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**Folder Title:**  
[Public Correspondence, Oct 1992] [5]

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NRN

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1965  
TIME  
Magazine

BARBARA CHRISTIE  
5305 CROMWELL DR  
BETHESDA MD 20816

THIS IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

3013204904 MGMS TDDA BETHESDA MD 60 09-06 0220P EST

THE HONORABLE JAMES BAKER  
STAFF DIRECTOR WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

DEAR JIM

MAY I MEET WITH YOU AS SOON AS CONVENIENT

IF FORWARDED CORRESPONDENCE ON ISSUES INVOLVED WHERE I HAVE KNOWLEDGE  
AND EXPERIENCE. HAVE TRIED TO HELP THE PRESIDENT SINCE 1979. CAN  
RENDER A CONTRIBUTION IN THE EFFORT TO REELECT PRESIDENT UNDER YOUR  
ADROIT GUIDANCE.

RESPECTFULLY

ALEXANDER K CHRISTIE

14:38 EST

MGMCOMP

NRN

Dear Jim:

page 65

Please show this time article of

Dec 31, 1965 to the President and your  
Deputy Economic Advisors who did a

speech at job on N.P.C. two days ago.

Use this material in a major address by  
" " " "

the President, especially the Out of the Gate statement  
of President Kennedy.

When the President goes to Pittsburgh

have a word of praise for Representative

Elmer Holland of the 30th District, he was

nervous by the paper of the 30th District, especially

his efforts to address the problem of unemployment

and related problems confronting the U.S. economy

(3) Decade ago.

## *Committee on Prosperity*

President Kennedy's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy is a hopeful experiment. The task assigned to it is enormous. The Committee is instructed to make studies and to recommend to the President and the country policies "which will promote free and responsible collective bargaining, industrial peace, sound wage and price policies, higher standards of living and increased productivity." And these recommendations will be expected to reflect the combined viewpoints of labor, management and the public.

Fortunately, the President has included on the Committee a strong public representation, including Secretary of Labor Goldberg and Secretary of Commerce Hodges, who will alternate as chairman, and such outstanding experts as Arthur F. Burns, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and George W. Taylor, professor of labor relations at the University of Pennsylvania, and Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California. The labor representatives include most of the outstanding spokesmen for the labor union movement. Some eminent industrialists have also been included in the industry panel, but on the whole it is less impressive than the public and labor panels.

Only experience will show whether this group can get to the point of hammering out concrete proposals on the vital subjects that have been laid before it. But it will not be necessary to judge its usefulness entirely by the specific recommendations it may bring forth on such controversial issues as automation and the maintenance of competitive conditions between domestic and foreign industry. If the problems of national growth and industrial stability are freely threshed out in an atmosphere of friendly understanding, the gains may be substantial.

In any event, the experiment is worth making. There has been too little inter-group discussion of the basic problems underlying the state of the economy. At the very least the President's Committee should be able to focus public attention upon the unresolved issues between management and labor and indicate where public policies need to be strengthened. We hope that much will be heard from this Advisory Committee.

# Kennedy Promises to Set Up Committee To Formulate Economic Goals if Elected

7/28/60

By G. WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

CANTON, Ohio—Sen. John F. Kennedy, in a new economic pronouncement, promised that, if elected, he would set up a committee on national economic goals to "formulate the broad goals of our free economy."

In a speech here, the Democratic Presidential nominee said the committee would be formed from industrialists, labor leaders, and top economists to "assess the potential productive capacity and needs of our nation."

The pledge is an apparent attempt by the Democratic candidate to stimulate voter interest in his charge that the nation has suffered from inadequate economic growth under the Eisenhower Administration policies that would be continued by his Republican opponent, Vice President Nixon.

While new to the Kennedy campaign, the idea borrows heavily from proposals advanced earlier this year by liberal Democrats in Congress. Several bills were introduced in the last session to require the Executive branch to establish economic goals and apply economic policy to achieve these goals.

## Administration Opposed

In all cases, the bills got nowhere. One reason has been the Eisenhower Administration's abhorrence of the idea. Administration officials fear the establishment of national economic goals would tend to pressure Government policy-makers into inflationary programs to attain the established targets. Failure to reach the goals, according to this argument, would put the Administration in power in the difficult position of having to defend the nation's economic performance against goals that were established well in advance of actual economic conditions.

At present, there is no group within the Executive branch specifically charged with setting public goals for national economic policy. Earlier this year the President appointed a Committee on Long-Range National Goals that is expected to report sometime before Mr. Eisenhower leaves office. This group, however, is supposed to outline where America should be heading in a wide variety of fields and is not concerned solely with economic policy.

The President now gets his economic advice principally from his Council of Economic Advisers. This three-man group advises the Chief Executive on economic trends, prepares private forecasts and helps him compose his annual economic message to Congress. But it does not publicly establish specific goals for economic policy and, in fact, has emphatically resisted the idea.

The Democratic candidate also offered a general view of the economic policies he would

follow if elected. Most of them promised greater activity by the Federal Government.

He touched on interest rates, automation, and full employment. For the most part, his proposals were restatements of the platform the Democratic Party adopted at Los Angeles.

## Government's Responsibility

The Massachusetts Senator called for the Federal Government to "provide the framework of Government policy" on which the nation's free enterprise system can prosper. And he added: "The Federal Government has a responsibility to see that plants and men are not idle."

First of all, he declared, it is necessary to "rededicate ourselves to the goal of full employment" first passed into law in 1946. He accused Vice President Nixon of saying "unemployment is inevitable in a free economy." Said Mr. Kennedy, "I don't believe it."

As part of the job of increasing employment, Mr. Kennedy declared he would reverse what he called the "high interest rate policy" of the present Administration. He claimed this policy has made it more difficult for new business to survive and for existing business to expand. Reversing these policies would channel wealth into investments that would create more jobs, he said. The Senator did not go any more specific.

Mr. Kennedy also was vague on his call for the use of fiscal policies "to stimulate growth and halt the continual rise in cost of living." Other than claiming "we must reshape our fiscal policies to meet the needs of a growing economy," Mr. Kennedy supplied no details.

## Threat of Automation

Turning to automation, Mr. Kennedy accused the Eisenhower Administration of doing nothing to meet the growing threat to jobs of millions through increased use of machinery. He promised to call a conference of industrial and labor leaders to draw up new programs to meet the problem.

As he has before, Mr. Kennedy urged greater development of the nation's natural resources—and indicated the Federal Government would take a major role in building "the dams and highways and schools on which the strength of our economy depends."

Mr. Kennedy also repeated his call for special programs of assistance to areas of the country suffering economic distress. He coupled this, as does the Democratic platform, with the promise of "an effective trade adjustment program to help areas suffering under the impact of increased foreign imports."

87TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 1776

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 4, 1961

Mr. HOLLAND introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

# A BILL

To provide for the gathering, evaluation, and dissemination of information, and for the formulation of plans, which will aid in the maintenance of a high level of prosperity in the United States, and for other purposes.

1      *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2      *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

| 3 | SHORT TITLE |
|---|-------------|
|---|-------------|

4       SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the “Continuing  
5 Prosperity Act”.

## 6 COMMISSION ON CONTINUING PROSPERITY

7 SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby created a Commission on  
8 Continuing Prosperity in the Executive Office of the Presi-  
9 dent (referred to in this Act as the "Commission").

1 (b) The Commission shall consist of nine members who  
2 shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice  
3 and consent of the Senate.

4 (c) Of the persons appointed to the Commission and  
5 serving at any given time, three shall be appointed from  
6 among persons having outstanding records of achievement  
7 in industry, three from among persons having outstanding  
8 records in the field of organized labor, and three from  
9 among distinguished citizens who have engaged impartially  
10 in any activity in either industry or organized labor.

11 FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION

12 SEC. 3. (a) It shall be the duty and function of the  
13 Commission to make plans for now and in the future to  
14 maintain continuing prosperity.

15 (b) Formulate legislative programs designed to facili-  
16 tate the most effective utilization of the unemployed man-  
17 power of the Nation.

18 (c) Determine basic policies for and take such steps as  
19 are necessary to alleviate areas which have been determined  
20 to be depressed regions by the Department of Labor or other  
21 executive agency, and formulate plans and programs to help  
22 and assist those industries that have encountered economic  
23 difficulties.

24 (d) Study of the problems arising from the economic

*This Applies to today's  
Programs*

1 dislocation of workers and of industries as a result of indus-  
2 trial automation.

3 (e) Study and review the various programs of the  
4 several Federal agencies, as regards the nature of the pro-  
5 gram, the state of its readiness, the invitation to bid, and the  
6 length of time from the date of the award till actual physical  
7 construction started, and make recommendations to the Pres-  
8 ident for immediate action where the situation so warrants.

9 (e) Undertake any other study which in the opinion  
10 of the Commission will shed some light on those factors in  
11 the economy that will make for continuing prosperity, and  
12 to explore and study all avenues of our economy.

13 (f) The Commission shall render an annual report to  
14 the President for submission on or before the 15th day of  
15 January of each year to the Congress, summarizing the ac-  
16 tivities of the Commission and making such recommendations  
17 as it may deem appropriate.

18 SEC. 4. (a) The President shall call the first meeting of  
19 the Commission, at which the first order of business shall be  
20 the election of a Chairman and a vice chairman.

21 (b) The Commission shall meet on the first Monday in  
22 January, the first Monday in April, the first Monday in  
23 July, and the first Monday in October and at such other  
24 times as the Chairman may determine, but he shall also call

1 a meeting whenever one-third of the members so request in  
2 writing.

3 (c) A majority of the voting members of the Commis-  
4 sion shall constitute a quorum.

5 (d) The members of the Commission shall receive com-  
6 pensation at the rate of \$25 for each day engaged in the  
7 business of the Commission pursuant to authorization of  
8 the Commission and shall be allowed travel expenses as  
9 authorized by section 5 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5  
10 U. S. C. 73b-2).

11 (e) Service of an individual as a member of the Com-  
12 mission shall not be considered as service bringing him within  
13 the provisions of section 281, 283, or 284 of title 18 of the  
14 United States Code or section 190 of the Revised Statutes  
15 (5 U. S. C. 99), unless the act of such individual which  
16 by such section is made unlawful when performed by an  
17 individual referred to in such section, is with respect to any  
18 particular matter which directly involves the Commission or  
19 in which the Commission is directly interested.

20

#### DIRECTOR OF THE COMMISSION

21 SEC. 5. (a) There shall be a Director of the Commis-  
22 sion who shall be appointed by the President, by and with  
23 the advice and consent of the Senate. The Chairman may

1 make recommendations to the President with respect to the  
2 appointment of the Director.

3 (b) The Director shall serve as a nonvoting ex officio  
4 member of the Commission. In addition, he shall be the  
5 chief executive officer of the Commission at the rate of  
6 \$20,000 per annum and shall serve a term of six years  
7 unless sooner removed by the President.

8 (c) In addition to the powers and duties specifically  
9 vested in him by this Act, the Director, in accordance with  
10 the policies established by the Commission, shall exercise  
11 such of the functions, powers, or duties of the Commission as  
12 may be delegated to him by the Chairman.

13 SEC. 6. The Director, in accordance with such poli-  
14 cies as the Commission shall from time to time prescribe,  
15 shall appoint and fix the compensation of such other per-  
16 sonnel as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of  
17 this Act.

18 SEC. 7. The Commission within the limits of available  
19 appropriations, shall have authority to do all things neces-  
20 sary to carry out the provisions of this Act, including, but  
21 without being limited to, the authority—

22 (a) to prescribe such rules and regulations as it

1       deems necessary governing the manner of its operations  
2       and its organization and personnel;

3       (b) to obtain services as authorized by section 15  
4       of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a), at rates  
5       not to exceed \$100 per annum;

6       (c) to use, with their consent, the services, person-  
7       nel, and facilities of Federal and other agencies with or  
8       without reimbursement, and to cooperate with other  
9       public and private agencies and instrumentalities in the  
10      use of the services and facilities of the Foundation;

11      (d) to enter into contracts or other arrangements,  
12      or modifications thereof, for the carrying on of work  
13      which is necessary or appropriate for the purposes of  
14      this Act;

15      (e) to publish or arrange for the publication of  
16      materials or information when necessary, in its opinion,  
17      in carrying out the purposes of this Act, without regard  
18      to the provisions of section 87 of the Act of January 12,  
19      1895 (28 Stat. 622), and section 11 of the Act of  
20      March 1, 1919 (40 Stat. 1270; 44 U. S. C. 111); and

21      (f) to accept and utilize the services of voluntary  
22      and uncompensated personnel and to provide transporta-  
23      tion and subsistence as authorized by section 5 of the  
24      Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 73b-2) for persons  
25      serving without compensation.

## 1                   HEARINGS AND INVESTIGATIONS

2       SEC. 8. (a) Any officer or employee of the Commission,  
3 when authorized by the Commission, may hold such hear-  
4 ings as the Commission may deem necessary for the purpose  
5 of this Act, and appropriate records of such hearings shall be  
6 kept.

7       (b) The Commission may, in its discretion, make such  
8 investigations as it deems necessary or appropriate to carry  
9 out the provisions of this Act.

10      (c) For the purpose of any such investigation, or any  
11 other proceeding under this title, any officer or employee  
12 of the Commission may administer oaths and affirmations,  
13 subpoena witnesses, compel their attendance, take evidence,  
14 and require the production of any books, papers, corre-  
15 spondence, memoranda, or other records deemed relevant or  
16 material to the inquiry. Such attendance of witnesses and  
17 the production of any such records may be required from  
18 any place in the United States or any State at any designated  
19 place of hearing.

20      (d) In the case of contumacy by, or refusal to obey a  
21 subpoena issued to, any person, the Commission may invoke  
22 the aid of any court of the United States within the juris-  
23 diction of which such investigation is carried on, or where  
24 such person resides or carries on business, in requiring the  
25 attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production

1 of books, papers, correspondence, memoranda, and other  
2 records. And such court may issue an order requiring such  
3 person to appear before the officer or employee designated  
4 by the Commission there to produce records, if so ordered,  
5 or to give testimony touching the matter under investigation  
6 or in question; and any failure to obey such order of the  
7 court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof.  
8 All process in any such case may be served in the judicial  
9 district whereof such person is an inhabitant or wherever he  
10 may be found. Any person who shall, without just cause,  
11 fail or refuse to attend and testify or to answer any lawful  
12 inquiry or to produce books, papers, correspondence, memo-  
13 randa, and other records, if in his power so to do, in obedi-  
14 ence to any subpoena issued under this section, shall be guilty  
15 of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction, shall be subject to  
16 a fine of not more than \$1,000 or to imprisonment for a  
17 term of not more than one year, or both.

18 (e) No person shall be excused from attending and tes-  
19 tifying or from producing books, papers, contracts, agree-  
20 ments, and other records and documents in any such inves-  
21 tigation, or in obedience to a subpoena issued under this  
22 section, on the ground that the testimony or evidence, docu-  
23 mentary or otherwise, required of him may tend to  
24 incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture;  
25 but no individual shall be prosecuted or subject to any pen-

1 alty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter,  
2 or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having  
3 claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or  
4 produce evidence, documentary or otherwise, except that  
5 such individual so testifying shall not be exempt from prose-  
6 cution and punishment for perjury committed in so testifying.

7

## APPROPRIATIONS

8 SEC. 9. There is authorized to be appropriated such  
9 sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this  
10 Act.

87TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 1776

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## A BILL

To provide for the gathering, evaluation, and dissemination of information, and for the formulation of plans, which will aid in the maintenance of a high level of prosperity in the United States, and for other purposes.

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By Mr. HOLLAND

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JANUARY 4, 1961

Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

# ☆☆ YOUR REPORT ☆☆☆



FROM CONGRESSMAN ELMER J. HOLLAND

30TH DISTRICT PENNA.

OFFICES: WASHINGTON  
404 HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.  
PHONES: CAPITOL 4-3121  
EXT. 4631

PITTSBURGH  
722 NEW POST OFFICE BLDG.  
GRANT 1-0800, EXT. 769  
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McKEESPORT  
808 PEOPLES UNION BANK BLDG.  
ORCHARD 8-4448

Vol. 3, No. 11

December 4, 1959

## HOLLAND BILL FOR "CONTINUING PROSPERITY" - H.R. 800

With the 2nd Session of the 86th Congress about to start, we have many problems that must be solved. The four outstanding issues are - DISTRESSED AREAS - DISPLACED WORKERS - AUTOMATION - FULL EMPLOYMENT, EVEN WITH DISARMAMENT.

Communist propaganda has been - "The United States cannot have full production and full employment except when they are making the implements of war".

Khrushchev challenged us with a complete and total disarmament plan at the U. N. during his recent trip here. Khrushchev also said, while here, that his country will conquer the world someday and it will not be necessary to do it with the H-bomb or by means of actual combat.

The United States has no plans for a quick change-over from wartime production to peacetime production. Does Khrushchev mean he will catch us napping?

The United States is spending \$46 billion dollars for defense and armaments - over 50% of our Federal Budget.....and it has been estimated that for every \$8 billion cut one million will be unemployed. If a quick change-over goes into effect - this means 5½ million men will be thrown out of work.

Can the economy of our country stand 5½ million unemployed while we prepare plans and tools for the change-over to peacetime production?

Shall the 1929 Depression be re-enacted? Shall 5½ million men stand idly by until our Government "starts to plan"?

The time to plan is now and be prepared for what may happen in the future.

Our economy is a national economy and it must be kept in high gear.

The President, in forcing the steelworkers back to work with a Court Injunction, stated: "it was for the welfare of the nation".....only 500,000 steelworkers were idle. If 5½ million become unemployed - not only will the welfare of the nation suffer, but the whole economy of the nation will be in peril.

It is time we worry about the future of the economic conditions in the United States.

The HOLLAND BILL FOR CONTINUING PROSPERITY, H.R. 800, has been introduced for 3 Sessions.....it is still in Committee. However, support is growing and the realization that such legislation is needed is appearing from many places.

Many leading economists of the Nation are speaking out today - and are saying what you have heard me say for the past few years:

".....if we can have full prosperity and full employment to win a war - we can have full prosperity and full employment to win a peace.

".....if we can expend our full efforts to create and manufacture implements of war to kill - we can certainly expend those same full efforts in peace to create and produce the necessities of life that make life worth living and insure full employment."

Quite a few national leaders, from all walks of life, have recently made statements that a Commission consisting of management, labor and the public should sit down and study our whole economic problem.

(OVER)

H.R. 800 - THE HOLLAND BILL FOR CONTINUING PROSPERITY - provides that a Commission, consisting of 3 members from Management - 3 members from Labor - 3 members from the Public and a Chairman be appointed by the President.

The duties of this Commission would be:

- To investigate our economic conditions.....
- To formulate plans on how to keep our economy going.....
- To advise Congress of certain legislation that should be passed, if needed to accomplish this.....
- To assist industry, if necessary, in switching from one product to another.....
- To help displaced workers relocate or be retrained in cases where automation had eliminated their jobs.....
- To prevent the recurrence of any recession or depression.....and.....
- To assure our people of full employment and our Nation of full productivity.

Had this bill been passed, when originally introduced, we would have been on our way, and we would be able to handle any situation that might arise.

We Americans have had prosperity.....our living conditions have improved..... and we want them to continue to do so.

Since 1952 we have had 3 recessions - each one more serious and each one lasting longer than the preceding one. We don't want another one!

We want to know:

"Shall the United States - or shall it not - set up a sound system of economic planning.....or, at least, a system of decision-making that will use and maintain our democratic process?"

We want:

"A system which will not regulate unnecessarily or centralize responsibility more than it must.....but.....we want one which will assure everyone's personal life will not be ripped apart by uncontrolled economic factors."

We cannot let our manpower potential go to waste. We cannot afford to throw away the services and the experiences of men in their prime of life. We must have a plan to retrain our displaced workers.....help industry, if necessary.....prevent our cities and towns from becoming distressed areas.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell, in a recent talk in Chicago before the Industrial Relations Association, said:

".....it should not be the Federal Government's responsibility to take care of workers who lose their jobs because of automation..... it is the problem the people have to solve - it must be done in the community by the employers and the citizens."

I disagree with the Secretary of Labor. This is definitely not a local matter. Our economy is too interwoven throughout the Nation to put the responsibility upon towns and cities. The displaced worker and his family are not the only ones that suffer..... the druggist, the storekeeper, the merchant, the small businessman, the doctors, in fact, everyone in the community is hurt by unemployment.

Unemployment, while one of the main factors contributing to our national economy, is not the only one which must be solved. There are others, which should be investigated and solved.....here are some of them:

- Inflation.....They say high interest rates will help control it - but we know when you buy a new house, new car or appliance, the extra 2% required is not putting men to work. On a \$12,000 mortgage for a period of 20 years, this means \$4800 more.
- Farm Aid.....They say it is necessary. However, it has been admitted that the large mechanized farms are getting much more help than the small family farms.
- Taxes.....They say are too high and must come down. No move is being made by the Administration to plug up loopholes which - it is claimed - would bring in an additional \$18 billion to the Government. The National Association of Manufacturers has just endorsed a tax cut for incomes, to be replaced by a 4% Sales Tax.
- Wages.....They say must be pegged - a raise would cause inflation. Yet no mention has been made on pegging profits or considering price control.

I don't say the passage of H.R. 800, the HOLLAND BILL FOR CONTINUING PROSPERITY, will solve all our problems.....but.....it is a step in the right direction. A step that should be taken in 1960.

WE BETTER START WORKING AND PLANNING BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE.

**STATE OF MARYLAND**  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR



IN REPLY REFER TO PG-MDOT

**WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER**  
GOVERNOR

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001  
(202) 638-2215

TDD (301) 333-3098

July 6, 1992

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda MD 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

Thank you for your recent letter in which you sought my support, along with that of Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley, for bringing construction of Mobil Shipping and Transportation Company's next Very Large Crude Carrier to Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point shipyards.

As you know, since 1973 Sumitomo Heavy Industries, Ltd. of Oppama, Japan has delivered 10 vessels, of various sizes and capacities, to Mobil Shipping and Transportation Company (MOSAT). That number does not include the 1,089-foot-long, double hull tanker currently under construction for delivery to MOSAT in late 1993.

Your question referred specifically to the "sister ship"--which is also a double hulled vessel--scheduled for completion in 1994. Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley and Mark Wasserman, Secretary of our Department of Economic and Employment Development (DEED), have been in contact with officials at Bethlehem Steel concerning this particular project.

As you might imagine, Bethlehem Steel officials are very interested in building ships of this nature for MOSAT. However, their preference would be to enter into a contract for the construction of at least three or more vessels. Building one of these mammoth vessels is not cost-effective for Bethlehem Steel, at a time when the company must operate as efficiently and cost-effectively as possible to remain competitive.

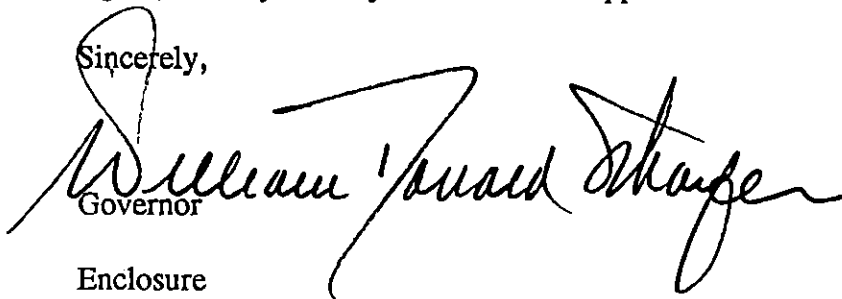
I can assure you that Secretary Wasserman, Maryland Secretary of Transportation O. James Lighthizer, and I will continue to work with Congresswoman Bentley to do everything we possibly can to bring Mobil's shipbuilding business to Bethlehem Steel. Together, we have worked hard over the years to help Bethlehem Steel remain viable despite the many changes in the international marketplace and the world economy. We will certainly continue those efforts in the years to come.

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
July 6, 1992  
Page Two

In the meantime, I thought you would appreciate receiving a copy of our May 1992 Port of Baltimore magazine, which contains a cover feature article on the resurgence of Bethlehem Steel's BethShip Sparrows Point repair facility. It provides a perfect example of how by bold decision-making, innovation, and creativity, firms can thrive in today's highly competitive environment.

Again, thank you for your continued support of Bethlehem Steel and the State of Maryland.

Sincerely,

  
Governor

Enclosure

cc: The Honorable Helen Delich Bentley  
Secretary O. James Lighthizer  
Secretary Mark Wasserman

**STATE OF MARYLAND**  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR



IN REPLY REFER TO PG-MDOT

WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER  
GOVERNOR

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TDD (301) 333-3098

July 6, 1992

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda MD 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

Thank you for your recent letter in which you sought my support, along with that of Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley, for bringing construction of Mobil Shipping and Transportation Company's next Very Large Crude Carrier to Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point shipyards.

As you know, since 1973 Sumitomo Heavy Industries, Ltd. of Oppama, Japan has delivered 10 vessels, of various sizes and capacities, to Mobil Shipping and Transportation Company (MOSAT). That number does not include the 1,089-foot-long, double hull tanker currently under construction for delivery to MOSAT in late 1993.

Your question referred specifically to the "sister ship"--which is also a double hulled vessel--scheduled for completion in 1994. Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley and Mark Wasserman, Secretary of our Department of Economic and Employment Development (DEED), have been in contact with officials at Bethlehem Steel concerning this particular project.

As you might imagine, Bethlehem Steel officials are very interested in building ships of this nature for MOSAT. However, their preference would be to enter into a contract for the construction of at least three or more vessels. Building one of these mammoth vessels is not cost-effective for Bethlehem Steel, at a time when the company must operate as efficiently and cost-effectively as possible to remain competitive.

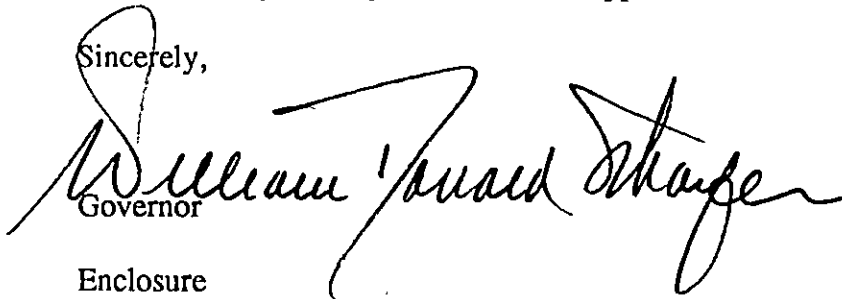
I can assure you that Secretary Wasserman, Maryland Secretary of Transportation O. James Lighthizer, and I will continue to work with Congresswoman Bentley to do everything we possibly can to bring Mobil's shipbuilding business to Bethlehem Steel. Together, we have worked hard over the years to help Bethlehem Steel remain viable despite the many changes in the international marketplace and the world economy. We will certainly continue those efforts in the years to come.

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
July 6, 1992  
Page Two

In the meantime, I thought you would appreciate receiving a copy of our May 1992 Port of Baltimore magazine, which contains a cover feature article on the resurgence of Bethlehem Steel's BethShip Sparrows Point repair facility. It provides a perfect example of how by bold decision-making, innovation, and creativity, firms can thrive in today's highly competitive environment.

Again, thank you for your continued support of Bethlehem Steel and the State of Maryland.

Sincerely,

  
Governor

Enclosure

cc: The Honorable Helen Delich Bentley  
Secretary O. James Lighthizer  
Secretary Mark Wasserman

STATE OF MARYLAND  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR



• REPLY REFER TO PG

WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER  
GOVERNOR

ANNAPOLIS OFFICE  
STATE HOUSE  
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21401  
(301) 974-3901

BALTIMORE OFFICE  
ROOM 1513  
301 WEST PRESTON STREET  
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201  
(301) 225-4800

WASHINGTON OFFICE  
SUITE 315  
444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001  
(202) 638-2215

TDD (301) 333-3098

April 24, 1991

Mr. Allen E. Murray  
Chairman and CEO  
Mobil Corporation  
3225 Gallows Road  
Fairfax VA 22037

Dear Mr. Murray:

Thank you for selecting the Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point Shipyard for repair of your tanker. As the Mayor of Baltimore and now the Governor of Maryland, I have watched as our domestic ship building and repair capacity has declined - the victim of foreign competitors and a shrinking market. We have worked hard here in Maryland to hold our own and improve our competitive posture.

The Sparrows Point Shipyard has 5,000 of the most skilled and experienced workers in the country. The yard is known for the quality of both its new construction and its repair operations. Bethlehem has made major investments in refurbishing and revitalizing the yard. I am proud that we have played a part in the resurgence of the yard by financing the shipyard's dry dock and helping to upgrade the skills of the work force. All of these efforts are designed to meet the increasingly technical demands of its customers.

I am very happy that you have chosen Sparrows Point for your repair work. Both you and I will be proud of the choice you have made.

Please feel free to call on me or any of my staff if we can be of help in the future.

Sincerely,

Governor

cc: The Honorable Helen Bentley  
Mr. Alexander Christie  
Mr. Walter Williams  
Captain Patrick Johnson

# Mobil Shipping and Transportation Company

3225 GALLOWES ROAD  
FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA 22037-0001  
CABLE: MOBILTRANS FAIRFAX

GERHARD E. KURZ  
PRESIDENT

January 13, 1992

Mr. Ernest J. Corrado, President  
American Institute of Merchant Shipping  
1000 16th Street  
Suite 511  
Washington, D.C. 20036

## H.R. 2056

Dear Ernie:

I am surprised to learn that the proponents of H.R. 2056, the Shipbuilding Trade Reform Act of 1991, are asserting that the Bill will not have any impact on waterborne trade with the United States as vessel operators would be indemnified by foreign shipyards for monies they may be required to pay to United States authorities. It is disturbing that this mistaken view is finding acceptance among members of the Ways and Means Committee, the International Trade Commission and certain port authorities.

Early last year, Mobil placed an order for a 280 MDWT double hull VLCC with Sumitomo Heavy Industries of Japan. This state-of-the-art vessel is being built to comply with the provisions of OPA '90 in the interest of enhanced environmental protection.

We do not believe that Sumitomo Heavy Industries is receiving any Japanese subsidies relative to the construction of this ship. We can also categorically assure you that there are absolutely no provisions in the contract which indemnify us against the consequences of the vessel incurring penalties under the terms of H.R. 2056.

From my discussions with Japanese shipyards, it is my impression that Japanese labor costs are higher than those prevailing in the United States. Indeed, rising labor costs and a scarcity of skilled people are the biggest problems faced by Japanese shipbuilders.

January 13, 1992

To overcome this situation, they have placed an emphasis on technology and efficient production methods. It takes a Japanese shipyard less than 400,000 manhours to build a VLCC, compared to over a million manhours in the United States. As we have previously stated, United States shipyards, with few exceptions, are technologically outdated, inefficient and lacking modern management methods. This is the reason why they are not competitive, and H.R. 2056 will not help the U.S. shipbuilding industry capture a share of the world's newbuilding market. The sole effect of H.R. 2056 will be to burden shipowners trading to the U.S. with costs which will be recovered in the marketplace to the detriment of U.S. shippers and consumers.

While we endorse the concept of a level playing field for world trade, we do not believe it can be achieved by this type of unilateral legislation.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. E. Kurz", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

G. E. Kurz

cac



RECEIVED

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

FEB 19 1992

FEB 18 1992

Dear Mr. Chairman: COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE  
AND FISHERIES

I write in response to your request of November 22, 1991, for the views of the Department of State on H.R. 2056, the "Shipbuilding Trade Reform Act of 1991."

Although we share many of the concerns expressed in the portion of the Report covering Congressional Findings and Purpose [Report No. 102-284, Part I, Section 2], the Department of State opposes H.R. 2056.

We believe that a strong, effective multilateral agreement among shipbuilding nations, to eliminate trade-distorting practices in the shipbuilding and repair industry, is the best means of providing for fair international competition, a view also expressed in the Committee Report.

In pursuit of this objective, the Administration initiated negotiations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to end subsidies and other trade distorting practices in the shipbuilding industry. The parties have made substantial progress during the negotiations over the past two years. Nevertheless, difficulties presented by such complex issues as injurious pricing and home credit schemes have resulted in stretching out the negotiations longer than we anticipated despite our urging the parties to reach an early agreement.

The Chairman of the OECD Council Working Party 6 on Shipbuilding has drawn on the Parties' responses to his recently proposed Chairman's text to bridge the remaining issues. We have received the Chairman's revised text, and are examining it carefully to determine whether there are reasonable prospects for reaching an agreement. We are consulting with other parties to make this determination. We are currently engaged in negotiations in the OECD to resolve the most difficult issue, injurious pricing. We are hopeful that we will

The Honorable

Walter B. Jones, Chairman,  
Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries,  
House of Representatives.

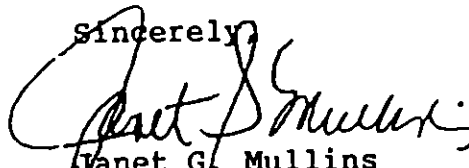
or countervailing duty. If the U.S. were to deny entry to a ship lacking a subsidy certification, the U.S. could face the charge that it was hindering the customs clearance of "merchandise" under the Anti-dumping and Subsidies Codes.

- Denial of entry to a ship lacking a subsidy certification opens the U.S. also to the charge of violating the GATT Article V requirement of free transit of vessels through the territory of GATT contracting parties.
- Carrying out the provisions of H.R. 2056 would be costly and burdensome. The Secretary of Commerce would be required to collect and evaluate information on the worldwide sale and repair of all ships over 100 gross tons likely to enter U.S. waters upon the shipowner or lessor's application for a "subsidy certification." The public availability of such information would decrease under threat of U.S. sanctions making collection even more difficult. In addition, the bill would impose a heavy burden of record keeping and subsidy collection on the U.S. Customs Service.
- An attempt by the Congress to legislate a unilateral solution at this time would not be helpful to the negotiation process.

In short, the Department of State is concerned that foreign subsidies and other trade distortions are impacting adversely on the U.S. shipbuilding and repair industry, but believes that negotiations could yield an agreement that provides a preferable and more lasting solution to this important trade problem.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,



Janet G. Mullins  
Assistant Secretary  
Legislative Affairs

STATE OF MARYLAND  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR



IN REPLY REFER TO C/SP-MDOT

WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER  
GOVERNOR

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December 23, 1991

Mr. Gerhard E. Kurz  
President  
Mobil Shipping and Transportation Company  
Mobil Corporation  
3225 Gallows Road  
Fairfax VA 22037-0001

Dear Mr. Kurz:

I was recently informed of your presentation of a \$200,000 grant to the Seaman's Church Institute. On behalf of all those concerned with the survival of a strong maritime industry, let me thank you.

I have watched as our domestic maritime industry has suffered at the hands of foreign competition. However, we here in Maryland are working hard to maintain and improve our competitive position in the world-wide market. With the continued interest and most generous support of companies such as Mobil Corporation in the training of ship's officers and seagoing personnel, we cannot help but prevail.

Once again, let me wholeheartedly thank you. Please feel free to call on me or any of my staff if we can be of help in the future.

Sincerely,

Governor

cc: Mr. Alexander K. Christie ✓

# Congress Faces Full Maritime Agenda When It Returns to D.C. This Month

Several bills affecting the U.S. shipping industry and the people who earn their livelihoods at sea await congressional action as legislators return to Capitol Hill this month following the summer recess.

Hearings, debates and votes are expected to be fast and furious as members of the Senate and House of Representatives try to complete their work and adjourn by Columbus Day (October 12) in order to campaign at home for the November 3 elections.

## Closing a Safety Loophole

Maritime bills include removing a safety loophole that allows inland mariners to sail without Coast Guard documentation, creating a federal policy as proposed by Department of Transportation Secretary Andrew Card Jr. this summer to fund U.S. flag commercial vessels that could be used by the military in times of emergency and eliminating a proposed "work tax" that could be imposed when merchant mariners acquire or upgrade their merchant mariner documents.

However, congressional attention to these bills could be limited as the legislators still have to pass almost all of the Fiscal Year 1993 packages that fund the federal government—including the Defense Department measure that concerns sealift.

The full House of Representatives almost immediately upon its return is expected to debate H.R. 4394, which would require inland boatmen who sail aboard vessels of more than five gross tons to carry U.S. Coast Guard merchant mariner documents (Z-cards). The bill, which passed the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee on July 1, would close a loophole which has exempted the men and women working aboard tugs and tows in America's inland waterways from carrying Z-cards.

Upon passage by the House, the bill would go to the Senate for action.

## Towards a National Policy

Congress continues to review the maritime reform initiative presented by Card. Both the House and the Senate are working on separate bills sponsored by the chairmen of each chamber's merchant marine committees.

Along with SIU President Michael Sacco, the presidents of

## Maritime Bills to Follow in Fall Session of Congress

| Bill/Number                            | Description                                                                                                                                      | Action by Congress                                                                                          |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Inland Documentation/HR 4394           | Would require all inland boatmen on vessels of more than 5 tons to hold Coast Guard-issued merchant mariner documents                            | Passed by House Merchant Marine & Fisheries Committee; full House consideration next                        |
| Maritime Reform/HR 5627; S 3047        | Would help U.S.-flag companies acquire new vessels and provide payments for up to 74 militarily useful commercial vessels                        | Mark-up expected to be held in September by House & Senate merchant marine subcommittees                    |
| Repeal of Work Tax on Mariners/HR 4693 | Would eliminate proposed fees on Coast Guard-issued merchant mariner documents                                                                   | Marked-up by House Coast Guard Subcommittee; awaiting action by House Merchant Marine & Fisheries Committee |
| Defense Appropriations Bill/HR 5504    | Included with the Defense Department's FY '93 funding bill are \$801.4 million for sealift to purchase or build civilian-crewed military vessels | Passed by House of Representatives; awaiting action by the Senate Appropriations Committee                  |
| Cruise to Nowhere Restrictions/HR 5257 | Would eliminate foreign-flag cruise ships from sailing out of U.S. ports for gambling junkets with no ports of call                              | Passed by House Merchant Marine & Fisheries Committee; full House consideration next                        |

eight labor unions representing maritime workers called for rapid enactment of the reform package. Within the reform package are means to help U.S.-flag shipping companies acquire new vessels, including governmental payments for up to 74 militarily useful commercial ships.

While both Card and legislators who serve on maritime committees have stated their hopes to pass the legislation by the end of the year, neither the House nor the Senate have scheduled a mark-up session as of press time. However, spokesmen for both the Senate and House merchant marine subcommittees said session dates would be set when the legislators return to Washington after Labor Day.

## Nixing the Seaman Tax

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee also has not set a date for further consideration of a bill designed to repeal fees on merchant mariner documents and licenses. The Coast Guard Subcommittee marked up the bill, H.R. 4693, in May for action by the full committee.

The legislation was introduced after the Coast Guard announced it would implement such fees fol-

lowing passage of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990. The proposed cost to mariners ranges from \$35 for a Z-card with no endorsements to \$135 for an AB or QMED endorsement to \$330 for upper level licenses.

## Looking for Sealift Funds

Appropriation bills fund the federal government for the period October 1, 1992 to September 30, 1993. The House passed the Defense bill (H.R. 5504) on July 2 with \$801.4 million for sealift left intact. Those funds, combined with \$2.7 billion already available, could be used to acquire vessels necessary to satisfy the recommendations of the Mobility Requirements Study based on the actions taken during the Persian Gulf war and issued in January.

A bill to amend the Passenger Service Act to prohibit foreign-flag cruise-to-nowhere voyages awaits action by the House of Representatives. The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee passed the legislation in August. The bill also would codify U.S. Customs Service and court rulings that passenger vessels engaged in the coastwise trade be U.S. built and owned.



U.S. Department  
of Transportation

Maritime  
Administration

Administrator

400 Seventh Street, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20590

14 AUG 1992

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander K. Christie Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

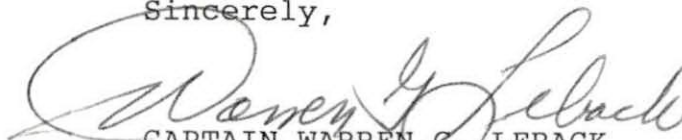
Dear Mr. Christie:

I have been asked to respond to your letters to Secretary Card and Deputy Chief of Staff Linda Gambatesa. They both appreciate your kind comments on Secretary Card's efforts to achieve a new and comprehensive maritime policy designed to reverse the decline of the U.S. merchant marine.

The new reform policy is reflected in legislative, regulatory, and administrative initiatives designed to help U.S.-flag ship operators and shipbuilders compete more effectively in the world marketplace. As I am sure you are aware, legislation was introduced in Congress on July 21, 1992, which addresses those elements of the reform policy that require statutory changes for implementation.

Thank you for your interest in our country's merchant marine. I hope that you will continue your efforts to assist the merchant marine by supporting us in our efforts to make the merchant marine more competitive.

Sincerely,

  
CAPTAIN WARREN G. LEBACK  
Maritime Administrator

Jim: I was disappointed at Andy Card's turnover to Leback. I want to see the President reelected, I want to use my experience <sup>used</sup> to that end. I can support the Administration's efforts by working to select George Bush <sup>and more effectively</sup> directly. My funds are limited. A.R.C.

# Bush 88 Quayle

\*\*\*\*\*

733 15th Street, NW  
Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
202/842-1988

## BUSH-QUAYLE 88 NATIONAL MARITIME POLICY

No one can dispute that our nation's maritime industry and merchant marine has suffered a serious decline during the past three decades. At the conclusion of World War II, the United States had the largest and strongest merchant fleet in the World. Following the war, as commerce returned to normal, U.S. overseas trade expanded rapidly, but the U.S. fleet and supporting industry declined precipitously, both in absolute and relative numbers. ~~foreign carriers measurably and unfavorably impact the balance of trade.~~

Even more ominously, the President's Commission on Merchant Marine and Defense reported to the President that the situation poses "a clear and growing danger to the national security in the deteriorating condition of American's maritime industries." Although no single policy or program can restore our nation's merchant marine overnight, the President's Commission found that the federal government should consider a number of specific, positive steps to assist in the overdue revitalization of the U.S. maritime industry and merchant marine. The Bush-Quayle campaign supports:

- ✓ 1) The establishment of an executive branch maritime liaison;
- 2) Strict adherence to existing U.S. maritime laws;
- 3) Establishment of maritime concerns as a priority in international trade negotiations;
- 4) Institution of a comprehensive review of U.S. government policy regarding maritime promotional programs, productivity enhancement and procurement procedures; *(U.S. Shipyards)*
- 5) The preservation and integrity of the Jones Act;
- 6) A comprehensive review of U.S. laws as they apply to foreign flag cruise vessels operating primarily from U.S. ports;

The Bush-Quayle campaign is committed to a comprehensive maritime policy with the ultimate goal of restoring the United States maritime industry in the interests of economic and national security.

New York

S/LETTERS SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1991

## U.S. Shipbuilding Withers as Japan's Thrives

To the Editor:

To the families of the 50,000 American shipyard workers who have lost their jobs in the last decade, the 50th anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor will be a harsh reminder that the United States shipbuilding industry, which helped bring victory over Japan in World War II, is on the verge of collapse, while Japan has emerged as the strongest shipbuilding country in the world.

What happened to reverse the fortunes of the once-proud United States shipbuilding industry, which churned out thousands of ships (5,400 between 1943 and 1945, the height of its productivity) to support the war effort?

Part of the answer lies in government subsidies used to prop up foreign shipyards and thereby assure their ability to capture market share. Japan led the way, pouring billions of dollars into its shipbuilding industry (\$4.4 billion was budgeted for this purpose by the Japanese Government from 1987 through 1990 alone). By contrast, the United States industry saw its subsidy program terminated in 1981.

But another part of the story concerns our Government's industrial policies, which have emphasized short-term goals over our country's economic health and impotent responses to predatory practices of our trading partners that have resulted in the export of American jobs.

In 1981, when other governments were escalating their shipbuilding aid, ours not only terminated its commercial shipbuilding support subsidy, but actually passed a measure to encourage United States-flag shipowners to bypass American yards and buy where they could get the best foreign subsidy.

In addition, the Government turned a blind eye to Japanese Government practices that permitted Japan's industry to create a cartel and to manage a restructuring through market allocation and price setting.

In June 1989, the Shipbuilders Council of America filed a trade petition outlining the extent to which foreign governments subsidize their shipyards. Carla Hills, the United States trade representative, initiated an effort in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to get foreign governments to cease their subsidy practices. But little progress has been made.

The Japanese, who deny that their governmental practices distort competitive conditions in the shipbuilding marketplace, have made it clear they are not interested in ending those practices or in disciplining Government behavior in the marketplace.

The United States shipbuilding and repair industry understand that international competitiveness is the key to survival in a marketplace in which defense dollars will be in short supply. But if we cannot get the Japanese to agree to end their shipbuilding subsidies, the question our workers will ask is, What will the Bush Administration do to insure that we

and Means Trade Subcommittee, has introduced H.R. 2056, a bill to penalize foreign ships built with subsidies. We strongly support the shipbuilding trade reform bill. JOHN STOCKER

President

Shipbuilders Council of America  
Arlington, V.I., Dec. 2, 1991

### Remember the Mariners

To the Editor:

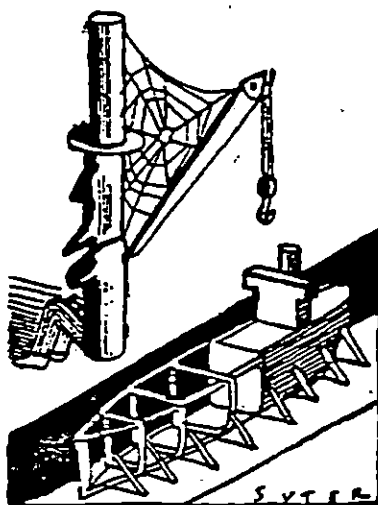
During the 1991-95 period, the United States will commemorate World War II, a conflict that began and ended at sea. "The Imprint of Pearl Harbor" (editorial, Dec. 1) should also have mentioned the American merchant mariners who shared the dangers and losses of the war.

Seven hundred and fifty seven United States flag merchant ships were lost and more than 6,000 merchant seamen gave their lives in service to their country. Slow-moving merchant ships were attractive targets for the enemy's submarines and planes, and the resultant casualties among United States merchant seamen were greater by percentage than those suffered by any branch of our military with the exception of the Marines.

In the wars in Korea, Vietnam and more recently in the Persian Gulf, the importance of the merchant marine in transporting the military equipment and supplies essential in carrying the fight to the enemy has repeatedly been demonstrated.

From the War for Independence, and in all the conflicts that have followed, American merchant mariners have served their country with distinction. The anniversary of Pearl Harbor is a most appropriate occasion to remember the contribution to victory made by these valiant Americans. With skill and courage we will take our ships in harm's way in any future conflict.

JOHN F. RING JR.  
President, United States Merchant Marine Academy Alumni Association  
Kings Point, L.I., Dec. 2, 1991



are not sacrificed to the predatory practices of others?

Representative Sam Gibbons of Florida, chairman of the House Ways

**ALEXANDER K. CHRISTIE ASSOCIATES, INC.**

LEGISLATIVE CONSULTANT

5305 CROMWELL DRIVE

BETHESDA, MD 20816

301-320-4904

February 22, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO:

The Honorable George Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

FROM:

Alexander K. Christie

SUBJECT: Maritime Objectives of the  
George Bush Administration

The goal of the Bush Administration will be the construction of fifty ships over a five-year period.

The program will call for the building of ten ships a year, to be built under the auspices of the Department of Defense and designated as Merchant Cruisers, operating in Military Sealift Command, Lease-Out, or assigned to Ready Reserve Fleet.

These ships would be highly useful in a military capacity and they would be available for the emergency transporting of strategic cargo.

Copies to:

The Honorable Brent Scowcroft  
National Security Adviser, NSC  
The White House, Washington, D. C. 20500

The Honorable John Sununu  
Chief of Staff  
The White House, Washington, D. C. 20500

The Honorable Duane H. Cassidy  
General, U. S. Air Force  
Commander-in-Chief, U. S. Transportation Command  
Scott Air Force Base, Il. 62225

It is, in the interests of national security, highly desirable that the Bush Administration initiate a shipbuilding program designed to address the current crisis in Military Sealift capability. Any program crafted to effect a revitalization of Sealift capability must be modest in scope and responsive to budgetary constraints, realizing cost economies bred of the advantages of serial production.

A commitment must be made for prompt initiation of such a program.

In a March 15, 1945 report to then Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, Air Force Chief General Henry H. Arnold stated:

"Victory's full fruit will not be realized unless the lesson of World War II is mastered. The lesson is too plain for the next aggressor to miss. It is that the United States will be his first target."

General Arnold further stated that in two World Wars "the aggressor has moved first against other nations giving this one (the United States) time to mobilize." The next time, he warned, "the aggressor's first objective will be to knock out the United States before taking on other countries."

In World War II the British Navy and Merchant Marine bore the initial blow, while the U. S. observed from the sidelines. From September 1939 to December 7, 1941, Britain lost over six-million tons of merchant shipping. In September 1939, when the German submarine campaign started, Britain lost 187,465 tons of shipping in one month. In February 1940 the loss was 1,143,727 tons.

These losses were severe and critical. The Germans achieved these sinkings with a submarine fleet of from 100 to 150 U-boats, of which only a sixth to a third were operating at sea at any one time.

The passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which

created the Maritime Commission, gave substance to a program of 500 ships in ten years and the subsequent authorizations in 1940 and 1941 of expansion of the shipbuilding program under defense emergency and Lend-Lease legislation gave further assurance that the United States would not be unprepared when the Axis powers struck.

Yet within one month of our Declaration of War, Nazi submarines were sinking ships off our Atlantic Coast. Fourteen ships were sunk off Cape Charles, Va. in the month of February 1942 and in three months this rose to forty-three ships, totalling 302,000 tons.

There was no protection to shipping off our shores. Convoys were not instituted. Not until August 1942 did submarine attacks taper off. But untold damage to our Merchant Marine had been inflicted. At one time in 1940, as our merchant ships were torpedoed all over the globe, President Roosevelt held that all American merchant ships should be armed.

In 1942, U-boats so damaged Allied shipping that they came nearer than any other Axis forces to strangling the Allied war effort. At the same time, German Admiral Doenitz was given an expansion of his U-boat fleet to 250. The United States was unprepared and inexperienced to meet this force.

During a four-month period, January 15 to May 19, 1942, 303 ships totalling 2,015,252 tons were sunk. And during this same period, the United States lost 112 tankers totalling 927,000 tons. Admiral Doenitz was able to send strong forces of U-boats to the Caribbean (between 60 and 80 U-boats operated at one time), and by May 1942 Hitler had achieved economic superiority--he was sinking Allied ships faster than they could be built.

Doenitz informed Hitler on May 14, 1942: "Submarine

"warfare is war against enemy shipping. We must sink ships wherever the greatest number can be sunk at lowest cost to us, and we should not concentrate in one certain area if that means sinking fewer ships." ..... "I intend to operate submarines in American waters as long as it is profitable. Every tanker we sink not only means one tanker less for carrying oil, but also represents a direct setback to America's shipbuilding effort and production."

"The Americans are making strenuous efforts to prevent the large number of sinkings. They have organized a considerable defense. However, these are all manned by inexperienced crews and do not constitute a serious threat at present. The submarines with their greater experience in warfare are mastering these counter measures. The American fliers see nothing; the destroyers and patrol vessels are traveling too fast most of the time even to find the U-boats, or they are not persistent enough in their pursuit with depth charges."

"In fact, the shallow American coastal waters make it very easy to safeguard and protect shipping which could be done either by establishing a 'war channel' protected from seaward by net and mine barrages, or by organizing all shipping into convoys. The second method will probably be chosen, and the convoys will be led along the coast in shallow waters. The daily traffic will thus become lighter and our chances of success will be fewer, but as long as their escorts are inexperienced we will be able to continue to attack the convoys in the usual manner."\*\*\*

The Atlantic was the last theater in which Germany remained on the offensive. In six weeks the U-boats proved themselves powerless to prevent the Allied invasion fleet from reaching North Africa. They never again exercised the supremacy they held in 1942.

During this period we had the strong support of the British Navy and Merchant Marine. No one can question the ability and courage of the Royal Navy and the role it played in bottling up Hitler's fleet and destroying the Italian Navy.

Unfortunately, for all concerned, the British Navy no longer has the ships nor the ability it had during World

\*\*\*German Naval Archives captured at Schloss Tanbach near Coburg. These documents contained practically all the signals, ships logs, memoranda, relating to the German Navy from 1868 until the date of their capture, April 1945.

Wars I and II, nor does its Merchant Marine have the number of ships when Britain went to war in September 1939.

We, the United States, have to be ready to absorb the initial blow. There must never be the unpreparedness as manifested off our Atlantic and Gulf Coasts in 1942 when the German submarines sank merchant ships and tankers with impunity.

The construction of Merchant Cruisers to carry military cargo along with the ability to defend against aircraft, missiles, submarine and surface craft will allow such Merchant Cruisers to engage in convoying unarmed merchant ships, thus freeing the fleet from convoy duty and thereby enable the fleet to engage any enemy in full force.

The debacle of 1942 must not be repeated.

The Soviet Navy, greatly expanded since the end of World War II, accelerated that growth after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. It now has the world's largest number of submarines. It also has a large oceanographic fleet.

The Soviets, since 1958, have acquired anchorages, bases and facilities around the world. They have had a naval facility in Cuba since 1969. Their base in the Arctic, Severomorsk, is being expanded at a continuing rate, including repair, maintenance and air facilities and submarine pens. The base provides access to North Atlantic shipping lanes. Other naval facilities on the Atlantic are Conakry and Luanda on the West Coast of Africa.

The Soviets have long coveted access and naval facilities in the Mediterranean. They now have facilities in Tripoli and Tartus and anchorages in Salum and Hammamat, with an expanded home base on the Black Sea at Sevastopol. They also have Red Sea naval facilities at Dahlak and at the former British base of Aden with anchorages at Socotra.

On the East Coast of Africa (Indian Ocean) the Soviet Navy has facilities at Maputo and anchorages or access at Seychelles. In the Pacific Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk are the two major home bases. Both have been expanded with extensive submarine pens at Petropavlovsk.

The Soviet naval facility at Cam Ranh, Vietnam, established in 1979, is an expanding base with a major communications facility and a support complex for bombers, fighters and reconnaissance aircraft, with upwards of thirty-five ships, tenders and submarines being present at any one time.

The United States built the facility at Cam Ranh into a major base. The Soviets are the beneficiary and are now able to counter our base at Subic Bay and observe our operations at Guam.

Having taken over from the British Navy since 1945 in order to assure freedom of the seas, we must be aware and understand the threat posed by Soviet naval expansion, not only in the Atlantic, which is vital to our survival, but also in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and Mediterranean and Red Seas.

We must be fully prepared for any contingency. Our lack of ships now prevents us from fulfilling that function.

Military Sealift needs are paramount in the face and reality of Soviet naval expansion. Therefore, a very modest program of fifty Merchant Cruisers, spread over five years, should be considered as a high priority without unreasonable delay.

PHOTOCOPY  
MISC. HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 10, 1989

Dear Mr. Christie:

Thank you for your letter offering to discuss national sealift issues. Your commitment to national security issues and your previous policy recommendations in the maritime arena are much appreciated. Your February 22, 1989 recommendations for sealift were reviewed and have been referred for further consideration.

Since our efforts at formulating a national security sealift policy are nearing conclusion, I suggest that the most appropriate course at this time would be to refer your suggestions and insights to the Department of Transportation which is engaged in developing a broad national transportation policy.

Sincerely,

  
Brent Scowcroft

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander K. Christie  
Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816



COMMANDER  
MILITARY SEALIFT COMMAND

11 October 1989

Dear Mr. Christie,

Many thanks for your note of September 25, 1989 forwarding your paper regarding Maritime Objectives. I was impressed with the scope and conclusions drawn.

I am enclosing an official photograph of myself for your use.

Keep in touch.

Best regards,

P. D. BUTCHER  
Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander K. Christie Associates, Inc.  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, Maryland 20816



DEPUTY CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS  
(PLANS, POLICY AND OPERATIONS)  
WASHINGTON, DC 20350

6 SEP 1989

Dear Mr. Christie,

Admiral Trost has asked me to respond to your letter of 29 August 1989 to which you attached a copy of your memorandum to the President on maritime objectives.

The Navy supports a strong merchant marine in the context of the National Sealift Policy, now being considered by the National Security Council staff. I'm confident your memorandum to the President will be useful in crafting the nation's policy on the merchant marine and defense.

Again, thank you for sharing your views on this important issue. Your effort is very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

C. R. LARSON  
Vice Admiral, U. S. Navy

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander K. Christie Associates, Inc.  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816



COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
UNITED STATES TRANSPORTATION COMMAND  
SCOTT AIR FORCE BASE, ILLINOIS 62225-7001

17 March 1989

Mr Alexander K. Christie  
Christie Associates, Incorporated  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

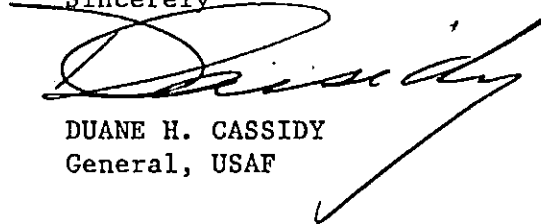
Dear Mr Christie

I appreciate your thoughtful letter and very informative background package on the maritime industry of our nation. Last week the senior members of my staff and I met with Dave Klinges and John Stocker of the Shipbuilders Council. This was a most informative session. We in DOD are vitally concerned about the health of the maritime industry because a majority of our sealift capability must come from the civil sector.

We at the United States Transportation Command are pushing hard for Presidential approval of a National Sealift Policy. Also, we are working with leaders throughout the industry to develop a coalition that can pull together to reverse the current trends.

Thanks again for your interest in this national problem. With support from concerned citizens like you, we'll find a workable solution.

Sincerely



DUANE H. CASSIDY  
General, USAF



U.S. Department  
of Transportation

**Maritime  
Administration**

Administrator

400 Seventh Street, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20590

17 JUL 1990

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander K. Christie Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

Thank you for your letter of June 11, 1990, forwarding a copy of your proposal of February 22, 1989, to President Bush regarding U.S. maritime objectives. I share your feelings that the U.S. merchant marine is a vital part of U.S. sealift.

As you know, the Commission on Merchant Marine and Defense recently completed its report on the U.S. merchant marine and its role in sealift and national security. Throughout the study the lack of adequate funding for shipbuilding was evident.

If you wish to meet with my technical staff, please contact Norman Hammer, Director, Office of Ship Construction. He can be reached on (202) 366-1880.

Thank you for your interest in the merchant marine.

Sincerely,

CAPTAIN WARREN G. LEBACK  
Maritime Administrator



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY  
COMMANDER MILITARY SEALIFT COMMAND  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20398-5100

REFER TO:

24 April 1989

Mr. Alexander K. Christie Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

Thank you very much for sending me the very interesting article detailing the heroism of Captain Feegan and the crew of Jervis Bay during WW II.

Your observations regarding the construction of Jervis Bay are certainly on the mark. The loss of Jervis Bay was tragic, but the story of the courage and patriotism of Captain Feegan and his men is as inspiring today as it was 40 years ago.

I will pass this article on to the Naval Historical Center located in the Washington Navy Yard. I am sure they will be pleased to add it to their collection.

Thank you again for bringing to mind the love of country and spirit of self sacrifice we should all possess and which are so graphically portrayed in this article.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "P. D. Butcher", is written over the typed name.

P. D. BUTCHER  
Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy  
Commander

Copy to:  
Naval Historical Center w/encl.

Dear Jim:

Sept 18, 1992

Please, I appeal and beg you, to let the President see and read this Memorandum.

It is more applicable today, now, than '89 especially the jobs - 50 whips over 5 year period. Keep in mind the Black <sup>Sea</sup> Fleet is larger than the Combined Fleets of Britain and France combined!

Alex Christie

**ALEXANDER K. CHRISTIE ASSOCIATES, INC.**

LEGISLATIVE CONSULTANT

5305 CROMWELL DRIVE

BETHESDA, MD 20816

301-320-4904

February 22, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO:

The Honorable George Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

FROM:

Alexander K. Christie

SUBJECT: Maritime Objectives of the  
George Bush Administration

The goal of the Bush Administration will be the construction of fifty ships over a five-year period.

The program will call for the building of ten ships a year, to be built under the auspices of the Department of Defense and designated as Merchant Cruisers, operating in Military Sealift Command, Lease-Out, or assigned to Ready Reserve Fleet.

These ships would be highly useful in a military capacity and they would be available for the emergency transporting of strategic cargo.

Copies to:

The Honorable Brent Scowcroft  
National Security Adviser, NSC  
The White House, Washington, D. C. 20500

The Honorable John Sununu  
Chief of Staff  
The White House, Washington, D. C. 20500

The Honorable Duane H. Cassidy  
General, U. S. Air Force  
Commander-in-Chief, U. S. Transportation Command  
Scott Air Force Base, Il. 62225

It is, in the interests of national security, highly desirable that the Bush Administration initiate a shipbuilding program designed to address the current crisis in Military Sealift capability. Any program crafted to effect a revitalization of Sealift capability must be modest in scope and responsive to budgetary constraints, realizing cost economies bred of the advantages of serial production.

A commitment must be made for prompt initiation of such a program.

In a March 15, 1945 report to then Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, Air Force Chief General Henry H. Arnold stated:

"Victory's full fruit will not be realized unless the lesson of World War II is mastered. The lesson is too plain for the next aggressor to miss. It is that the United States will be his first target."

General Arnold further stated that in two World Wars "the aggressor has moved first against other nations giving this one (the United States) time to mobilize." The next time, he warned, "the aggressor's first objective will be to knock out the United States before taking on other countries."

In World War II the British Navy and Merchant Marine bore the initial blow, while the U. S. observed from the sidelines. From September 1939 to December 7, 1941, Britain lost over six-million tons of merchant shipping. In September 1939, when the German submarine campaign started, Britain lost 187,465 tons of shipping in one month. In February 1940 the loss was 1,143,727 tons.

These losses were severe and critical. The Germans achieved these sinkings with a submarine fleet of from 100 to 150 U-boats, of which only a sixth to a third were operating at sea at any one time.

The passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which

created the Maritime Commission, gave substance to a program of 500 ships in ten years and the subsequent authorizations in 1940 and 1941 of expansion of the shipbuilding program under defense emergency and Lend-Lease legislation gave further assurance that the United States would not be unprepared when the Axis powers struck.

Yet within one month of our Declaration of War, Nazi submarines were sinking ships off our Atlantic Coast. Fourteen ships were sunk off Cape Charles, Va. in the month of February 1942 and in three months this rose to forty-three ships, totalling 302,000 tons.

There was no protection to shipping off our shores. Convoys were not instituted. Not until August 1942 did submarine attacks taper off. But untold damage to our Merchant Marine had been inflicted. At one time in 1940, as our merchant ships were torpedoed all over the globe, President Roosevelt held that all American merchant ships should be armed.

In 1942, U-boats so damaged Allied shipping that they came nearer than any other Axis forces to strangling the Allied war effort. At the same time, German Admiral Doenitz was given an expansion of his U-boat fleet to 250. The United States was unprepared and inexperienced to meet this force.

During a four-month period, January 15 to May 19, 1942, 303 ships totalling 2,015,252 tons were sunk. And during this same period, the United States lost 112 tankers totalling 927,000 tons. Admiral Doenitz was able to send strong forces of U-boats to the Caribbean (between 60 and 80 U-boats operated at one time), and by May 1942 Hitler had achieved economic superiority--he was sinking Allied ships faster than they could be built.

Doenitz informed Hitler on May 14, 1942: "Submarine

"warfare is war against enemy shipping. We must sink ships wherever the greatest number can be sunk at lowest cost to us, and we should not concentrate in one certain area if that means sinking fewer ships." ..... "I intend to operate submarines in American waters as long as it is profitable. Every tanker we sink not only means one tanker less for carrying oil. but also represents a direct setback to America's shipbuilding effort and production."

"The Americans are making strenuous efforts to prevent the large number of sinkings. They have organized a considerable defense. However, these are all manned by inexperienced crews and do not constitute a serious threat at present. The submarines with their greater experience in warfare are mastering these counter measures. The American fliers see nothing; the destroyers and patrol vessels are traveling too fast most of the time even to find the U-boats, or they are not persistent enough in their pursuit with depth charges."

"In fact, the shallow American coastal waters make it very easy to safeguard and protect shipping which could be done either by establishing a 'war channel' protected from seaward by net and mine barrages, or by organizing all shipping into convoys. The second method will probably be chosen, and the convoys will be led along the coast in shallow waters. The daily traffic will thus become lighter and our chances of success will be fewer, but as long as their escorts are inexperienced we will be able to continue to attack the convoys in the usual manner."\*\*\*

The Atlantic was the last theater in which Germany remained on the offensive. In six weeks the U-boats proved themselves powerless to prevent the Allied invasion fleet from reaching North Africa. They never again exercised the supremacy they held in 1942.

During this period we had the strong support of the British Navy and Merchant Marine. No one can question the ability and courage of the Royal Navy and the role it played in bottling up Hitler's fleet and destroying the Italian Navy.

Unfortunately, for all concerned, the British Navy no longer has the ships nor the ability it had during World

\*\*\*German Naval Archives captured at Schloss Tanbach near Coburg. These documents contained practically all the signals, ships logs, memoranda, relating to the German Navy from 1868 until the date of their capture, April 1945.

Wars I and II, nor does its Merchant Marine have the number of ships when Britain went to war in September 1939.

We, the United States, have to be ready to absorb the initial blow. There must never be the unpreparedness as manifested off our Atlantic and Gulf Coasts in 1942 when the German submarines sank merchant ships and tankers with impunity.

The construction of Merchant Cruisers to carry military cargo along with the ability to defend against aircraft, missiles, submarine and surface craft will allow such Merchant Cruisers to engage in convoying unarmed merchant ships, thus freeing the fleet from convoy duty and thereby enable the fleet to engage any enemy in full force.

The debacle of 1942 must not be repeated.

The Soviet Navy, greatly expanded since the end of World War II, accelerated that growth after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. It now has the world's largest number of submarines. It also has a large oceanographic fleet.

The Soviets, since 1958, have acquired anchorages, bases and facilities around the world. They have had a naval facility in Cuba since 1969. Their base in the Arctic, Severomorsk, is being expanded at a continuing rate, including repair, maintenance and air facilities and submarine pens. The base provides access to North Atlantic shipping lanes. Other naval facilities on the Atlantic are Conakry and Luanda on the West Coast of Africa.

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DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY  
COMMANDER MILITARY SEALIFT COMMAND  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20398-5100

REFER TO:

24 April 1989

Mr. Alexander K. Christie Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

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Sincerely,

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P. D. BUTCHER  
Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy  
Commander

Copy to:  
Naval Historical Center w/encl.



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY  
THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY  
(SHIPBUILDING AND LOGISTICS)  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20360 5000

8 FEB 1990

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander K. Christie Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

Thank you for your letters to the Chief of Staff and Deputy Chief of Staff to the President and the Secretary of the Navy, concerning the fleet oiler shipbuilding program. I am answering on their behalf.

We sought proposals from industry to complete two fleet oilers, TAO 191 and 192. We evaluated the proposals we received and selected American Shipbuilding, Tampa, Florida, in the interest of sustaining the shipbuilding industrial base.

If naval shipbuilding budgets are allowed to decline, there will be fewer shipbuilding opportunities available to industry. However, we are hopeful that shipyards currently with naval new construction work, such as Bethlehem Steel in Sparrows Point, Maryland, will continue to compete for our shipbuilding projects.

If I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Frank W. Swofford", is written over the typed name.

FRANK W. SWOFFORD

By Direction of the Secretary of the Navy



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D C. 20350-1000

JUN 16 1989

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
5305 Crownwell Drive  
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

Thank you for your mailgram of 19 March to President Bush concerning the awarding of contracts for the construction of TAOs 191 and 192. I am answering on the President's behalf.

We appreciate the motivation which prompted you to cable the President. The final decision for the construction of TAOs 191 and 192 has not yet been made. It is of high-level interest to both the Navy and the Congress. Please be assured that when the decision is reached, it will be in the best interest of the entire American public, as all taxpayers have a right to the fair spending of their dollars. Bethlehem Steel Corporation's Sparrow's Point facility will receive the careful and full consideration it is due.

Again, thank you for writing to the President.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Judy G. Smith", is positioned above the typed name.

JUDY G. SMITH

Director, White House Liaison Office  
Office of the Secretary of the Navy



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY

(SHIPBUILDING AND LOGISTICS)

WASHINGTON, DC 20360-8000

17 APR 1989

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander Christie Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816

Dear Mr. Christie:

This is in response to your letter of March 22, 1989, concerning Bethlehem Steel Corporation. I am responding for Secretary Ball.

In view of Penn Ship's difficulty in fulfilling their obligations under the contract for construction of TAOs 191 and 192, we have advised them that the Navy is willing to consider alternatives provided acceptable ships are delivered to the Navy at an acceptable price.

To this end, Penn Ship is accepting fixed price proposals from several shipyards for completion of the ships since any excess Navy costs resulting from assignment or reprourement will be charged to Penn Ship. In addition, the Navy has requested price proposals from interested shipyards for a reprourement of these ships in the event that approach is deemed to be in the best interests of the government.

I appreciate your suggestion to assign the work to your client, and I understand that Bethlehem Steel Corporation is now well aware of what they must do in order to be considered for this work.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Ronald K. Kiss", is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

RONALD K. KISS  
DIRECTOR FOR SHIPBUILDING



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY

(SHIPBUILDING AND LOGISTICS)

WASHINGTON, DC 20360-8000

17 APR 1989

Mr. Alexander K. Christie  
Alexander Christie Associates, Inc.  
Legislative Consultant  
5305 Cromwell Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Ronald K. Kiss".

RONALD K. KISS  
DIRECTOR FOR SHIPBUILDING

ALEXANDER K. CHRISTIE ASSOCIATES, INC.

LEGISLATIVE CONSULTANT

5305 CROMWELL DRIVE

BETHESDA, MD 20816

301-320-4904

March 18, 1988

Howard H. Baker, Jr.  
Chief of Staff to the President  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Howard:

What have I done to merit the treatment received from your staff and Sue Walkup?

I admire Ronald Reagan and have tried to render a contribution to his administration since 1980. I know the President. I handled the Guild requests when I was Staff Director of the Senate Sub-Committee on Labor and Management Relations. He was President of the Screen Actors Guild. Senator Humphrey was Chairman of the Sub-Committee. The assignment was given to me by the Chairman. I worked with Walter Abel and Walter Pidgeon both guild officials. Ambassador Max Kampelman was the Senator's administrative assistant.

It is assumed that you have the interest of the President paramount at all times. That is not the case where the White Paper entitled: "A program for the Development of an Effective Maritime Strategy" and signed by Candidate Reagan, September 22, 1980 is concerned.

4/24/88  
This paper was responsible for Labor and Management support in 1980 and 1984. Meese rendered an outstanding contribution when he convinced Candidate Reagan to sign this document.

What is wrong? Why has meeting with the President not taken place? No one sees the President without your approval. Senator Laxalt wrote you on March 18, 1987 recommending that; "the President seriously consider meeting with the representatives of the council. You would agree that this is a key constituency and a meeting between the President and the council would render a positive signal to the industry."

Would the Senator write such a recommendation to have it ignored? The President showed what he thinks of Paul when he sent him to the Philippines to handle the Marcos Affair. This man should be listened to and not ignored. The Senator wrote you on March 18, 1987 as did Bill Brock, Vice President George Bush, Chairman Fahrenkoff. I am a Presbyterian, that precludes my calling on Pope John, II to help in this effort.

cc: STEVEN

ALEXANDER K. CHRISTIE ASSOCIATES, INC.

LEGISLATIVE CONSULTANT

5305 CROMWELL DRIVE

BETHESDA, MD 20816

301-320-4904

-2-

When the "MX" and "Aid to the Contras" were before the House I called on David Klinges for help. He came and helped lobby with me off the floor, helping Claude Pepper and Les Aspin. We helped get the votes for passage, I enlisted his aid on the Judge Bork effort. He wrote to Senator Spector. He helped in the last "Aid to Contras". We again worked with Representative Pepper concentrating on the Democrats, in belief that "you" Ken and staff could deliver the vote.

I sent you a Mailgram. The President called Representative Pepper. I called "Ken" several times. Nor were we helped despite appeals to you and staff. The failure of Republican members to fully support the President killed our chance to carry the day. I hold no brief for the Majority members who voted no. The least we could have done was to have a solid Minority vote.

It would be a damn disgrace if the President is denied the opportunity to meet with the executives of Shipbuilders Council, especially when the President is involved in the Strategy paper which he signed in September 1980.

You will agree this industry with the national defense involved is as important as the University of Maryland's Womens Field Hockey Team which was scheduled and did meet with the President for one-half hour. Ryan told David Klinges that due to heavy scheduling the President could not meet with the Council.

Howard, you should be aware of the havoc Ryan has created. There is no need for this disasterous state of affairs. Nor do you need to worry about the President being able to acquit himself. I know from experience that such concern is unwarranted and a sad reflection on those who manifest it.

You have David Klinge's letter setting forth the three executives who will meet the President. I urge you to schedule a meeting forthwith and restore some faith in your stewardship.

Respectfully,

Alexander K. Christie

*A Program for  
the Development of an  
Effective Maritime Strategy*

*Reagan & Bush Headquarters  
Arlington, Virginia*

A PROGRAM FOR THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF  
AN EFFECTIVE MARITIME STRATEGY

The United States is in trouble. We have watched the steady erosion of United States power and the decline of our influence during the past few years. We have watched the Soviet Union and several Third World nations take increasingly aggressive actions against the interests of the United States and our allies, and even against smaller neutral nations. We have lost our place as the logical focal point for Free World policy and action.

The cost to the United States has been a loss of prestige and influence, and these, in turn, have had a direct negative impact on our economy in terms of increased inflation and our relations with the rest of the world.

This adverse situation has occurred because of the lack of leadership within the White House and the subsequent loss of leadership by the United States as a nation. Nowhere is this loss of leadership more evident nor more dangerous than in the decline of both our naval forces and our maritime industry.

This decline occurs at a time when the United States is more dependent upon the use of the seas for our political, economic, and military well being than ever before in our history. Every day, major decisions affecting international relations are influenced by the capability or lack of capability of our naval forces. When we realize that strategic missile submarines are the least vulnerable component of our nuclear deterrent force and that our only military capability in the volatile Indian Ocean area is our carrier task groups, we can appreciate the importance of naval capability in world affairs.

The world trades by sea and the United States is the world's greatest trading nation. We are heavily dependent upon ships to bring in foreign goods as well as petroleum and the raw materials for our industries; and we need ships to carry our manufactured products and our agricultural and raw material exports to the world's markets.

As I stated in a recent speech in Chester, Pennsylvania, our shipbuilding industry is vitally important to our nation. Shipyards provide the mobilization base for future buildups, employ people in every one of our 50 states, and are a proven technical training facility for our youth and minorities in a host of related industries.

It is difficult for most Americans to conceive of the magnitude of our maritime decline. Three decades ago the U.S. was the most powerful maritime nation in the history of the world. Our Navy was over 1,000 ships strong and our merchant fleet carried 42% of the U.S. foreign trade. Today, the Navy is down to less than 500 ships, many over-aged. As for commercial shipping, the 500-odd oceangoing vessels flying our flag currently carry less than 5% of our own commerce, while 95% of U.S. trade is carried by ships of other countries, whose availability in time of crisis is problematical at best. Even our once matchless inland water transportation system has been allowed to deteriorate so that today the movement of goods is limited by antiquated lock systems, silted rivers and inadequate harbors. In contrast the Soviet Union has emerged as a rapidly expanding maritime force. Since 1950, the Russian merchant fleet has increased from 400 ships with under two-million tons of capacity to over 2,500 ships totaling almost 20-million tons, of which the vast majority are modern ships specifically designed to support military forces. This fleet carries over 65% of Soviet foreign commerce and, through freight rate manipulation, an increasing share of the commerce of the free world.

Our maritime policy must be an integral part of our overall foreign policy. It must be well conceived and administered in accordance with a consistent, coordinated plan. Four years of increasing Soviet belligerence has been encouraged by a lack of any coherent national policy and continuing vacillation which has become the despair of our allies. This inability to project our economic strength and defense mobility in any coordinated manner has critically undermined the ability of the U.S. to serve as a world leader.

Today we see that the Soviet Union - primarily a land power - has the world's largest navy. The Soviet Union has more oceangoing surface warships than the U.S. Navy. And the Soviets are building new ships at a faster rate than we are. While the U.S. Navy will complete five major missile warships in the next three years - four of which were ordered for Iran and come to us by default - the Soviet Navy will add more than five times that number of major missile ships to their fleet, several of them nuclear powered.

In the submarine category the Soviets have about three times as many undersea craft as the U.S. Navy, and significantly more nuclear submarines. This Soviet thrust to the sea is qualitative as well as quantitative. For example, the Soviet ALFA-class submarine, now in series

production, has a titanium hull and can dive significantly deeper and travel significantly faster than any American nuclear submarine.

Similarly, the Soviet merchant fleet is among the world's largest, with almost five times the number of ships at sea as fly the American flag.. These Soviet merchant ships vary from small, coastal cargo ships - ideal for the smaller Soviet ports and for serving Third World ports - to giant supertankers and container ships. The Soviet penetration of Third World trades gives them a political and economic presence that our current leadership fails to appreciate.

Until the Afghan invasion a year ago, the Soviet share of American maritime trade was growing at a faster rate than that of any other nation, while in the past decade the U.S. flag share of our own commerce declined by 20 percent.

The Soviet Union has the world's largest fishing and ocean research fleets as well, and they are deployed over the four corners of the world.

Despite their already massive array of seapower, the Soviets continue to expand and improve their shipyards and related industries while America continues to decline. For example, 15 years ago the United States had seven shipyards building nuclear-powered ships and submarines. Today we have only two. In the same period the Soviet nuclear shipyards have increased from two to six yards, with just one of those yards capable of building more nuclear submarines each year than the rest of the world's shipyards combined. And still the Soviet shipyards are being expanded and improved.

How did we come to this state of affairs?

The answer to that question unfortunately is all too clear. It has become apparent that during the past 3-1/2 years the Carter Administration has ignored the lessons of history, turned away from the world as it exists today, and failed to understand America's need to use the seas. Time and time again the Carter Administration has made the wrong decision or simply avoided making any decision at all.

In 1979, Mr. Carter vetoed the defense budget because the Congress - the direct representatives of the American

people - had voted funds to build another nuclear-powered aircraft carrier of the NIMITZ class. Yet just over a year later Mr. Carter was ordering aircraft carriers to the Indian Ocean and it was from the deck of the carrier NIMITZ that the ill-fated Teheran rescue attempt was launched.

Similarly, the Carter Administration opposed the start of a new class of amphibious ships, the LSD-41. But Congress insisted and the LSD-41 program has been belatedly started, while events in Iran have now led the Carter Administration to initiate a whole new class of ships to carry Marine tanks and equipment.

The American Merchant Marine has fared no better than the Navy. Although American innovation has been responsible for most of the major advances in shipboard productivity, our foreign competitors have now successfully mastered these advances and are able to take advantage of both the American innovation and the lower priced foreign wage structure. Because of the failure of the maritime policy to adapt to significant changes in the international environment over the last ten years, we are in imminent danger of losing even the minimum level of skilled manpower, management, engineering and component manufacturing capability needed to serve in a national emergency and to give us a base on which to expand in time of a protracted crisis or conflict. We must be aware of the example of the Soviet Union, which has grasped the value and relevance of a coherent, focused, and consistent national maritime policy. Their maritime activities are carefully orchestrated; their maritime resources supplement and reinforce one another. The time has come for the United States to undertake a similar commitment.

If the United States is to survive as a viable and progressive nation, we must have the leadership that has been denied to the American people in these vital areas. We must develop and undertake a maritime policy that will (1) demonstrate our understanding of the importance of the seas to America's future; (2) reestablish the U.S. flag commercial fleet as an effective economic instrument capable of supporting U.S. interests abroad; and (3) demonstrate America's control of the seas in the face of any challenges.

A specific naval-maritime program must be developed that will:

1. Provide a unified direction for all government programs affecting maritime interests of the United States. We must insure that there is active cooperation between the

Navy and the Merchant Marine and the governmental departments responsible for each. We must see that long-range building programs for naval and merchant ships are established and carried out without falling victim to petty bureaucratic jealousy. This is the role of the President and I shall see that our maritime policy is coordinated to insure that it achieves the objectives we set for it.

2. Insure that our vital shipbuilding mobilization base is preserved. It is essential that sufficient naval and commercial shipbuilding be undertaken to maintain the irreplaceable shipbuilding mobilization base. Without this nucleus of trained workers and established production facilities, we can never hope to meet any future challenge to our security.

3. Improve utilization of our military resources by increasing commercial participation in support functions. The Navy today is facing a critical shortage of trained personnel. With the commercial industry assuming increased responsibility for many auxiliary functions, substantial cost saving can be achieved and a large reserve of manpower can be released to provide crews for a growing naval fleet. This is an example of the means by which we can increase defense mobility without adding burden to the taxpayer.

4. Recognize the challenges created by cargo policies of other nations. The United States has traditionally espoused free trade. However, the international shipping trade is laced with a network of foreign governmental preferences and priorities designed to strengthen foreign fleets, often at the expense of U.S. maritime interests. We must be prepared to respond constructively for our own interests to the restrictive shipping policies of other nations. A major goal of the United States must be to insure that American-flag ships carry an equitable portion of our trade consistent with the legitimate aspirations and policies of our trading partners.

5. Restore the cost competitiveness of U.S.-flag operators in the international marketplace. It has been American policy since 1936 for the additional costs of building and operating U.S.-flag ships to be borne by a system of subsidies to help insure the competitiveness of American importers and exporters. But our parity system failed in the mid-1970's because most foreign governments moved to protect their own vital maritime interests after the shipping collapse of the mid-70's. We must now take corrective action to make certain our merchant fleet and our shipbuilding industry survive and grow.

6. Revitalize our domestic water transportation system. The inland water transportation system provides an economic and energy efficient method of moving the goods and commodities of the nation between all parts of our country. It also provides a vital link in our international trading effort by tying the ports of all four seacoasts, which includes our Great Lakes, to the producing heartland of the Nation. Again we are paying a high price for the absence of any coherent national policy.

7. Reduce the severe regulatory environment that inhibits American competitiveness. As foreign competition on maritime scene has increased, so have the operational and regulatory restrictions on U.S. shipping and shipbuilding. Many of these restrictions increase costs and, in some cases, simply prevent our ships from competing with foreign ships. There is rarely, if ever, any commensurate benefit from these restrictions. Accordingly, we will carefully and rapidly review the effect of these restrictions and sponsor appropriate actions.

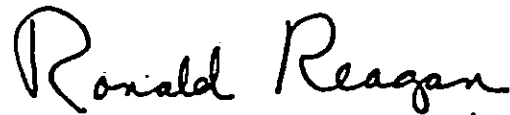
In carrying out these expansive programs, a coordinated effort will be undertaken to create new jobs for American seamen, shipyard workers, and the thousands of workers in related industries. These maritime industries which are vital to our national well being, in the past have had an outstanding record of providing not only employment but the training to enable minorities and the disadvantaged to obtain continued advancement.

\* \* \*

This seven-point program will be carefully developed and it will be carried out. We cannot expect others - either allies or adversaries - to respect our interests if we show no respect or concern for them ourselves. The failure to develop and carry out an effective naval and maritime program will deny the use of the seas to the United States and, eventually to the Free World.

The erosion of American maritime strength is unnatural, untimely, and endangers the Free World. The strategic concepts upon which our military planning is based includes the rapid support to our allies.

The United States has a heritage of the sea that dates from the first settlement of our country. The oceans - and the ships - and men that both build and sail on them - have been a prominent factor in shaping the crucial development of our nation's history. Our economic vitality, national defense, and foreign policy options will depend increasingly on the use we make of the sea during the remainder of this century.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

RONALD REAGAN

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

September 22, 1980

NRN

RABBI WILLIAM HANDLER  
956-45th Street  
Brooklyn, NY 11219  
718-436-5793

MARGARET TUTWEILER /  
TO: **James A. Baker III**

Sometimes the most effective campaign tactic is overlooked because of its simplicity.

President Bush is tantalizingly close to winning over the huge undecided vote. Many of these voters are Reagan Democrats who don't like Clinton, but still feel that Bush should be punished for betraying them on taxes.

President Bush has lost his credibility with these voters, so they will not listen to his explanations and apologies. The key to winning them over is to "break through" this communications barrier.

MY PROPOSAL IS TO HAVE PRESIDENT REAGAN SPEAK TO THESE REAGAN DEMOCRATS. Only he still holds their trust. He can explain the dangers of a radical Clinton Presidency and the positive changes that will occur in a second Bush term in a way that those people can understand.

I suggest a half-hour special featuring Reagan with or without Bush present. Short clips can be used for spots afterward.

Good luck.

NRN

## Smiley Marketing Systems

Box 104  
East Lynn, IL 60932  
(217) 375-4385

October 21, 1992

Mr. James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

President Bush seems to be having a difficult time communicating to the American people that the tax increase presented by Governor Clinton is not the way to go. A lot of Americans think a tax increase would help bring the deficit down. They are missing the historical record of Congress...Get more, spend more. Without a drastic change in Congress, putting a significant amount of money toward the deficit is a fairy tale. Why not use President Bush's strength of protecting the American voter with his veto record these past four years.

A television ad might go something like this: Three people are watching TV as Clinton says, "I will only tax those that make over \$100,000."

First Listener: "Clinton must think the American public is pretty stupid. ...Raising taxes on just the wealthy...If he gets elected, ALL our taxes will go up."

Second Listener: "Well, if that's what it takes to bring down the deficit, maybe we all should sacrifice."

Third Listener: "You know as well as I do, Clinton won't be able to control Congress. They are not about to put that tax increase toward the deficit. Those guys will just spend more. Then what do we have? More money out of our pockets and a growing deficit. We may not think the economy is the best right now, but at least we know President Bush will not allow congress to spend, spend, spend. Thirty-five vetoes of pork barrel spending sure proves that. In my book, a vote for Bush is our only option if we want to reduce the deficit."

Sincerely,

*John M. Smiley*  
John M. Smiley

*serving you professionally*



LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY  
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE  
Eric Voegelin Institute for American Renaissance Studies  
College of Arts and Sciences

10/20 - c; called to say  
we'd received it  
JAB appreciated.  
(Sean)

NRN

October 11, 1992

The Honorable James A. Baker, III  
Chief of Staff to the President  
Executive Office of the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Re: The Election--my personal view!

Dear Mr. Baker:

What else can an academic do to help the cause but send something he wrote? Thus the enclosure about how you did it in 1984. The Democrats, including my friend James Carville, have digested the lessons of 1980, 1984 and 1988. Perhaps it is worth reminding the Republicans of them. Can't hurt, and just maybe it will help a little.

From where I sit President Bush is going to lose this election, if he does not dramatically change his tune very promptly and forcefully retake the "high ground" that won Reagan the election twice and, by inheritance, Mr. Bush the election in 1988. The details are given in the enclosure and to a considerable degree remain applicable, I believe. I would add a couple or so points.

1. Employ the traditional rhetoric of American politics and patriotism, the language of the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Constitution, and of Lincoln at Gettysburg. This is the "vision thing" about what the country stands for--then, now, and forever. America is the city on a hill that serves as a beacon for mankind's love of and quest for liberty, decency and justice.

Americans want their President to be the kind of cheer leader Reagan was, one who makes you proud to be an American through tough times and good times as well. Bush is no great communicator but he's not bad and has a record of personal service and effective leadership that the Reagan Democrats (the middle of the country) have and will again respond to, if the matter is convincingly stated by the wordsmiths and repeatedly driven home by the President. We have won the world. Shall we now lose ourselves? We are talking conviction about our first principles: individualism, free enterprise, devotion to justice and equality, and the quest for the American dream that has inspired generations of Americans and the newly liberated people of the fallen Soviet empire. Just back from Prague and an afternoon with Václav Havel, I can tell you we still inspire them. Shouldn't we be able to inspire ourselves, too, by recalling our heritage?

2. Take the attack to Clinton--factually, clearly, and repeatedly: i.e., hammer him--on all of the hard issues that the political correct (PC) mentality of the media and tactics of the Democrats want to put out of bounds for polite discussion as the "old politics," thereby controlling the agenda to your distinct disadvantage. Identify this tactic explicitly. Clinton is a trimmer, whatever else he may be. The President doesn't have to be as shrill about it as Pat Buchanan is or Bob Dornan, but adultery on the part of a great exponent of the family, draft evasion and leading the peace offensive in England (the Communist Party line, after all, whatever he was doing in Moscow) during Vietnam add up to poor

credentials for a successor to George Washington!

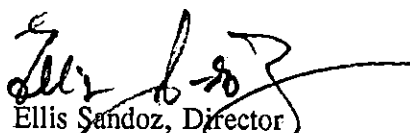
Resolve, duty, forthrightness, integrity, and death before dishonor are qualities that are requisite. The average American who goes to church every Sunday and works for what he's got will respond--and you need his vote. Let the flakes vote for somebody else: it's the middle you've got to get back. But you must appear to deserve their support, and you're definitely not convincing them right now.

3. The economic difficulties of the country have to be explained better than you're doing it. There is a global recession that is at least partly the direct result of the tremendous turning point in human history called the defeat of the Evil Empire by resolute American leadership. Take the credit and tie it to the malaise during this transition to peace-time economies throughout much of the world. Whoever gets elected in November is going to become an economic hero in 1993 because things will get better, a whole lot better: check the tape of "Wall Street Week" (PBS) of last evening for this assurance and use it. The guy without a job and none in sight has got to: (1) understand why he is in such dire straits, (2) believe that President Bush gives a damn and has his eye on his situation, and (3) has some clue as to how to really help--specific light at the end of the tunnel, not some vague "plan." Sacrifice or hardship for some reason is more palatable than the feeling of exploitation and gross neglect now pervasive in key states. If the candidate comes across as neither understanding nor caring you are sunk.

Since Americans vote their pocketbooks our prospects are not the best, in any case. If you will resourcefully pursue the three points I have identified--with visible resolve and great moral conviction on the part of the candidate--we might just pull it out, against all odds.

Good luck and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

  
Ellis Sandoz, Director  
Professor of Political Science

cc: W. Henson Moore

P. S. And encourage the President to utilize one of his most natural weapons--his sense of humor in deflating Clinton and his other antagonists: you don't have to take every stupid thing seriously, do you? As for our friend Perot, his patriotism didn't get him shot down or sunk; he tried to get out of his own obligation to the Navy. A little "good clean fun" with these heavy subjects (and others) can make a difference.

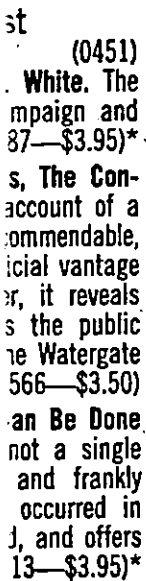
Enclosure

1      *Seer*

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★★★★★ EDITED BY ★★★★★

**ELLIS SANDOZ AND  
CECIL V. CRABB, JR.**

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## A MENTOR BOOK

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## Introduction: The Silent Majority Finds Its Voice

*Ellis Sandoz*

There is a story about a little boy who could not speak. His distressed parents took him to doctor after doctor, to famous medical centers in distant cities, and the physicians were totally baffled. There was no evident physiological reason for his silence. Finally, one morning the seven-year-old mute suddenly burst out at the breakfast table: "Mom, these damned pancakes are cold!"

Stunned yet delighted, the mother came to herself and stammered out, "Son, son, why is it you haven't spoken before in all these years?"

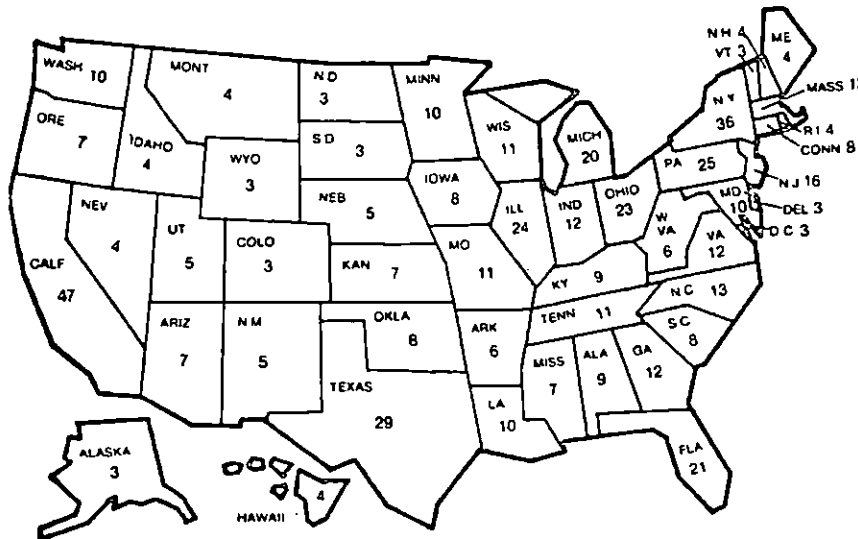
"I didn't have nothing to say," the boy responded.<sup>1</sup>

If there ever really was a silent majority in the country, it has plainly found its voice. If no one was listening the first time it spoke, the second try should get attention. The 1980 landslide for Reagan-Bush was a tidal wave that was widely interpreted as a negative election in which the American electorate rejected a failed presidency and voted massively *against* Carter-Mondale in a "tide of discontent."<sup>2</sup> So we thought, anyway. The 1984 landslide is even larger, coming within a few thousand votes of being a 50-state sweep, and it is a positive vote of support *for* Ronald Reagan. This is the first positive election in 12 years, a veritable tide of satisfaction with the incumbents' stewardship of the nation during the past 4 years. If, like the little boy, the voting majority of the American electorate had little to say before, it is now shouting at the top of its lungs that breakfast has improved markedly. It is even saying things about the menu for lunch and dinner.

## Election Profile: Read 'em and Weep

*Time* wrote of "underestimating the amiable old actor." *The New York Times* offered the headline "A Master's Mark on Politics" on Inauguration Day. The television networks scrambled to keep everyone watching on election night by playing up the only interesting uncertainty left by then: Would the Republicans carry all 50 states? With voting still proceeding in 26 states, all three commercial networks had projected the winner by 8:30 P.M. E.S.T., and CNN (which did not stoop to such predicting itself) dutifully reported as news the projections of its rivals. Democrats could only read 'em and weep and watch the parade of states go by as the projections were confirmed one by one throughout the evening. Finally, the result was clear: Mondale would carry his home state of Minnesota after all, by a whisker (50.4 to 49.6 percent); and the District of Columbia was solidly in the Democratic Party column. That was it. Let us briefly profile the election that is thoroughly analyzed in chapters to follow. (See the Appendix for voting data.)

**Electoral Votes for President 1984**



**Figure 1-1**

## THE SILENT MAJORITY

As landslides go, 1984 was sure. Of course, George Washington won 69 to 0 in 1789, and James Monroe won 281 to 1 in 1820. But Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1936 victory over Alf Landon was superior in percentage points to 1984's of 525 to 13: 98.4 percent to 1.16 percent. Numbers Reagan set the record for the popular vote in 1984 at 50.7 million, four years after 43.9 million in 1980. He won 58.8 to 40.6, so that Reagan was short of the 60-61 percent range of Nixon (60.9 in 1972), and LBJ (61.1 in 1964).

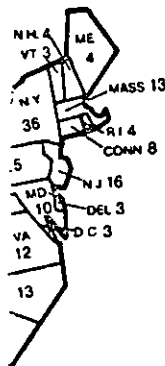
The demographic and regional breakdown of the Mondale-Ferraro carried the day. The Jewish and Hispanic vote (1.1 percent), the Oriental vote, and the vote of those earning under \$10,000 per year were all in the Democratic column. Every other identifiable group was in the Republican column, at every income level except the lowest (64 percent), and female voters (64 percent), and females under 35 by 55 percent. The Republican voters did not appreciably win the Democratic ticket. In fact, the Democrats rather than helped the spirits of many American voters. Of the little excitement its ticket carried the New York Italian vote fell from 41 percent to 37 percent, including the congressional district, despite the presence of an Italian on the Democratic ticket. The director, stated that Ferraro was over, the large Black vote generated by the Jackson registration drive and the white flight from the Democratic ticket. The tune of 71 percent white vote carried Mondale. The other regions (the South and the professionals) who were enthusiastic about the Democratic primaries ended about the same proportion as

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: Appendix

As landslides go, 1984 was a great election by any measure. Of course, George Washington won the electoral vote 69 to 0 in 1789, and James Monroe demolished John Quincy Adams 281 to 1 in 1820. But in modern times only Franklin Roosevelt's 1936 victory over Alf Landon of 523 to 8 is superior in percentage points to Reagan's victory over Mondale of 525 to 13: 98.4 percent to 97.5 percent. In absolute numbers Reagan set the record, both in electoral votes and in the popular vote in 1984 of about 54.5 million, compared with 43.9 million four years ago. The percentage split was 58.8 to 40.6, so that Reagan's popular vote landslide fell short of the 60-61 percent range of Roosevelt (60.8 in 1936), Nixon (60.9 in 1972), and LBJ (61.0 in 1964).

The demographic and regional breakdown show that Mondale-Ferraro carried the Black vote heavily (90 percent), and the Jewish and Hispanic vote by smaller margins (mid-60s percent), the Oriental vote, union households, and those making under \$10,000 per year. The Republicans won nearly every other identifiable grouping of voters: every age group, every income level except the poor, most ethnic groups, male voters (64 percent), and female voters—yes, the women, too, by 55 percent. The Republicans' "gender gap" with women voters did not appreciably widen with Geraldine Ferraro on the Democratic ticket. In fact, she seems to have hurt the Democrats rather than helped, although she no doubt buoyed the spirits of many American women and gave the party some of the little excitement its ticket generated. Yet Reagan-Bush carried the New York Italian vote by an impressive 63 percent to 37 percent, including Representative Ferraro's own congressional district, despite the presence of an Italian American on the Democratic ticket. Ed Rollins, Reagan's political director, stated that Ferraro "made the South ours." Moreover, the large Black vote generated in the South by the Jesse Jackson registration drive and primaries campaign provoked white flight from the Democrats in the general election to the tune of 71 percent white vote for Reagan to 29 percent for Mondale. The other regions of the country reflected strong support for Reagan as well. The so-called yuppies (young urban professionals) who were enthusiastic for Senator Gary Hart in the Democratic primaries ended up voting for Reagan in about the same proportion as did the "born-again" Chris-



tians, 67-32 and 69-31 percent (Reagan over Mondale) respectively.<sup>3</sup>

On November 8 *The Washington Post* headlined: "Democrats Challenge President's Landslide as Mandate." And things did look better for the Democrats in Congress. In the Senate, the Republican majority of 55-45 in the Ninety-eighth Congress narrowed in 1984 to 53-47. With only one third of the Senate (33 seats) up for election every two years, the Republicans won 17 to hang on to a five-vote majority. In the House of Representatives, the Republicans had gained 33 seats in Reagan's 1980 win, but then lost 26 in the off-year elections of 1982. They were looking for a strong recovery in 1984 on the basis of the great popularity of Reagan (steadily at a 60 percent approval rating throughout the campaign) but had to settle for a gain of 14 seats in the Ninety-ninth Congress. This left the Democrats in control of the House, under Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr. (D-Mass.), with a majority of 71 seats, the House divided 253 Democrats to 182 Republicans, with one disputed and, therefore, undecided race. Then, in January 1985 one of the Democratic House leaders, Representative Gillis W. Long (La.) died, creating a vacancy filled by special election in March, when his widow, Cathy Long, won his old seat. Finally, in the states, the governorships were split in favor of Democrats 35 to 15 going into the 1984 elections. Only 13 states elected governors at that time, and the result was eight Republican and five Democratic winners for a Republican net gain of one (see Chapter 5). Some significant gains for Republicans occurred in state races for legislative seats and local offices, a suggestion that the conservative mood of the country as reflected in Reagan's popularity was having some effect on state politics.

The disappointing "coattails" of the mighty Reagan landslide, from the Republican viewpoint, will be analyzed in detail later in Chapter 4. It is the basis of the *Post*'s headline and means that Congress is, even more so than usual, a force to be reckoned with because of the narrowed Republican majority in the Senate and Democratic control of the House. The problem is aggravated by the fact that Reagan cannot succeed himself again for a third term—because of constitutional limitation, even if a 74-year-old man might wish to run again three years hence—and this makes him a "lame

## THE SILENT MAJOR

duck," thereby supposedly leading to the resignation of congressmen and senators. Getting things done is seldom easy, and getting things done through the Ninety-ninth Congress is no exception. President Reagan. Moreover, the American politics looking for a solution of the country in what could be a crisis. What is the wily American vision, or, perhaps, political solution. On the day after the election, H. Michel (R-Ill.) petulantly gained in that body on the President's never, in my opinion, joining means to have the numbers in the Senate. He is preoccupied with making a 50-state congressional candidates.<sup>4</sup> Americans are good economically and the President is hard to beat. Nineteen incumbent, as subsequent chapters, especially Chapters 4 and 8, one Texas voter, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." Everything else we have to say is that unassailable maxim.

The impeccable logic of the President's position is a calculated equivalent in Charles de Gaulle's purposely built into our system. The question of the meaning of the date, the congressional election, we bear in mind the salient point of the campaign itself: support the President. The economy is going well in the economy, abroad both on the rise, the President himself Reagan's 1980 that they are, indeed, better than everyone holding office tends to benefit at the ballot box. and emotional dissonance in support the President but to Congress. Reagan's coattails from this angle, extending to virtual reelection to Congress.

Aside from the psychology

duck," thereby supposedly lessening his leverage with congressmen and senators. Getting legislation through Congress is seldom easy, and getting an ambitious legislative program through the Ninety-ninth Congress will be a challenge for President Reagan. Moreover, it is a challenge for analysts of American politics looking for "mandates" and "realignments" of the country in what could have been a "critical" election. What is the wily American voter up to now?—or is it confusion, or, perhaps, political schizophrenia that he suffers from? On the day after the election, House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) petulantly blamed the small Republican gain in that body on the President himself: Reagan "really never, in my opinion, joined that issue of what it really means to have the numbers in the House" and was preoccupied with making a 50-state sweep to the neglect of GOP congressional candidates.<sup>4</sup> A cooler answer is that when times are good economically and the country at peace, the incumbent is hard to beat. Nineteen-eighty-four was the year of the incumbent, as subsequent analysis will show in detail (see especially Chapters 4 and 8, below). In the elemental logic of one Texas voter, "If it ain't broke don't fix it!" Probably everything else we have to say on this subject is covered by that unassailable maxim.

The impeccable logic of the Texan has its more sophisticated equivalent in Charles O. Jones's phrase: "Inertia was purposely built into our system." As we ponder the heady question of the meaning of a landslide without evident mandate, the congressional elections will seem less anomalous if we bear in mind the salient psychology of the Reagan reelection campaign itself: *support the incumbent!* When things are going well in the economy, patriotism at home and esteem abroad both on the rise, the people of the country still asking themselves Reagan's 1980 campaign question and agreeing that they are, indeed, better off now than four years ago, then everyone holding office tends to share some of the credit and to benefit at the ballot box. There is intellectual incongruity and emotional dissonance in saying under these circumstances, support the President but turn the Democratic rascals out of Congress. Reagan's coattails were prodigiously long from this angle, extending to virtually all incumbents who sought reelection to Congress.

Aside from the psychology of the election, there are also

several objective factors of importance in seeing why Republicans picked up relatively few seats in the House (and lost two in the Senate), despite the enormous popularity of their presidential ticket. Perhaps chief among these is that predominantly Democratic state legislatures had charge of redrawing congressional districts after the 1980 census. Not surprisingly, they did this in the American gerrymandering tradition so as to maximize the Democratic vote. Further, many Democrats continue to fill uncontested seats, and in any event, there were only 27 *open* seats in the House in 1984, 18 of which were won by Republicans. In the remaining 407 seats occupied by incumbent congressmen, a record 392 (or 96.1 percent) won reelection in an incumbent's dream year. Also, there is the singular factor of congressional district politics, personal rapport of the congressman or congresswoman with a unique constituency on local causes and issues, and the insularity of the campaign in the district by comparison with the national campaign. Added to these elements are the general atrophy of political party partisanship and the continuing rise of ticket-splitting, further reasons why the Reagan-Bush landslide did not extend to Congress in the form of large, overt Republican gains.

### Political and Constitutional Setting of Elections

It is worth pausing to notice that the 1984 elections peacefully empowered thousands of officials in this country, high and petty, to wear the mantle of legitimate authority for a time. When one considers that there is an election somewhere in the United States nearly every week year in and year out, and that we elect an estimated 521,000 officials to various positions, we have a glimmering of one more explanation of why Americans tend not to be terribly excited by even presidential elections and why turnout is relatively low—much to the consternation of the League of Women Voters and political scientists. Free government is, for Americans, no novelty. Still, these elections are the chief consent-giving mechanism whereby a free people choose their representatives and governors who, then, wield the awesome powers of rule: the power

### THE SILENT MAJORITY

of lawmaking, administration of individuals, war and peace operations are a substitute for forcible seizure of power. What is utterly routine through centuries because of our penchant for beginning lies in the "su" Constitution.

That Constitution's two-hundred served during the term for recently elected. In a world in out of over 160 enjoy genuine law as enshrined in our Cons of power from one set of ha marvels, however humdrum Englishman caught the wond

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of lawmaking, administration of justice, life and death over individuals, war and peace for the nation and world. Elections are a substitute for revolutions and lesser forms of forcible seizure of power. We accomplish this in ways grown utterly routine through centuries of historical usage, although because of our penchant for the concrete we imagine the beginning lies in the "supreme law of the land," the Constitution.

That Constitution's two-hundredth anniversary will be observed during the term for which President Reagan was recently elected. In a world in which a scant two dozen nations out of over 160 enjoy genuinely free government, liberty under law as enshrined in our Constitution and the peaceful passage of power from one set of hands to another truly are political marvels, however humdrum they seem to us. An admiring Englishman caught the wonder of it all in these lines:

The American Constitution is the oldest written constitution in existence. It can claim, indeed, to be the first constitution in the modern world, and that it has survived so long is a tribute to the sagacity, moderation, and sense of the possible shown by its makers. When it went into effect in 1789, the French monarchy still stood; there was a Holy Roman Emperor, a Venetian Republic and a Dutch Republic, an Autocrat in St. Petersburg, a Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople, an Emperor vested with the "mandate of heaven" in Peking and a Shogun ruling the hermit empire of Japan in the name of secluded, impotent and almost unknown Mikado. . . . *Forms and realities have changed less in the United States [during the last 200 years] than in any other political organization, even than in Tibet.*<sup>5</sup>

The Constitution's provisions reflect in the matter of elections the general distrust of political power and the desire for effective checks and balances in government that characterized the framers of 1787. It was a compromise between James Madison's desire that the House of Representatives be elected for three-year terms and the belief of others that "where annual terms end, tyranny begins" that resulted in two-year terms for House members. The Constitution requires four-year terms for president and six-year terms for senators (one-third elected every two years); and it specifies the

qualifications for voters and officeholders, leaving to the states and to Congress the determination of times, places, and manner of elections. It was the "Great Compromise" which determined that representation in the Senate would be *equal* (two senators to every state) and only that in the House be *proportional* to population, above the one representative guaranteed each state regardless of its population.<sup>6</sup> A "Congress" has a two-year life because of the House election cycle, so that the One-hundredth Congress will be elected in 1986 and assume office in January 1987. The Senate, however, is a "continuing body" by reason of the overlapping terms of its members, two-thirds of whom always hold their tenure.

A number of the changes that have been made in the Constitution since its ratification in 1789 relate to elections and formally express the major tendency in the history of American politics to expand the franchise and make the original constitutional government of the country democratic government as well. Today the president continues to be elected by *indirect* popular vote with members of the Electoral College, themselves representing the majority party *avored in each state* and the District of Columbia, subsequently casting ballots for the party's candidates on a winner-take-all basis. Electors in each state equal the sum of representatives plus senators, for a grand total of 435 + 100 or 535 electors for the 50 states, plus 3 for the District of Columbia. A majority of the electoral vote (270) is necessary to secure election to the presidency and vice presidency.

The Twelfth Amendment (ratified in 1804) modified the operation of the Electoral College by requiring separate votes for president and for vice president. This was done to avoid the kind of situation that arose in 1800 when Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson tied in the electoral vote for president on the Democratic-Republican ticket because originally each elector was merely required to vote for two persons, without indicating which was his choice for president and for vice president. It took 36 ballots (and the support of Alexander Hamilton) for Jefferson finally to be elected by the House of Representatives as president. Already in 1800 the electors had become puppets of the parties, so the system of the Electoral College—conceived as the embodiment of the combined wisdom of the nation by the founders—had modified radically. And so it continues today, when political parties in national

conventions choose their candidates for the party's electors on Monday in November. The electors are bound to support their party's candidates, and their vote has full effect to the wishes of the voters in each state.

The development of the two-party system in the United States (as contrasted with the one-party system of other nations of the world) ensures that the party's candidates will gain the presidency. Only one election since ratification of the Constitution has had to be decided by a "second" party system was just beginning when Andrew Jackson, John Adams, and John C. Crawford had a majority of the electoral vote. Adams was elected in the House of Representatives. The Senate has elected a vice president. Because the choice in a two-party system is between one or the other ticket, the electoral majority for one side in a national election is virtually assured. Any change that alters this normal situation,

Other constitutional amendments have modified the newly emancipated blacks (Fifteenth Amendment, adopted in 1870); provided for popular election of judges (Judicial Amendment, adopted in 1901); provided for popular election of senators (Seventeenth Amendment, adopted in 1913); provided for rights to the residents of the states (Nineteenth Amendment, 1920); provided for the choice of three electors (Twenty-first Amendment, 1901); prohibited the poll tax as a device for restricting the rights of voters (Twenty-fourth Amendment, 1901); provided for rights to eighteen-year-olds, set the minimum age for the presidency (Twenty-sixth Amendment, 1971); and provided for the right of privacy (Twenty-seventh Amendment, 1992).

In this striking record of constitutional change, participation in elections, we have seen a vast amount of litigation and legal challenges. The foundation of the election process has steadily expanded over the past century. Originally were in state hands, and the

conventions choose their candidates, and the voters cast ballots for the party's electors on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The winning electors are morally bound to support their party's candidates and, so, give faithful effect to the wishes of the majorities (or pluralities!) in each state.

The development of the two-party system in the United States (as contrasted with the multi-party systems of many other nations of the world) enhances the probability that one party's candidates will gain a majority of electoral votes. Only one election since ratification of the Twelfth Amendment has had to be decided by the House. In 1824, when the "second" party system was just coming into being and neither Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, nor William Crawford had a majority of the electoral vote, the younger Adams was elected in the House, voting by states. The Senate has elected a vice president only once, in 1837. Because the choice in a two-party system normally is either one or the other ticket, the vote is not scattered, and an electoral majority for one set of candidates or party in a national election is virtually assured. Third and splinter parties alter this normal situation, of course.

Other constitutional amendments secured voting rights for the newly emancipated blacks after the Civil War (Fifteenth Amendment, adopted in 1870, and later expanded through judicial construction to prevent discrimination in voting more generally); provided for popular election of senators (Seventeenth Amendment, adopted in 1913); enfranchised women (Nineteenth Amendment, 1920); extended presidential voting rights to the residents of the District of Columbia, who choose three electors (Twenty-third Amendment, 1961); prohibited the poll tax as a device for depriving persons of voting rights (Twenty-fourth Amendment, 1964); extended voting rights to eighteen-year-olds, setting a record in the process by being ratified only five weeks after it was proposed by Congress (Twenty-sixth Amendment, 1971).

In this striking record of constitutional activity to foster participation in elections, we glimpse the background of a vast amount of litigation and legislation whereby the national foundation of the election processes in the United States has steadily expanded over the past two centuries. Elections originally were in state hands, and the only phrase in the Constitu-

tion that requires them is in Article I, where it states that members of the House must be chosen by the "people of the several states." Today elections are very largely in federal hands or are at least governed by federal standards. A great part of this development came little by little until the major legislative breakthrough of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and thereafter. The securing of the civil rights of the Black American was the primary purpose of this legislation as of so much else done to secure access to electoral processes in previous decades. But the Congress can paint with a much broader brush than can the courts, a Supreme Court justice once remarked. And the 1965 act suspended the use of literacy tests and authorized federal examiners empowered to order registration of voters in those states and counties (in the South, mainly) where fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population had voted or were registered during the previous national election. Criminal sanctions were authorized for interfering with persons seeking to vote.

In 1932 the Supreme Court stated that state legislatures, under provision of Article I, Section 4, Clause 1, possessed "authority to provide a complete code for congressional elections, not only as to times and places, but in relation to notices, registration, supervision of voting, protection of voters, prevention of fraud and corrupt practices, counting of votes, duties of inspectors and canvassers, and making and publication of election returns; in short, to enact the numerous requirements as to procedure and safeguards which experience shows are necessary in order to enforce the fundamental rights involved."<sup>7</sup> But this authority is subject to congressional oversight and revision since "Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations." The result of several Supreme Court decisions<sup>8</sup> and various congressional enactments has been to extend federal standards over primaries and preprimaries in which candidates for the House and Senate are nominated; to require the single-member district system for election of representatives and voting by secret ballot; to place limits on expenditures for candidates; and to issue regulations to curb fraud and corruption in connection with elections. In addition, as we have seen, most aspects of voter eligibility are governed by national standards: every person eighteen years old or older is eligible to vote; literacy tests and poll taxes have been outlawed; states cannot

require more than 30 days before becoming eligible to vote; 50 percent of the population is incapable of reading English in their own languages if they cannot read in their own language; and federal representatives are summoned to places where the need for federal intervention is evident from data in the census.

Despite all of this attention, voter participation in United States elections has declined as the inclusiveness of the franchise has expanded. Of course, getting the state of West Virginia ineligible voters cast 159,441 ballots for a remarkable 108 percent turnout. In other elections today suffer from a voter turnout as high of 65.4 percent of the eligible electorate. In presidential elections have averaged 54.3 percent in 1980, approximately 55.0 percent. Only Sweden has a lower average voter turnout in the United States (53 percent). The declining voter turnout will be of concern in later years. The lack of mass political activity and substantial political participation, the cumbersome process of voting, the mental law itself, side by side with the lack of qualified citizenry in particular, all of which tends to lend credence to some conclusion that *most Americans* are not interested in the words of Richard Scahill. The fact is this: *Most voters, most Americans are not political beings*. Thus, neither indifference, nor malaise, nor hatred is the reason for the low turnout of most American voters. In fact, the typical American is typically unyoung, unpoor,

## Political Parties

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require more than 30 days of residency before a person becomes eligible to vote; Spanish-speaking citizens and others incapable of reading English are entitled to ballots in their own languages if they comprise a substantial portion of the population; and federal registrars and poll watchers can be summoned to places where discrimination or voter harassment is evident from data in the previous presidential election.

Despite all of this attention to insuring the right to vote, voter participation in United States elections has steadily declined as the inclusiveness of the potential electorate has expanded. Of course, getting out the vote can be overdone. In the state of West Virginia in the last century (1888), 147,408 eligible voters cast 159,440 votes in the presidential election for a remarkable 108 percent "turnout"!<sup>9</sup> But our national elections today suffer from a different problem. From a 1960 high of 65.4 percent of the potential electorate, voting turnout in presidential elections has declined steadily until it reached 54.3 percent in 1980, apparently to rebound slightly in 1984 to 55.0 percent. Only Switzerland among major Western nations has a lower average turnout than does the United States (53 percent). The implications and details of voting will be of concern in later pages. But the anomaly of enormous activity and substantial constitutional change through the cumbersome process of formal amendment of the fundamental law itself, side by side with tepid interest by the qualified citizenry in participating in elections, is a puzzle that lends credence to some scholars' startlingly simple conclusion that *most Americans are not interested in politics!* In the words of Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg: "The fact is this: *Most voters, most often, are not primarily political beings.* Thus, neither New Politics, nor Old Politics, nor malaise, nor hatred is the most important thing in the lives of most American voters. In shorthand, the American voter is typically unyoung, unpoor, unblack, and unpolitical."<sup>10</sup>

### Political Parties and Realignment

If the Constitution is the foundation of all our government, including the electoral processes, the two-party system that

sprang into being spontaneously by 1800 has been government's animating force. The development seems not to have been anticipated even by the remarkable men who framed the Constitution and came as something of a surprise—and an unwelcome one at that—and a sign to them that the evils of "faction" were even more insidious than they had feared. E. E. Schattschneider has tellingly characterized the relationship between our historically grown party system and our Constitution:

The parties are bound to come into close and continuous contact with the Constitution because the parties were formed to control the government established by the Constitution. . . . If the parties are the river of American politics, the stream of the living impulse to govern, the Constitution is the river bed, the firm land whose contour shapes the stream. In the long run the river can transform the landscape, but it is also the prisoner of the land.<sup>11</sup>

As this language suggests, so far from being an evil to be minimized, the parties in our political system now are regarded as institutions to be fostered as very nearly essential to the operation of government at all levels.

Five great party systems typically are identified in American political history, and the question before the house is whether the sixth one has dawned with Ronald Reagan's back-to-back landslide victories in 1980 and 1984. More likely, it dawned when the so-called silent majority first made itself heard in 1968 and 1972 in the successive victories of Richard M. Nixon, only to abort into the stunned silence of Watergate and its aftermath to live in the underground of American politics. I believe something like this has, in fact, occurred, even if we do not as yet fully comprehend it. By his own unique analysis, Walter Dean Burnham generally concurs in this view (Chapter 8), although other contributors to this volume are more dubious or reject the notion of a Nixon-Reagan political era and realignment. But let us briefly glance at the earlier profile of electoral history.

The five periods are identified with "grand coalitions" welded together by dominant presidential personalities. (1) Thomas Jefferson (elected in 1800 and 1804) and succeeded by James Madison (1808 and 1812) established the Democratic-

Republican party as the sur by triumphing over the F first decade of politics und cies of George Washington leadership of Andrew Jack elections of 1828 and 183 perhaps 80 percent of the braced farmers, frontiers generally, and slave-owne the West, and along the fr National Republicans beca which eventually elected tv son and Zachary Taylor), nant generally before this issues of secession and sla began in 1854 and was (1860 and 1864) and the C This broad-based coalition the new freedmen of the minority Democrats mana the South among the whi Cleveland's first term (188 dent. (4) A new realignm William McKinley (1896 coalition reacted against industrialization and the i the Northeast; the winning ern businessmen, middle-c ers. The only Democrat before Franklin D. Roos and 1916). (5) The Roos social and economic cha election on the Democrati in 1940 and again in 1944 terms. This coalition dom century and was broadly ers, labor, farmers, unemp and other ethnic minorities is doubtful, at least to the in the Democratic party: the last five presidential e

Republican party as the supreme political force in the country by triumphing over the Federalists, who had dominated the first decade of politics under the Constitution in the presidencies of George Washington and John Adams. (2) Under the leadership of Andrew Jackson the Democrats emerged in the elections of 1828 and 1832 based on a massive coalition of perhaps 80 percent of the population of the country. It embraced farmers, frontiersmen, the rising "common man" generally, and slave-owners, all distributed over the South, the West, and along the frontier. An anti-Jackson coalition of National Republicans became the Whig party of the 1830's which eventually elected two presidents (William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor), but the Democrats remained dominant generally before this system shattered completely on the issues of secession and slavery. (3) The new Republican party began in 1854 and was consolidated by Abraham Lincoln (1860 and 1864) and the Civil War as the party of the Union. This broad-based coalition consisted of the Northern wealthy, the new freedmen of the South, farmers, and workers. The minority Democrats managed to stay alive largely in exile in the South among the white population, but not until Grover Cleveland's first term (1884) did the Democrats elect a president. (4) A new realignment occurred with the presidency of William McKinley (1896 and 1900) whose recast Republican coalition reacted against the social and economic impact of industrialization and the influx of foreign Catholic labor into the Northeast; the winning coalition brought together Northern businessmen, middle-class Protestants, and Midwest farmers. The only Democrat in this century elected president before Franklin D. Roosevelt was Woodrow Wilson (1912 and 1916). (5) The Roosevelt coalition emerged out of the social and economic chaos of the Great Depression with his election on the Democratic ticket in 1932 and 1936—and then in 1940 and again in 1944, for unprecedented third and fourth terms. This coalition dominated American politics for a half-century and was broadly based, bringing together Southerners, labor, farmers, unemployed middle-class persons, Blacks, and other ethnic minorities. Whether this coalition still exists is doubtful, at least to the extent of fielding a winning ticket in the Democratic party: Republicans have won four out of the last five presidential elections, and six out of the last ten

elections in the period since the end of World War II (Harry S. Truman in 1948 through Ronald Reagan in 1984).

A chief purpose of political parties, in the jargon of political science, is to act as "aggregators of national interest" and, so, bridge the differences among individuals and groups.<sup>12</sup> Their reason for being is to win elections, or "to select the personnel of government."<sup>13</sup> Some kind of consensus or intelligible unity may exist in a party, but ideological coherence is a rarity that always is sacrificed to pragmatic considerations and compromise—if a winning coalition is to be fashioned. The objective of gaining and retaining public office is the cardinal goal of partisan politics. *If* there is a vision of the common interest of the nation that galvanizes the jangle of conflicting interests and groups composing a political coalition, *then* the forceful articulation of that vision by a persuasive personality who is in tune with the humor of the country can give rise to a success at the ballot box that may outlast his own presidency. This is why American parties and winning coalitions seem to be anchored to the vision and personality of great men of American history, as we have just suggested: Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt—and some scholars doubt that McKinley belongs in the list. We do not have strict discipline in our political parties as do the British. Nor do we have a conservative party facing off against an equally discrete liberal party. Rather our parties are centrist and nonideological, indefinable conglomerates of groups in considerable conflict with one another but sharing beyond mere utilitarian or pragmatic purposes of power in a vision of the good of the country and its symbolic meaning. A partisanship born of interests, ideas, and convictions can succeed in aggregating public opinion and mobilizing the electorate in presidential campaigns and on national Election Day if it is a synthesis of common sense and credible patriotism—and only then. It was not by chance that the 1980 Reagan election theme chosen as the thread running through all the speeches and advertisements was: "America can do!"<sup>14</sup> The same upbeat message continued through the first term and into the reelection campaign.

## Some Elements of

Some of the *contextual* slide victory can be mentioned in introduction. These factors attempt to evaluate either the election's outcome: (1) New Deal coalition's liberal conservative right in America. Republicans' seizure of the Reagan phenomenon.

1. The ideas characteristic of the sometimes equated with the through the self-inflicted wound of the Society. This disintegration of the nation and noble purpose, revolution is government's role to develop all the ills of modern society. Economic justice for all and liberty and equality announced as the American creed. The crisis of the breakup of this republic. Factors were instrumental in the decline and collapse of the Roosevelt era.

*First*, there was the Depression. The age-old American vision of the rabble-rousing slogans. The effect was to splinter America into two and sex components as the public processes, welfare, and the guishing the new American quotas, burgeoning bureaucracy.

The *second* factor was the technology, plenty, a bottomless cornucopia of technological innovation through both at home and through the goodwill, the United States and as many other people ended up making a nation. In a devastating paragraph

## Some Elements of a Presidential Landslide

Some of the *contextual* elements of Reagan's 1984 landslide victory can be mentioned by way of completing our introduction. These factors will be considered without any attempt to evaluate either their impact or relative weight in the election's outcome: (1) the breakup in the 1960's of the New Deal coalition's liberal ideology; (2) the rise of the conservative right in America; (3) the Democrats' loss and Republicans' seizure of the political middle ground; and (4) the Reagan phenomenon.

1. The ideas characteristic of the New Deal coalition, and sometimes equated with the "liberal idea" itself, disintegrated through the self-inflicted wounds of the excesses of the Great Society. This disintegration, even though full of lofty intention and noble purpose, revolved around the conviction that it is government's role to devise and fund programs that address all the ills of modern society as the pathway to social and economic justice for all and to achievement of the kind of liberty and equality announced by the Declaration of Independence as the American creed. By Theodore H. White's analysis of the breakup of this reading of the American creed, three factors were instrumental in the process of disillusionment and collapse of the Rooseveltian political consensus.<sup>15</sup>

*First*, there was the Democratic party's translation of the age-old American vision of equality and justice in terms of the rabble-rousing slogans of "participation and entry." The effect was to splinter American society into its ethnic, age, and sex components as the labels for privileged place in public processes, welfare, and government service distinguishing the new American system. The society was beset by quotas, burgeoning bureaucracy, and regulation.

The *second* factor was the notion of America as a people of plenty, a bottomless cornucopia of material abundance and technological innovation that could be distributed generously both at home and throughout the world. In a paroxysm of goodwill, the United States set out to free all of its citizens and as many other people in the world as it could reach and ended up making a nation and world of dependents instead. In a devastating paragraph White writes:

By 1980, 36 million Americans received their monthly Social Security checks; 22 million drew Medicaid benefits; 26 million more, Medicare; 18 million added to their budgets by food stamps; 11 million received general welfare payments; 15 million received veterans' benefits; 27 million children were nourished by school lunch programs; 11 million drew from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) programs. Most of these categories overlapped. . . . All in all, much more than half the population of the United States depended in whole or in part on federal aid or protection.<sup>16</sup>

The economic impossibilities of this situation were of little concern to the clientele of the system of dependency, who only knew to clamor for more.

There was, *third*, the advent of television, a development of more profound impact than anything since Gutenberg invented printing. It nationalized public opinion by creating for the first time a truly unified audience to be manipulated for profit and power by the enormously influential medium of immediate visual and auditory communication with a large portion of the country at any given instant. Political reporting became both entertainment and an exercise in raw power through tailoring events along the biased lines of networks and of an intellectual establishment that White acknowledges to favor the liberal web of federal control associated with New Deal politics. This was, indeed, the basis of the upheaval in the country that finally led to the 1980 election of Reagan, "the most resolute ideologue in the modern presidency."

At the heart of the upheaval was the liberal idea, and guiding it was liberal dominance, in Congress, in academia, in the press, on television, in the great foundations and "think tanks." Under Republican Presidents, as under Democratic Presidents, the liberal idea prevailed—that the duty of government was to conceive programs and fund them so that whatever was accepted as right and just, at home or abroad, would come to pass, whatever the cost, whatever the contradiction between good intentions and prevailing reality.<sup>17</sup>

First Nixon and now Reagan represent the flash points in a major movement of rejection and demolition of a worthy

enterprise run amok and carry its own grotesque weight. Kevin Phillips' "Unrepentant liberalism has been the 1980s, the United States has radicalized conservatism—and cross the line."

2. That radicalized conservatism is an intellectual, activist, businesslike mentality, sometimes tinged with idealism, and groups scattered widely in society and not necessarily on the same side. There is a noteworthy character to our politics, it is a sense of hard-eyed zealotry that is as much a promise as immoral and that the efforts to form coalitions to kindred souls and groups. The mentality, sometimes tinged with idealism, sometimes doing business, going along to cooperation and concerted action, the atomism of the self-righteous, the opposition too long to keep when he is winning, with great

This noteworthy character to our politics and there are many urbane and sophisticated. Phillip's "radical conservatism" are not "radical" but centrist. The conservative grouping in the marketplace, and supply-side economics, the political new right, the NCPAC (the National Conservative Political Action Committee) with such resounding endorsement—right—the traditional, antiabortion, the evangelical Protestants and the right, especially those groups. Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority" the religious groups alone in the States, there are 75 million "right

While it is not possible to account of beliefs of all these groups, generally be said that the citizenry embraced under the patriotic and even nationalist

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enterprise run amok and careening toward collapse under its own grotesque weight. Kevin P. Phillips wrote the obituary: "Unrepentant liberalism having exhausted its credibility by the 1980s, the United States turned to a transformed, radicalized conservatism—and crossed its national fingers."<sup>18</sup>

2. That radicalized conservatism covers a hodgepodge of intellectual, activist, business, religious, and political personalities and groups scattered widely throughout American society and not necessarily on speaking terms with one another. If there is a noteworthy characteristic of the so-called "right" in our politics, it is a sense of purity of purpose accompanying hard-eyed zealotry that is antagonized by proposals of compromise as immoral and that can only awkwardly combine efforts to form coalitions to achieve objectives shared with kindred souls and groups. There is something of a siege mentality, sometimes tinged with paranoia, that often makes doing business, going along for half-a-loaf, a great obstacle to cooperation and concerted action. This syndrome suggests the atomism of the self-righteous dogmatist who has been in the opposition too long to know how to play the game, even when he is winning, with grace and civility.

This noteworthy characteristic is not universal, of course, and there are many urbane as well as canny operators among Phillip's "radical conservatives." And most conservatives are not "radical" but centrist. The most visible divisions of the conservative grouping includes the neoconservatives, free marketeers, and supply-siders in economics and business circles, the political new right elections activists who launched NCPAC (the National Conservative Political Action Committee) with such resounding effect in 1980, and the religious right—the traditional, antiabortion Catholics, the Mormons, the evangelical Protestants and the fundamentalist Protestant right, especially those groups identified with the Reverend Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority." The political potency of the religious groups alone is suggested by the estimate that there are 75 million "right leaning Christians" in the United States, the most religious of all Western nations.<sup>19</sup>

While it is not possible accurately to characterize the sweep of beliefs of all these groupings in a few words, it can generally be said that the considerable part of the American citizenry embraced under the "radical conservative" label are patriotic and even nationalistic politically; they venerate the

Constitution but side with law and order over permissiveness in civil rights and liberties; they believe in the free enterprise capitalist system with as little intervention by government as is practicable; they are God-fearing and hardworking and have little patience with welfarism, which they equate with socialism (if not covert communism) as an evil to be fought against tooth and nail; they are strongly anticommunist and condemn "secular humanism"; they believe that poverty is not a governmental problem but one to be overcome by hard work and individual initiative; they believe in less government domestically but a strong military security system as the best defense against expansive world communism; they are anticrime and believe that the criminal element should be dealt with firmly as a major concern of state and local governments; they tend to be noninterventionist if not outright isolationist in foreign affairs and would be glad to observe Washington's warning against entangling alliances, if only that were possible.

The great upsurge in public effectiveness of the conservatives in recent politics arises, on one hand, from the strength and clarity of their several convictions and, on the other hand, from the high proficiency attained in what Richard Viguerie calls the marketing of ideas, especially the fine art of direct-mail fund-raising and salesmanship.<sup>20</sup> When Theodore White calls Reagan "the most resolute ideologue" in the modern history of the presidency, he is imputing to the president substantial parts of the views just summarized. This may or may not be entirely accurate. At any rate, the eagerness to attribute Neanderthal properties to conservatism constantly tempts liberal intellectuals into misplaced snobbery, not fairly directed toward the Reagan administration. A balanced statement of Reagan's orientation goes something like the following:

The Reagan administration has wanted to bring about a change of assumptions about the role of government in American life. By signaling a determination to cut the growth of federal expenditure in areas other than military expenditure, by signaling a hostility towards the civil rights policies of previous administrations, and by signaling a more militant attitude towards the defense of American and Western interests internationally, President Reagan has cre-

ated a distinctive synthesis of conservatism, capitalism, and nationalism, and nationalism in the politics of the right.

Indeed, a great surprise was the degree to which he proved he had abandoned ideology for pragmatism. He demanded such flexibility from his conservative friends. There were many around, of course, but they were not Morton M. Kondracke group. "The simple fact is that . . . he held important posts in his administration, firebreathers, and he concluded: 'After 20 years of this, I'm tired of it—another—and doing rather little credit from his friends to understand.'"<sup>22</sup>

3. If anything is obvious about the Democrats lost big because they lost the center that forms the heartland of America. The data we cited in the beginning of this book to demonstrate this fundamental analysis in chapters to come comes from the question is why. Again, a great deal is said or indirectly addresses that question. It is agreed that Mondale-Ferraro lost to Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" in the general election to be mainly because of the Hispanics supporting Reagan's anticommunist appeal to the heartland of America, and that even a second thing that did not take place in the presidential election in this country. The appeal of the Democrats in 1984.

The question that must be asked is the "center" of the American elections analysts on the Democrats. The answers to that question and the Republicans already see the second question is how to

ated a distinctive synthesis of conservative economics, populism, and nationalism which has no exact counterpart in the politics of the right in Europe.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, a great surprise of the Reagan first term was the degree to which he proved to be the great compromiser and abandoned ideology for pragmatism when events frequently demanded such flexibility to the distress and outcry of his conservative friends. There are plenty of Neanderthal types around, of course, but they are no conservative monopoly. As Morton M. Kondracke grudgingly wrote in February 1985: "The simple fact is that . . . Reagan has put able people into important posts in his administration, and most of the incompetents, firebreathers, and misfits . . . are gone." Kondracke concluded: "After 20 years of saying one thing and doing another—and doing rather well at both—Reagan deserves a little credit from his friends. His enemies probably will never understand."<sup>22</sup>

3. If anything is obvious about the 1984 election it is that the Democrats lost big because they could not draw the great center that forms the heartland of American electoral politics. The data we cited in the beginning of this introduction suffice to demonstrate this fundamental fact, and more detailed analysis in chapters to come confirm and amplify its truth. The question is why. Again, a good part of what follows directly or indirectly addresses that mysterious question. It is roundly agreed that Mondale-Ferraro drew the minority vote, that Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" turned out in the general election to be mainly black, with a goodly number of Hispanics supporting Reagan, especially because of his anticommunist appeal to refugees from Cuba and Central America, and that even a sweep of minority voters (something that did not take place in 1984) cannot win a presidential election in this country. You have to have the center, and the appeal of the Democrats to the center fell seriously short in 1984.

The question that must be pondered is this: What is the "center" of the American electorate? There is no doubt that elections analysts on the Democratic side are rechecking their answers to that question and probably trying to find out what the Republicans already seem to know. And, of course, the second question is how to make Democratic candidates—

especially the national candidates—more appealing to the constituency that has turned away from them in four out of the last five presidential elections.

While it is scarcely possible to admire Richard Nixon after his debauchery of the presidency and the Constitution that he swore to uphold, no one doubts his political acumen. And Nixon knew where the center lay: it lay in the silent majority that elected him in a squeaker in 1968 and in a thunderous landslide over George McGovern in 1972. The American center was then, and is now, this *silent majority* whose betrayal and humiliation at the hands of Richard Nixon have been put behind them and who now form the cutting edge of what President Ronald Reagan calls "The Second American Revolution."<sup>23</sup> One does not have to believe in unicorns to also believe in the silent majority. Perfectly sound elections experts—*psephologists* they call themselves<sup>24</sup>—clearly analyzed the matter in 1970 and, as credentialed Democratic intellectuals should, Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg tried to warn their party of the shifting nature of the American political center. Scammon and Wattenberg, perhaps as a ploy to sell books to readers (who are mainly Democrats), renamed the beast the "Real Majority." Now the *real majority* in Scammon-Wattenberg terms believe most of the things described in the preceding section of this chapter: the *real majority* is conservative America, in short. They are vastly concerned with what Scammon-Wattenberg called the "Social Issue," which, they wrote fifteen years ago, is a voting issue emergent in American politics so powerful "that it may rival bimetallism and depression in American political history, an issue powerful enough that under certain circumstances it can compete in political potency with the older economic issues."<sup>25</sup> In other words, they claimed it is an issue sufficiently powerful to realign the American political consensus and be the foundation of a new coalition for a sixth period in our electoral history. Within limits, I think they were right. I even imagine Ed Rollins and his comrades in the White House with Scammon and Wattenberg occupying a privileged place on their desks, side by side with Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

The silent or real majority are those strange Americans who work for a living, decry violence in the streets, corruption in political office (the traumatizing center that silenced

them again after Nixon was the threat of certain impeachment, anxiety among the elderly, the communists, value their property, lives and limbs to be safe at playgrounds, mall parking lots, subways of the great cities. So that if the Democrats ignored the threat, they would commit political suicide. May be after all. Political scientists have seen such a sweeping and common behavior (in so readable a form) unproven and the factors identified in our politics.<sup>26</sup> Kevin Phillips, *Emerging Republican Majority*, the Scammon-Wattenberg method, "quite logically . . . urging a ride around in police cars and permissivism and welfarism."

If it is true that simplistic explanations of behavior have only limited utility, to be a center to the American Social Issue and the concern of conservatives that we have a single factor or even a range of only partial "explanations" of elections and why the voters are inarticulate depth that plays autistic seven-year-olds but on the other hand, the frustrations of the country have found expression in Reagan that he is proving Lincoln packaged candidates, it very much affects the people all of the time. That is, the votes in the bad guys are once but twice—against all odds there is a strong choice as an integrity, like Fritz Mondale in some enlightened quarters. As well puts it, the intellectuals in the American voters "are a good peasants and yeomen"

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them again after Nixon was forced from the presidency under threat of certain impeachment), aimlessness among the youth, anxiety among the elderly, hate the dope traffic, despise the communists, value their property and want it and their own lives and limbs to be safe at home, in the churches, schools, playgrounds, mall parking lots, workplaces, and even in the subways of the great cities. Scammon and Wattenberg warned that if the Democrats ignored the “Social Issue” they would commit political suicide. Maybe they were on to something, after all. Political scientists were properly skeptical about such a sweeping and commonsensical explanation of voting behavior (in so readable a book) and rated the thesis as unproven and the factors identified as only marginally important in our politics.<sup>26</sup> Kevin Phillips, the author of *The Emerging Republican Majority* (1968), for his part, decoded the Scammon-Wattenberg message by writing that they were “quite logically . . . urging elected Democratic officials to ride around in police cars and to duck identification with permissivism and welfarism.”<sup>27</sup>

If it is true that simplistic explanations of American voting behavior have only limited utility, there nonetheless appears to be a center to the American electorate, and it includes the Social Issue and the concerns so loudly voiced by the coalition of conservatives that we have been attending to. Again, a single factor or even a range of identifiable views provide only partial “explanations” of such complex phenomena as elections and why the voters decide as they do: there is an inarticulate depth that plays its part, not just in seemingly autistic seven-year-olds but in “We the people.” On the other hand, the frustrations of the intellectual elite in this country have found expression in Haynes Johnson’s gibe at Reagan that he is proving Lincoln wrong, for in this age of packaged candidates, it very well may be possible to fool all the people all of the time. This cry of rage against an electorate that votes in the bad guys like Ronald Reagan—not just once but twice—against all liberal advice, and even when there is a strong choice as an alternative with experience and integrity, like Fritz Mondale—leads to a strange posture in some enlightened quarters. As political scientist Austin Ranney well puts it, the intellectuals in their despair have decided that the American voters “are a bunch of jerks,” and not the “good peasants and yeomen” of yore.<sup>28</sup>

4. The Ronald Reagan phenomenon is more than the merely celluloid presidency it sometimes seems to be. Perhaps there never was a silent majority, and maybe the real majority is as mythical as the unicorn. At any rate, it can only be a *real plurality* (statistically), since only 55 percent of the potential voters voted in 1984 (92.6 million out of 168.3 million), and only 59.1 percent of these voted for Reagan-Bush (53.5 million). This means they were elected by less than one third of the eligible voters in the country, or that nearly 70 percent of the people (or 114.8 million potential voters) either voted against them or did not bother to vote at all.<sup>29</sup> So much for the "real" or any other kind of majority.

Ronald Reagan is indubitably real, however. And what we may call the political-minded members of our citizenry who take politics sufficiently seriously to vote in our elections for president overwhelmingly approve him and his policies. The so-called issueless campaign in 1984 was conducted as a test of political America's view of first-term policy and performance. Reagan went into the campaign with the "Four P's" going for him: *Prosperity, Peace, Patriotism, and Personality*. He only faltered in the first televised debate when old age seemed to be taking its toll. After that stumble, it was back to stride. Mondale-Ferraro could not ignite the voters on any issue to the point of making a close race of it. The Reagan campaign strategy was vintage, textbook stuff for a candidate who is miles ahead and knows it: How do you campaign? "Safely." "Don't rock the vote." The Reagan record for four years was respectable, to the liking of the voters, and the American people liked the man. Nobody could have beaten Reagan in 1984. Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro are not to be faulted for a gallant try.

The general reasons why Reagan was unbeatable are fairly clear: the Four P's. But everyone also has conceded that Reagan has made a difference in the country. He took something hooted at by all informed people, called *Reaganomics*, and somehow made it work to a considerable degree. He sought simultaneously to balance the federal budget, increase defense spending, slash personal income taxes by 30 percent, cure inflation, and reduce interest rates so as to restore prosperity. Lou Cannon calls this concoction "less of a program than a joyous secular theology."<sup>30</sup> Except for the small matter of a budget deficit that ran up \$538 billion during the first

term, and his having to settle for a small increase in income taxes (partially offset by Reaganomics *worked*—to the surprise of many). The way. The economists may have been wrong. Reagan has become his own economist (see Chapter 6). There he sits, sporting a Ph.D. in sociology from little Eureka College, wearing his own distinguished bow tie, surrounded by economists, the President's Council on Economic Advisors.

This fits with the Reagan phenomenon as a major figure in American public life. Reagan himself has remarked. He identifies with the policies that have adversely affected the economy. He ought to be the political Achilles' heel. Moreover, the people identify with him. He has remarked that "Reagan is the only president who is a communicator." But scholarly analysis reflects a unique command of the English language. It proves to be the only "majority" of presidents.<sup>32</sup> The warmth of his personality is never. It arises from a regard for the people that the electorate *believe* Reagan has. It makes him deserve to take credit for the Reagan Administration. This, in turn, makes him the pride Americans *want* to have. (The first time in a decade) now feel.

Perhaps the chief substantiation of the Reagan phenomenon is that he obviously has done what he promised to do in 1980—within the limits of common sense. There are many, of course, who doubt the reading of Reagan, or because of the leadership that comes to the surface in national politics, see only a smile and a smile that masks gross reality. The citizenry supported Mondale in 1980 that promised a tax raise—a ticket, in general—and again in 1984 (see Chapter 6). But the majority of the country reflect the estimation of Reagan.

term, and his having to settle for a mere 23 percent reduction in income taxes (partially offset by Social Security increases), Reaganomics *worked*—to the visible eye of the voter, anyway. The economists may have the last say, of course, but Reagan has become his own economist (see the discussion in Chapter 6). There he sits, sporting his B.A. in economics and sociology from little Eureka College, ignoring and confounding his own distinguished board of Harvard-trained economists, the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

This fits with the Reagan phenomenon. He is the best-liked figure in American public life in memory, as Speaker O'Neill remarked. He identifies with the little man, even though his policies have adversely affected the poor, and "fairness" ought to be the political Achilles' heel of the Administration. Moreover, the people identify with him. A cabdriver remarked that "Reagan is the only politician I can understand."<sup>31</sup> This is why the journalists call Reagan "The Great Communicator." But scholarly analysis concurs that Reagan's speeches reflect a unique command of "presidential rhetoric," and he proves to be the only "master speaker" among modern presidents.<sup>32</sup> The warmth of feeling is not sentimental, however. It arises from a regard for effectiveness and leadership that the electorate *believe* Reagan actually possesses and that makes him deserve to take credit for the achievements of his Administration. This, in turn, is the basis for the confidence and pride Americans *want* to take in their nation and (for the first time in a decade) now feel they are entitled to take.

Perhaps the chief substantive element in the Reagan phenomenon is that he obviously loves the country and has tried to do what he promised to do when he was elected in 1980—within the limits of common sense and the possible. There are many, of course, who by reason of a different reading of Reagan, or because of the kind of intense partisanship that comes to the surface especially in transitional periods in national politics, see only broken promises, duplicity, and a smile that masks gross inconsistency. Such segments of the citizenry supported Mondale-Ferraro despite the candor that promised a tax raise—a very damaging ploy for the ticket, in general—and against all other liabilities besetting the Democrats in 1984 (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of the campaign). But the majority of those who voted appeared to reflect the estimation of Reagan of one journalist who distin-

guished him from Richard Nixon in these words: "Reagan sought to be president in order to do something and Nixon sought to be president in order to be something."<sup>33</sup> And the positive reaction to Reagan as a unifying leader was expressed by a retired brewery worker in San Antonio this way: "He really isn't like a Republican. He's more like an American, which is what we really need."<sup>34</sup>

That observation pinpoints a key element in Ronald Reagan's success with the American people. By his ability to disarm political criticism and even frontal attack with a humorous "aw shucks," and "there you go again," and a boyish smile that somehow looks authentic on the face of a septuagenarian, Reagan slides by substantive issues and criticisms as the "Teflon President" (see the discussion in Chapter 3). In the process, he also turns the tables. It is the Democrats who have abandoned that party's true principles, the Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy party. It is government in the hands of those who have forsaken the policy of compassion mixed with regard for family values and individual initiative: the Democrats have gone off and left their own tradition and are seeking to block Ronald Reagan's return to it as the *true* America. Humor and masterful co-optation is the recipe for the Reagan stew. This is extremely savvy politics. Scammon-Wattenburg counseled the Democrats to find the center of American politics and both play to it and also *listen* to what it teaches. The Republicans got the message. As John Naisbitt tersely writes: "Ronald Reagan is riding the horse in the direction the horse is going."<sup>35</sup>

However one regards President Ronald Reagan, we study his reelection in this volume in the attempt to understand more clearly what happened in 1984 and why; what the Republicans did right and to what depth and effect, and what went so badly awry for the Democratic party and its national ticket, even as it held its own elsewhere in the elections. Our task is to understand the election as the expression of the will of the people in our constitutional democracy, all the while bearing in mind the timeless truth for our country's politics of Gouverneur Morris's statement of our First Principle to his colleagues in the Federal Convention on July 20, 1787. In America, he said, "*The people are king.*"

1. This story is told by Wattenberg, *The Real Majority* (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1970), p. 274.
2. See Ellis Sandoz and Wattenberg, *Discontent: The 1980 Election* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980).
3. Data taken from *Time* magazine, 1985 (New York: Time Inc., 1984); and the Appendix.
4. *The Washington Post*, 1984.
5. D.W. Brogan, *Political Parties* (New York: Row, 1954), p. 1. Italics added.
6. See Max Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913), pp. 105; also *The Federalist*, No. 51.
7. *Smiley v. Holm*, 285 U.S. 30 (1932).
8. See, for example, *United States v. Allwright* (1941); *Smith v. Allwright* (1944); *Adams v. United States*, 345 U.S. 461 (1953); *U.S. v. Oregon*, 433 U.S. 1 (1977) and *Oregon v. Elbert*, 425 U.S. 640 (1975). For a general overview see Ellis Sandoz, *American Individual Rights* (New York: Basic Books Press, 1978), pp. 197-206.
9. Morton Keller, *Affairs of the State* (New York: University Press, 1977), p. 524.
10. Scammon and Wattenburg, *Discontent*, p. 1. Italics as in the original.
11. E.E. Schattschneider, *Semi-Presidentialism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), p. 1.
12. Charles G. Mayo and Wattenburg, *Political Parties: A Systematic Analysis* (New York: Row, 1967), p. 487.
13. Hugh A. Bone, *American Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 4th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), p. 1.
14. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *History of Presidential Campaigns* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 1.
15. Theodore H. White, *Making of the President 1952-1960* (New York: Random House, 1961), 1982; also the perceptive *Declaration of Dependence* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 595.

## Notes for Chapter 1

1. This story is told by Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, *The Real Majority* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970), p. 274.

2. See Ellis Sandoz and Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., eds., *A Tide of Discontent: The 1980 Elections and Their Meaning* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1981).

3. Data taken from *Time* (November 19, 1984); *The World Almanac, 1985* (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1984); and the Appendices below.

4. *The Washington Post* (November 8, 1984), p. A1.

5. D.W. Brogan, *Politics In America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), p. 1. Italics added.

6. See Max Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913), p. 105; also *The Federalist*, Nos. 59 and 60.

7. *Smiley v. Holm*, 285 U.S. 355 (1932).

8. See, for example, *United States v. Classic*, 313 U.S. 299 (1941); *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649 (1944); *Terry v. Adams*, 345 U.S. 461 (1953); also, *Wesberry v. Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1 (1964) and *Oregon v. Mitchell*, 400 U.S. 112 (1970). For a general overview see Ellis Sandoz, *Conceived In Liberty: American Individual Rights Today* (North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1978), pp. 197-206.

9. Morton Keller, *Affairs of State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 524.

10. Scammon and Wattenberg, *The Real Majority*, p. 225. Italics as in the original.

11. E.E. Schattschneider, *Party Government* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1942), p. 124.

12. Charles G. Mayo and Beryl L. Crowe, eds., *American Political Parties: A Systematic Perspective* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 487.

13. Hugh A. Bone, *American Politics and the Party System*, 4th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971), p. 20.

14. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency: A History of Presidential Campaign Advertising* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 429.

15. Theodore H. White, *America In Search of Itself: The Making of the President 1956-1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982); also the perceptive review article by Kenneth S. Lynn, "Declaration of Dependence," *Times Literary Supplement* (June 10, 1983), p. 595.

16. White, *America In Search of Itself*, p. 135.
17. Ibid. p. 6.
18. Kevin P. Phillips, *Post-Conservative America: People, Politics, and Ideology in a Time of Crisis* (New York: Random House, 1982), p. 241.
19. Ibid. pp. 184-91.
20. Gillian Peele, *Revival and Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 56. Viguier publishes *Conservative Digest*, *New Right Report*, and *Political Gun News*.
21. Ibid. p. 194.
22. Kondracke in *The New Republic* (February 4, 1985), pp. 11, 12.
23. The phrase is from Reagan's *Inaugural Address*, reprinted in the Appendix.
24. Scammon and Wattenberg, *The Real Majority*, p. 16: "psephology . . . is defined as 'the study of elections,' and it derives from the Greek word *psephos* which means 'pebble.' The derivation comes from the custom of ancient Greece for citizens to vote by dropping colored pebbles into the Greek equivalent of our ballot box."
25. Ibid. p. 40.
26. See the discussion and cited literature in Stanley Kelley, Jr., *Interpreting Elections* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 111-114.
27. Phillips, *Post-Conservative America*, p. 56.
28. Quoted and paraphrased from Hugh Sidey, "When the Elite Loses Touch," *Time* (November 19, 1984), p. 69.
29. For details and analysis, see below Table 8-2 and the Appendix.
30. Lou Cannon, *Reagan* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1982), p. 323.
31. Quoted *ibid.* p. 372.
32. Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency*, pp. 414, 444, 451.
33. Cannon, *Reagan*, p. 410. The journalist quoted is Marty Nolan of *The Boston Globe*.
34. *Time* (November 19, 1984), p. 45.
35. Scammon and Wattenberg, *The Real Majority*, p. 305; John Naisbitt, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives* (New York: Warner Books, 1984), p. 109.

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## Final Thoughts

To the three C's of conventional politics—*charisma*, *campaign*, and *circumstance*—the Reagan Administration has added three others that continue to serve it well: *communication*, *co-optation*, and *conciliation*. Secretary Shultz's remarks reflect the theme that Ronald Reagan steadily has enunciated that "America is back." It is a theme that the country obviously responds to favorably. It is good politics. Americans generally can see no earthly reason why such a coercive and flawed system as Marxism should succeed as the wave of the future in this hemisphere or elsewhere, whether of the Soviet, Chinese, or Cuban variety. They also see no reason to concede vital interests to covert or overt Soviet or Soviet-surrogate subversion or imperialism. They are willing to gamble with the nation's economic future in order to be prepared militarily, since common sense and recent experience both teach that the lessons of Munich remain valid: strength and resolve are essential in dealing with the bullying of the totalitarian imperialist. Nor can diplomacy be prosecuted effectively from the posture of psychological prostration or military weakness. Power is an ineluctable dimension of politics domestically and internationally. Wisdom and high motivations have never been enough to assure sound political rule, and even Plato in the *Republic* (543B) insisted on the point in summarizing the qualifications for philosopher king: "Kings among them must be those who have shown themselves best both in philosophy and in warfare." Both good arms and good laws are imperative.

The reelection of President Reagan in 1984 served to restore stability to our system of government. No president since Dwight D. Eisenhower (1952–1960) has served two full terms in office. The institutions of the country have been wracked with crisis, corruption, and lack of confidence to the point that the structure of authority itself is alarmingly eroded. Constitutionally, the United States is a government of laws and not of men. This means law and justice must be served if we are to be true to ourselves, and not the narrow purposes of willful and self-serving men. It also means that the government exists for the people and not they for it. The Due Process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments that guarantee no person shall be "deprived of his life, liberty, or

property, without due process of law" constitutionally express a fundamental of American political theory, one with roots in the thought of the seminal English thinker John Locke and in constitutional theory back to the Greeks. This tradition, biblical as well as classical, stresses the ultimate dignity and worth of the *individual* human being. We are "Lockean" politically in that sense. And we are said to be "Lockean" economically, also, because this notion of individual dignity attaches to our acquisitive drive and to our material no less than our moral and intellectual personality.

Free enterprise or *laissez faire* economics which rewards the industry and ingenuity of the individual as the great springs of all achievement, and protects the fruits of labor against criminal or arbitrary incursion, is seen as an expression of the natural liberty and rationality of the human being. Society and government exist to provide the conditions for the prosperity and security of the people and of every individual among them. Liberty and justice are inseparable in this view. When the American founders launched the Revolution rather than pay a three-penny tax on tea calling it tyranny, they asserted their indefeasible dignity and the natural right of themselves and posterity to live as free men and women bound only by laws they consented to. When the Constitution was framed in 1787 and enlarged in 1791 to include the Bill of Rights, the same principles obtained; and an extended commercial republic was founded on a federated pattern. In *The Federalist No. 51* James Madison stated the fundamental principle: "Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be pursued, until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit."

In saying that this or that administration evokes the unity and pride of the nation, one is really saying that it stirs the spirit of the people and reminds them to be true to themselves and to their own political and economic heritage. The Reagan Administration has succeeded in doing this in a way superior to American experience over the past two decades or more. It has restored self-respect and a sense of purpose to the country. It has given the nation a new direction in keeping with our highest vision of human and national purpose. And it has governed effectively. It has done all of this by evoking our Lockean individualism curbed by national covenant. By such considerations, among others, the "real plurality" of politi-

## VICTORY: R

cally involved Americans and invested their trust with ourselves and a new and political priorities one evoked by FDR.

All of this is to the in order. A main feature "tyranny of the major

To have a giant  
To use it like a

So Shakespeare wrote  
2). The power of the struggling to reinstitution as the framers feared "permanent campaign" media experts, and publication and the concentration be abused in a variety of tyrannizing of the minority ing silent majority communities can exacerbate the and force a polarization national community.

This possibility is the acculturation to the political principles of the country, and the collapse of institutions. *A Nation A* studies of American education stress the marginal if education in the country anyone anywhere. A rampant demagoguery is a political And the ease with which can give way to a form of power of television concern, and writers as little Burnham, Kevin Phillips, that concern. It can happen

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cally involved Americans have expressed their satisfaction and invested their trust in the 1984 reelection. A getting right with ourselves and a restoring of the lost balance in the social and political priorities is sensed, a mood comparable to the one evoked by FDR.

All of this is to the good. But certain cautionary words are in order. A main fear of the Constitution's framers was "tyranny of the majority."

"O it is excellent  
To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous  
To use it like a giant."

So Shakespeare wrote in *Measure for Measure* (Act II, scene 2). The power of the voting majority in a country now struggling to reinstitutionalize its politics can be as dangerous as the framers feared it might become. The politics of the "permanent campaign" conducted by symbol manipulators, media experts, and public-opinion specialists through television and the concentrated power of the other mass media can be abused in a variety of ways (as it has been), including the tyrannizing of the minority. The brute force of an overwhelming silent majority confronting an array of apathetic minorities *can* exacerbate the historical tensions in American society and force a polarization of politics utterly destructive of the national community.

This possibility is the more pronounced to the degree that acculturation to the political and economic history, ethos, and principles of the country is absent because of sloth, ignorance, and the collapse of character-forming and educational institutions. *A Nation At Risk* was only one of nearly 100 studies of American education to appear in the early 1980's to stress the marginal if not outright deplorable condition of education in the country. Brutish Americans are as brutish as anyone anywhere. A rampant majority manipulated by clever demagoguery is a political menace at all times and places. And the ease with which a collapsed political party system can give way to a form of plebiscitary democracy through the power of television constitutes a reasonable ground of concern, and writers as little like George Orwell as Walter Dean Burnham, Kevin Phillips, and Theodore White have expressed that concern. It can happen here, and it can happen through

idealism, high moral purpose, and worthy motivation. It begins to happen when the opposition becomes the political enemy, a not unknown phenomenon in our recent past.

The best available therapy is revitalization of the two-party system. The Democrats are, for the moment, cast in the role of the Administration's opposition. This adversarial posture is vital to a healthy country, within certain limits. A conciliating, bipartisan approach to governing by the Reagan Administration implies that not simply the electoral power of a landslide vote given by the determined center of the public controls policy, but that reason and compromise also are at work. Fairness or justice is essential to any sound regime, as Aristotle taught. The capacity of the president to appeal over the heads of Congress to the general public is potent and, doubtless, will be utilized so as to provide *leadership* for the country during the next years. We have had enough of the politics of stalemate since Richard Nixon's resignation from office in 1974. The presidency is, indeed, a bully pulpit and should be used as one. But effective checks and balances need to be at work, too, and this means reliance on the extraconstitutional force of the two-party system's adversarial function to augment the Constitution's division and separation of powers.

The Democrats have governed as a majority party since 1932 on the basis of the New Deal coalition of FDR composed of white Southerners, organized labor, Blacks, other ethnic and minority groups, Jews, Catholics, residents of the big cities, and intellectuals. Since 1952 and the election of the first Republican since Herbert Hoover (Eisenhower), this coalition has been in trouble. In truth, it was in trouble in Harry Truman's presidency, and all the world knows Truman barely squeaked past Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey in 1948. The coalition now is a shambles. The early unity found in a common desire to foster federal domestic programs economically advantageous to each of the constituent groups has been lost. Economic disparities among these various groups pit the taxpayers against the welfare recipients. The civil rights revolution and such attendant policies as affirmative action intensify racial animosities. The rise of religious-based politics aggravates other tensions. Gay rights and the feminist movement create tensions with white Protestants and anti-abortion Catholics. Hawkish Southerners and dovish intellec-

tuals divided during the long domestic and economic battles, foreign involvement by the of the free world. And so on has become the rule for the demographic and economic the original coalition itself.

How this base will be social justice—important as tute the Democratic base, s over, the Reagan brand of populism along with the co new Republicans promises fairness and social justice wing conservative, or old bi party might provoke and b considerable likelihood that Administration will leave er its wake to restore somew Democrats at the national level.

A substantial number of A federal government ought in vices for the people and en the material supports of the tendency toward socialism th ican society. That considera combined with the uprooted that may emerge from Reaga efforts, *could* make a form national party. But the welfa to antithetical to the current silent majority, that only a magnitude probably can ove conservatism and traditiona running, not merely in Reaga Great Britain and even Mitt America has no true political and there is no class or ide party there.

This leaves the Democratic of its leadership and to the lue dominated politics from 1860

worthy motivation. It becomes the political moment in our recent past. The polarization of the two-party system, cast in the role of this adversarial posture is certain limits. A conciliating by the Reagan Administration the electoral power of a united center of the public compromise also are at a loss to any sound regime, of the president to appeal to the general public is potent to provide *leadership* for we have had enough of the Nixon's resignation from office, indeed, a bully pulpit and five checks and balances means reliance on the party system's adversarial division and separation

as a majority party since the coalition of FDR combined labor, Blacks, other Catholics, residents of the South and the election of the President (Eisenhower), this coalition was in trouble in Harry Truman's world knows Truman barely knew Thomas E. Dewey in 1948. The early unity found in federal domestic programs of the constituent groups among these various groups are recipients. The civil rights policies as affirmative action, the rise of religious-based rights and the feminist movement, Protestants and anti-communists and dovish intellec-

tuals divided during the long Vietnam period, as the original domestic and economic basis of the coalition had to face foreign involvement by the United States in its role as leader of the free world. And so on. Conflict rather than cooperation has become the rule for the old coalition groupings, and the demographic and economic changes in the country have made the original coalition itself obsolete and barely recognizable.

How this base will be repaired is unclear. The cry for social justice—important as it is—is not adequate to reconstitute the Democratic base, short of another depression. Moreover, the Reagan brand of constitutionalism and conservative populism along with the conciliation and co-optation of the new Republicans promises to defuse much of the appeal to fairness and social justice that a purely ideological, right-wing conservative, or old big-business-dominated Republican party might provoke and be vulnerable to. Still, there is a considerable likelihood that the reforming zeal of the Reagan Administration will leave enough injury and social debris in its wake to restore somewhat, at least, the appeal of the Democrats at the national level.

A substantial number of Americans do, in fact, believe the federal government ought increasingly to provide more services for the people and enlarge, rather than slowly shrink, the material supports of the citizenry. This is essentially the tendency toward socialism that exists in many forms in American society. That considerable segment of the population, combined with the uprooted and bruised sectors of the public that may emerge from Reagan's extremely ambitious reform efforts, *could* make a formidable base for revival of the national party. But the welfare state, quasi-socialist appeal is antithetical to the current humor of the country, and of its silent majority, that only another economic crisis of great magnitude probably can overcome the tide of free market conservatism and traditional Lockean individualism that is running, not merely in Reagan's America but in Thatcher's Great Britain and even Mitterand's France. In any event, America has no true political left (as Burnham reminds us), and there is no class or ideological foundation for a major party there.

This leaves the Democratic prospects open to the ingenuity of its leadership and to the luck of the draw. The Republicans dominated politics from 1860 until 1932 with little interrup-

tion, and the Democrats largely have been dominant from then until 1980, still retain a majority of the House of Representatives, and outnumber formally affiliated Republicans among the voting population. Theodore White concludes, however, that the "election of 1980 marked the end of an era" and calls it "a watershed in American politics." The new Republicans could be in for a long run, for this kind of thing has clear precedent in our political history.

But there is no inevitability in politics. Less than one third of the electorate created the 1984 electoral landslide for President Reagan, and 45 percent of the potential electorate did not bother to vote. Voter registration, recruitment, and mobilization can change the face of American politics. But this requires organization and cooperation, and the Republicans have demonstrated far more of this than the Democrats, who cannot seem to find their constituency and consensus. The struggle for the Republican nomination in 1988, as we have noted, will bring at least some degree of confusion to that party and benefit the Democrats. Nor can landslide elections be counted as proof of invincibility. Herbert Hoover buried Democrat Al Smith in 1928 with 59 percent of the popular vote only to be buried himself by FDR four years later by a slightly larger percentage of the two-party vote. The American economy collapsed in the interim. The great Democratic landslide of 1964 gave way to a Republican victory in 1968, although just what would have happened had George Wallace's American Independent party not garnered nearly 10 million votes then is still unclear. The Republican landslide reelection of Richard Nixon in 1972 dissipated with Watergate into a Democratic victory in 1976 when James Earl Carter eked out a 50.1 percent popular vote to defeat incumbent President Gerald R. Ford, the only man to come to that office through appointment.

All of this reminds us that anything can happen in politics. The great changes in prospect for the structure of the United States through the Reagan Administration's decentralizing reforms called the New Federalism alone are themselves so fraught with uncertainty as to pose a major question mark about the durability of the Republicans' voter support. The pocketbook tends to control in American politics, and the shifting of functions without adequate funding sources back to states and municipalities is a game of political Russian roulette in the short run. How will it all be managed? How

will incumbents fare if the shifts in prospect are salutary benefits to the system of unprecedented think in terms of the next than answers in this vast prospect than is currently in theory, but on the grou

The same kind of wren air in the fields of education, protection, and foreign difficult to find in America ing of the national soul since and 1850's than the debates and policies. Added foreign policy and military enormous swelling of the industrial complex so sob President Eisenhower, raising of political power now and the most determined antic U.S.S.R. can still tremble economic and political im expenditures represent not the shifting of sovereign political-military elite, sile designed for a normal op have been at war—hot and Do we grasp the results of nation?

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CRABB, JR.

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## VICTORY: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

299

will incumbents fare if the transfer of power continues and the shifts in prospect are effected? Never mind the long-term, salutary benefits to the states as politics within a federal system of unprecedented standing and dignity. Politicians think in terms of the next election. There are more questions than answers in this vast arena, and much less money in prospect than is currently being expended. It all sounds grand in theory, but on the ground . . . ?

The same kind of wrenching questions and debates fill the air in the fields of education, farm policy, health and medical protection, and foreign and defense policy. In fact, it is difficult to find in American history a more profound searching of the national soul since the abolition crisis of the 1840's and 1850's than the debate now underway over our institutions and policies. Added to the domestic issues are the great foreign policy and military questions. Not least of all the enormous swelling of the Pentagon, the fearful military-industrial complex so soberly warned against by an expert, President Eisenhower, raises great questions about the ground of political power now and in the future in this country. Even the most determined anticommunist and hard-line critic of the U.S.S.R. can still tremble a little when confronted with the economic and political implications of the huge bite military expenditures represent not merely in dollars and cents but in the shifting of sovereign power from the people to a business-political-military elite, silently and subtly. Our system was designed for a normal operation in peace, yet we steadily have been at war—hot and cold—for nearly half a century. Do we grasp the results of that passage for ourselves and our nation?

Too much that is disruptive is transpiring in the United States not to provide fertile ground for a resuscitated Democratic party and a revitalized two-party system. The very organization and energy of the new Republicans force that issue along with a great many others.

How will it all turn out? What will happen next year, and in 1988? Our crystal ball fills with fog at these questions. We can only lamely answer, time will tell.

NPN

speech  
suggestion

10-14-92

Mr. Baker  
Republican National Committee  
Washington, DC

Dear Sir,

Please at least read this and think. Dan Quayle looked like an idiot last night when he wouldn't answer, "Does a woman have a right to control her own body?"

Trying to offend the least he came back answering with other questions trying to cast doubt on the reliability and tax and spend philosophy of the democrats.

THIS APPROACH IS GOING TO LOSE THE ELECTION.

The only hope you have is to be more bold and make explicit what you have only been implying up till now.

What have you...we... to lose if the President when called to speak about education or abortion would say the following?

" The tax and spend liberals propose to save our country with more taxes, tax credits and education. Education controlled and dictated by their monopoly. Can you trust this materialistic monopoly for wise planning or analysis when of the delegates to the democratic conventions in recent years many if not most were from the National Education Association and that many others were sponsored or funded by their ideological bed mates who control the media and the American Bar Association.? Can you trust this clique when you remember that it is they who have presided over the dumbing down of this country?

Remember that it is they who revolted against 150 years of American educational principle and changed our System from training "en loco parentis" to "en loco ACLU". Remember that it is this same group of rebels who wouldn't agree or accept what "family" meant in The White House Conference on the Family during the Carter years. Amazingly, This rebellion came after three thousand years of their ancestors discovering and testing this moral wheel? How pathetic the Murphy Browns...and their script writers and actresses...when all they tell us in the middle of their preaching is "Well, they're a lot of us out here hurting and wondering." Have they never studied ethics enough to know you never get the ought from the is?

Can you trust the objectivity and justice or wisdom of this self serving club, brilliant physically, wonderfully

J

witty, but tragically myopic spiritually and politically?. Remember even a prominent philosopher of their faith, an atheist named Sydney Hook, could say of Einstein, "Yes, he was a great mathematician and physicist but politically, he was terribly naive". For he fought Hitler but never could see the evil empire that was the communist conspiracy.

Just so Governor Clinton and all those other brilliant Rhodes scholars who went to Moscow to denounce our standing up against militant materialist faith.

During these same years the liberal establishment of America were dogmatic in their exclusivist faith that rationalistic materialism would bring paradise. They got Lyndon Johnson to bring on the great society. As a nation since then we have spent 2.4 trillion dollars trying to do the very thing that Governor Clinton says he now wants to do. With black rappers I ask the big city mayors and the liberal establishment, "Hey Dad, where did all the money go? Why weren't we trained already?"

More Taxes and training will solve our problems says Governor Clinton. But, I ask what kind of taxes and what kind of training. Why add to the 2.4 trillion when it failed?. We tried to create jobs for the poor through the last twenty years but we have fallen short, obviously.? Incomes are down and the unemployed are more numerous. The worry index is sky high for a lot of us. Yet liberals can think of nothing more to do than to go on advocating more government activity under their monopoly in education to solve our nation's problems. Governor Clinton, your paradigm dumbed us down once. Why should we expect extension of that failed system to be different in the future?

Fellow Americans. You may well vote me out of office. But, please know you will not escape the present misery if Mr. Clinton is elected. For he can only implement his programs through those agencies that got him into office. He will not succeed, despite his good goals and intentions. He will only impoverish and confuse America further. For the NEA and Screen writers Guild and NOW, those who forced him to change from his former pro-life position and from his former position in favor of education vouchers these groups who destroyed America's vision of respect through the generations and a peaceful and faithful home life and who almost completely ignore the worship of God in their faith commitments, they will not let Mr. Clinton attack the root of our problem.. For it is their exclusive faith, their life commitment that is the root problem.

Two examples to show why I believe this is so. One, recent surveys show that of the people who train your children through the media and song 45% publicly admit they think sexual faithfulness is no standard in human experience. 95% of college professors belong to no synogogue, mosque or church. *Will they lead us to good family life? NOT!*

Two, recent comparison was made of how to teach sex education so as to minimize teen age pregnancy. It was found that through the Comprehensive Sex Education approach championed by Planned Parenthood ...and used in 70% of US schools...that for every thousand girls educated under this system 128 became pregnant during the test period. Under another approach during the same time frame 4 girls became pregnant. The teaching method under the 2nd approach was much cheaper. The NEA fought it in court for years, wanting no comparison to its materialist model..128 against 4. Wow!

I am sure the educational establishment knows these figures. But, it tells no one of them and refuses to adopt the better experience. Why not?

The reason is that while the NEA approach tries to teach physiology to all and make condoms omnipresent it also teaches the children it is up to them when and how to give themselves in intimate relationships, exactly reflecting the faith of the teachers. This way of seeing education completely ignores the fact that if they don't teach mature moral values and exemplify them to your pupils, peer pressure and commercial interests will surely do so.

The 2nd approach compliments the children by giving them the advantages that hundreds of generations of their ancestors knew. The ten commandments went back up on the walls of these schools. Families were invited back in the schoolroom and the school boards. En loco parentis was reestablished and respect and restraint and direction and hope were taught. The ACLU and it's antitheistic anti family views were excommunicated back to New York and Hollywood. And 4 girls turned up pregnant. /

Come on, NEA and Screen writers guild leaders. It's time you apologize and resign for your presumptuous anti-faith has cursed America too long. You don't know what you're doing.

These are facts that suggest why I advocate the reformation of education as the most crucial action our nation can take to reverse the various declines we have recently experienced. The GI Bill for children should be passed by Congress and then extended by voucher systems for parents in every state. This will make freedom ring in this country.

1. Focus on the family has the data which support these statements in a book called "Has Self Education failed America?"

Page - 4.

once more. Quality education will leap forward. Poverty and despair will be lessened through this more than through any other program.

My fellow Americans, Elect me and congressmen who will back me on this issue and we will turn this nation toward the good for all. I advocate other changes as well but a new vision of family and education is our most critical need. They will do far more than will the merely materialist technical measures that my opponents champion.

Friends, the liberals were wrong on the cold war and communism. They were wrong on nuclear power. They were wrong on nuclear arms freeze. They were wrong on education. They were wrong on the great society. They are extreme on the environment. And though they have largely adopted Republican free market understanding on how wealth is created they still haven't caught on to how it can be most freely and justly distributed. They still show no shame in failing to judge themselves on our educational fiasco but insist we all should pay more taxes to perpetuate and extend their monopoly of politically correct judgments.

God save us from this. May you voters save us from this before the misery & cynicism deepen, before another 25 million of our offspring are sacrificed on the altar of America's self-serving dumbed down faith."

Please read this Mr Bush.  
It will get you elected. It will improve our country.

14874 Middlebelt  
Livonia, Mich.

Wm R. Garfield  
U.S. N - 44-46  
Dartmouth College '47

Garfield,  
14874 Middlebelt  
Livonia, Mich.

Mr. Baker  
Republican National Committee  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.  
20004

308 Briarwood Avenue  
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(609) 858-4331

*NRW*  
*views/*  
*suggestions*

October 14, 1992

Mr. James Baker  
Office of the President  
White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Baker:

The President is not getting across the kind of message he needs to put more people in his camp. The President needs to show indignation when Bill Clinton compares him to McCarthy. History will never show such a comparison valid and his father if he were alive, would support the President's position not because it was his son, but because the issue is fair and not a red-baiting smear. On the contrary, Clinton's use of McCarthyism is indicative of the way he and others give a bad spin to justifiable questions, issues and programs.

On the same point, the President could also have expressed indignation of Perot's comment that what happened to a 23 year old is not as important as what happened in the past 12 years. That is comparing apples and oranges. The President should have repeated that his war experience and service prepared him to handle the Kuwait crisis in the brilliant fashion that he did. How would Clinton have done? I doubt that he could have or would have forged the coalition that you and the President did and the outstanding mid-east peace initiative as a follow-up.

Although these points were raised, they have to be used as counterpoints over and over again to squash the glib, snide replies of Clinton and Perot. The people have to feel first hand the difference of experience and approaches if Clinton had been on the hot seat the past four years.

It is not enough to just indicate that lawsuits are adding unnecessary costs - give examples like, for some doctors, the first \$100,000 they earn goes to liability insurance and taxes not including office costs - no wonder medical costs are out of control. These liability factors are compounding in every phase of life and dozens of examples are available for every phase of life. Point out the ratio of engineers to lawyers in this country and the ratio in colleges compared to Japan and the public will realize what is siphoning off our resources and why costs are rising out of control.

It is good to repeat over and over tax and spend, but each time some little example should be given so that there is not just a general statement. Instead of just saying Clinton's health-care will hurt or cripple small business, give an example such as an owner with 25 employees and no medical insurance who all have an income between \$20,000 to \$40,000 and the owner makes \$60,000 salary with the company showing an \$80,000 profit. With government mandated medical coverage which may cost \$5000 per person this small business now goes in the red for \$50,000 per year. What is more important to those employees, a job or medical coverage? Clinton and his democratic advisors just do not understand or comprehend how government over regulation kills or bankrupts small business, stifles business in general, makes big business non-competitive but most important in the end, increases costs to the consumer and voter. You must have dozens of examples of the negative impact of over-regulation on business and the consumer.

Finally, it is time to broaden the concept of a thousand points of light to millions of points of light. Perot wants sacrifice. Some may be needed, but a better approach is to harness volunteerism as it has never been done before. That is not sacrifice but a joy to those who participate whether it be young or old. Volunteerism could change America. As a people we have allowed ourselves to become too focused on what government should do for us rather than what we can do for our neighbor, the down-trodden, our community, and our country.

The concept of volunteerism suitably harnessed and channeled can help overcome many of our social ills at practically no cost. There is a vast reservoir of talent among retirees, the youth of this country and other ages.

To improve our education system and establish a family oriented society, volunteers should be used in Head Start, day care, pre-school and grade school to make sure that children really learn as much as possible at the earliest age possible. No longer should a first grade teacher try to all day cope with twenty or more students. With a properly developed volunteer system, each teacher for at least part of every day should be able to have enough caring volunteers so that each volunteer works for at least several hours each day tutoring just three or four students. What an opportunity for education, nurturing and establishing extended family values. Eventually carry this through the whole school system and we should no longer have high school students that do not know how to read or write but can know how to fill out forms, write reports, balance budgets, etc.

This same concept of volunteering can be used to help foster small business, to work up through the education system especially to establish a more reality oriented connection between high schools and the business world.

Mr. James Baker  
October 14, 1992  
Page 3

A big problem in society today is that volunteers that want to help in many cases, do not know where to go and those that could use volunteers do not always know how to get them and how to use them effectively. Such things need studying and evaluation but should not be an excuse for not starting. Also, laws and regulations may have to be changed. We cannot have teachers unions feel that jobs are being taken away from teachers. Volunteers to clean up trash block-by-block in cities must not be forced by unions to take a certain percentage of city sanitary workers thus throwing the city budget out of whack for extra hours and costs.

The disadvantaged should be encouraged by leaders to reduce their carping on what government could do or owes them and focus more on how to help each other. There is no reason for not establishing within the disadvantaged groups greater desire and help for self-help and volunteerism. A greater number of the disadvantaged have to be given the opportunity of knowing the fulfillment and joy that can come from volunteering and helping others.

Through volunteers we may inculcate in children new sets of values and positive thinking rather than carping on being deprived, underprivileged, racist, etc. As Sam Walton said, we need to focus more on "what you can do with people whose self-esteem has been beaten down, and about how you can motivate ordinary people to do extraordinary things." We have to "motivate kids who aren't getting educated today to want to put themselves through school, and to make them understand the rewards they can expect when they do." Volunteers can help a child realize such goals and opportunities.

A family that believes their budget is balanced in Washington by handouts is in a hopeless position. Volunteers can help achieve a turn-around so the disadvantaged can know the pride and satisfaction of "I did it" rather than the disgust and contempt of not getting enough from Uncle Sam.

Clinton wants Uncle Sam to do it and that is no way to "overcome."

I wrote Governor Kean dealing with this issue and am enclosing his December 7, 1989 reply to me. Unfortunately, I never heard from the Office of National Service in the White House.

With 92.5% of the people employed, it is hard to understand Clinton's appeal. The people need more everyday life examples to show the differences in programs and differences in final results. Each generalization such as tax and spend must be

Mr. James Baker  
October 14, 1992  
Page 4

humanized with concrete examples otherwise it is political rhetoric.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Lou Gilde". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "L" and "G".

Lou Gilde



STATE OF NEW JERSEY  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

CN-001  
TRENTON  
08625

THOMAS H. KEAN  
GOVERNOR

December 7, 1989

Mr. Louis C. Gilde, Jr.  
308 Briarwood Avenue  
Haddonfield, New Jersey 08033

Dear Mr. Gilde:

Thank you very much for writing to express your interest in the national Points of Light Initiative and to share your ideas to involve the City of Camden in various volunteer projects.

I am both delighted and honored that President Bush has asked me to chair the Advisory Committee for the Points of Light Initiative. Judging by the large number of letters I have already received from individuals and organizations offering their assistance, I know that our nation is ready to answer the President's call for all American citizens and institutions to join in service to their neighbors, community, state, and country.

The Points of Light Advisory Committee will recommend the structure of a national foundation and the legislative strategy to carry out the goals of the Points of Light Initiative. The President's national service initiative focuses on the most critical domestic challenges our nation faces today, issues like drug abuse, illiteracy, teenage pregnancy, AIDS, and the homeless and the hungry. The initiative will achieve its goals by drawing on a prominent resource that remains largely untapped--the American people.

New Jersey is prepared to heed the President's challenge. We possess a strong tradition of community service that involves the commitment of individuals, non-profit organizations, private corporations, and foundations. But much more can be accomplished. As you may know, I have proposed a Serving the Garden State initiative, which urges each and every New Jerseyan to participate in community projects throughout the Garden State.

Page Two

To make the Serving the Garden State initiative work, we will create an independent foundation, which will provide financial leadership, project support, coordination between groups, and public relations. The independent foundation is now being formed under the chairmanship of Leonard Coleman, who served in my administration as Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs and has great knowledge of the resources and possibilities of community service. In addition, the New Jersey Service Corps will be established within the Department of Community Affairs. The Service Corps will recruit and train people of all ages and backgrounds to provide service to urban neighborhood revitalization projects. Together, the foundation and the Service Corps will undertake a pilot project called Neighborhoods-at-Risk, which will provide organizational and financial assistance to four urban neighborhood housing projects.

These efforts are ambitious undertakings and will require the talents and experience of people like you. We will keep your correspondence on file for future reference, and I will forward a copy of your letter to the Office of National Service in the White House and to the New Jersey Office of Volunteerism, which is helping to develop the Serving the Garden State initiative.

Again, thank you for writing, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Tom Kean". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly stylized font. The first name "Tom" is written with a large, sweeping "T" and a small "o". The last name "Kean" is written with a large "K" and a cursive "ean".

Thomas H. Kean  
Governor

# CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

## Bush taps N.J. gov for 'points' program



USA TODAY  
**BUSH:** He wants \$100M for program

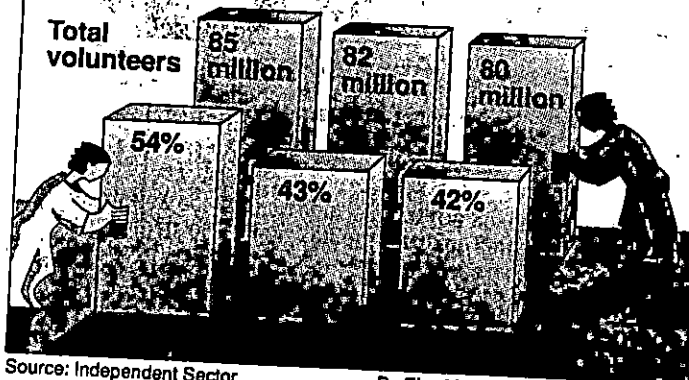
President Bush said in New York Thursday that New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean, after his term expires this year, will lead Bush's "thousand points of light" national volunteer program. Bush, who's asked Congress for \$100 million over the next four years to fight homelessness, hunger and drug abuse, said: "It is a movement, bold and unprecedented — not a program, not another bureaucracy." Plans include a foundation to give matching grants for community service projects. Bush also attended two New York dinners: for *The Wall Street Journal*, which marks its 100th anniversary today with a commemorative edition, and the state GOP. He said the party had a good chance of winning New York City's mayoral race but mangled the nominee's name, calling Rudolph Giuliani "Rudolph Gi-a — Gi-a — Gi-o-hani-uh." He paused and exclaimed, "Rudy."

## USA SNAPSHOTS

A look at statistics that shape the nation

### Shrinking volunteers

President Bush has asked Congress for \$100 million for his Points of Light Foundation, a plan to promote U.S. volunteerism. Fewer are volunteering:



Source: Independent Sector

By Elys McLean-Ibrahim, USA TODAY



LOUIS C. GILDE  
308 BRIARWOOD AVE.  
HADDONFIELD, NJ 08033

Mr. James Baker  
Office of the President  
White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave  
Washington, D.C.  
20001-99

9 Oct., 1992

Dear Mr. Baker,

I know that it's late in the campaign, and I know that I'm "preaching to the choir," as it were. Nonetheless, my visceral concern for the future of my country, mandates that I express my sentiments, at this juncture in the '92 race. I am sorely afraid that we are going to lose, if we try to campaign on economic, foreign policy, social or, upon what are called, "traditional" political issues. In my view, we must go after the Democratic candidate predicated upon his "non-functionality," as a male citizen of the U.S., during one of our most complex and philosophically pressing periods. George Bush was more of a man (even at 18 years of age) than that impostor could ever had hoped to have been, at any age. The "hits" on his character (lack thereof) are starting to tell. I'm out in the "hustings" every day, and I am firmly convinced that, in the final analysis - in the voting booth - Americans (other than the far Left) will not vote for anyone whom they consider to be less than forthright, especially on an issue - a gut matter - like basic civic obligations to the nation - a la performing one's obligatory (legal "loopholes" be damned) military

service. Those of us, many of us, who silently performed our military service, considered it a privilege - not an inconvenience (or worse), to have done so. This Clinton individual quite obviously regarded it as an impediment to his precocious notions of future political prominence. Something (he thought), which no one would give a damn about, some 25 years later - Wrong! The resentment is out there. Use it. We have nothing to lose. The only tactic we have left now is to show the voting public - to drench them - in the fact that George Bush is an honorable, decent man, who has their best interests at heart, in spite of the Democratically controlled Congress. We must make this the focus of the remaining days prior to the election.

Clinton knows what he was in 1969, he knows what he is now. He retreats from it - even with the likes of Phil Donohue - no less! Haist him on the pitard of his own dissimulation! The average American will not vote for a perceived liar. Clinton (to reiterate) knows what he was - and is. He knows it! Make the public cognizant thereof, before it's too late.

Clinton, God forbid, would make Jimmy Carter look like Thomas Jefferson if he were to become President. To hell with it - go for the jugular there next 3 weeks. The stakes are too great not to do so! There is nothing left to lose - Believe me!!!

Cordially,  
Brian Haring.

P.S. Tried to be more neat and eloquent, but it's been a Long day.  
God Bless The President, y'all and The G.O.P. - AND The U.S.A.!!  
God help us.

OCTOBER 13, 1992

suggestions  
(NRN)

DEAR MR. BAKER —

THIS MORNING, ON THE TODAY SHOW,  
PRESIDENT BUSH MENTIONED HE HAD  
MADE SPEECHES WHICH SUPPORTED THE  
'ARMS FOR HOSTAGES' ACTION.

PULL THOSE SPEECHES OUT OF MOTHBALLS!!  
USE THEM!! 'HERE — THIS IS WHAT I  
SAID DURING THE TIME WE WERE TRYING  
TO GET OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN HOME.'  
IT WILL WORK!

Good Luck —  


STUDIO • GALLERY  
**IMAGES**

Masterful Graphite Portraits  
Unique Collectibles & Gifts

MARK PUMEL  
Portraitist

P.O. Box 350  
Nashville, IN 47448  
812-988-8271

M.L. PUMEL  
RR 5 Box 47  
NASHVILLE, IN 47448



White Bengal Tiger

MR. JAMES BAKER  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

*Rush*

Copy to Hon. Pres. Bush, and VP Quayle

*suggestions*

*(NPR)*

212 A Eatoncrest Dr.  
Eatontown, N.J. 07724  
Oct. 9 1992

Mr. J. Baker,  
Chief of Staff,  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Baker:

The election is being handed to Clinton and Democrats in Congress on a silver platter.

I'm an old man, 84, and have watched presidential campaigns with tremendous interest. I won an election to our regional school board.

The Republican campaign is a pusilanimous affair. All you hear is about Pres. Bush's bad economy and Republican record. That should be the Democratic record as constitution states:

Congress is to pay debts and provide for general welfare of the United States. Article 1 Sec. 8.

That should be the bad Democratic congress record of the economy. That's jobs and unemployment, business and the debt.

Unless you can switch the people over to blaming the Democrats, you can kiss the election goodbye.

Do like Truman did - rip into congress. Rip into congress.

Do that and you will win.

Yours respectfully,

*Harold Lindemann*  
Harold Lindemann

Our readers

The Asbury Park Press publishes letters of general interest daily in Readers' Forum and letters of local interest in the Community Edition on Wednesday. All letters must carry name, address and phone number for verification during business hours. Generally, letters should not exceed 300 words, although the published length is at the discretion of the editors. Writers are subject to condensation or rejection. Send letters to Readers' Forum, Asbury Park Press, 3601 Highway 66, P.O. Box 1550, Neptune, N.J. 07754-1551.

## Save us all from the big spenders

Will the approaching federal-debt storm clouds bring us financial disaster worse than Hurricane Andrew?

Courage is lacking to balance budgets. Adding trillions to the debt will devalue our money and bonds; it might cost us our freedom.

We have spent way beyond our federal means and will have to suffer the painful consequences. Our treasury is more bare than Mother Hubbard's cupboard. When will the reckless spending end?

Our constitution states Congress is to control spending, and "provide for general welfare of the United States," which includes employment and economic conditions. Yet, President Bush is falsely blamed.

For decades we have allowed Democrats to

control Congress and pile horrendous debt on our heirs and their heirs, far into the future. Would we like it if our heirs heaped such colossal debt on us?

Electing liberal Bill Clinton and Al Gore and others will not douse the big debt fire, but will turn it into a bankrupting horrific inferno.

The election is crucial. It could be our last voting opportunity to save our republic from bankruptcy and possible dictator. Will we allow our precious God-given freedom, won and preserved on battlefields dearly, to be lost in the halls of Congress?

HAROLD LINDEMANN,  
Eatontown

217A Eatontown  
Eatontown NJ  
07724

NEW

Economic  
suggestion

Dear Mrs. Baker.

May I offer a suggestion for  
answers to the State of the economy.

Due to the Success I have had  
in reducing the threat of nuclear war,  
and promoting World peace we are  
converting our economy from a defence  
economy to a consumer orientated.  
We are beating our swords into  
Play Schemes. This take a little  
time, even the auto industry closes  
for two weeks to make minor  
designs changes. It has taken a  
little longer to convert the nations  
economy to ~~consumer~~ consumer  
commerce But we are on the  
threshold to great things. Improved  
Std. of living with the new  
consumer products and full employment.  
Manufacturing these products, This will  
be done in the private sector. The  
money the gov. saves paying for  
defence can be use for education,  
rebuilding the infrastructure, Health  
care etc.

Over

Then by creating more jobs  
and expanding the tax base  
This increased revenue can  
be used to reduce the deficit.

BEN Crawford  
8032 Hillcrest  
MILAN TX  
38358

Ben Crawford  
8032 Hillcrest Dr.  
Milan, TN 38358



29  
USA



James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
White House  
1600 Penn. ave  
Washington D.C.

NEW

October 6, 1992

Honorable James D. Baker  
The Whitehouse  
Washington, DC 20000

Dear Mr. Baker,

I just finished watching the first presidential debate and obviously President Bush is in trouble. I don't think he made any points that would help him gain ground against Clinton. Everyone, it seems, felt the clear winner was Mr. Perot. I believe it's agreed that Bush needs something spectacular to happen for him to win the election. I propose three things.

1. He must stop low rating Clinton. He should remain above that. It actually demeans him.
2. Perot has the backing of an important group of people, but has no chance to become president. He has many good ideas that are popular with the people and has the ability to carry them out. Eat a little crow. Contact him and offer to make him part of your team. Promise to make him Bush's assistant in charge of reducing the debt and turning the economy around. Give him Carte Blanche to do the job, if necessary.
3. You, Mr. Baker, have done more for this country than any other Republican. You are reconized as a very capable person and probably should be the presidential candidate rather than Bush. Have Mr. Bush tell just what role you will have in his administration if elected and have him state publicly that you are the best man for the job and that he will be taking your advise and that he will prepare you to take his place in the next election. This also will help the Republicans overcome the stigma of Dan Quayle becoming president.

I hope you take this as constructive criticism. I wish you and President Bush Godspeed in your quest for the Whitehouse. I really don't think Clinton is capable of being president and I want to be sure this country turns around and becomes the prosperous, viable instition it should be.

Sincerely yours,



Fred J. Beyer  
1019 Bedford Road  
Grosse Pointe, Michigan 48230

(WRN)

multi  
issue  
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. James A Baker  
Dear Mr. Baker:



Until U.S. realizes, that  
"Free Trade" is a Mirage;  
We will be reluctant to  
Defend American Industry!

If Bush wants to Close the Poll  
Gap; he must come down hard on The  
Manipulations of The Japanese & Their  
2200 Tax abated Plants in The U.S.!

How can we have "Free Trade", while  
The rest of The World have managed  
Economies!

Isn't it strange that the media has  
been consistently behind Reagan & Bush,  
on their Free Trade Policies; — but  
now, have picked Clinton as their  
"Fair-Haired Boy"! Why the Switch??

The Labor, IRS and Commerce  
Depts. have turned their heads when  
The Japanese have violated our Laws!!

This anger is out there against The  
Japanese; but you & very little gets to  
the media, because of the 100 Mil. spent  
on lobbying by the professionals.

The "5" consistently make fun of  
U.S. in their Country.

Is Bush afraid of The Japanese?

P.S. I'm an 82 yr. old retired  
Machine Tool Worker. My  
first vote was in 1932 for Hoover!

Yours Truly  
Kenneth Baker

Mr. Kenneth Baker  
928 Yarger Drive  
Cincinnati, OH 45230-3542

Excerpt from a Harvard  
Work shop!

THE LAW OF COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE,  
THE MAIN UNDERPINNING OF FREE TRADE,  
IS UNREALISTIC. UNTIL AMERICANS  
REALIZE THAT

"FREE TRADE"  
IS A MIRAGE, THEY WILL BE RELUCTANT  
TO DEFEND AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE IN MODERN  
SOCIETY IS CREATED AND MANIPULATED.  
THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT THE JAPANESE  
DO WHEN THEY BUILD UP HUGE INDUSTRIES  
AT HOME, PROTECTED BY TRADE BARRIERS,  
THEN DUMP EXCESS PRODUCTION ABROAD AT  
LOW PRICES. THEIR GOAL IS TO SYSTEM-  
ATICALLY OVERPOWER INDUSTRY AFTER  
INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES!

\*\*\*\*\*

THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER  
Saturday, September 26, 1992

## Japanese plants

Excessive building of tax-abated Japanese plants (2,200) in the United States under Ronald Reagan and George Bush has caused widespread unemployment in America. These plants are fed with Japanese rotating non-taxpaying workers and parts made in Japan. The workers who make these parts contribute nothing to the U.S. economy.

Excessive advertising by Japanese automakers in slick magazines and on TV, to grab a larger share of the auto market, no doubt shows a low- or no-profit margin on their balance sheets.

A unitary tax on foreign carmakers would balance out the fairness issue.

All our wars have been won with the backing and aid of U.S. machine-tool companies, yet Reagan and Bush allowed their defense departments to buy machine tools made in Japan.

No wonder America is hurting when our government backs the country that bombed Pearl Harbor and brutalized our civilians and soldiers.

KENNETH BAKER  
928 Yarger Drive  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45230-3542

Jim Schaefer  
5900 Gloucester Ct.  
Dayton, Ohio 45440  
(513) 435-3017

WPN  
views!  
campaign  
suggestions

Mr. James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

October 13, 1992

Dear Mr. Baker:

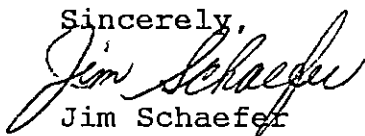
Enclosed please find suggested commercials whose general ideas may help the President get re-elected. I write this letter and send these suggested formats for commercials out of frustration due to a seemingly lack of hard hitting facts regarding the truth as to who is really responsible for the want of a change.

I have had experience in writing commercials and feel the enclosed may provide a direction you may wish to take. Its only three weeks until the election-there may not be enough time to act on these ideas, but if there is enough time, at least consider the ideas. Realizing that timing is everything and that you may very well be ready to saturate the national market at the right time, I apologize for my sense of urgency.

Mr. Baker, with a world economy, and the directions Clinton and Perot want to take the United States, it is vitally important we re-elect George Bush and Republicans to do the job. I remember very well what it is like to live under a democratic president and a democratic congress and I, for one, can't afford it. Neither can the country.

Thank you for your time concerning this matter.

Sincerely,

  
Jim Schaefer

p.s. If I can be of any assistance, please let me know.

## SUGGESTED COMMERCIALS

### CHANGE

Audio/Video

- Clinton talking increased taxes
- Carter talking exact kind of taxes
- News items from 76' to 80' showing inflation rising, deficit increasing, etc.

(continue same as above with different headlines different scenarios)

Audio/ (at the end) "They say the same thing - Is this the change you want?"

Vote REPUBLICAN and vote for the man that won't let this happen ~~again~~ - Vote for George Busch"

---

### CHANGE

Audio/Visual

- Different clips of democratic senators and congressmen making stupid remarks about the war (identify them as democrats)
- end this segment with statements by Gore, then Clinton
- Move to same scenarios in the Thomas - Hill hearings (democrats looking ridiculous) maybe a Metzenbaum denial etc.
- Move to similar democratic remarks and headlines concerning the congressional check cashing affair

Audio (at the end)

<sup>ALSO</sup>  
-"Bill Clinton is <sup>a</sup> a democrat. Who is he kidding? These fiascos are what has prompted change. Vote REPUBLICAN - Then vote for George Busch if you really want a change".

---

### HEALTH CARE

Video

- Show how long it takes a person to get an operation in England as the result of a national health plan.
- Show stats on another country with a national health plan.
- Show a clip of Clinton talking a national plan.

Audio

- "Is this the kind of change we really want? George Busch has the change we need."
- Show the President briefly describing his plan
- "Vote for the right kind of change. Vote Busch"

## LEADERSHIP

### AUDIO

"Remember this?

### Audio/Visual

- Clips of democratic senators and representatives stating we should stay out of the war.
- between clips show news articles stating Iraq was six months away from a nuclear capability etc.
- George Busch making affirmative statements that garner public emotional support
- Show clips of parades - show the president's popularity-85%.

### AUDIO/VISUAL

- Strong Presidential figure (the President with a waving American flag as the entire background.
- " He made the right decisions then and he's making the right decisions now. Vote for George Busch for President."
- Patriotic music in background.

### NOT THAT BAD

- Show clips of Perot and Clinton talking doom and gloom
- Show all the stats and information regarding the fact that we are coming out of the recession.
- "These are really the facts. We are on the right track. More taxes mean higher inflation - deeper deficits. You've seen the facts. Vote for me and I will allow the economic recovery to happen. I need your support"

### ROSS PEROT

- Clips of Ross Perot talking gas taxes, other taxes, etc.

### AUDIO/VISUAL

- Have a well know economist stating the worst case scenario describing more unemployment if his plan is ever implemented.

### AUDIO

"Unlike Mr. Perot and Mr. Clinton, These steps don't have to be taken. Pass a balanced budget amendment-cut congressional spending. and we will recover."

Jim Schaefer  
5900 Gloucester Ct.  
Dayton, Ohio 45440



Mr. James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500





**Hold it™**  
**Systems**

(NRN)

*suggestions  
re: family leave*

**the  
ADMAN**

JIM BAKER  
GEORGE BUSH

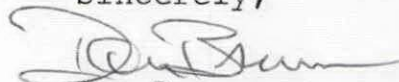
Gentlemen;

I have a small business with eight employees. The average wage is \$24,000 per year. They 'can' receive health benefits as part of their package. We have great vacation, sick, and personal day provisions.

If Bill Clinton gets his family leave....his mandatory health care, and his tax on business..my employees will get something else that they haven't had for twelve years. Total freedom to do whatever they want..because I'll either lay off...or close up the business. There is no way I'll be able to cover these programs with the marginal profit we make.

**PLEASE!!!!!!** Get the word out guys! We do not seem to be winning this battle, and the story is not being told! I've worked hard to get this business where it is. I've worked hard to get my employees a decent wage and some very good working conditions. I started this business with 17% interest rates because of the Carter administration and I can not afford to lose ground! Can we get back on track here...and take this away from Clinton! I can tell this story better than anyone I've heard from your campaign so far! We are going to be in deep trouble if you don't pull out of the tail spin that you're in.

Sincerely,

  
Don Bruns



P.O. Box 1869  
Lima, Ohio 45802



2100 Pennsylvania Ave.  
The White House  
Jim Baker  
Washington D.C.

ATT: Jim Baker

October 9, 1992

*NRN*  
*views/*  
*no support*

Mr. James A. Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Baker:

I had breakfast this morning with three men from our church who normally would all be voting for President Bush. The youngest was 29 and the oldest was about 59. One was a retired Lt. Colonel and one was our Pastor. I am a business person who has always voted Republican. All four of the men voted for President Bush in 1988. At this point the president has the vote of the 29 year old. It looks to as though the president has lost the vote of the rest of us that were at the breakfast.

We talked about the upcoming debate tomorrow evening and the fact that the president was not going to back off from his comments on Clinton and his Viet Nam war position. The military man was involved in the war and the minister was involved in protesting against it. Both felt that the president's position was ridiculous. The man has been around the White House for the better part of 12 years. The collective conclusion of three of the four... "he has absolutely no vision domestically for our country." My best guess is that this is going to be a landslide against the president as I encounter the above thoughts from Republican type folk daily.

It is unfortunate because I think he might have been one of our outstanding presidents. In the final analysis, he was more interested in "playing president" than actually doing the necessary things at this time for our country.

How does that old song go... "The Party's Over... turn out the lights." Good luck with your next career move.

Sincerely,

*David V.R. Gehris*

David V.R. Gehris  
50 Elizabeth Lane  
La Plata, Md. 20646

SALES AND MARKETING  
EX\$ELLANCE



MLDCR #03



Mr. James A. Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

50 ELIZABETH LANE • LA PLATA , MD 20646



npn  
views / suggestions  
435 E. 85th Street #GB3  
New York, New York 10028  
October 9, 1992

Mr. James A. Baker, III  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Baker:

I am a 39 year old environmental lawyer who was a lifelong democrat until 1988 when I voted for President Bush. I am writing because I want to convey to you some of the themes that I have useful in convincing friends who were prepared to vote for Bill Clinton to reconsider their position.

1. Appeal to the people's sense of fair play. Despite their anger and distrust, President Bush is a decent man who deserves the benefit of the doubt because he delivered the peace. He had two basic missions when he assumed the Presidency: To assure the peace and to maintain our domestic prosperity. He accomplished the first task and has earned a chance to achieve the second. This is akin to what you said when you assumed the reins of the campaign but the message had not been driven home.

2. Ask the question: "Is Bill Clinton the man you want to be President" much in the same way that Ronald Reagan asked the American people in 1980 if they were better off than they were four years earlier. I know that President has been trying to do this but somehow he has been so strident that the people seem to focus on the negative campaign and the messenger rather than the message. The President should just keep asking that question.

3. Along these lines, reinforce the idea that nothing in Bill Clinton's makesup suggests that he has the strength to make hard and tough decisions. Can he stand up to the democratic special interest groups.

4. The Myth of the New Democratic Leadership. He may be a new generation of democratic leader but there is still the old democratic Congress which is planning a 100 legislative blitz. Only President Bush could put a stop to the parade of horrors that will result.

5. Stalelated Government- The democrats cannot have it both ways. They cannot fight the President and then blame him for a stalemate. In fact, he tried to work with them to the extent that he suffered grave political consequences by agreeing to raise taxes.

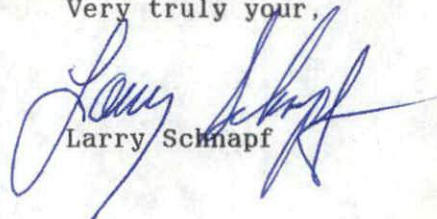
Divided government has helped the country because good legislation has been passed and bad laws have failed to be adopted. If the vetoed bills were good laws, congress would have overridden the President's veto.

6. Clinton economics is Voodoo economics. The Clinton economic promise that he can increase spending, cut taxes and reduce the deficit is as silly as saying that we could increase military spending and cut taxes while balancing the budget.

7. As part of this message, the President should remind the people that we had a bad recession in 1982 but stayed the course and things got better. He should acknowledge the pain but ask the people to stay the course and that if his plan is allowed to proceed, we will have a rebound like 83-87.

Deep down inside, people think that President Bush is a decent and honorable man and I think many people are looking for a reason to vote for him. Let President Bush give them that chance.

Very truly yours,

  
Larry Schnapf

P.S. BRING BACK THE REVOLVING MCGOVERN head  
ad of the 1972 Nixon Campaign. It was  
better than your "blue dot" ad that you are  
now RUNNING.

LORD DAY & LORD, BARRETT SMITH  
1675 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019-5874



MR. JAMES A. BAKER, III  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC

Memo from

DR. ROBT LOUIS BOETTJER

①

DEAR MA B:

NEW

I KNOW THAT I HAVE ALREADY HEARD  
THE FIGURE FOR THE AMOUNT OF MONEY TO BE  
OBTAINED BY UPPING THE TAX BITE ON ALL  
THOSE EARNING ABOVE 200 GRAND. THIS  
AMOUNT BEARS REPEATING AS DOES THE  
NUMBER OF DAYS THE ESTIMATED AMOUNT  
COULD FINANCE THE EVERY DAY EXPENSES  
OF RUNNING OUR DAMPRED & PERKY CONGRESS.  
THEN, ADD THE ENTITLEMENTS - THE RETIREMENT  
FUNDS BEING PAID TO EX-CONGRESSMEN &  
EX-SENATORS TO DEMONSTRATE HOW MANY  
FEWER DAYS THIS SUM OF MONEY (WHICH  
GOV CLINTON MAKES SO MUCH OF) WOULD  
UNDERWRITE THE GLOBAL CONGRESSIONAL  
EXPENSES.

HAS ANYONE EXPLAINED TO THE ELECTIONATE  
THAT MANY OF OUR FAVORITE PEOPLE -  
MOVIE STARS, T-V PERSONALITIES, ATHLETES:  
FOOTBALL PLAYERS, BASKETBALL PLAYERS, BASE-  
BALL PLAYERS, TENNIS PLAYERS - ARE AMONG  
THE "RICH" THAT GOV CLINTON WANTS TO "SOAK"?

1341437

MemO from

2

**DR. ROBT LOUIS BOETTJER**

HOW CAN WE BE SURE THAT THE WEALTHY ATHLETES WILL NOT FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF BORIS BECKER AND BECOME RESIDENTS OF MONACO FOR TAX PURPOSES?

WITH SO MANY OF OUR BEST ATHLETES LIVING IN EUROPE DURING THE "CLINTON ERA" WHO IS TO SAY THAT MORE MATCHES WILL NOT BE PLAYED IN STADIA IN EUROPE AS A MATTER OF CONVENIENCE TO THE PLAYERS?

CONSIDER, IF YOU WILL, THE POSSIBILITY THAT "OUR" WORLD SERIES - IN THE CLINTON WORLD - MIGHT WELL BE PLAYED IN MUNICH, MILAN OR MADRID.

THESE MATCHES TAKE IN BIG BUCKS FOR THE HOST CITY AND THE ULTIMATE EFFECT OF THE LOSS OF THE MATCHES BY AMERICAN CITIES WOULD ONLY ADD TO THE PINCH OF POVERTY.



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ROBERT LOUIS BOETICA MD

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32233



Mr James BAKER  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

200 ⑧

NRN

October 13, 1992

Gen  
support /  
prosecutions

Mr. James Baker  
The White House  
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker;

Although I am very much in favor of President Bush to be re-elected I fear he will not be, unless he comes up with a bold NEW plan to help our ailing economy. This must be done quickly!

As an very concerned citizen, I want to help. I feel the enclosed letter from the Daily Oklahoman has a lot of merit and that there might be some ideas and insights that would be helpful. Oklahoma and the nation desperately needs a boost in the oil industry. We seem to be able to help other countries, why not help our own business and industry for a change, by changing some of our policies? We must act now...the time is short! If democrats take over our executive branch, we've had it!

Very humbly and sincerely yours,

Mrs. Joyce Martens  
P.O.Box 454  
Fairview, OK 73737

## ■ Your Views

# Import Tax Would Ease Imbalance

### TO THE EDITOR:

I was pleased when (the Saturday columns) by Robert Hardy invited readers to present our views on national issues. I offer the following suggestion as a solution to the economic crisis in America.

**Problem:** Our current trade policy allows foreign countries access to all American markets even if they deny us access to their markets. We have tried to micro-manage the problem through detailed trade negotiations. That has failed. We know that when traditional protectionism was tried, it only made the problem worse.

**Solution:** A Balance-of-Trade tax (an import tax proportional to the trade deficit with each country). When a country purchased enough American products to offset the value of its exports to us, there would be no tax. This has all the benefit of a free trade agreement, but none of the risk. Such a tax will force our trading partners to open their markets to American products, thereby reducing both the trade and budget deficits. This is not protectionism because it does not target any specific product. Countries that are willing to open their markets and balance trade will pay no import tax on any product.

**Benefits:** The higher cost of imports will revive the consumer electronics industry. This will in turn attract more students into engineering and other hi-tech professions which are essential to national defense.

Each oil exporting country will be encouraged to buy American products so the net price of their oil will be less, and their market share greater. The higher tax on imported oil will create thousands of jobs in the American oil industry. Natural gas will become a more economical alternative which will help the environment.

Japan will find it necessary to open their markets to American farm products in order to help balance trade and make their exports more affordable. This will reduce the need for the federal government to pay farmers for not farming.

If we could have free and balanced world trade, the American tax base would grow and reduce the budget deficit. The Labor Department estimates that \$1 billion in foreign trade equates to 22,000 jobs. Eliminating the \$70 billion trade deficit would create more than 1.5 million jobs in America.

If enough voters send this idea to their representatives in Congress, maybe they will begin to listen to us rather than the Japanese lobbyists.

Tom G. Keith, Edmond

Mrs. Joyce Martens  
P.O. Box 454  
Fairview, OK, 73737



Mrs. James Baker  
% The White House  
Washington D.C. 20500

Urgent