Editors Board Meeting, Telegraph and Gazette; Holy Cross Speech on Energy RON

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

Pres.	Wash., D.C.	Hispanic Congressional Caucus Dinner
V. Pres.	Kansas City, MO St. Louis, MO Memphis, TN	Cancelled
1st Lady	Wash., D.C.	Hispanic Congressional Caucus Dinner
Chip Marshall Ted Mondale	Rural Mississippi Detroit, MI Fayetteville, NC	Campaigning AFL-CIO Rally

Bush	Kalamazoo, MI Flint, MI	Rally, Western Michigan University; Church Event (Tentative) Kiwanis Club
Ford	Traverse City, MI	Luncheon, State Senator Allen
Anderson	Minneapolis, MN Springfield, IL Cincinnati, OH Wash., D.C.	Cancelled Cancelled Cancelled RON

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

V. Pres.	Little Rock, AR Lansing, MI	State Convention; Fundraiser State AFL-CIO
1st Lady	Orlando, FL Charleston, SC	Speech (Tentative)
Chip Marshall Bush	New Orleans, LA Lansing, MI Detroit, MI Harrisburg, PA Carlisle, PA	State HQ Opening; Departs Atlanta AFL-CIO Media; Econ. Club of Detroit Rally Federation of Sportsmen Speech
Anderson	Cincinnati, OH Detroit, MI Wash., D.C.	Cancelled Cancelled RON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

Pres.	Chicago, IL	Polish National Alliance
E. Norton	Los Angeles	L.A. Black Women's Forum
Landrieu	Corpus Christi TX	Mexican/American Democrats
A. Young	Los Angeles	
Bush	Wash., D.C. Mechanicsburg PA Baltimore, MD	GOP Meeting (Tentative) Towers Senior Citizens GOP Fundraising Meeting

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21

A. Young	Oakland, CA	
Reagan	Baltimore, MD	League of Women Voters Debate
Anderson	Baltimore, MD	League of Women Voters Debate

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22

Pres.	Los Angeles Springfield, IL	
Anderson	Chicago, IL Philadelphia	RON

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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INFORMATION

September 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB*

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Your Meeting with
Chinese Vice Premier Bo Yibo on
Wednesday, 2:30 P.M. (Five Minutes),
The Oval Office

BACKGROUND

You have agreed to meet with Chinese Vice Premier Bo Yibo (pronounced: bwo) briefly prior to the Rose Garden ceremony at which you and the Vice President will sign four agreements -- on civil aviation, maritime, textiles and consular relations -- symbolizing the completion of the formal process of normalization.

Vice Premier Bo (biographic sketch at Tab I) is visiting the US as co-chairman, along with Secretary Miller, of the US-China Joint Economic Committee which you and former Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping established in January 1979 to oversee the normalization of economic relations.

Attending the meeting will be Vice Premier Bo, Mr. Ji Chaozhu, Deputy Director, American and Oceanian Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who will also serve as interpreter, and the US interpreter Vivian Chang. The remainder of Vice Premier Bo's party and the senior US officials involved (list of participants attached at Tab II) will remain in the Cabinet Room and accompany you to the Rose Garden after you have met with Bo.

PRESS PLAN

There will be a photo opportunity in the Oval Office; full press will cover the Rose Garden ceremony.

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TALKING POINTS

This is a brief courtesy call and handshake. You should:

-- welcome Vice Premier Bo to Washington;

-- note that his visit marks not only the first formal session of the Joint Economic Committee, but also the symbolic completion of the process of normalization;

-- add that you are confident there is more both countries can gain from the relationship beyond "normalization" provided we each make the effort and adhere to the principles contained in the Joint Communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations;

-- ask him to extend best wishes and appreciation on behalf of yourself and the American people to Chairman Hua (former Premier) and Vice Chairman Deng (former Vice Premier);

-- extend congratulations and best wishes to the new Premier Zhao Ziyang whom you look forward to meeting in the near future;

-- to add a personal note, you may wish to comment on Bo's interest in American history derived in part from reading "Gone with the Wind" while in prison during the Chinese Civil War.

A briefing paper from the State Department is attached at Tab III.

These arrangements have been coordinated with the press office and Anne Wexler.

ATTACHMENTS:

- I - Biography
- II - List of Participants
- III - State Department Briefing Paper

ADMINISTRATIVELY
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1980

: CRH,
orig. de H.H.
delivered by
Cutler

9-17
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD CUTLER *LIC*
SUBJECT: Response to House Resolution 745

1. Your response to House Resolution 745, calling for information with respect to the Billy Carter matter, is due today. Attached is a transmittal letter for your signature. As the letter indicates, we are simply incorporating by reference your August 18 Statement to the House of Representatives and are providing a Supplemental Counsel's Report concerning those few items which have come to light since August 18.

2. A draft of the Supplemental Report is also attached. The only reference to your activities which has not previously been submitted to either the House or the Senate is the description on page 1 of your meeting with Billy Carter on the tennis court on June 11, 1980. The tennis court meeting was described by Billy Carter in a New York Times interview (attached). According to the interview, Billy said that he exchanged pleasantries with you but had not discussed the Libya payments at that time. I also referred to the meeting in my testimony before the Senate Subcommittee (attached). Is the description in the Supplemental Report accurate to the best of your recollection?

 ✓ Approve transmittal letter.

 ✓ Approve Supplemental Report.

Billy Carter Filed as Libya Agent To Avoid U.S. Criminal Inquiry

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK

Billy Carter said today that he finally agreed to register as an agent for the Libyan Government to avoid coming under criminal investigation by the Department of Justice.

In his first wide-ranging interview since he formally registered as an agent of the Government of Col. Muammar el-Quaddafi, Mr. Carter said that after he reported receiving \$200,000 in loans from the Libyans, he learned "through the grapevine" that the Department of Justice was planning to begin a criminal investigation of the case unless he registered as a foreign agent.

"I had just been through a year before a Federal grand jury," he said by telephone. "I don't believe I am an agent and I registered under protest," he added. He also said that he had been involved in no wrongdoing in the matter.

White House Warning Denied

Mr. Carter firmly denied the suggestion that anyone in either the White House or the Justice Department had warned him that his financial payments from the Libyans had been discovered. "As far as I know," he said, "I was the first one to tell them."

He said that on June 11, after he told the Justice Department about the loans, he met with Zigmund Brzezinski, Mr. Carter's national security adviser.

He said that he did not want to comment on what he discussed with Dr. Brzezinski, but acknowledged that it involved Libya. "I did not discuss my registering as a foreign agent with him," he said. Nevertheless, it was in this meeting that Mr. Brzezinski called Lloyd Cutler, President Carter's counsel.

"I asked him, 'Do I need a lawyer?'" Mr. Carter recalled. "And he said, 'Sometimes even lawyers need lawyers.'"

Mr. Carter said that they later visited Mr. Cutler's office, where the White House counsel suggested "several" Washington lawyers. He chose Stephen J. Pollak, Mr. Carter said, because he recognized that it was the same firm that had represented Hamilton Jordan, President Carter's chief of staff, in an investigation of charges that Mr. Jordan had used cocaine.

Mr. Carter said that he'd meet President Carter at the White House tennis courts that afternoon and exchanged pleasantries with him, but added that he did not discuss the payments with his brother at that time. He said that several weeks later, only days before he filed under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, his brother called him and asked, "Can I give you some advice?"

"I said, 'Why not? Everybody else has,'" Mr. Carter related. "He suggested I register and I told him I'd take that under advisement."

The Foreign Registration Act requires an American citizen to register with the Department of Justice if he is representing the interests of any foreign government, and it provides both criminal and civil penalties for failure to register.

Check Said Loan on It

Mr. Carter said that he first discussed borrowing money from the Libyan Government in the fall of 1979 and made effort to hide the transactions. "The money was paid by check to me and I said loan on it," he said. "It was picked up in Washington by Randy Coleman and deposited in my bank account."

He said he negotiated the loan with Ali el-Houderi, the senior official in the Libyan Embassy in Washington, and that although there were no loan documents, he'd give the Libyans information about his financial status.

Mr. Carter reiterated his denial that the loan was granted to encourage him to use his influence with his brother or with members of the Carter Administration.

"I don't have any influence in the White House anyway," he said. Mr. Carter also rejected the notion that the loan was extended in connection with his efforts to

get the Libyans to supply crude oil to the Charter Oil Company for processing through a refinery in the Bahamas. "The Libyans don't need any influence to sell their oil," he said.

"The loan was a favor to me," he said. "That is all, a favor to me."

Talks With Investigator

Mr. Carter said that as far as he knew, the first information the Government received that he had obtained the two loans came from him. He said that he has been keeping track of a Justice Department inquiry into his relations with the Libyans for some months and had confided with Joseph Lisker, the Government lawyer in charge of the case, "eight or 10 times" since January.

He said that in late May or early June he read reports that the Attorney General of the United States, Benjamin R. Civiletti, had said that the case was not under investigation and implied that it "was a horseplay" in Mr. Carter's words.

Mr. Carter said that he contacted John R. Parks, a lawyer in Arlington, Ga., to set the Justice Department where the investigation stood. Mr. Parks called on June 30, Mr. Carter said, but Mr. Lisker refused to accept Mr. Parks as a counsel for Mr. Carter in the matter. On June 11, Mr. Carter went to Washington and met Mr. Lisker.

It was at that point, Mr. Carter said, that he told Mr. Lisker that he had received the payments from Libya. After meeting with Mr. Lisker, he said, he went to the White House.

1 One of them, at least, spoke with Mr. Wise on July 1.

2 Senator Dole. And then on June the 11th, when you met
3 with Brzezinski and Billy, did you and Billy also meet with
4 the President?

5 Mr. Cutler. I certainly did not. I think we have
6 something to show that we have furnished you indicating that
7 as Billy was leaving my office, that the President was
8 playing tennis on the White House tennis court, and that
9 Billy stopped by briefly on his way out.

10 Senator Dole. You just had a chat on the court there.

11 Then, with reference to the Balomini letter there, and
12 again, I don't know whether this letter is public
13 information or not, is it fair to ask how that was delivered
14 to the White House?

15 Mr. Cutler. It is in our own report. It was stated it
16 was delivered by —

17 Senator Dole. Is that part of the public report?

18 Mr. Cutler. That is public. That it was delivered by
19 the President's sister, Mrs. Ruth Carter Stapleton, we
20 believe, to Mrs. Carter.

21 Senator Dole. Apparently he had visited Mrs.
22 Stapleton's religious retreat in Texas, and she brought the
23 letter, and it was delivered and answered by the President,
24 and you have indicated the notation there which indicates
25 nothing. Is that correct?

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COUNSEL
ON
H. RES. 745
SUBMITTED TO THE
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

September 17, 1980

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COUNSEL FOR THE PRESIDENT
SUBMITTED TO THE
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

I. INTRODUCTION

This report supplements the Report of Counsel of August 18, 1980, attached to the President's Statement and submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on the Judiciary and today incorporated by the President in his response to H. Res. 745 as passed by the House of Representatives on September 10, 1980.

II. SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION IN RESPONSE TO H. RES. 745

"(1) any record and date of all conversations and actions of the President with Billy Carter relating to the latter's role as an official or unofficial agent of the Government of Libya;"

All such conversations and actions have previously been reported. The President did have a brief conversation with Billy Carter on the White House tennis court on June 11, 1980. The President asked Billy Carter what he was doing in Washington and Billy Carter mentioned that he was talking to the Department of Justice. Billy Carter did not describe the substance of his talks with the Department of Justice or otherwise say anything relating to Libya.

In addition, we are providing summaries of two extracts from the President's notes prepared for daily dictation which, although

not directly relevant, mention Billy Carter and Libya and were provided to the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary.

"(11) any record and the date of all conversations regarding Billy Carter between the Department of Justice and White House officials between January 1979 and the date of adoption of this resolution;"

On July 1, 1980 Joel Lisker called Captain Gary Sick of the National Security Staff to ask whether he had ever spoken to Billy Carter or whether he was aware of any attempts on Billy Carter's part to influence U.S. policy on Libya. Captain Sick's evening report to Dr. Brzezinski, describing the conversation, is attached.

This paragraph also asked for all conversations between the Department of Justice and White House officials regarding Billy Carter between January, 1979 through the adoption of this Resolution (September 10, 1980). We have previously described such conversations through August 1, 1980. Since that date, the only conversations and correspondence between White House and the Department of Justice officials regarding Billy Carter have been (1) discussions with the Office of

Professional Responsibility concerning the scope of and procedures to be followed during its investigation of the Billy Carter matter; (2) discussions in regard to documents to be produced and made available to the Senate Subcommittee and the House of Representatives relating to the Billy Carter matter and the terms on which such documents would also be made available to the White House; (3) discussions with the Office of Legal Counsel concerning the legal representation and right to counsel of White House staff members appearing before and being deposed by the Senate Subcommittee and the Office of Professional Responsibility; and (4) discussions of the proposed guidelines for dealing with members of the President's family referred to in the President's Statement of August 4, 1980.

Alfred H. Moses
Special Counsel

Michael H. Cardozo
Deputy Counsel to the President

Joseph Onek
Deputy Counsel to the President

Barbara E. Bergman
Associate Counsel to the President

September 17, 1980

SUMMARIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S NOTES
PREPARED FROM DAILY DICTATION

Dictated for Wednesday, January 18, 1979

The President called Billy on the phone to inquire how he was getting along. The President had been very worried about him lately. He knew that many of Billy's public appearances had been cancelled since his Libyan association and he was afraid that Billy would get into financial difficulties. Billy told the President that he was getting along all right. The President was concerned that Billy have someone he could talk to, to share his problems with when they arose. He mentioned Don Carter (unrelated) and Bert Lance as two persons that Billy could relate to on such occasions and he encouraged Billy to do this.

Dictated for Sunday, February 4, 1979

The President returned from Camp David on Sunday afternoon. Billy, Arthur Cheokas, and Randy Coleman came to visit the President. Billy was in Washington to attend a reception for the Libyan delegation that was en route home.

BRZEZINSKI EVENING REPORT -- July 1, 1980

Billy Carter. I was called today by Joel Lisker of the Criminal Division of Justice who is investigating charges that Billy Carter was improperly associated with Libyan policy. I told him I had never talked to Billy Carter and was unaware of any attempts on his part to influence U.S. policy on Libya. (Sick)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 17, 1980

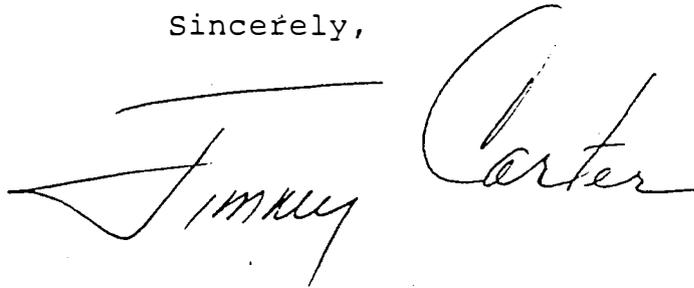
Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am writing in response to H. Res. 745 passed by the House of Representatives on September 10, 1980.

On July 23, 1980, Chairman Rodino of the Committee on the Judiciary and Chairman Zablocki of the Committee on Foreign Affairs requested that I comment on H. Res. 745. On August 18, 1980, I submitted to those Committees a statement by me and a report of my counsel, together with the information to be furnished by two Executive Branch Departments, which contained the answers and related information called for in the Resolution.

The August 18, 1980 submission and the supplemental report of my counsel dated September 17, 1980 and attached to this transmittal letter constitute my response to H. Res. 745 as passed on September 10, 1980. I am also enclosing letters from the Department of State and the Department of Justice which confirm that these Departments have fully complied with paragraphs 6 and 7 and paragraphs 8 and 9 of H. Res. 745 respectively.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Speaker of the
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

September 12, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Jody Powell
Pat Caddell
Hertzberg/Matthews/Stewart

Subject: Fundraising speeches

We are attaching the following:

1. A standard stump speech covering the themes we have developed over the past week, based partly on pat's research.
2. Detailed talking points covering the same material as an alternative.

You are currently scheduled for a number of fundraising appearances -- Houston, Atlanta, Cleveland, and the Coast.

At such fundraisers in the past (pre-Labor Day), you have generally not worked from a prepared text. You have told the speechwriters that you prefer it that way.

From a review of transcripts of past fundraisers, we note that you have been inclined to talk about two key issues, peace and energy, and then follow with some general remarks on basic principles such as human rights and equal opportunity.

We are unsure of how you want to proceed for the upcoming series of fundraisers -- for example, whether you will want to speak from notes or from a text. Perhaps you will want to alternate these approaches depending on the nature and "feel" of the event.

We assume that for most if not all events, you are going to want light opening remarks -- references to key supporters, local color, and humor. We have been working with Jack Kaplan on these.

But in addition, you are going to want to get across a fairly consistent message from place to place at fundraisers -- indeed, at events of all kinds.

We have developed a simple outline based on two main points:

1. The Presidency: your personal perspective on it.
 - ¶ Meeting complex challenges -- e.g., energy, Mideast peace.
 - ¶ Facing the hard facts -- e.g., productivity problem, changing world.
 - ¶ Standing up to special interests.

2. The future: the consequences of the choice
 - ¶ A series of rhetorical questions that sharply frame the alternatives -- e.g., energy program or surrender to Big Oil? Human rights or indiscriminate intervention? etc.

The concluding point is that we are facing the truth, making the hard choices, and taking on the challenges of the future.

The draft speech and talking points both follow this outline.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM : AL MCDONALD *alg*

SUBJECT: Japanese Voluntary Restraint on Automotive Shipments

Since the statement by Minister Tanaka about two weeks ago, MITI has continued to press its position for some voluntary restraint on automotive shipments. From private sources I understand the Ministry's senior civil servant has reviewed shipment plans for the remainder of this year individually with the heads of the major automotive producers.

Tanaka is expected to make another public statement today or tomorrow forecasting a reduction in the Japanese auto shipment rate from the level at the beginning of this year. Had the Japanese shipment rate from January to June continued, the total for the year would have been about 2 million vehicles. With the reduced October-December Forecast, the total shipments to the United States is expected to drop to about 1.8 million vehicles.

cc: Jack Watson

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1980

9
/

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE *F.M.*

SUBJECT: Senator Russell Long

Dan Tate met with Senator Long at 10:25 a.m. He told Long that you had directed him to visit with the Chairman. Tate also told him that you had talked to Senator Byrd. He said that you wanted him to convey three points to the Chairman: 1) that you would veto a tax cut bill sent to you before the election, 2) that you did not want either the House or Senate to pass a tax cut bill before the election, 3) that you were opposed to the Senate voting on the tax cut bill before the election.

Long said that he felt he was bound to pursue his bill. He did not want a confrontation (but the implication was that he was prepared for one). He said he would discuss the matter with Senator Byrd.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SARAH WEDDINGTON *SW*
RE: PERIODIC REPORT (FYI ONLY)

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I enjoyed the recent visit. It was a boost.

My staff is proud and pleased to note the various poll results showing that women are supporting you in larger percentages than men. We would like to think that it is in part due to the work regarding women we have done with you, your family and other members of your team. (One staff member in jest suggested that we now offer to work with the constituent group called "men." Maybe we could raise their percentage of support!)

ERA

We have updated the summary of your efforts for ERA. (Copy attached)

The fundraiser that was your idea was the single most successful event to raise funds for the ERA. \$95,000 was cleared.

The Georgia Democratic Party decided to give funds to all candidates. They decided not to differentiate based on ERA. (Clipping attached). I understand that the Alabama party did decide not to give funds to a few candidates on that basis.

The Washington Post had an editorial against Platform Minority Report #10 Sunday, September 14, 1980. (Copy attached).

The DNC will appoint a 9-person committee by the end of the week to be composed of DNC members to advise the Chairman on implementation of the entire party platform on ERA.

Domestic Violence

The legislation has passed the House and Senate and will be in the conference committee tomorrow. We continue to work closely with women's and citizens groups to secure passage. There were some troublesome, non-germane amendments added in the Senate, including one that makes parental kidnapping a federal offense. We hope to have a signing ceremony after final passage.

Women and Business

The House appropriation for SBA has leeway for our recommendations to be implemented. However, the Senate Appropriations Committee acted against the concept of separate training centers for women, a key part of the Administration recommendations. We did a briefing yesterday for women's and citizens groups and are working closely with SBA. The conference committee should be meeting soon on the bill.

Copenhagen

We continue to do briefings and follow-up to the Copenhagen Conference. There is an all-day briefing at the State Department tomorrow; I will participate tomorrow morning.

President's Advisory Committee for Women

The PACW is working on its final report to you. That should be ready in early December. We will set up a time for you to meet with them then.

National Federation of Democratic Women

We are hosting activities tomorrow for members of the NFDW from all the states. The group is planning to formally endorse you tomorrow morning during a meeting of representatives with the campaign. We will do a briefing from 1:30 to 5:00; at 5:00 they go to the State Floor for a reception with Mrs. Carter. It is important for you to join them.

National Women's Political Caucus

The Steering Committee meets later this month. The group has never endorsed a presidential candidate. It appears the group will stay neutral; there is some move to endorse Anderson but more of a move that we have started to endorse you. Several Reagan women on the Board are fighting hard against an endorsement, and Iris Mitgang (the President) does not favor one.

National Organization of Women

NOW's Annual meeting is October 2-5. It is an issues meeting. Ellie Smeal is moving to change their national constitution; it limits the President to two consecutive two-year terms. She wants to be president for a third term.

She did come to the Women's Equality Day event. I have since tried to arrange an appointment with her and her office says that she is on leave due to "voice stress." We are attempting to organize in preparation for their convention. At this moment, I have no feel for what might happen regarding the presidential race, if anything.

Women for-Carter-Mondale

Eileen Thornton (New Jersey) was delighted by your comments on the button that my office put out at the convention. I am attaching a copy for you.

The campaign has decided not to have a national committee of women for Carter-Mondale but to have state committees where they would be most useful. My office is helping as appropriate.

Travel

I was in Ohio and Indiana a few weeks ago. In Ohio I spoke to a state-wide meeting of politically-active women. You have solid support. In Indiana I spoke to an annual meeting of Democrats and Democratic candidates. All the speakers -- from Birch Bayh to John Hillenbrand (candidate for Governor) and on down the ticket -- mentioned the necessity of electing you.

Friday I was in Pittsburgh for the County Democratic Fair. There was a fair crowd and good support for you as I worked the tables. I will be doing a Western States swing for the campaign next weekend.

Political Liaison Duties

We continue to work closely with the campaign and the Democratic Party as appropriate on casework, invitations, White House tours, and the myriad of other service functions.

Ga. Democrats to Ignore Party's ERA Sanctions

By MARCIA KUNSTEL

Journal Staff Writer

The Georgia Democratic Party will donate more than \$20,000 to candidates for Congress and the General Assembly this fall, ignoring the national party's prohibition against contributing to any candidate who refuses to support the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Democratic Executive Committee decided to make the donations Wednesday, after its director and lawyer said the state party is not bound by the controversial ERA sanction placed in the Democratic National Platform at the convention this month.

Also Wednesday, the committee voted to promote a \$1 state income tax checkoff law similar to federal legislation, which would pro-

duce funds for the two major political parties.

The plan would differ from the national law, however, since the money would not be skimmed off the top of income tax revenue. Those who check off the dollar donation on their income tax form would add that to the taxes they owe, so state income would not be reduced.

Regarding this year's campaign donations, Democratic Executive Director Tommy Coleman said he had asked Washington about the ERA sanction and had been assured it does not apply to financial gifts given by the state and local parties.

The platform provision, a minority plank that found little favor among Georgia delegates, says the Democratic Party will not give

money to any candidate who doesn't support the ERA.

Dale Schwartz, the Georgia party's general counsel, agreed with Coleman's interpretation, saying the party's charter "doesn't provide that the state and local parties have to abide by the platform."

An opposite interpretation would have left numerous legislative candidates without the \$250 donation the executive committee plans to hand out. The Georgia Legislature hasn't come close to passing the ERA.

Even an effort to remind these candidates of the national party sanction was rebuffed by Democratic Chairman Marge Thurman, who said she feared they would feel the contribution had strings attached.

The committee did decide to send all candidates copies of the platform, under separate cover from the letter informing them of the party's campaign donation.

The party will give \$1,000 each to the one candidate for the Senate and the eight for the U.S. House of Representatives who have GOP opposition in the Nov. 4 election and will donate the \$250 each to 47 General Assembly candidates with opponents.

The executive committee enthusiastically endorsed the membership committee's proposal for the income tax checkoff. Earlier in the meeting, the executive committee had to turn down a request for funds, citing a money shortage.



The Washington Post, Sun, Sept. 14 '80

Turn Off the Xerox for ERA

PERHAPS A FEW people have not yet had the chance for a truly leisurely cover-to-cover reading of the 1980 Democratic Party platform, as amended and adopted at the New York convention. We'll try to help.

While they were undoubtedly the most disruptive and dramatic, Sen. Edward Kennedy's minority planks on the economy were neither the most significant nor the most historic. That distinction belongs to the minority plank on the Equal Rights Amendment, which the delegates adopted without opposition from either of the two presidential candidates, Sen. Kennedy or President Jimmy Carter.

The language of the amendment is quite straightforward: "The Democratic Party shall withhold financial and technical assistance from candidates who do not support the ERA." That is all. A candid bargain—you want to use Multnomah County Democratic Party white pages to look up addresses, then you had better be "right" on ERA. Just exactly what "right" means is not totally clear. Does a candidate who, for example, opposed congressional extension of the ratification period for ERA qualify for "financial support and technical assistance"?

If such a candidate does not qualify, then an awful lot of Democrats are going to have to choose soon between honoring their party's platform or working for some of the party's most distinguished officeholders

in reelection campaigns. Sen. Ernest Hollings, who as his state's governor was given major credit for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket's carrying South Carolina, voted against the extension. Sen. Dale Bumpers, who effectively retired the formidable and troublesome (for Democrats, especially) Orval Faubus from Arkansas politics in 1970, is up for reelection. If the extension vote is judged to be a litmus test, then Sen. Bumpers had better forget in a big hurry any plans he might have had about using either the postage meter or the coffee machine in any Democratic headquarters in or out of Arkansas. The same holds for Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, who also voted against extension, as did Rep. Bob Eckhardt of Houston, the only Texan to have been elected to head the liberal Democratic Study Group in the House.

Present Democratic Party rules require that the presidential nominee communicate to the convention, in writing, any personal misgivings about any platform planks. Here is what President Carter wrote of the ERA "loyalty oath": "I am proud of the ringed endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment contained in the platform."

The Democrats, who have survived and occasionally prospered for a lot longer than most institutions, somehow managed to get along for years without this kind of loyalty oath. Too bad they changed course now.

FACT SHEET

From the Office of Sarah Weddington, The White House, Washington, DC 20500

PASSAGE OF THE ERA

A Summary of the Efforts of Jimmy Carter

June 1980

Support as Governor

Jimmy Carter has been a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment since his days as governor of Georgia in the early 1970s.

Support as President

Efforts for Extension—During the fall of 1978, President Carter and Vice President Mondale turned seven Congressional "no" votes into "yes" votes to pass legislation extending the ERA ratification deadline. The extension of the deadline was critical to the future of the ERA. (Thirty-five states have ratified the ERA, and three more are needed for it to become part of the Constitution.)

Mrs. Carter held a White House briefing for key Administration officials to emphasize the importance of the extension. Mrs. Mondale invited wives of Senators to her home to hear from ERA supporters and individual women who explained how the lack of equal rights had affected them.

Sarah Weddington, then Special Assistant to the President, convened regular meetings with ERA supporters. Near the time of the vote, they met daily to coordinate efforts. The Vice President assigned a staff person full-time, and the Congressional liaison office assigned two staff persons to work with Weddington on this endeavor.

Vice President Mondale remained in Washington rather

than attend the funeral of Pope John Paul I so that he could preside over the Senate when the final vote was taken.

Efforts for Ratification—In early 1979, the President turned his attention back to crucial votes in the states which have not ratified the amendment. For example, when North Carolina and Florida were considered pivotal, the Administration contributed time and energy to the efforts in those states. During the spring of 1979, the White House assigned a full-time consultant to assist state elected officials and coordinate White House actions.

The President's top assistants met continually with leaders in the ERA movement.

During the summer of 1979, the President provided support for education on the ERA in efforts such as his statement to 34 national magazines for articles on the amendment. This communication effort, spearheaded by *Redbook's* Sey Chassler, resulted in nationwide publicity for a nationwide issue.

Meanwhile, President Carter continued the nuts-and-bolts work of lining up supporters: making phone calls, visiting with governors and state legislators.

Mrs. Carter also worked diligently, often behind the scenes, during the spring and summer of 1979. She invited key legislators to the White House and telephoned

officials in unratified states.

In July 1979, she sponsored a meeting for political consultants, state legislators, ERA supporters and others to plan strategy for the ERA.

On October 23, 1979, President and Mrs. Carter sponsored a Presidential Salute to the ERA, drawing more than 800 people to the White House to emphasize the need for the ERA and to demonstrate its broad base of commitment.

The President met with presidents of major women's organizations on December 13, 1979, to map out plans for the 1980 state legislative season. A second strategy session was held with these leaders January 30, 1980—shortly after the President again had emphasized his commitment to the ERA by calling for ratification in his 1980 State of the Union message. The President met monthly with the women's leaders during the spring state legislative season.

In January 1980, the President designated Juanita Kreps, former Secretary of the Commerce Department, to represent him in the National Business Council for ERA, which is spearheaded by the National League of Women Voters. The council is composed of chief executive officers, heads of boards and other top business leaders who

lend their names and influence to support ERA and distribute ERA educational material.

In June 1980, the President invited key business leaders and leaders of the League of Women Voters to a White House briefing on ERA. He urged them to throw their weight behind the effort to ratify ERA in key states like Illinois.

President Carter has directed members of his Administration to stress the need for ERA's passage in their contacts with the press and public.

The President includes his support of the ERA in speeches before a variety of audiences. He has spoken out for the ERA in speeches such as:

- State of the Union address before the Congress, 1980
- State of the Union address before the Congress, 1979
- Joint session of the Georgia legislature, 1979
- Joint session of the Illinois legislature, 1978
- Democratic Mid-Term Conference, Memphis, December 8, 1978
- Dinner for Carter-Mondale campaign, Washington, October 24, 1979
- Fundraiser for ERA, Washington, June 18, 1980

In June, President and Mrs. Carter hosted a White House reception before a fundraising dinner in Washington, D.C. More than 500 people attended the dinner, and over \$90,000 were cleared.

Support by First Lady Rosalynn Carter

Since she was First Lady of Georgia, Mrs. Carter has actively supported the ERA. In speeches, at fundraisers and press conferences across the nation, she has emphasized the urgent need to ratify the ERA.

At the White House she gives visibility to the issue by receiving organizations ranging from the Coalition of Labor Union Women to the Religious Committee for the ERA.

Mrs. Carter regularly discusses the ERA with key legislators from unratified states at the White House and often telephones state legislators and elected officials to enlist their support. Mrs. Carter also participates in strategy sessions with political consultants, ERA supporters and others to organize campaigns in unratified states.

Support by Judy Carter

Judy Carter, daughter-in-law of President and Mrs. Carter, travels extensively on behalf of the ERA making speeches, attending fundraisers and conducting fact-finding trips to unratified states for President Carter. Her ERA work has taken her to Illinois, Indiana, Florida, Texas, Missouri, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kansas, New Mexico, New York, Minnesota, and all parts of Georgia. Judy Carter appears before women's organizations and Democratic Party functions and participates in interviews with newspaper, TV and radio reporters.

She is a leader in the Homemakers for Equal Rights Association. She has written six articles on the ERA published in *Redbook*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.

Support by the President's Advisory Committee for Women

The President's Advisory Committee for Women (PACW) held hearings on October 23, 1979 to receive testimony from supporters in unratified states. The PACW met with the President to advise him on how he could assist the ERA ratification effort. Committee members met with him again in January, 1980, to present a follow-up report. PACW regularly advises the President and his White House staff on ERA ratification strategy.

Lynda Johnson Robb, chair of the PACW, and members of the committee often speak many audiences in support of the ERA.

Support by White House Staff

Since her appointment, Sarah Weddington, Assistant to the President, has been speaking, attending meetings and fundraisers for ERA,

working with ERA supporters and elected state officials, and responding to requests for assistance on the ERA.

Representatives from Sarah Weddington's office are meeting with key people in states where a vote on ratification is likely next year. At critical times in the ratification effort, her staff has conducted weekly strategy meetings with leaders of women's organizations, labor, business, church groups, minority organizations and education associations.

The White House has conducted briefings for state leaders from unratified states where a vote is possible.

At the request of the White House, Mariwyn Heath of Business and Professional Women's Clubs assists the Administration in ERA support activities.

Carol Randles works as a member of Sarah Weddington's staff to coordinate ERA strategy and work in liaison with women's groups. Other members of her staff have worked closely with minority women's organizations to encourage their active involvement in ratification efforts.

• • •

President Carter has never wavered in his outspoken support of the ERA. In public statements, in interviews with the media, in directives to members of his Administration, he has made clear his commitment to ERA ratification. On October 23, he summed up his assessment of what needs to be done to win passage:

"We've got to divide up the responsibility; we've got to organize our own forces effectively; we've got to share information; we've got to put aside the inclination that we all have to find a scapegoat on which to blame a temporary setback; we've got to share information about progress; and we need never to be deterred. Our course is a proper one, our time is right. And I predict that next year we will win. I'm determined to do so if you'll help me."

TRANSFER SHEET

Jimmy Carter Library

COLLECTION:presidential Handwriting File

Acc. No.:80-1

The following material was withdrawn from this segment of the collection and transferred to the ___ Audiovisual Collection X Museum Collection ___ Book Collection ___ Other (Specify:)

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1980 Campaign Button "Carter-Mondale for Women"

Series: Chron

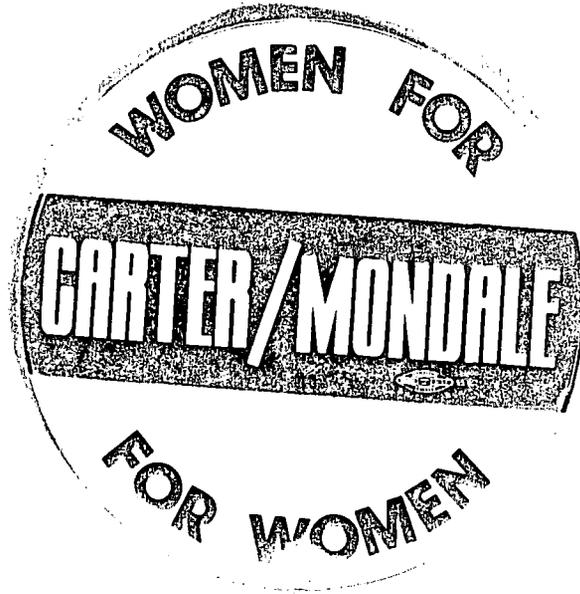
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File Folder Title 9/17/80 [1]

Transferred by:Gary

Date of Transfer: 11/5/90

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1980

MR. PRESIDENT:

Because of your two
travel days, we did not
schedule a lunch this week
with the Vice President.

He is in town today
(Wednesday) and is available
if you want to have lunch.

SCHEDULE

DELAY UNTIL NEXT WEEK

PHIL 

**Electrostatic Copy Made
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/17/80

JODY POWELL

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

Rick Hutcheson

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
/	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
	NO DEADLINE
	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

ACTION
FYI

	ADMIN CONFID
	CONFIDENTIAL
	SECRET
	EYES ONLY

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIDENBERG
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
/	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	HUFSTEDLER
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	MUSKIE
	AIELLO
	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	MOSES
	PETERSON
	PRESS
	RECORDS
	SANDERS
	SHEPPARD
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE

D.W. Brooks—Chairman of the Board Emeritus

September 11, 1980

Jody J

Personal

Mrs. Ruth Hinerfeld, President
League of Women Voters of the United States
11 Oak Lane
Larchmont, New York 10538

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Dear Ruth:

About the worst thing that a Southern gentleman can do is to bring up the question of age of a lady. However, you and I have been working together on some problems, national and international, for a long, long time. I cannot now remember just exactly what we were working on the first time I met you. But back then I remember you had an intense interest in the League of Women Voters, although you were not president at that time.

I have been planning to write you a note for several weeks, but frankly did not quite get around to it. But with all the events that have happened in the last few days, I think it is urgent that I at least get through to you with some of the things that are greatly disturbing me.

Before getting into the discussion, I would like to point out that I have nothing against independents. I have been an independent voter all my life, voting both Democratic and Republican. So I think my credentials are good as an independent in view of the fact that I have lived here in the South where normally everybody votes Democratic.

Also, I would like to point out that I have worked with and been advisor to all the presidents from President Truman forward, in some capacity. I was on the War Mobilization Board with President Truman and was with him during some of the crisis period, including the day he fired MacArthur. I was with President Eisenhower when he had his first crisis with the cattle farmers of this nation marching on him in Washington because of the crash in the price of cattle. So I have been on both sides of the fence, but I have been an independent all the way through. I have worked with both the Democratic and the Republican presidents during a long period of years.

However, what is happening now is greatly disturbing me from the viewpoint of this Nation as a Democracy. Let me illustrate. In this Nation we have a number of leagues for different kinds of sports. For example, we

have leagues for baseball, football, etc. Generally these leagues are made up of two groups -- for example, the American League and the National League. Each league plays out its period and determines the winner in that particular league. Then the two winners have what is known as the World Series. The final winner is the winner of the World Series. If in the baseball league for example, a team had been in the American League for twenty-two years and had played every year during that twenty-two years as a team of the American League, then at the end of one season when it had lost the pennant race in that particular league it suddenly decided that it wanted to be an independent team, and immediately demand that it be allowed to be in the playoff between the winners of the American and the National Leagues -- if something like this happened in athletics every sportsman in this Nation would immediately rise up in vehement moral indignation and condemn the manager of that team and every player on it as being not only bad sportsmen, but unethical and outright dishonest. You would have a regular revolution in this country if that happened.

Yet, we see that happening in the political sphere without anybody raising up with indignation, because that is exactly what Anderson did. He was Republican for twenty-two years in Congress, he was a conservative Republican in many ways, as many of his votes were just as conservative as Reagan. Then suddenly, when he has gone through all the television programs, competed in every debate, then finally loses, now suddenly he is a flaming liberal independent and demanding that he be given the same consideration as Reagan and Carter. If that happened in any other part of our life in this country, there would be moral indignation among every citizen of this country.

For example, I was reared in a small country town in northeast Georgia, Royston, the home of Ty Cobb. He has always been considered the greatest baseball player in history, as he still has many records which have never been broken. He was one of the toughest competitors the game has ever known. But if Ty Cobb, as leader of the Detroit Tigers, had failed to get the championship in his league, and at the end of the season suddenly say that the Detroit Tigers are now an independent team and demand that they be put in the World Series, he would have been so condemned that he would be like Benedict Arnold as far as the sports world of this country is concerned.

The thing that is greatly disturbing to me is that our political system has deteriorated to the point that we let such terrible immoral and outright dishonest things take place politically. Nobody seems to care or pay any attention to it. Yet, that is the very basis on which our democracy will finally survive or perish.

I was always intensely interested in history in grammar school, high school and in college. I felt that if I understood history, I would understand some of the things that were happening and would happen

in my lifetime, so I always wanted to study history. Then when I got in business, I have spent fifty years now rambling this earth from one end to the other many, many times. And in doing so, I have been in all these countries where I had studied the history, and I learned more about them.

In doing this I learned that democratic government has come and gone all over this earth for centuries. But when we lost all moral values internally, invariably democracy fails and dictatorship moves in, because people lose all right of moral values. And when they do, the democracy decays from within and finally falls.

Frankly, knowing you as I have through the years, I felt that when you got to the showdown in the League of Women Voters, you would furnish the leadership to show what the moral values were involved in this political controversy, and that a debate would go as originally decided between Reagan and Carter, that you would naturally pick up the fact that Anderson had no moral standing whatsoever, that he had exhausted all of his moral position when he ran as a Republican and then lost, that your leadership would be such that you would point this out to the other members of the League of Women Voters and that he would be taken out of the debates.

Consequently, I will have to admit that I was quite shocked when I heard you make the announcement that he was in, and great pressure was being put on President Carter to get into a situation that, from my viewpoint as an independent voter all my life, is a very immoral situation. If we have reached the point in this country where the sports teams of this country have a hundred times more moral values than the political team that we have in Washington, then I think we have deteriorated to the point that we have great dangers in the years ahead.

The only chance of survival for a democracy is great moral leadership. Without it, it is bound to fail and always has failed through all the centuries in which democracy has come and gone over this earth.

I realize it is probably very difficult now for the League of Women Voters to change your position, but actually, the great periods in history have always been when great people change, and furnish leadership at times of crises. For example, I have often wondered what would have happened to the world if St. Augustine had not changed his life. Even in our own day I can't help but contrast two things that happened. I am an economist and I was in Germany studying the economic situation in Germany when I determined positively that in my opinion Hitler was going to take over Germany. I came back to this country where we had similar economic conditions as they had in Germany, but I determined here that Roosevelt was going to take over. Then I contrasted what happened in the two different countries under two different leaders which had exactly the same economic problems and conditions. So, leadership is the all important thing in the survival of democracy.

You have the greatest opportunity of anybody I know of to exert moral leadership at this time, and point out the fact that this Nation must be moral politically as well as moral in our sports and other segments of this country. If you could find yourself rising above this political tide that we have now, that seems to be engulfing everybody, and bring some moral understanding to the political situation in this country, you would go down in history as one of the great moral leaders of the world. If you fail to do this, then of course the opportunity will have passed.

The temptation is always the greatest when you have the most power, or in the case of some wealthy people, when they have the most money. But that is the crisis period in all our lives, and this is a crisis period for you. I hope your decision will be a moral one, because there is no wonder why the people of this Nation have lost confidence in the government in Washington when terrible immoral things of this kind can happen and nobody even raises a voice against it. In fact, a great deal of leadership gives encouragement to it and leadership for it. So it is no wonder that we have had great moral decay in the political process in this country. Unless someone like you takes the lead to turn this around, then we will continue to have decay.

I hope that you can live up to this and move in. You have the opportunity to become one of the great people of this Nation and be greatly admired in the years ahead because you had the courage to move in with a moral decision that will strengthen this Nation instead of going along with the hollering and the whooping of a political mass without any concern whatsoever for the real moral issues involved.

With kind personal regards,

Yours sincerely,



D. W. Brooks

DWB:bw

P.S. If Congressman Anderson had announced from the beginning that he was an independent candidate, there would be no moral questions involved whatsoever, and he would certainly be entitled to a place in the debate. But unfortunately, he did not comply with this moral responsibility which he must have if he should be seriously considered for the presidency of this country.

D.W.B.

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*Copy to President Carter (via [unclear])
Kirk
Strauss*