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FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Card, Andrew, Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 04013
Folder ID Number: 04013-001c

Folder Title:
Correspondence - General (1/90 -) [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	21	7	

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	Matthew D. Smith to Andy Card, Re: Visa Problem. (1 pp.)	03/19/90	(b)(6)	
02. Letter	Vic Trzesniowski to Linda Gambatesa, Re: Visa issue. (2 pp.)	03/15/90	(b)(6)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Card, Andrew H., Jr., Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Correspondence - General (1/90 -) [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML16125
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Date Closed: 3/14/2025
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2025-0373-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1989

Dear Basil,

Thanks for the abstract proofs. As an engineer, I really appreciated your analysis.

There is no apathy of spirit here!

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr..
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Basil Zolli
Box 678
Half Moon Bay, California 94019

TRAVEL Trivia



San Francisco

1. Kipling once said that "San Francisco has only one drawback". What is the drawback?
2. There's a famous island in S.F. Bay. What is it called and what was the island used for?
3. More Chinese live in this "city within a city" than in any other place in the world, outside of China or Singapore. What is it called?
4. What is the name of the crookedest street in the world?
5. What bridge connects S.F. to Oakland, Calif?
6. Joseph B. Strauss designed what was then described as "the bridge that couldn't be built". What is the name of this famous landmark?
7. Alcatraz is Spanish for what?
8. The hilly terrain in S.F. was responsible for the adoption of what mode of transportation?
9. In 1871 more than 1,000 acres of wasteland was turned into the largest man-made park in the world. What is it called?
- 10 San Francisco sits on a fault. What is the name of it?

ANSWERS ON THE OTHER SIDE

10-21-89

Box 678 - BASIL ZOLLI - (46)

Half Moon Bay, CA, 94019

3US CA 661
Printed in Ireland

Dear Andy: Pres BUSH

VISIT TO L.A. SCENE MUCH

APPRECIATED BY "COMMON-

MAN" WE APOLOGIZE FOR

RUDE-TREATMENT BY

"PROFESSIONAL-POLS" WITH

HANDS-OUT FOR CHECK-BOOK

INSTANT CASH!

ENCL. FIND SOME MATH

APPROX TO COLLAPSE OF BR

BRIDGE COLUMN TOWERS



TRIVIA ANSWERS: 1. 'Tis hard to leave. 2. Alcatraz, former federal prison site. 3. Chinatown. 4. Lombard St. 5. SF-Oakland Bay. 6. Golden Gate Bridge. 7. Pelican. 8. Cable Car. 9. Golden Gate Park. 10. San Andreas Fault

Woodhams & Associates, P.O. Box 53, Diablo, CA 94528

ANDREW CARD

U.S. PRESIDENTIAL

AIDE

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUPPORTS!
(Z)

20500

SHOCK = 7.50 IN
MY ESTIM.

GEOMETRIC CALCULATIONS

S.H.M.

ABSTRACT PROOFS

4/11/10-21-80/2011

$$2\pi \text{ Rad.} = 360^\circ$$

$$S = R\theta$$

$$S = 1.375(300)$$

$$S = 1.375\left(\frac{\pi}{6}\right)$$

$$S = \frac{11}{8} \times \frac{\pi}{6} = \frac{11}{48} \pi \text{ rad}$$

$$S = .720 \text{ IN}$$

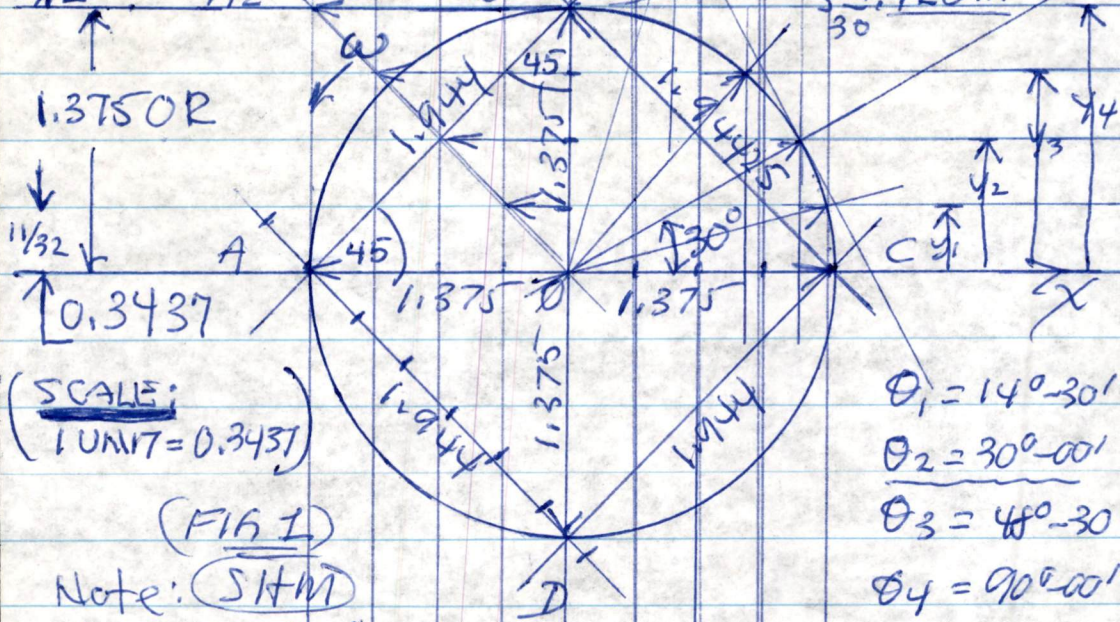
$$C = \pi D = 2\pi R$$

$$C = \pi(2.750)$$

$$C = 2\frac{3}{4}\pi = \frac{11\pi}{4}$$

$$C = 8.64 \text{ IN.}$$

$$C/12 = 8.64/12 = .720'' \text{ RW} = V$$



(SCALE: 1 UNIT = 0.3437)

(FIG 1)

Note: S.H.M.

As POINT "C" moves up EQUAL SPACES VERTICALLY, the ARC [S = Rθ] (θ = RADIANS) TRAVELED & the ANGLE (θ₁ → θ₄) INCREASED UNEQUALLY!

$$\text{If } \omega = \frac{1 \text{ RAD}}{\text{SEC}} = \frac{60 \text{ RAD}}{\text{MIN}}$$

$$V = R\omega = 1.375(1) = 1.375 \text{ IN} \times \frac{1 \text{ RAD}}{\text{SEC}} = \frac{FT}{145}$$

$$\boxed{V = 0.1145 \frac{\text{FT}}{\text{SEC}}}$$

$$V_{R0} = 0.000$$

$$V_{R1} = 0.1344 \frac{\text{IN}}{\text{SEC}}$$

$$V_{R2} = 2R_1$$

$$V_{R3} = 3R_1$$

$$V_{R4} = 4R_1$$

4(2) 10-21-89 Zoll

$$\begin{array}{r} 2 \overline{) 1.4140} \\ \underline{0.707} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{aligned} v_0 &= 0.375'' \\ v_1 &= 1.25'' \\ v_2 &= 3/4'' \\ v_3 &= 0 \end{aligned}$$

1.414
 4
 5.656
 0.13737
 $\sqrt{3}$
 1.945 S.R.
 3×2
 0.5
 $1 \times$
 $= \frac{AO}{AB}$
 0.707 $0.68 = 0.730$
 30
 30
 $= 4 \text{ UNITS}^2 + 4 \text{ UNITS}^2$
VECTORS (FIG. 2)
 6×2
 S.H.M.
 ACC. VECT.
 1.375
 1.200
 ITS

$$\cos 45^\circ = \frac{1.375}{1.944} = 0.707 \quad \text{AB} \quad 0.688 = 0.730$$

$$c^2 = a^2 + b^2 = 4 \text{ UNITS}^2 + 4 \text{ UNITS}^2$$

$$C^2 = 4^2 + 4^2$$

$$C = \sqrt{32} = \sqrt{16 \times 2}$$

$$C = 4\sqrt{2} = 5.656$$

$$\sin \theta_1 = y/r = \frac{0.3437}{1.375} = .2503 \text{ S.R.}$$

$$\theta_1 = 140.30^\circ$$

$$\underline{\underline{S_{m O_2} = y_2 / R = \frac{2 \times 0.3437}{R} = \frac{.6874}{1.375} = 0.5000}}$$

$$\theta_2 = 30^\circ - 00'$$

$$\frac{y_3}{R} = \lim \theta_3 = \frac{3 \times 0.3437}{1.375} = \frac{1.0311}{1.375} = 0.750$$

$$\theta_3 = 48^\circ - 30'$$

$$\begin{array}{r} v_0 = 1.375 \\ v_1 = 1.250 \\ \hline v_0 - v_1 = 0.125 \\ \Delta v \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} v_0 = 1.375 \\ v_2 = 0.750 \\ \hline \Delta v = 0.625 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{aligned} v_0 &= 1.375 \\ v_3 &= 1.800 \\ \hline \Delta v &= 1.375 \end{aligned}$$

4(3) 10-21-59 Zolli

SHM

VERTICAL UP velocity

$$S = vt$$

$$v_0 = S/t = R\omega = 1.375 \times \frac{1 \text{ rad}}{\text{sec}} = 1.375 \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}}$$

$$\omega = 1 \text{ rad/sec}$$

$$2\pi \text{ rad} = 360^\circ$$

$$a = \frac{dv}{dt} = \frac{1.375 - 1.25}{2\pi \frac{\text{sec}}{\text{REV}}} = 0.125 = 1 \text{ Rev}$$

$$a_{00} = 0$$

$$a = \frac{0.125 \text{ in/sec}}{\pi \frac{\text{sec}}{1}}$$

$$\frac{d\omega}{dt} = f$$

$$d\omega = f dt$$

$$\omega = f t$$

$$a_{30} = \frac{1}{8} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}} \times \frac{6}{\pi} \frac{1}{\text{sec}}$$

$$a_{30} = \frac{6}{8} = \frac{3}{4} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2} \left(\frac{1}{4} \right) (I) t = \frac{\theta}{\omega}$$

$$\omega = \frac{d\theta}{dt}$$

$$a_{60} = \frac{1.25 - 0.75}{\pi/6 \text{ sec}} = 0.50 \text{ in/sec}$$

$$\omega = \frac{1 \text{ rad}}{\text{sec}} = \frac{2\pi \text{ rad}}{t}$$

$$a_{60} = \frac{1}{2} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}} \times \frac{6}{\pi} \frac{1}{\text{sec}}$$

$$t = \frac{\theta}{\omega} = \frac{2\pi \text{ rad}}{1 \text{ rad/sec}}$$

$$a_{90} = \frac{6}{\pi/2} = \frac{3}{\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2} (I) (IV) t = 2\pi \text{ rad} \times \frac{\text{sec}}{\text{rad}}$$

$$a_{90} = \frac{4'' - 0}{\pi/6 \text{ sec}} = \frac{0.75}{\pi/6} = \frac{6 \times 0.75}{\pi} t = \frac{2\pi \text{ sec}}{\text{REV}}$$

$$a_{90} = \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{6}{\pi} = \frac{9}{2\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2} \left(1 \frac{1}{2} \right) \left(\frac{12}{4} \right) t_{30} = \frac{2\pi}{12} = \frac{\pi}{6} \text{ sec}$$

max

good approach
to SHM. 4(4) 10-21-89 2011
Summary SHM

(FIG. 1 & 2) The VERTICAL vel race
is found by VECTORS $V = R\omega$

at $0^\circ = \pm V = \text{max}$, $a_{c0} = 0$

at $90^\circ = R$, $V_{90} = 0$, $a_{c90} = \text{max}$

$V_0 = 1.375 \text{ in/sec}$ VECTOR

$V_{30} = 1.250 \text{ in/sec}$ 4

$V_{60} = 0.750 \text{ in/sec}$ 4

$V_{90} = 0.000 \text{ in/sec}$ 4

$$a_0 = \frac{\Delta V}{\Delta t} = \frac{1.375 - 1.375}{0} = 0$$

acc
1:3:5
5:3:1

$$a_{30} = \frac{\Delta V}{\Delta t} = \frac{1.375 - 1.250}{\frac{\pi}{6} \text{ sec}} = \frac{1}{8} \times \frac{6 \text{ in}}{\pi \text{ sec}^2} = \frac{3}{4\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2}$$

$$a_{30} = \frac{3}{4\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2} = \frac{0.75}{\pi} = 0.2395 \approx 0.24$$

$$a_{60} = \frac{\Delta V}{\Delta t} = \frac{1.25 - 0.750}{\frac{\pi}{6} \text{ sec}} = \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{6 \text{ in}}{\pi \text{ sec}^2} = \frac{3}{\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2}$$

$$a_{60} = \frac{3}{\pi} = \frac{3}{\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2} = 0.955$$

$$a_{90} = \frac{\Delta V}{\Delta t} = \frac{0.750 - 0.00}{\frac{\pi}{6} \text{ sec}} = \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{6 \text{ in}}{\pi \text{ sec}^2} = \frac{9}{2\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2}$$

$$a_{90} = \frac{9}{2\pi} \frac{\text{in}}{\text{sec}^2} = \frac{4.5}{\pi} = 1.44$$

such big business in the Soviet Union that the revenues accounted for 10 percent of the national budget. The clampdown by Gorbachev has cost tax revenues of up to \$16 billion a year, and now Gorbachev and the Politburo want to get back in the game.

Soviet law still assesses a fine of 50 rubles, about one-fourth of the average worker's monthly pay, if he or she is caught drunk on the job. But the law is not strictly enforced. Until Gorbachev imposed that law, up to a third of the factory labor force was likely to show up on Monday drunk or hungover.

Gorbachev can't afford to look the other way for too long. Soviet law enforcement officials told us that more than a third of the crime in the Soviet Union is related to alcohol. Death by alcohol poisoning before Gorbachev came along was running at a rate of 19 people for every 100,000 deaths, compared to .17 per 100,000 in the United States. Alcohol abuse is the key factor in the declining life expectancy for Soviet men.

Thousands of people die in alcohol-related accidents at home, on the job and on the roads. One woman standing in a liquor line was knocked down by the crowd when the shop doors opened and was killed when the spiked wheel of another shopper pierced her skull.

Several knowledgeable Soviet sources told us that the Chernobyl nuclear accident was directly attributable to human error caused by excessive drinking.

FOREIGN AID — Latin Americans get billions of dollars in foreign aid from the United States that never shows up in the U.S. budget. The money arrives by mail from immigrants who work in the United States and send their paychecks home to support families in Latin America. In some countries, corrupt postal employees wait for payday and steal the checks. Thieves have been known to break into post offices looking for U.S. mail. Here is one indicator of the volume of that mail. A month-long postal strike in Guatemala held up two tons of Guatemala-bound mail in the Miami post office alone.

United Feature Syndicate

cannot go on forever. Our security is the important thing for us; the rest is minimal. We are now in a position of making up with the Greek Cypriots — or not. Anyway, we will live."

Since the 1974 war, when Turkey sent thousands of troops to protect the Turkish Cypriots from certain groups of Greek Cypriots attempting to unite the island with Greece, everyone, from the

well be that the age of universalism and of the attempted mixing of all peoples is of an age that is momentarily passing. It may well be that, as the great but artificial ideologies of democracy and communism prove less able to assimilate people, it is better for peoples to part, to divorce, to live separately for a while — and then perhaps to start the great dreams of mankind again.

Press Syndicate

The Public Voice

OCT. 16, 1989 - San Mateo TIMES

Apathy of spirit

Editor, The Times:

America is on the road to not only mediocrity — but, to something worse: Apathy of the mind, spirit and soul.

The Times editorial page (Sept. 25) has two articles that someday may be referred to by scholars of the future, in another nation, and generation of the "Coming Downfall of the American Civilization."

Read Georgie Geyer's "Changes Not Unexpected" and Jim Fain's "Circus Atmosphere in D.C."! Both writers, masters of analytical research and social observation on the daily scene, show us our national moral and intellectual decline and breakdown, not only in high government circles, but in the middle-class of the nation, whose duty it is to preserve the nation's ideals and daily survival.

Who are this middle-class?

The educated, the skilled, the patriotic and religious — and, those crying for justice, in an apathetic, bureaucratic and silent leadership, in all our institutions and establishments — who should be leading, not sleeping, in a time of national crisis!

I include George Bush, Pete Wilson, Jerry Brown; all university presidents; all denominational religious heads; all athletes and scholars from the 3rd grade to the 4th year of college. And, the common citizen and family head who cares about the future!

This is your America — If you do not care enough about its life and survival to get out and act to show it — then, just wait awhile

and it may all come crashing down around us!

No nation can survive without an educated, intellectual, moral, leadership, as our traditions have demonstrated. If you do not know, by now, that the U.S.A. is slipping rapidly into a serious moral, economic and social decline that requires citizen action, as in 1775 — then you are asleep! Intellectual and moral action — not physical!

BASIL ZOLLI
Half Moon Bay

The Japanese

Editor, The Times:

Ed Arnold seems to have a problem identifying an American citizen.

In the San Mateo telephone book alone we have enough nationalities to cover every country in the world. And I assume the vast majority are American citizens and I have no doubt of their loyalty and patriotism. As for the American citizens (Japanese ancestry), they were wronged in World War II. They were incarcerated without charge.

Incidentally, Ed, what have you to say about the Americans (Japanese ancestry) that volunteered for the army, and they had a struggle even to accomplish that. This unit, composed entirely of Americans (Japanese ancestry), fought some of the most bloody battles in Europe with unusually high casualty rates and was the most highly decorated unit in the army. Every president from Harry Truman to George Bush agreed a terrible injustice was done.

Charles R. Powell
San Mateo

THE WHITE HOUSE

12/4/89

Dear Jay-

Kathie and I thoroughly enjoyed the Kennedy Centers Honor last evening. Your and CBS's hospitality was most gracious. I was honored to share in excitement you helped make possible.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Andy Card

Andy Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Jay L. Kriegel
Senior Vice President
CBS Inc.
51 West 52nd Street
New York, New York 10019

THE WHITE HOUSE

12/27/8

Steve -

Thanks for the update
and greetings. The USIA
is fortunate to have you on
this team.

Keep in touch.

Andy Cars

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Steven S. Murphy
Director
USIA Television & Film Service
601 D St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20547

Espero desarrollar creciente relación con los pueblos de América Latina

Afirma el nuevo director de TV y cine del gobierno de EE.UU.

Por GUILLERMO CABRERA LEIVA

Acaba de asumir la Dirección del Servicio de Televisión y Cine de la Agencia de Información de los Estados Unidos un hombre joven, capaz y de mucha experiencia en el campo de las comunicaciones.

Su nombre es Stephen E. Murphy, y viene a la USIA después de 17 años en altas posiciones administrativas de la industria financiera y de comunicaciones del país.

Lo hemos entrevistado para DIARIO LAS AMERICAS, y al respecto nos dice:

"El cargo que acabo de ocupar en la Administración del presidente Bush, como director del Servicio de Televisión y Cine (WORLDNET), tiene un gran significado para mí, pues representa una oportunidad sin precedente para ampliar el diálogo con nuestros países hermanos de América Latina, a fin de comunicar de una manera más efectiva todo lo referente a nuestros proyectos y a su posible participación en los mismos"

"Mi compromiso con la comunidad hispana —agrega— es conocido. Espero contar con su apoyo y colaboración para que WORLDNET logre con éxito su misión de transmitir la voz de la democracia a todos los pueblos del hemisferio"

La red de televisión y cine bajo la dirección del señor Murphy cuenta con un moderno sistema via satélite, mediante la instalación de 170 antenas receptoras en 110 países, entre los que se encuentran Cuba, la Unión Soviética, China y otras naciones comunistas.

Los programas incluyen "teleconferencias" en las que toman parte miembros del gabinete ejecutivo del presidente Bush, en Washington, con ministros, periodistas y otros personajes importantes de los países participantes. A mediados de este mes, el vicepresidente Quayle participó en uno de estos programas, con funcionarios gubernamen-



STEPHEN E. MURPHY

tales y periodistas en Caracas, Ciudad de México y Guadalajara.

La WORLDNET es parte de la USIA (Agencia de Información de los Estados Unidos), con sede en Washington, D.C. y tiene por objeto difundir programas que den a conocer la verdad sobre los Estados Unidos y sobre los principios democráticos que rigen en este país.

El señor Stephen Murphy fue vicepresidente para la América Latina de la operación de Video de Paramount Pictures y Universal Studios y vicepresidente del Banco de Boston. También participó en la "Fuerza de Trabajo" dirigida hacia la comunidad y los medios hispanos con el comisionado Henry Rivera, de la Federal Communications Commission, y ha mantenido contactos con los amigos de la radio y la televisión hispana en los Estados Unidos y Latinoamérica.

"WORLDNET —dice Murphy— actualmente transmite 24 horas de programación cada día de la semana, a 168 sitios de recepción en las embajadas de Estados Unidos y en las sedes de la USIA en más de 100 países".

Nos impresiona su buen español, y en tal sentido nos expresa: "Aprendí el español en la escuela secundaria de Estados Unidos. Luego lo mejoré en mis visitas y trabajos en América Latina. También hablo portugués, aprendido en Brasil. Tengo mi más alta estimación por los pueblos iberoamericanos y espero desarrollar una creciente relación con sus gentes, y fomentar lazos de amistad sólidos y duraderos".

"Envío un saludo —dice al despedirse— por intermedio de DIARIO LAS AMERICAS a todos los hispanos de Miami".

Budapest Daily News 7 October 1989

Bush's initiatives implemented USIA OFFICIALS IN HUNGARY

Budapest (DN) — Following the visit of US President George Bush to Budapest in July a number of businessmen have already visited Hungary to discuss possible forms of cooperation in the economy. These days officials, experts in another field, exchanges and communications, are visiting Budapest.

Walter Raymond Jr., Assistant Director of the USIA (United States Information Agency), a governmental agency designed to help foster closer educational and cultural relations among peoples, said on the purpose of his visit: "We've been talking to political figures, officials in the Ministry of Culture, and universities to provide some of the momentum to follow through on President Bush's invitation.

"We'll be discussing exchanges between academic figures, we'll be talking about making new programmes for more Hungarian students to come to the United States.

"But we'll even examine possibilities of new economic op-



portunities in the International Management Center to discuss ways in which we can help them with their programmes."

Also from USIA, the head of the TV Section and chief of Worldnet Broadcasting Co., Steve Murphy is on a visit to Hungary seeing television stations, including the State television (MTV and TV2), the local cable-TV studios and the independent Sun TV of Budapest, and exploring ways of exchanging features, reports and other TV programmes. Worldnet, broadcasting exclusively outside the US, could be received in Hungary, too, as it is transmitted via Eutelsat satellite every day.

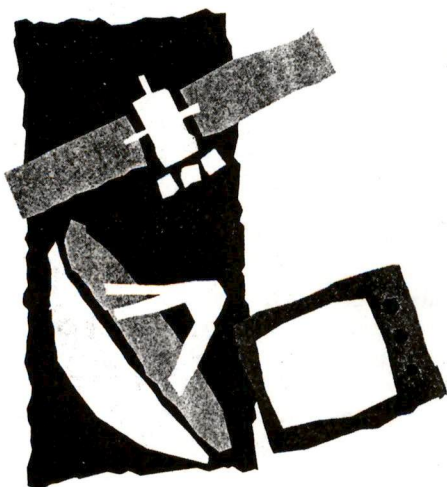
Murphy appreciated that only about 10 pc of households equipped with television can receive satellite broadcasts, adding that this figure is relatively modest if compared with Western Europe's 25-35 pc and approximately 60 pc in the US.

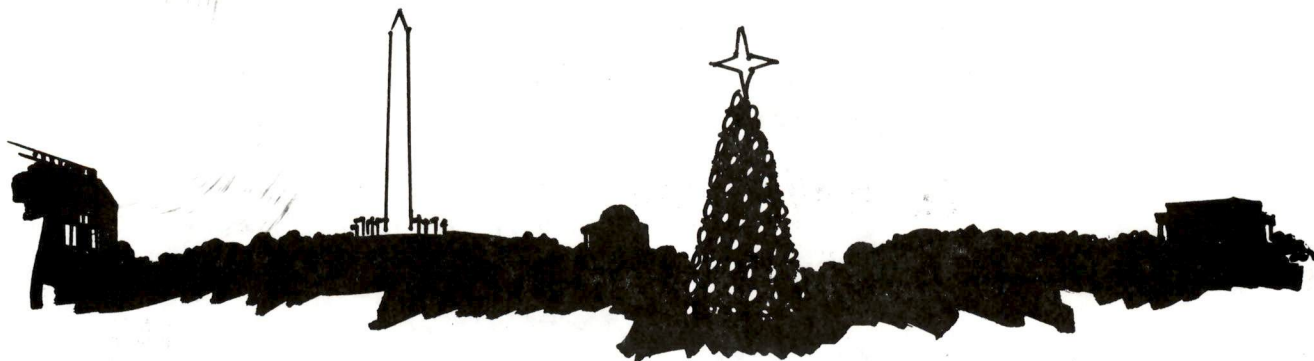
"We foresee satellite television as a major possibility in next decade for world communication.

As a means of informing the public, satellite television is a very important method in the world."

Asked about the real chances of cooperation between Worldnet and the relatively small Hungarian television companies, Richard Murphy said: "You can be small but think big. We want to encourage contacts with certainly small but creative companies. We are very anxious for cultural and international exchanges by television, be it satellite or videocassette or homevideo."

T. U.





December 1989

2480 16 Street NW, apt. 941, Washington, DC 20009
tels: (202) 387-9193 home / 376-7806 Worldnet

It is a winter dawn, the sun paling through the gray clouds to the East. Meridian Hill and the Washington monument form part of a winter wonderland from my ninth-floor apartment in the capital's international district, Adams Morgan. An icicle hangs resolutely from a neighbor's window and a sparrow tries to perch atop the flakes of snow.

This time last year, I was on Copacabana's beach, enjoying the sun's caress, the Atlantic's waves and Rio's frolicking 'children'. Notwithstanding its physical beauty and tropical tempo, I was becoming restless in Brazil after more than five years. Having left Paramount and Universal's video venture in '87, I became an independent consultant to firms in filmed entertainment, enjoying my freedom of action despite Brazil's roller-coaster economy. But the question remained, was I getting most out of life... body, mind and spirit? As I was gazing toward the water's edge, a wind-surfer glided over the crest of the wave, and then abruptly reversed his direction, picking up the wind from a different angle. I marvelled: despite the winds and waves, he was able to choose his direction, if not his exact path. Perhaps life should be so...

As freely as the surfer had changed his course, I rose from those sandy shores, departed before Rio's New Year carnival and visited Miami, New York, Washington and L.A. Many firms I spoke with looked askance at my Brazilian years and wondered if I should have returned there a second time. Yet I kept knocking on several doors, especially those in Spanish language media. Thanks to the strong support of the President's son, I also considered making a run for a political appointment in the new Administration, but could not meet anyone on the transition team. I left for Brazil empty-handed, but stubbornly returned in early February and in March. Thanks to Jeb's letter and to two Boston colleagues of the '80 campaign, working in the White House, I gained an interview with the elusive Office of White House Personnel.

So began my marathon, along with 15,000 others seeking political employ. Where should this 'outsider' begin in this eminently 'insider' city? Despite one's sponsorship, I soon learned that nothing is promised in this process. Thus, my Brazilian survival skills of keeping several balls in the air came in handy during this battle to put my resume on someone's desk, a good word in someone else's ear. I visited Washington state's G.O.P. delegation and their fine staff, knocked on every door that offered a chance, called on anyone who would listen --for 5 minutes or between appointments. Disappointment struck often during those six weeks, but by mid-April came the great news: Director Gelb had chosen me to head the U.S. Information Agency's Television and Film Service, the U.S.' premier satellite television network, WORLDNET! He reasoned that if I could survive and make money in the topsy turvy of Latin America, then I should have a good chance to survive the shifting sands of government. Thank you Bruce, for that vote of confidence. Thank you Jeb, Ron, Andy, Alice, Eugene, Mary, Nancy, Judi, Sheldon, Susan, all Washington state's helpful Congressmen, Senator Gorton and staff, all friends for your moral support, and friends of friends for your time, letters and calls. Thank You, Lord, for letting me have this wonderful opportunity, to freely meet my Destiny...

The little sparrow is still there pecking and seems determined to find whatever lies beneath the snow. Such willpower reminds me of so many of you I met in Prague, East Berlin, Warsaw, Poznan, Krakow, Budapest and Moscow this fall... yearning for your freedom, so anxious to become part of the 'Western' family. Freedom to act, to pray, to think, to speak, to work, to live as one wants. Freedom that we in the 'west' assume to be so normal, so much part of daily life. As a young Russian producer confided: "I just want to own my own house, with two bedrooms. But the State does not let me have two rooms, as I am unmarried. I can only have a kitchenette." Or an East German couple from Saxony, with whom we shared a table in a simple tavern on the other side of the wall: "Why shouldn't we break bread with you Westerners? What wrong is there? We've had such good conversation!" Or the self-made Polish millionaire, age 28: "The State cast me out at an early age - I didn't join the Party! The State be damned. I went to work in Switzerland to sweep their kitchen floors. I saved money and thought: 'maybe the Swiss would like Polish strawberries?' So I returned to Poznan to plant them. With my savings, my family and my work, I export berries to Switzerland, West Europe, and America. And I have a big house. The State be damned." Or Nadia Comenici, describing New York, after having escaped from Rumania: "It looks just like on television."

Having seen other countries gain more freedom, every day brings a different cry from those without... yesterday from Czechoslovakia, today Lithuania, tomorrow Cuba, China, South Africa or Palestine... Citizens of the East, go meet your Destiny! Beware the pitfalls, the false prophets, the setbacks... for freedom does not come without pain. Continue your struggle, your noble actions, and you shall overcome! Citizens of the West, turn not our backs to those who knock at our door... remember the times when we too did knock! May we be grateful for our bounty and be vigilant of our freedom. May we use our 'free will' for positive actions, yea, actions, to make our society more principled... You too, little sparrow... seek that kernel of grain beneath the snow, do not despair! Onward through the cold winds and rough waters... Hark the Herald Angels Sing, Glory to the New Born King! The next decade awaits us all... As the sparrow does its grain or we Americans our life styles, may we all cherish our freedom. May we use it with grace, and so honor ourselves and Our Lord in The New Year...

Andy, How to see you at our TV studios in the '90's, Steve
Thanks for all your help. Happy New Year -

THE WHITE HOUSE

12-22-89

Bill-

I compliment your holiday contribution to the National Academy Foundation. The Brock Group is a valuable "point of light."
Best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely, Andy Card

Andy Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable
Bill Brock
The Brock Group, Suite 350
1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036



THE BROCK GROUP

WILLIAM E. BROCK
JAMES W. FRIERSON
RICHARD L. McELHENY
DENNIS E. WHITFIELD

International Trade • Human Resources • Investment Strategies

December 20, 1989

Mr. Andrew H. Card Jr.
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Andy:

With the holiday season upon us and a new year approaching, we write to tell you of a very special gift and to highlight a few transitions within our group.

Only nine months into our life as a firm, the partners and staff of The Brock Group were faced with our first decision about holiday entertaining and gift-giving. We wanted to do something special for our clients, associates, and friends, and we thought our effort should reinforce a cause in which we believe.

After considering many of the customary alternatives, we have decided to make what we hope will be an enduring gesture. In lieu of what we might have spent on a reception or gifts this year, The Brock Group will make a substantial contribution to the National Academy Foundation, an innovative private sector curricular and internship program for high school juniors and seniors. Our gift will fund partial college scholarships for five members of the first graduating class of a newly created National Academy of Public Service. We hope our grant might have a multiplier effect as well.

As a partnership, we have already met many of the goals that we set out a year ago. The founding partners - Bill Brock, Jim Frierson, and Dennis Whitfield - were joined on October 1st by Rick McElheny. Rick served in the Reagan Administration as Director General of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service and later as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development. He came to us from the public relations firm of Hill & Knowlton.

Starting January 1st, The Brock Group partners will include Otto Reich, who was U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela from 1986 to July of 1989 and is now a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Previously, he served as Special Advisor to the Secretary of State and as Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development. He brings to us a wealth of experience and working relationships in Latin America and the Caribbean Basin, having also served as Director of the Washington office of the Council of the Americas before joining the Reagan and Bush Administrations.

Our colleague and friend Pat Cleary has returned to government. He was nominated by the President on October 2nd and confirmed by the Senate on November 3rd as a member of the National Mediation Board. His agency mediates disputes in the airline and railroad industries.

Finally, President Bush on October 24th appointed Bill Brock to serve on the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee, the first advisory group created by this Administration.

For us, 1989 has been a year of renewal and accomplishment. We have especially enjoyed working on the issues and causes that matter so much to us. We count as our greatest blessing that we all live in a free society where creativity, initiative and teamwork are rewarded.

Thank you for the confidence you have shown in us and in our enterprise. We wish you and your family all the best for the holidays and a prosperous year to come.


Bill Brock


Jim Frierson

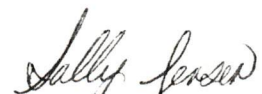

Rick McElheny


Dennis Whitfield


Julie Cram


Heather Drummond


Steve Holmes


Sally Jensen



THE WHITE HOUSE

12/27/89

Dear Mike-

Thank you for your note and the
chapter from the soon to be published
book. I'll maintain your trust.
Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

Andy Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Michael Balzano
1730 North Lynn Street
Suite 504
Arlington, Virginia
22209

BALZANO ASSOCIATES

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ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22209
(703) 276-1412

December 21, 1989

The Honorable Andrew Card
Assistant to the President
and Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy,

Per our conversation at the Christmas party last week, I have enclosed a chapter of a book that will be published on the Nixon presidency early in 1990. I would ask you not to share it with others until we have a chance to discuss it. I have shared it only with Richard Nixon, the President, the Vice President and John Sununu.

I look forward to chatting with you at some point early next year.

Sincerely,



Michael Balzano

Enclosures
MPB/wg

President Nixon Finds A Real Garbageman To Woo Garbagemen

What Has a Crewcut & a Ph.D.,
Tells Workers Nixon Is Great
And Believes in Achievement?

By JAMES P. GANNON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Mike Balzano thought he had finally found his niche.

A ninth-grade dropout, he had drifted through a dreary succession of blue-collar jobs: truck driver, packinghouse worker, carpenter's helper, banana-loader, pinsetter and changer of burned-out lightbulbs in outdoor signs. He claims he had 56 different employers in one year. "I would be hired on Monday and usually fired by Wednesday or Thursday," he explains.

Then he found job security and satisfaction—in collecting garbage. Except that after two years on a garbage truck, a bad back sidelined him. That was about 15 years ago, and right about then a funny thing happened: "I found out I wasn't as stupid as I once thought." He turned academic—winning his high school diploma at night school, finishing college and, finally, winning a Ph.D. in political philosophy from Georgetown University here.

Now Michael Pasquale Balzano Jr., ex-garbageman, quotes Plato a lot. He also quotes Richard Nixon a lot. For Mike Balzano has taken up yet another trade: Now he's a staff assistant to President Nixon and traveling ambassador to the blue-collar voter.

Out of a Time Capsule

Mr. Balzano, the 36-year-old son of Italian immigrants, is taking it all in stride. On the White House staff, he remarks, "We've had bankers, university professors, doctor this and doctor that, management people, Wall Street people, Harvard Business School people. Okay, so now you have a garbageman, too."

It makes sense—politically, at least. The garbageman-turned-political-philosopher seems made-to-order for the Nixon White House, busily trying to restore faith in the old American "achievement ethic." And as a classic example of self-made success in the tradition of Horatio Alger heroes, Mike Balzano is a natural match for the once-poor grocer's son who made it to the presidency.

Sitting in his cramped third-floor office in the Executive Office Building next door to the White House, Mr. Balzano looks like someone who just stepped out of an Eisenhower-era time capsule: crew-cut hair, horn-rimmed glasses (that he doesn't always wear), white shirt, dark tie, silver ID bracelet, drab brown suit. Embracing the old values, rejecting the radical chic, Mike Balzano wears his hardhat credentials more visibly than his doctorate and displays his ethnicity in expressive Italian

hands that poke, slice and shape the air as he talks in the staccato spiel of a street-vendor.

These are ideal qualities for Mr. Balzano's assignment as the President's envoy to the world of ethnic blue-collar workers. In his job, he hopscoches the country talking to and listening to the silent majority wherever it gathers: at union halls, factory gates, employee picnics and social affairs sponsored by ethnic organizations.

In recent weeks, Mr. Balzano has traveled to Pittsburgh to listen to steelworkers' gripes about in-plant pollution, to New York to speak at a testimonial dinner for a firefighters union chief, to Chicago to view a Polish Constitution Day parade and to Philadelphia to attend a Sons of Italy meeting.

Just a Working Stiff

At all such gatherings, Mr. Balzano's main message is that President Nixon cares about the concerns of the blue-collar worker, as evidenced by the fact that he has given a former \$47-a-week garbageman a \$23,000-a-year job. "I call it a revolution in representation," Mr. Balzano says. "When in hell has any other President ever had a blue-collar representative on his staff?"

The pitch goes over big. Mario LiVolsi, an official of the Italian Sons and Daughters of America in Pittsburgh, says Mr. Balzano's recent speech to the group's spaghetti dinner drew a standing ovation. He adds: "The audience was quite impressed with the idea of a blue-collar young man—not a college-degree intellectual, but just a working stiff—being on the President's staff. It's a real come-up-the-ladder story."

At an Akron, Ohio, dinner honoring an official of Babcock & Wilcox Co., a maker of industrial products, Mr. Balzano told the assembled management and union leaders and employees that the Nixon administration sides with "the constructive element in American life, the builders and workers" against the progress-stopping "destructive element" of the press, the "organized environmentalists" and the bureaucracy, according to William Eynon, a company official. This message "struck a chord" with the audience, Mr. Eynon says.

Besides serving as a sort of middle-American cheerleader, Mr. Balzano also acts as a White House sounding board for working-class opinions and as a blue-collar pipeline for specific favors.

Sample: Al Masewski, president of the Polish National Alliance in Chicago, thought Mr. Nixon ought to take a representative of the U.S. Polish-language press on his recent summit tour, which included a stop in Warsaw. So he appealed to Mr. Balzano, who managed to get John Krawiec, editor of the Polish Daily Zgoda, added to the traveling press corps. The result, of course, was reams of good copy in the Zgoda, which is distributed nationally.



During the President's deliberations on the school-busing controversy, Mr. Balzano says he apprised Mr. Nixon "of the mentality and the arguments of the people who don't want to be bused."

The White House aide says the President is keenly interested in such opinion soundings.

"You'll find that this President is a majority president," he says. "I know how careful he is in knowing where public opinion is. Believe me, Gallup and Harris have nothing on us. He knows where that majority is. If 82% of the people in this country do not want to be bused, this guy isn't going to bus them."

When some congressional liberals sought to cut off further federal financing of Radio Free Europe, Mr. Balzano reminded the President that thousands of Americans of Polish, Czech, Ukrainian and Lithuanian descent feel strongly about this channel of communication to their homelands behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Balzano, who shuns the polite, euphemistic bafflebagg used at the White House, sums up his advice this way: "Fund it at any cost! Take a steamroller, if necessary, and roll over the Congress! This is just too important." Mr. Nixon decided to ask for \$38.5 million to keep the broadcasts going. (Mr. Nixon's request has passed the Senate but still has to come before the House.)

As Mr. Balzano describes it, he got his job because Mr. Nixon began firing off memos last year that urged White House recruiters to "find people for the staff who are in touch with the People." Just about the same time, a Washington newspaper ran a front-page story on Mr. Balzano. "Somebody on the staff said, 'My God, this guy is a garbageman with a Ph.D.,'" says Mr. Balzano. Before you could say Horatio Alger, the White House was running a security check. After brief stints in government antipoverty programs, Mr. Balzano joined the President's staff early this year.

As a political philosopher, Mr. Balzano takes his greatest inspiration from Plato, ("You name it, Plato has said it all, already") John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and Niccolò Machiavelli. Though he's a Democrat by past voting pattern, Mr. Balzano admits that his own political philosophy closely parallels Richard Nixon's.

Some thoughts of Mike Balzano:

On the work ethic: "It's on the defensive everywhere, primarily from the intellectuals. The poor still believe in it, thank God. If we can keep the intellectuals away from the poor, they will be just fine."

On law, order and justice: "The problem of crime in the streets is half solved" through the administration's efforts to strengthen police forces. "The court system is the other half. The police are doing their job, but they can't keep up with the judges. The people are going bananas because of these judges."

On democracy and bureaucracy: "President Nixon doesn't run the bureaucracy; the civil service and the unions do. It took him three years to find out what was going on in the bureaucracy. And God forbid if any President is defeated after the first term, because then the bureaucracy has another three years to play games with the next President."

INTRODUCTION

As I was looking at the program and noting the titles of some panels convening today: Social Welfare, Defense, Military Policy, Foreign Policy, the Protest Movement, Watergate Revisited, etc. -- I could not help but think about the interrelationship between the presidential policies that are being discussed in those panels and that of the role of the Silent Majority.

Dr. Friedman commented earlier that one of the dichotomies plaguing scholars' writing about the Nixon years was the controversy over Nixon's policies on the one hand, and Nixon's unexplained electoral landslide on the other. Today I would like to shed some light on that dichotomy. I will argue that Nixon's overwhelming victory was not in spite of his controversial policies, but because the vast Silent Majority agreed with Nixon on the issues.

Further, I will argue that the Silent Majority's endorsement of Nixon's policies was not silent. It was quite vocal in its support and activist in its behavior. In my view, the relationship between this panel and the other panels discussing so-called "controversial" presidential policy is that the Silent Majority more than counter-balanced the anti-war protesters and social activists seeking to stop Nixon's policies. In short, it was the Silent Majority that gave Nixon the support needed to pursue those policies.

The Silent Vs. the New Majority

Before I begin, I want to offer some thoughts on the title of today's panel. This panel should be placed in historical context and re-titled the "New Majority", as opposed to the "Silent Majority." During the sixties the titles of two widely read political books contained the word "majority." Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg authored The Real Majority, a socio-political treatise on the average man's discontent during what some have called "the years of permissive behavior." This public discontent with the government's inability to maintain law and order during the early days of crime in the streets and campus demonstrations had electoral consequences. Kevin Phillips focused on those consequences. Phillips authored a political treatise entitled The Emerging New Republican Majority. The two works were not unrelated. In my view, which is supported by Professor Scammon, it was the public perception that the leadership of the national Democratic party was in large part responsible for the permissiveness of the sixties. It was this perception that later caused the rank and file Democrats to charge that the Democratic party had abandoned them. Focusing on the public unhappiness with national party leadership, Phillips' book described the currents that could propel the Republican party into a majority party and bring about that elusive realignment that is the fantasy of all Republican strategists and

presidential candidates.

The words "Silent Majority" obtained national recognition when in a televised speech President Nixon dismissed the significance of the anti-war protesters and appealed to that great "Silent Majority" to continue to support his plan to end the war.

In the Nixon White House, we used the term "New Majority" to describe major social elements that were the bedrock of the Roosevelt Coalition: Southern Democrats, ethnics, Catholics and labor unions. The other term used to describe the New Majority was "Middle America." The driving force behind our pursuit of these constituencies was our belief that the New Left leadership of the Democratic Party had indeed abandoned its power base. Hence, we reasoned that these rejected constituencies could forge an alliance with the Republican party and create a new majority.

The pursuit of the New Majority was largely the responsibility of the Office of Public Liaison directed by Charles Colson. Staff members assigned to Colson were in turn responsible for individual constituencies. Because of my background as an Italian, high school drop-out, illiterate garbage-collector-turned-Ph.D., I was assigned to a constituency that dealt with the working people. The Wall Street Journal later described me as "Nixon's favorite garbage collector" and "a cheerleader for Middle America." My constituency included such ethnic groups as Slavs, Poles, Ukrainians, Armenians and Italians, as well as ethnic fraternal orders such as the Sons of

Italy, Polish Nation Alliance, etc. It included community groups that sought to establish a presidential policy over issues that ranged from supporting Radio-Free Europe and Radio Liberty to national groups united to obtain federal research funds for Cooley's anemia, a sickle cell-like blood disease that only struck those of Mediterranean extraction.

I was a White House liaison for a number of citizens' rights groups that appeared on the national scene in response to a number of government-initiated solutions to social problems. Among those were inner city neighborhood preservation groups; members of the Citizens' Rights To Bear Arms Coalition; and of course, the dozens of groups that were formed in opposition to court ordered busing. Because the Middle-American constituency I pursued was so broad, I also dealt with many of the industrial unions who were in opposition to government attempts to break the seniority system.

Still another constituency that found its way into my office were the urban mayors and ward aldermen from cities large and small. The mayors of Philadelphia, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Providence were the most notable who came to the White House door seeking favors. All of them represented cities whose populations were the soul of the Democratic Party.

The Common Denominator: the Achievement Ethic

Given the number of panelists waiting to speak today, I can only touch briefly on some of the factors that brought the New

Majority into being, however, I want to focus on the common denominator they shared -- belief in the achievement ethic.

As is the case with most social movements, the driving force behind the New Majority was perception on the part of its leadership that Middle America was the social target of the sixties. Again, we cannot discuss them all, but a few are noteworthy. Middle America perceived itself as the target of social policies emanating from government bureaucrats; the target of political reform of the Presidential nominating process; and the target of the anti-war protest movement.

One can argue that the New Majority was wrong; that Middle America was not the target of anyone. What I would like to do today is talk just briefly about each of the target issues I've raised to give you some appreciation of those concerns that our New Majority constituent groups brought to my White House office. I will focus today on only three areas where the New Majority saw itself as the target.

One of the most visible constituents of the New Majority was the "ethnic" or "hyphenated Americans": Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Greek-Americans, Chinese-Americans, etc. The "ethnics" were immigrants and the children of immigrants who were drawn to America because of the economic and social mobility embodied in the promise of the American Dream. The pattern of American social mobility had been established since the birth of our nation. In America, rewards are given not on the basis of

birth, but by merit. The ethnics, most of them blue-collar workers, arrived on our shores and started at the bottom of the economic and social ladder. They knew the rules of the game -- hard work and sacrifice. Progress up the ladder was a function of each succeeding generation being able to stand on the sacrifices and achievements of those who had gone before them. The key was that everyone had equal access to the ladder. However, you and I both know that some groups were prevented from getting to the ladder because of discrimination. The ethnics believed that discrimination was wrong. Equal opportunity to them meant that everyone should have equal access to the ladder and that legal or social obstacles should be removed.

Suddenly, the rules were changed. Judges, social planners, and government bureaucrats attempting to correct past injustices to minorities and women changed the definition of equal opportunity. Now it meant granting bonus points up the ladder to those for whom access had once been denied. Since from an economic and social perspective many of the ethnics were at the lower ends of the ladder, they were the first to be displaced. When they protested their displacement, they were dismissed as racists. They were unfairly blamed for the plight of minorities who in most cases lived a city block away.

We must concede that clashes in the inner cities between ethnics and minorities were inspired by struggling parties either trying to maintain their position on the ladder or to displace someone above them. However, to conclude as many social

activists of the sixties did, that racism or naked self interest was the motivating force behind the ethnic component of the New Majority misses a crucial point. The ethnics were the first to see that government bureaucrats had removed merit as a criterion for advancement and substituted race and sex.

Leaders from ethnic fraternals who were self-made millionaires and who by no means were threatened on the ladder, were as outraged as those displaced. They began seeing the wholesale destruction of the merit system. The lowering of admission standards in schools and the requirement that women and minorities be placed prominently on corporate boards were visible manifestations of the overthrow of the merit system. Hence, ethnics, along with those in the less skilled trades, were the first targets of the quota systems that were orchestrated by the federal government. From their perspective, individual economic displacement was followed by the attack on the neighborhood school: court-ordered busing.

Still another set of emotional issues surrounded the use of federal funds for birth control clinics and government bureaucratic rhetoric championing abortion. Coming from traditional religious communities, ethnics did not want these activities brought into their neighborhood. Once again, their protests were dismissed as religious fanaticism.

During the sixties when crime became an issue in almost every urban election and law and order became an issue of the 1968 Presidential campaign, the gun control issue emerged. The

social planners' answer to crime in the streets was to "take guns away from criminals" and, at the same time, law-abiding citizens. Again, blue-collar Middle America saw itself as the target. "You won't punish those who use a gun in a crime, why punish me for having one?" was the normal complaint brought to the White House.

For years ethnics lived under a bureaucratic reign of terror. Later in the Ford and Carter years, the Congress stepped in to check bureaucrats gone wild. But even then, it took ridiculous regulations creating ignition controlled seat belts, the outlawing of all-male choirs, father and son swims and the like, for lawmakers to understand that the general public had had it. Still, for almost a decade, the protests of those who were first subjected to the assaults were dismissed as racial bigotry and celebrated by the T.V. characterization of that typical Middle American, Archie Bunker.

Keeping in mind the observations of authors Scammon, Wattenberg and Phillips, there were obvious electoral consequences for the Democratic Party. The victories of Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo, Cleveland's Mayor Ralph Perk, as well as the victories of New York's Senator James Buckley and Maryland's Senator J. Glen Beall were due, in large part, to the defection of rank and file ethnic blue-collar Democrats. Middle America realized that it had been abandoned by the national Democratic leadership; the New Majority was now moving toward Richard Nixon.

The Democratic Convention of 1972:

The Nominating Process

Like most of those in the White House in 1972, I watched the coverage of the battles that took place at the Democratic Convention. Suffice it to say that the T.V. viewing audience was turned off by McGovern supporters whether peaceful partially-nude females, or less peaceful long-haired protesters spiking the tires of cars and buses trying to cross the causeways to the Convention. One of the most significant battles however, was less apparent to the average viewer. That was the battle that had already taken place before the credentials committee seating delegates from the states. You may recall the coverage on some networks of delegates who were elected in primaries, state and local elections being unseated and replaced with delegates who fit the profile of the McGovern Rules Committee.

Local political parties are social organizations. They are run by volunteers who work closely with rank and file voters to produce candidates that will reflect views of a consensus of that community. Mayor Daley's pro-Humphrey delegates were outraged when a large portion of the Chicago delegation was unseated and replaced by pro-McGovern delegates. Later that fall in a meeting with Mayor Richard Daley, I had the historic privilege of hearing one of Chicago's most famous aldermen, Vito Marzullo, give his version of the delegate fiasco. "This was our organization," Marzullo argued. "All of our people were good people! What the

hell am I going to tell my precinct captains when these people [our delegates] come home? You think they're going to work for the ticket? They gotta understand the ward organization belongs to the people of the ward and the city of Chicago, not a bunch of long-haired hoodlums who took over the party machine!"

Coincidentally, the unseated delegates represented ethnic blue-collar Middle American wards. Again, the spectre of Archie Bunker was raised in rebuttal to every protest. One could say, "well, they were all paranoid," and that "no offense was intended." They could say that their local ward organization was the target of someone else's bigotry.

The Protest Movement and the New Majority

This morning, in the panel on The Protest Movement and the Vietnam War, Mr. Gottlieb stated that the violence of the war protesters discouraged Middle American support for the anti-war movement. I agree. But I would say there were other reasons. One reason was that blue-collar Middle America had once again played by the rules and now saw in the demands of the anti-war leadership still another mechanism to erode merit: to forgive the privileged who evaded the draft and punish those of Middle America who served.

The unfairness of it all was chronicled by more than one blue-collar delegation that came to my White House office. It went something like this: "We didn't have the money to send our kids to college. Without a college deferment they went to

Vietnam. Kids with well-off parents went to school. When their deferment got yanked, they ran off to Canada. Now McGovern wants to give them amnesty so they can come home -- and our kids are still there!"

To ethnic and labor leaders who were veterans of World War II and Korea, the prospect of ending the war without first releasing the American prisoners amounted to surrender. Perhaps the most vocal opponent of the McGovern anti-war proposals was George Meany, then-president of the AFL-CIO.

When it came to the Vietnam War, the New Majority was far from silent. In many ways their anger was the result of years of watching the various protests covered on national television; from the violence at the Chicago Convention and the campus protests to the burning of the draft cards and American flags. Interestingly enough, that part of the New Majority that came from Middle America itself, i.e. Ohio, Kansas, Missouri, and Illinois, was as fervent as the groups in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. I was teaching at a college in Maryland when the Kent State tragedy occurred. The professors at our college viewed the Guardsmen as "pot-bellied, trigger-happy, weekend-warriors" and "agents of a Capitalist Establishment." The people of Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia who watched the students on local television the night before saw the building burned and the protesters cutting the hoses of the firemen trying to fight the fire.

One cannot discuss the non-silent activist aspects of the New Majority without mentioning the "hard hat" demonstration on Wall Street. I am not as qualified as Don Rodgers who will speak on that subject, but I can tell you that the hard hat demonstration represented an explosive moment in the creation of the New Majority. I refer to the day when the hard hats came down from their steel catwalks and began punching-out students from the local campuses who had been jeering and cat-calling them for days. In many ways that fist fight covered on the evening news galvanized every component of the New Majority around Richard Nixon.

I think even from the brief comments I have made here today, one can see that components of the New Majority coalition shared several common denominators. This is where the New Majority became a monolith. It was not at all uncommon to find the president of a local union committed to the seniority rule who was Catholic, who believed in the right to own handguns, who was a Korean or World War II veteran, with a son in Vietnam, who opposed amnesty for draft evaders, and who lived in an inner-city neighborhood torn by forced busing.

I said at the outset that our panel on the Silent Majority more than counter-balanced the anti-war protesters and gave Nixon the support he needed to pursue the agenda of his administration. This included ending the war on his terms rather than those dictated by the leaders of the anti-war movement. Perhaps no

single point was more important to Nixon than his insistence that Hanoi first hand over the American war prisoners. It is here where the shouts of the Silent Majority drowned out the war protesters. The Congress heard those shouts. Individual legislators fearing the New Majority at the polls gave Nixon the time needed to bring the prisoners home. Most vocal of the New Majority in this regard was the American labor movement. George Meany did not endorse McGovern, but for the first time in history declared neutrality. This freed the Federation's general presidents to follow the dictates of their individual rank and file to join Nixon.

Ten years later in a memo to the campaign manager of Senator Jeremiah Denton, I tried to persuade campaign officials who had written off Alabama's labor vote that Denton owed an enormous debt to the American labor movement. The following paragraphs are relevant:

One closing thought on Jeremiah Denton, the unions, and the election of 1986. Almost two decades ago, the destiny of these seemingly incongruous entities became one. When I joined the Nixon Administration, as a lifelong Democrat, the nation was embroiled in the Vietnam War... As Nixon's labor liaison, I watched the labor unions of this country defend Nixon on the war.

Nixon, himself, speaks of those critical years when only the unions stood between the White House and the rest of the Democratic Party. The leadership of that party was prepared for unconditional surrender, but they were denied the majority by the unions: the essential voting block of the Roosevelt Coalition. Democratic legislators sympathetic to ending the war by surrender, had their feet held to the fire by the delegations of union leaders who walked the halls of Congress and whose presence outweighed the well-organized waves of demonstrators seeking a Congressional mandate. Denied a majority in Congress, the anti-war activists took

to the streets. Again, they found the unions. The unions waged a three-front war: they fought the anti-war lobbyists in the Congress, the professors and students in the streets, and the McGovernites in the voting booths.

In the end, they held off the proponents of surrender long enough for Nixon to end the war and bring home the John McCains, the Everett Alvarez', and yes, the Jeremiah Dentons.

Obviously, the portion of the memo just quoted relates to my attempt to establish an appreciation on Denton's part for the personal debt he owed the unions for obtaining his freedom. Other portions of the memo were aimed at getting Denton's policy advisors to be more accommodating to the unions on policy issues important to labor in order to obtain labor support for issues important to the Senator. In my view, nothing is more relevant to understanding Nixon's outreach to the labor unions than his ability to be accommodating on policy issues.

Nixon was willing to compromise on issues that many Republicans would consider non-negotiable, as long as a greater presidential objective was at stake. A case in point was Nixon's pursuit of detente. Nixon knew that the cause of detente would be furthered if the Soviets could buy American wheat. The problem was that the anti-Soviet U.S. maritime unions, especially the International Longshoremen's Association, would not allow grain to be loaded at American ports. To break this union-imposed embargo, Colson approached Jesse Calhoun, then-president of the National Marine Engineers Union. At that time this union was one of the smallest but one of the most influential unions in

the AFL-CIO.

Unique among union presidents, Calhoon was nationally recognized as a financial genius for having personally directed his union pension fund to well over a billion dollars. Among Wall Street investment bankers Calhoon had earned the nickname of "the Labor Capitalist". A highly visible Democrat, Calhoon was also known as a strong nationalist and fervent anti-communist. Colson reasoned that if Calhoon could be enlisted to help move wheat in the interest of detente, he could influence others in the AFL-CIO to follow his lead without being seen as soft on the Soviets.

Calhoon agreed to move the wheat if Nixon would agree to ship 50 percent of the wheat on U.S. flagships. Further, to improve relations with non-maritime AFL-CIO unions, Calhoon encouraged the Administration to agree to review the case of the air traffic controllers who were fired by Nixon in 1970 in a strike identical to the Reagan PATCO confrontation that was to occur a decade later. Here, Calhoon was presenting the Nixon Administration with two Republican philosophical red flags: cargo preference and public employee strikes. Colson cautioned Nixon that "conservative Republican senators will be offended by sacrificing principle on these issues." Nixon responded, "they will just have to understand that detente is far more important to the nation than the handful of jobs we're trading." With detente as a more overriding objective, Nixon quickly accepted the deal. The wheat was moved, the farmers were happy, the

balance of trade improved, more Soviet Jews were allowed to emigrate, the controllers were rehired, detente went forward, and Calhoon became a charter member of Democrats For Nixon. Calhoon later said, "Nixon not only knew how to cut a deal, but he knew who the players were, and he didn't let Republican ideology stand in his way."

To demonstrate the difference between Nixon on this point and other Republicans, no better example exists than the Reagan Administration attempt to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act. This act was passed to protect the prevailing wage rate in the construction industry. Critics argue that its affect is to raise the price of construction. In 1986, breaking one of only four written pledges Reagan made to the unions, the Secretary of Labor moved to "adjust" provisions of Davis-Bacon. A sacred cow of the building trades, the unions knew that the "adjustment" amounted to gutting provisions of the Act. As if this were not enough, the Secretary of Labor's transmittal letter to the Senate included his desire to "adjust the provisions of the Service Contract Act," whose greatest impact struck low wage janitorial jobs held by minorities and women working on military bases. This became a major issue in the 1986 Senate races. At that time the National Republican Senatorial Committee was chaired by Senator John Heinz, a moderate Republican coming from a strong labor state. Heinz could see the impact of any attempt to cut Davis-Bacon. I say "attempt" because Heinz informed the Administration that "there was no way that even a Republican-

controlled Senate could muster the votes needed to amend that law." I spoke personally with the Secretary of Labor and a Cabinet Secretary at the White House warning that the move on Davis-Bacon could undermine a priority that was more important to a defense-oriented Reagan Administration -- namely, the MX missile. The building trades' unions were the only unions still supporting the President's treasured MX missile program, which was still being debated before the Senate.

I was unsuccessful in persuading them to abandon this effort. As Heinz predicted, the repeal effort failed. Just as surely, the building trades' battle cry for the 1986 Senate elections was to recapture Democratic control of the Senate in order to end Republican attempts to repeal Davis-Bacon. At a building trades convention held later that summer, Congressman Jim Wright told the labor gathering: "We forgive you [for voting for Reagan]. We knew all you wanted was jobs. You wanted to build those missile silos for Reagan's MX program. But," he said through a smile showing all of his teeth, "Reagan didn't tell you he was going to kill Davis-Bacon and have you pour concrete for \$5 an hour, did he?"

The Republicans lost control of the Senate that year. But more importantly, the building trades' support for the MX evaporated. The program goal of 200 MX missiles was now capped at 40. Nixon would have been more interested in obtaining the maximum number of MX missiles, not in participating to what amounted to a philosophical "cross burning."

The campaign of 1972 afforded Democrats from every state the opportunity to participate in policymaking that affected their constituencies. For example, the president of the United Steelworkers of America at that time was I.W. Abel, a labor statesman. One of his Assistants, a union organizer and prominent Italian from Pittsburgh, was Lefty Scumaci. Scumaci was constantly in my office providing me with the views of President Abel on various pieces of social legislation. Abel's primary concern in those days was the need for the government to create some mechanism to insure and protect the pensions of workers from companies who went out of business. More than anything, he did not want Nixon to veto legislation creating the Pension Benefits Guarantee Corporation. In a signal of good faith to Abel, Nixon signed the bill. The existence of the PBGC today is more a monument to I.W. Abel than is the building named after J. Edgar Hoover a monument to him. In several meetings with Abel, this smiling, prince-of-a-man constantly told me that neither he nor any of his lieutenants would endorse Richard Nixon, but added that Nixon's support for the PBGC was an endorsement in itself and said Nixon "will probably carry the steelworkers by at least 5 to 1."

Scumaci himself could not endorse Nixon, yet later that year, Lefty had little choice but to become linked to the election of '72. Stan Anderson, a White House official and one of the strongest advocates for bringing the New Majority into the Republican party, arranged for Lefty's son Ross to address the

Republican National Convention. Ross had founded a community group called "Working Youth For Nixon." Anderson worked with convention officials to accept a teenager who had never given a speech in his life to address the convention in prime time.

This presented Lefty with a dilemma. Because of his visible position on Abel's staff and the union's declaration of neutrality, Scumaci at first tried to distance himself from the teenager's decision. There was the danger of undermining himself with the Allegheny County Democratic Party. As legislative representative for the Steelworkers, a post always assigned to a Democrat, Lefty was pushed by the County machine to serve on boards and commissions. Openly supporting his son's public appearance before the Republican convention could jeopardize Lefty's standing with the party. But fortified by neighborhood residents and Abel's comments that Lefty "looked pale and needed a few days in the sun," the Scumacis threw political caution to the wind and flew to Miami to attend the convention.

Unfortunately, they were unable to reach the convention hall because the demonstrators had ice-picked the tires of the buses in the streets approaching the causeways. In fact, the anti-war protesters and the Miami Beach police clashed in front of Scumaci's hotel, filling the lobby with fleeing demonstrators and tear gas.

With eyes red from tear gas, the Scumacis had to watch their son on television. Scumaci's neighborhood precinct wards also watched as the legendary Walter Cronkite announced the young

speaker, noting the significance of working class participation in a Republican forum. Pittsburgh's workers beamed with pride as they heard the teenager's opening remarks: "By trade, I am a boilermaker." Pride turned to fury when in the middle of the address, the network switched its coverage to police attempts to clear the traffic jams resulting from the fabian-like assaults on vehicles approaching Convention Hall. The protesters, police, and the tear gas filled the neighborhood T.V. screens. Coverage of Scumaci was over. That event galvanized Pittsburgh's ethnic and labor Democrats around Richard Nixon. Later, Mike Samm, the Lebanese-born Director of the National Wage Office for the United Steelworkers exclaimed, "protesters!? When I get into that voting booth I'm going to register my protest! I'm going to ring that chime for Nixon so hard that my vote will break the machine!"

Three days before the election, Nixon called the Scumacis and personally thanked Lefty and Ross for the stand they had taken on his behalf.

New Majority and the Republican Party:

Forging the Alliance

The real success of the Nixon White House was that, under Nixon, the Republican party became the party of the open door. The New Majority was asked to share in the spoils of the victory. Nowhere was the commitment to bring the New Majority into the Republican party more visible than in Nixon's personal

involvement in filling high level government positions with his ethnic and labor supporters.

Knowing that he had broken the back of the Roosevelt Coalition, after the election Nixon's plan was to quickly solidify that victory. In this regard, a key strategy was to fill his administration with Democratic leaders who had bolted their party. But this was easier said than done, because some in the Office of Presidential Personnel did not share Nixon's goal. Immediately after the election, our office began submitting lists of New Majority candidates for top government positions. Yet, almost two months after the election, the Personnel Office had dismissed all of our candidates as being unqualified, or in their terms, "not heavy enough" to manage government posts. In numerous memos I informed Colson about the disqualification of our candidates by what we called "the pedigree credentials committee." To those of us familiar with the process, it appeared that there was a subconscious bias against our ethnic candidates and in favor of traditional WASP Republicans.

The personnel logjam was broken when Nixon learned that a prominent anti-war McGovern supporter had been given a presidential appointment. An outraged Nixon summoned Colson to inquire how this could have happened. Colson, in explaining that Presidential Personnel was pursuing its own agenda, further infuriated Nixon by using the opportunity to present Nixon with the status of his program to bring New Majority candidates into the administration. Nixon ordered Colson to assume

responsibility for the ethnic appointments and to stop all other appointments until our candidates were placed. Within the hour, a gleeful Colson personally informed the Director of White House Personnel, in front of his senior staff, about the "explosion" that had just taken place in the Oval Office. For the first time, the social class issue was being taken head-on. What follows are excerpts from my notes that were submitted to Colson after the meeting:

COLSON: The President has learned that his wishes to build a New Majority have somehow not been carried out. We seem to be having a problem with definitions about who is or is not qualified.

The Director of White House Personnel began citing the criteria for the placement of candidates. These included a review of the schools and universities attended by candidates and their experience in managing established Fortune 500 companies.

COLSON: Well, that's what we're doing wrong... We're going to give you [the staff] a new criteria.... Let's take a hypothetical case. Let's say we have two candidates being reviewed for a presidential. One of them is your typical Republican heavyweight. He's been to Princeton or Harvard; he's got the right family, the right connections. He's probably worth a few bucks. You know, all the right credentials. The other one [our candidate] is different. This guy couldn't get into one of the Ivy League schools. In fact, he couldn't afford to go to school full-time because he was busy working to support a family. So he gets his degree by working days and going to school nights. Today, he's the vice president of a small, but up-coming bank in Chicago. Now, the President feels that our candidate is the kind of man he wants in the job because he's a hard worker

and because he has not had the world handed to him on a silver platter."

When staff members again tried to defend the criteria for the appointments they had made, arguing that they could produce candidates with ethnic names if that's what Colson wanted, Colson responded,

You're missing the point again. I didn't call this meeting. It's immaterial what either of us wants; I'm only delivering a message. The President wants ethnics in his second administration. What's more, he wants these ethnics! [waving the list of names before the staff]

These are the people who supported the President. Some of these people are lifelong Democrats. The fact is that many of them hurt themselves in their own party because they supported Richard Nixon. They were loyal to us. They kept their promises. And we are going to keep ours. We have presidential appointments to give out. These people are perfectly qualified to fill them.

To establish the fast track for New Majority candidates, Jerry Jones, Deputy Director of Personnel and one committed to ethnic appointments in the Personnel Office, began reporting directly to Colson. Colson later informed Nixon that someone was "now overseeing" Nixon's program whose "political judgment and loyalty to the mission was beyond question." In a period of weeks, a series of agency Directorships and Assistant Secretary positions began going to people whose names were difficult to spell and almost impossible to pronounce.

Nixon was forced one last time to become personally and

painfully involved in the question of his commitment to the New Majority. Ironically, that case involved me. After Colson left the White House, an attempt was made by the Domestic Council to scatter Colson's White House staff to the various agencies. My office was to be abolished. When I reported to Colson what was happening, he suggested that I not fight the decision and to take a government agency instead. Since I had written my doctoral dissertation on volunteerism and served as an expert consultant in structuring ACTION, the newly created federal volunteer agency, he suggested that I should become its new Director. Colson cleared the appointment with Nixon. Suddenly a problem emerged. Jerry Jones informed me that one of the President's most senior advisors, who had never been friendly to the concept of the New Majority, promised ACTION to one of Nixon's oldest and dearest friends. Moreover, he had leaked the person's name to the Washington Post in what Jones described as "an obvious attempt to force the President to go along with it." The next day the Washington Post carried the story.

Watching Colson's staff being decimated, and believing that I had no chance for the post, I prepared a letter of resignation. I told Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan, Nixon's highest ranking Democratic labor appointee, of my decision. Coincidentally, that day, Brennan was flying to Miami with the President and was ready to unload a series of problems he had had in obtaining lower level clearances of appointments at Labor. In his complaint to Nixon he included the story surrounding my resignation.

Brennan telephoned me saying, "I told the old man everything, and he's pissed." According to Brennan, Nixon assured him that the New Majority would not be run out. "My commitment to the New Majority will not be undermined," he told Brennan, adding that he would address the problem that very day.

Brennan was right. Dick Howard, Colson's former Executive Assistant, told me that Nixon was sending no less than Bob Haldeman to resolve "the Balzano problem." Howard penned a strong memo to Haldeman outlining the issues, and later that evening I explained to Haldeman what had happened. On Nixon's orders, Haldeman ordered Jones to prepare a list of all unfilled positions including ambassadorships, and to tell the other candidate that she could have anything else she wanted. In a meeting with her, Jones tried to explain the awkward position in which the President had been placed by the Post article. He stressed the importance of the "New Majority symbolism" behind a Balzano appointment to ACTION. All was to no avail. Jones informed Haldeman that her answer was "it's ACTION or nothing." Haldeman conveyed this ultimatum to Nixon and removed himself from the decision. Announcing that he would not permit a personal friendship to undermine his determination to bring Democrats into the Republican party, Nixon ordered the press secretary to announce my nomination. I sat with Dick Howard while Nixon met with the other candidate to explain why I was going to be the new Director of ACTION. Howard kept an open line to staff people sitting in the small room adjacent to the Oval

Office. From this vantage point, we received an instant playback of the conversation. In an emotional meeting, Nixon painfully conveyed the decision to his friend of 30 years.

The New Majority and Watergate

Nixon was committed to the goal of a political realignment and was reaching out to achieve it. It was Watergate that prevented that realignment. Watergate heralded the end of the New Majority in at least three ways. First, after the departure of Richard Nixon, the Ford Administration did not make pursuit of the New Majority a priority. This may in part have been due to Ford enduring so much heat after the Nixon pardon. But Ford visibly moved away from most of the unions who had endorsed Nixon.

Second, even if Ford may have wanted to pursue the New Majority, some Republican congressmen and senators urged Ford officials to clean house of all Nixon appointees, including the most recent New Majority appointments. Secretary Peter Brennan was pressured to leave and did. I was pressured to leave and did not.

Third, visible spokesmen of the New Majority both at the national and state level were prosecuted and persecuted. This morning I believe Tom Hayden used the word "paranoid" to describe how he and other anti-war demonstrators felt during the trials of the more violent anti-war leaders. Would I surprise you if I said that national leaders of the New Majority felt equally

paranoid that they were being hunted down by anti-Nixon elements both in and out of government? Their fears were reinforced not only because they saw Nixon officials being sent to jail, but because of the string of trials that were taking place across the country.

The public saw the most prominent of the Democrats For Nixon, John Connolly, tried in a circus-like atmosphere concerning the Milk Scandal. Connolly was acquitted. What the public did not see was the wholesale indictment of dozens of labor union presidents of major locals who had been both publicly supportive of Nixon's plan to end the war and his reelection. Word among the labor unions was that the anti-Nixon bureaucrats in the Labor and Justice Departments had declared it open season on Nixon's labor base. As with Governor Connolly's case, most of the indictments went to expensive trials where the defendants were acquitted.

Often after expensive legal preparation the cases were thrown out of court. Such was the case of Pennsylvania union leader Fred Gualtiere, business manager for Local 154 of the Boilermakers, who was indicted on charges of violating provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act. When it became clear that one of the key factors in his indictment stemmed from a \$40 charge for his wife's hairdo being inadvertently charged to his hotel room during a union convention, a federal judge threw the case out of court. Gualtiere took no comfort in learning about the investigations of other union leaders who were active in Nixon's

reelection. "Pretty soon they will be investigating the people who voted for Nixon," he told his union president.

Jesse Calhoon and his organization were also targeted. According to Calhoon, his support for Nixon cost the union a fortune in administrative and legal fees to deal not only with the various grand juries, but also with audits from the federal elections committee, the Labor and Justice Departments, and the I.R.S. Calhoon said that the visits by auditors were so frequent each week that he provided the auditors with office space. Some of the auditors were there for years. To eliminate confusion among Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA) personnel that these auditors might be employees, Calhoon required the investigators to wear badges marked "VISITOR." Despite the fact that Calhoon told each investigator that in its hundred-year history no MEBA officer had ever been indicted, let alone convicted, the investigations went on. After hundreds of thousands of dollars in legal fees, no charges were ever made that the union had done anything illegal.

Still others were punished by Democratic Party officials in their own states. Such was the case of Robert D'Anniballe, a prominent Democrat from Stubenville, Ohio whose confrontation with the Washington press corps outside a restaurant where Nixon was celebrating his wife's birthday was carried on the morning network news. His spirited defense of Richard Nixon cost him a contract with the Ohio state government as a consultant on emergency medical services.

New Majority labor leaders were even more horrified when they learned of the partisan nature of their prosecutors. The overwhelming majority of those who served on the staff of the special prosecutor were highly partisan Democrats. In Colson's book, Born Again, he noted this fact, adding that the attorney who brought him before the grand jury had been an unsuccessful Democratic congressional candidate and state chairman for Bobby Kennedy's aborted presidential campaign. After watching the convictions and jail terms given to senior White House officials, and juxtaposing this with the random indictments of Nixon's union supporters around the country, many of the apostles of the New Majority began to feel like it was Good Friday without the promise of resurrection.

Let me confess to you that I, too, was terrified about what I saw as attempts to get even with anyone who worked for Nixon. On this point, Tom Hayden and I shared the paranoia. While I was Director of ACTION, I was summoned as a witness before one of the many grand juries that were investigating White House activities. When told by officials in the Nixon White House that I was "on my own," I sought the advice of my close friend of many years, Hubert Humphrey. After some research, he told me I was "a pawn in a much larger game" and that "the special prosecutor would love to knock off an agency Director," adding that the hatred and bitterness arising out of Nixon's victory had created "a witchhunt atmosphere." Further, he cautioned me against retaining a Republican law firm. "This is no time for a

Republican law firm... witness or no witness, you better protect yourself," he said. With that, he arranged for me to be represented by one of the most prominent Democratic law firms in Washington -- Kampelman, Harris & Shriver.

One afternoon I went to the home of Chuck Colson to share with him the stories of New Majority leaders who feared persecution. For the first time, I shared with him my terror at being summoned by the grand jury and told him of Humphrey's advice and help. I had already made one appearance before the jury. It was clear that I did not have what the prosecutor wanted. It was equally clear, I said, that I would be called again. Colson then told me that all of the investigations of his staff would soon be stopped; that he was taking steps to halt what was obvious harassment of his staff. Before I left the house that afternoon he told me to tell my wife Denise, "don't worry about it, everything will be fine. Next week it will all go away." Early that week the network news covered the story of Colson's pleading guilty to non-Watergate related charges.

After Colson's guilty plea, I was never called again.

Colson was successful in halting the unfair persecution of his staff. But his guilty plea did nothing to halt the persecution of ethnic labor leaders across the country who were guilty of nothing more than having supported Nixon. To this very day, these leaders still talk about the "witchhunt." In short, the partisan nature of the Watergate investigations of the New

Majority and its leaders contributed to its disillusionment.

It has been some fourteen years since the Watergate explosion blew the pieces of the Colson staff apart. On and off throughout the years, some of us have gotten together and talked about what we had experienced. But, until today, none of us had ever spoken publicly about the roles we had played.

I can confess to you that the "witchhunt atmosphere" contributed much to my silence. At the risk of still sounding paranoid, like many of Nixon's supporters even today, I continue to believe that a fair number of those who served as prosecutors used the cloak of the legal system to pursue a course of partisan revenge.

What Ever Happened to the New Majority?

The New Majority was not a contrived majority. It was composed of people who were real; people who were abandoned by a national leadership that blindly trampled the soul of their own party into the ground.

Watergate may have stopped Nixon from completing the goal of bringing the New Majority into the Republican party, but neither did these constituencies return to the Democratic party after Watergate. All of the elements that drove Democrats like us from the party still exist today.

The New Majority today constitutes that crucial margin of victory that floats between the two parties -- first granting

Carter, then Reagan, the votes to win. Each of the national parties pays eloquent lip service in praise of the values that the New Majority hold dear. But beyond that, neither party seems willing to modify its national posture enough to make these people a permanent home.

Let me conclude by saying that I am proud to have served in the Nixon Administration and more proud to have played a part in delivering the New Majority to Nixon in 1972. My role in that election will always remain the greatest adventure of my life.

I want to thank members of the faculty who invited me to participate today and share with you and my former members of the Colson staff the thoughts I have conveyed. I will be happy to answer any questions from the audience at the designated question period.

BALZANO ASSOCIATES

1730 NORTH LYNN STREET
SUITE 504
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22209
(703) 276-1412

April 25, 1989

The Honorable Richard Nixon
577 Chestnut Ridge Road
Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey 07675

Dear President Nixon,

In 1972 I served in your administration. I was the former garbage-collector in Charles Colson's office who was liaison to the ethnics, blue-collar workers and grass roots labor leaders. I have attached a copy of the Wall Street Journal article that you read so many years ago, because it best describes my role in assembling what has come to be called the "New Majority."

The last time we spoke was in 1974 on the morning after your wife's birthday dinner at Trader Vics. You may recall that on leaving the restaurant that night you were beset upon by shouting reporters blocking your way. From out of the crowd, a prominent Italian leader from Steubenville, Ohio, Robert D'Anniballe, took on the media in your defense in what was to be an impromptu "press conference." After reviewing D'Anniballe's performance on the morning news, you called me to relay your thanks to him and to thank me once again for the role I played in bringing the D'Anniballes, the Scumacis, and the Marzulllos into your camp.

Over the years, I have kept in touch with Chuck Colson, who has told me of your conversations reminiscing with him about the New Majority. One of those conversations prompted you to call Ronald Reagan in 1980 to recommend that he use me to reassemble the New Majority in his presidential bid. Your call resulted in my becoming his grass roots mobilizer seeking to emulate your success. I played a similar role in the Bush campaign but restricted my outreach efforts to the workforce of the aerospace and defense electronics industries.

I am writing you today to give you an advance copy of what I am submitting for publication in the volume being prepared by Hofstra University on the Nixon Presidential Conference. But I want also to put this paper in context. When Chuck Colson left the White House in 1973, he was approached by several publishers expressing an interest in publishing anything about the New Majority. They argued that scholars, journalists, and future historians would be interested in understanding the mechanism that you used to capture the Roosevelt Coalition. At that time, I spoke with Chuck about some ideas that should be included in a book focusing on the New Majority. I offered him five chapters

of observations I had collected. Chuck wisely instructed me to hold on to the memos and the manuscript until such time when there would be a more objective audience. That time, as you know, has been long in coming.

When we received the invitation to participate in the Nixon Conference, we felt the time had come to put the New Majority in perspective. Yet when we arrived at the Hofstra University campus, we felt the atmosphere was still not conducive to open debate because many of the "panelists, scholars, and presenters" were raving about Reagan, linkage, and Iran-Contra. Hence, prior to our appearing on the panel, we decided to present a more restricted view of our activity.

In January of last year, Professor Leon Friedman, co-director of the Nixon Conference, contacted each of the participants asking if we would consider modifying our contribution to the symposium through a more comprehensive paper that would be included in a major volume to be published on the Conference proceedings. Chuck and I reasoned that this volume would be one place to shed some light on an area about which no one has ever written. What follows is our contribution to the Nixon volume.

These few pages cannot tell the full story of the New Majority. They only begin to describe some of the reasons the New Majority came into being, and why it coalesced around your presidency. Interestingly, no one has ever asked what happened to the New Majority. Chuck and I have spent fourteen years tracing its evolution. During that time I assisted two Republican presidential candidates structuring their outreach to the very same leaders and groups that we gathered for you. In both cases, I was successful in delivering a good percentage of that constituency; first, because the Democratic alternative was unacceptable, but second, because the New Majority leaders were still willing to come to the Republican party. Unfortunately, beyond making promises to capture New Majority votes during an election year, there has been no presidential commitment to bring these people into the Republican party.

Since I left your administration, I have continued to work in the grass roots and workforce arenas. In 1984, I started my own company. At first I worked for the National Republican Senatorial Committee as a consultant on labor issues for the campaigns of 1982, 1984, and 1986. I ran Dan Quayle's labor efforts in 1986 and 1988. Today I direct a Washington-based consulting company serving the aerospace industries specializing in workforce communications. For almost eighteen years I have met with the very ethnic and labor leaders who played a major role during your term in office. Every one of them would follow you again tomorrow.

Finally, I want to thank you for all you have done for me and my family. You plucked me from obscurity and gave me the greatest adventure of my life -- a chance to participate in your administration.

May God watch over you and your family.

Sincerely,

Michael Balzano

THE WHITE HOUSE

December 20, 1989

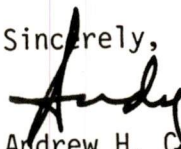
Dear Joe,

Many thanks for the piece of the Berlin Wall! What a great gift!

Please accept my apologies for not having been able to make it to your Christmas party last weekend. My schedule has been so hectic lately that I don't know if I am coming or going anymore.

Have a Merry Christmas!

Sincerely,


Andrew H. Cord, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Joseph W. Canzeri
The Canzeri Company
3214 O Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Joseph W. Canzeri

Christmas 89

Andy -

Sorry you couldn't
make the party -

Thought you might

like a souvenir —
all the Best
Joe

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-30-89

Warren -

It's been too long since we've
talked. What's up?

The view from this end seems
pretty good.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

P.S. The Bay State may miss its chance.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Warren Brookes

Box 50-D

RR #1

Lovettville, VA 22080



December 11, 1989

Dear Andy -

Thanks with all my heart for
whatever you did to make it possible
for me to fly Houston/Denver with
the President on Air Force 1. It was
a thrill and 1/2 and I appreciate it
more than I can say!

Merry Christmas, Love, Blessings
and everything wonderful in your life

holly

(Holly Coors)

Women of our Hemisphere Achieving Together

THE WHITE HOUSE

11/22/89

Dear Mr. Greenslade -

I enjoyed talking with you when you called regarding the pay raise issue. Your interest is appreciated.

Please keep in touch.

Sincerely, Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jim Greenslade
7920 Woodward Drive, N.E.
Albuquerque, N.M.
87109

THE WHITE HOUSE

12/18/89

Jacqueline -

Thank you for the mini-Christmas Tree. You've added much to the Holiday Spirit.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Andy Card

Andy Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jacqueline Tillman
Executive Director
The Cuban American
National Foundation
1000 Thomas Jefferson St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

THE WHITE HOUSE

11/30/89

Dear Mr. Boggus -

Thank you for your correspondence regarding Head Start. I enjoyed my meeting with representatives of the National Head Start Association too.

Your interests will be shared with the appropriate officials.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

Andy Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Eugenia Boggus
President
National Head Start Association
888 Whiteside Road
Pittsburgh, PA 15219

THE WHITE HOUSE

October 27, 1989

Dear Marty -

You have been a true and faithful FERCor for two Presidents and their mutual causes. Thank you very much.

Congratulations on your new opportunity at the Department of Energy. You will be in a key position at a very important time. Obviously, I wish you well and pledge my assistance.

Kathie has enjoyed working with you more than you realize. She will miss your presence at FERC. At least you're both on the same team!

Thanks again. - Please keep in touch.

Sincerely, Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Martin Allday, III
5209 Taney Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia
22304

THE WHITE HOUSE

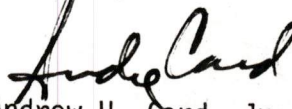
December 15, 1989

Dear Julie,

My thanks to you and Bill for your thoughtful gift of
"Almond Toffees." What are you two trying to do to me???

Best wishes for happy holidays!

Sincerely,


Andrew H. Card, Jr.

My heart to Bill !

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R. M. Julie Archuleta
Vice President-Government Affairs
Occidental Chemical Corporation
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 30, 1989

Dear Ralph,

Thank you for your letter of October 24th inviting me to speak to the American Society for Public Administration's National Capital Area Chapter on December 7th.

I would love to accommodate you and am familiar with the ASPA as I have addressed a chapter meeting in Massachusetts in the past. Unfortunately, it appears I will be traveling with the President on the date you requested so I will have to take a rain check. In the meantime, you may want to consider inviting Debra Anderson, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs.

Hope all is going well for you.

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Ralph C. Bledsoe
Director
University of Southern California
512 Tenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004



University of Southern California
School of Public Administration
Washington Public Affairs Center
512 Tenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 638-4949

October 24, 1989

*Dec. 7 → POTUS goes to
Houston*

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

My year is up, having left the White House on October 22, 1988, so I wanted to make you my first contact and invite you to be the December 7, 1989 luncheon speaker for our National Capitol Area Chapter (NCAC) of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA). As this year's luncheon program chairman, it would be an honor to have you join us to discuss current intergovernmental relations issues or any other topic you might want to address. Pertinent Administration initiatives that you are pursuing might also be of interest to our chapter members.

As you probably know ASPA is made up of about 20,000 members (government employees and academic people) and the NCAC is its largest chapter, consisting of about 2,000 members. About 100 or so attend our monthly luncheons, which are between 11:30 am and 1:30 pm at the Marvin Center of George Washington University, 800 21st Street, N.W., just a few blocks from the White House.

Your talk could begin about 12:15 pm and should be over by about 1:15 pm, including questions and answers.

I know the life of a White House staff member, and how difficult it is to project your schedule, but we would truly appreciate you doing this, and you might also enjoy meeting some of the people in our Chapter. We will certainly do what we can to support your schedule, if you are able to squeeze it in.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Ralph", written over the printed name.

Ralph C. Bledsoe
Director

P.S. As you can see from the letterhead, I have returned to academic life, but have fond memories of my 7 1/2 years there. Keep up the good work.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 12, 1989

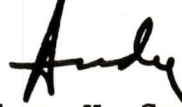
Dear Drew,

Thanks for your recent letter and congratulations on your position as Executive Director of the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees.

I will be happy to keep in mind the suggestion that I stop by your meeting on February 27, 1990. However, my schedule is so unpredictable since it revolves around both the President's and the Chief of Staff's that is difficult for me to make any firm commitments.

Best wishes to you and your family for a happy holiday season!

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Drew Albritten
Executive Director
Iowa Association of Community
College Trustees
711 East Locust
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

Iowa Association of Community College Trustees

ONE CORPORATE PLACE
SUITE 370

WEST DES MOINES, IOWA 50265-1005
(515) 225-0550

December 4, 1989

Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Andy:

Surprise, surprise . . . a ghost from the past. Just wanted you to know that I'm currently the Executive Director of the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees. Now, that I'm in the real world, perhaps I can be of assistance to you in some way. Just let me know.

Each February, the nation's community colleges converge on the District to meet with selected agency representatives and members of Congress. No, I'm not asking you to make a commitment, I'm simply suggesting that if you'd like to "stop by" the J.W. Marriott between 2:00-3:00 p.m. on Monday, February 27, 1990, I'd like to see you for a few minutes. At that time, I'm planning a brief presentation on educational quality initiatives. Instead of listening to the speaker, we could get caught up.

Should your schedule permit, I could stop by your office for a few minutes to say hello. Anyway, please keep in touch. I can be reached at (515) 282-4692. Do consider this invitation to stop by (with no commitment . . . how's that for a change). Let me know.

In the meantime, keep the country going!

Sincerely,



Drew W. Allbritten

/pmt
12/4/89H

Serving the Educational Needs of People

I Northeast Iowa Technical Institute	IV Northwest Iowa Technical College	VII Hawkeye Institute of Technology	XI Des Moines Area Community College	XIV Southwestern Community College
II North Iowa Area Community College	V Iowa Central Community College	IX Eastern Iowa Community College District	XII Western Iowa Tech Community College	XV Indian Hills Community College
III Iowa Lakes Community College	VI Iowa Valley Community College District	X Kirkwood Community College	XIII Iowa Western Community College	XVI Southeastern Community College

KAUFMAN
PUBLIC RELATIONS

Jennefer Hirshberg
Executive Vice President

12/28/89

Dear Andy —

Just a note to thank you for all you did regarding the NAACP's 80th Anniversary and the President's scheduled attendance. While it was unfortunate that laryngitis prevented him from going to New York at the last minute — still, his intention to do so and your help in that decision was (and is) deeply appreciated.

My best to you in the New Year.
Jennefer.

THE WHITE HOUSE

12/16/89

Max -

Thank you for your hospitality
during my brief visit to Michigan
on behalf of John Engler.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Max Fisher
Fisher Bld., 27th floor
Detroit, Michigan
48912

12/16/89

THE WHITE HOUSE

John -
The Engler campaign is on
the road to victory. I was
impressed with your strategy and
its implementation. Thank you
for including me in your activities.
Keep in touch. Sincerely, Andy Card

Andy Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable John Engler
Senate Majority leader
Michigan Senate
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan
48909

THE WHITE HOUSE

12/10/89

Andi—

Thank you for being so gracious
during my visit to Michigan on behalf
of John Engler. All seemed to go well.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ms. Andi Fisher
Brown Street Center
255 E. Brown Street
Suite 110
Birmingham, Michigan 48011

Do you want me to
set up another meeting?

Y —

N —

over the phone

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

EDWARD M. GLICK

AC HAS SEEN ✓

October 4, 1989

Mr. Andrew H. Card Jr.
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D. C., 20500

Dear Andrew:

I regret that we have been unable to get together--as initially planned--to discuss the book I have under way tentatively titled "Presidential Personality, Policy and Power: A Comparative Study of the Bush and Six Predecessor Presidencies." Publication is scheduled for the fall of 1991, documentary research is almost complete, and I have begun interviewing top aides to presidents from Kennedy through Reagan.

If the Bush White House is unwilling to talk about the book, I will find it necessary to lean heavily on second-hand sources and on people who have worked with the president in the past. That, I think, would be a disservice to both the president and the author.

I do hope that we can get together sometime during the next two weeks. In the interim, I enclose two columns published last month which deal with Soviet and domestic political developments respectively. Please let me hear from you on this matter shortly. Best wishes.

Encl: (2)

Ed

P. O. Box 367
Stanley, Virginia, 22851
(703) 778-2103

Gorbachev Purges Politburo

By Edward M. Glick

THE WEST is enthralled with Gorbachev's most recent Politburo purge. We ought to be more concerned with his surge into China and his urge to supply arms to Nicaragua.

Gorbachev's replacement (Sept. 20) of three of the twelve voting members of the Politburo strengthens his position — in terms of both domestic and foreign policy. It may improve his chances to make perestroika work — particularly if he can con the West into massive investment in the jerrybuilt Soviet economy — but it's not going to change the Soviet Union's basic foreign policy objectives.

Those objectives are not necessarily our objectives and communist ideology — no matter what form of economic organization it spawns — has little in common with that of Western democracy. Nor are Gorbachev and his associates burning with desire to turn the Communist Party's power over to the workers and peasants. The Soviet leader has said bluntly that "democracy" is a tool with which to pursue the salvation of a collapsing economy.

GORBACHEV'S MOST recent purge was no elimination of conservative opponents — it was a dethroning of failures. Yegor Ligachev, the top conservative politician, retains his influence and Politburo seat.

The three who were "retired" are veteran Politburo member Vladimir Shcherbitsky, ex-KGB Chief Viktor Chebrikov and Agriculture Secretary Viktor Nikonov. Shcherbitsky had lost control of his native Ukraine, Chebrikov was associated with the recent ethnic bloodletting in Georgia and Nikonov apparently succumbed to a failed agriculture policy. Yet, Ligachev, the top agrarian policymaker, emerges unscathed.

There's great significance in the rise of KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov to the Politburo seat vacated by Chebrikov and of Boris Pugo, a veteran KGB official, to a candidate membership in the top ruling body. Clearly, Gorbachev has forged an alliance with the organization best able to control domestic unrest as well as to dig up global in-

telligence and play sundry dirty tricks.

WITH BOTH his right and left flanks protected at home, Gorbachev pursues Soviet geopolitical goals in a highly sophisticated manner. From Washington's point of view, what he's doing in China and Nicaragua are of particular concern.

"The Soviet leader has said bluntly that 'democracy' is a tool with which to pursue the salvation of a collapsing economy."

China is central to our long-range political and strategic security in the Pacific and Gorbachev is rapidly building stable economic and diplomatic ties with Beijing. Nicaragua has created major political and economic problems for us in Central America and Gorbachev continues to pour military supplies into Managua.

In late July, the Soviets and the communist Chinese signed a key agreement in Moscow in which the way was paved for joint Sino-Soviet ventures in the light industry, textile, agriculture, public health and medicine fields. Moscow also reported that there were "very good prospects" for cooperation in the atomic power field.

BEIJING sent a science and technology delegation to Moscow in mid-August and, among other things, helped open a large-scale Chinese Science and Technology exhibit. The delegation conducted talks at the highest government and party levels and revealed that Chinese and Soviet scientists (in Siberia) are working together on a number of agrarian research projects.

Moscow and Beijing have also substantially improved their trade relationships and have begun to tackle the thorny problem posed by troops deployed along the common Sino-Soviet border. Soviet and Chinese foreign ministry representatives held a "working" session on the nettlesome troop reduction issue early in August and negotiations con-

tinue.

According to Moscow, the volume of trade between the Soviet Far East and Northeast China in 1988 was more than five times "the total trade volume during the preceding 5 years" and will more than double in 1989. Moscow and Beijing have also "contracted" to deal with the "labor

surplus" in northeast China and the "labor shortage" in some parts of the Soviet Far East: Large numbers of Chinese workers have been signed up to work in Soviet factories and construction.

In Nicaragua, which is allegedly poised to hold "democratic" elections next February, Soviet bloc arms appear to be flowing in unabated. The CIA recently put 1988 shipments at an estimated \$515 million and, if anything, the shipments are on the rise this year.

IN mid-September, the State Department reported that arms shipments worth an estimated \$350 million had gone to Managua from the Soviet bloc in the first eight months of 1989. Given the continuation of shipments at the same level, the total for this year will exceed that of 1988. The shipments reportedly include large armed helicopters and Soviet-produced torpedo boats.

It is in our vital interest to counter the growing Soviet influence in China and to put a stop to Soviet-sponsored arms shipments to Nicaragua. These common sense objectives are not going to be achieved by imposing harsh economic sanctions on an "undemocratic" China or by forcing the Contras into oblivion.

Some Congressional liberals seem to think using force on Deng Xiaoping and whispering sweet nothings to Daniel Ortega will get positive results. They're undoubtedly correct if you define shooting yourself in the foot as a "positive result."

c. 1989, E.M. Glick

Daily News-Record

Harrisonburg, Va., Friday, Sept. 29, 1989

Our Polarized Politics

By Edward M. Glick

RACIAL and ethnic polarization has played and will continue to play a key role in determining the outcome of four significant East Coast elections. The Bensonhurst and Virginia Beach "episodes" and TV's handling of them may well have intensified that polarization.

People who support recent Supreme Court civil rights decisions, opt for capital punishment, and oppose quota systems are not necessarily racists. Racial and ethnic pride are not necessarily evil things.

We cannot begin to understand the dynamics of American politics if our definition of "racism" is unclear. Television — to which we will return later in this column — has done little to foster clarity.

In its recent report on the state of black America, the respected National Research Council defines "racism" as "belief and related actions that overtly embrace the notion of genetic or biological differences between human groups." Some might term this definition a bit "narrow" but we find it a rational point of departure.

THE NRC report concludes that contemporary racial attitudes in America reflect "meaningful patterns of progress and resistance." Blacks tend to over-emphasize the resistance whereas whites tend to play up the progress. Everybody would be a good deal better off if more of us could admit to both progress and resistance.

In elections, the undue focus on race, religion or ethnicity tends to bury legitimate issues and candidate qualifications. That, indeed, is what happened in Florida's 18th District which last month elected Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Cuban-American Republican, to fill the congressional seat held since 1962 by the late Claude Pepper.

Ros-Lehtinen, a competent, experienced state legislator, was up against Democrat Gerald Richman, an intelligent but politically inexperienced Jewish attorney. Ros-Lehtinen should have won in a walk but, instead, eked out a 53-to-47 percent victory.

The 40 percent turnout was a near record for a special election. Exit polls showed that the overwhelming majority of Cuban-Americans voted for Ros-Lehtinen whereas the great

majority of the substantial Jewish and black votes went for Richman.

THE VIRGINIA gubernatorial race pitting Republican J. Marshall Coleman against Democrat L. Douglas Wilder is getting prog-

(13.6 percent) and Hispanics (7.6 percent) make up the respectable population blocs in New Jersey but are far less influential than their compatriots in New York City.

Catholics, about 45 percent of the

"We cannot begin to understand the dynamics of American politics if our definition of 'racism' is unclear."

ressively nastier. A Wilder victory would give the nation its first black governor and this has focused national attention on the contest.

Race became an issue when Wilder decided to run and its impact is being magnified by published reports revealing that hundreds of thousands of out-of-state black dollars are pouring into his coffers. Wilder's fund-raising letters to black money sources stress his "minority" rather than his party affiliation. Black big names such as entertainer Bill Cosby and Reginald Lewis, chairman of the mammoth TLC Beatrice International Holdings Inc., are contributors.

New York City is a cauldron of massive minorities — racial, ethnic and religious. Black, Jewish and Hispanic votes are all important as are those of Italians and other Catholics.

Four are vying for the Democratic mayoralty nomination in today's primaries but only two — incumbent Edward I. Koch and Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins — are considered "serious" candidates. The prevailing wisdom has it that the Jews are going to vote en bloc for Koch and the blacks for Dinkins.

FORMER U.S. Attorney Rudolph W. Giuliani, the Republican-Liberal candidate, is expected to clobber his opponent, cosmetics millionaire Ronald S. Lauder. We can't disagree but think the general election battle will splinter the minorities, particularly if Koch beats Dinkins.

In the New Jersey governor's race, Democratic Rep. James Florio is currently leading GOP Rep. Jim Courter, a lead which it now appears only the services of Merlin the Magician can overcome. Blacks

populace, may well be the decisive factor in a race in which pro-choice battalions are really going after Courter on abortion. Florio is an Italian Catholic, Courter a WASP Methodist. Courter's best chance to upset Florio may lie in the possibility that the pro-choicers will be seen as intruding carpetbaggers.

Where does television fit into all this? We believe there's an electoral impact lurking in its coverage of the Bensonhurst killing and police dispersal of the "Greekfest" crowds in Virginia Beach.

BOTH network and local outlets showed footage of the Bensonhurst and Virginia Beach "events" ad nauseam. Though the Virginia Beach footage sometimes included brief scenes of looting and vandalism, it focused on helmeted police wielding riot sticks as they drove blacks off the street.

There's a lesson for politicians, voters and media people in Washington Post columnist William Raspberry's recent commentary on the ABC special, "Black in White America." The program was produced and narrated by blacks.

Raspberry condemned the program's central message which he said told young blacks "that their enemies are in control of their lives and there is nothing they can do about it." He concluded that "the most vicious racist couldn't have devised a deadlier theme."

His assessment ought to be taken to heart by those black leaders who link every black disappointment or failure to "racism" and totally disregard the considerable progress made by blacks. This propensity does not lessen the evil of racism — it breeds it.

c. 1989, E. M. Glick

Daily News-Record

Harrisonburg, Va., Tuesday, Sept. 12, 1989

THE WHITE HOUSE

3/26/90

Dear Mr. Gerstley—

Thank you for your interest.
As suggested I autographed
the card and stamp you provided.
Please keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andrew H. Card, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Michael J. Gerstley
5819 Rohn Way
San Jose, California
95123

Andrew H. Land d.f.



3/26/90

Michael J. Gerstley

5819 Rohn Way

San Jose, California 95123

March 20, 1990

The Honorable Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, D. C. 20500

Sir;

Approximately fifty five years ago my grandfather Dr. Sam Loebenstein, of Kansas City, Mo., started an unique autograph collection. Until his death he had received over 400 autographs from prominent people in all walks of life. The unique feature was the fact that he sent, to the person whose autograph he requested, an uncanceled United States postage stamp suggesting that persons vocation or something related to their life. He asked that their autograph be placed across the stamp, thus cancelling it.

The collection has been entrusted to me and I have been carrying it on for the past thirty years. It now contains over 5000 autographs.

I am enclosing a stamp commemorating The Executive Branch of our government. Since you serve as an assistant to the President, I feel this stamp is appropos. If you will autograph it and return it to me I will be greatly honored.

Thank you for your time and your kind consideration.

Very truly yours,

Michael Gerstley

Michael J. Gerstley

Gerstley puts his own stamp on huge autograph collection



Mike Gerstley, vice president of major accounts for Spring Air in Union City, Calif., collects autographs.



UNION CITY, Calif. — Mike Gerstley, vice president of major accounts for Spring Air in Union City, says his autograph collection is unlike any other in the country.

For one thing, he has more than 5,000 autographs. That's right — 5,000. But the unique thing about Gerstley's collection is that each autograph is connected in some way to a commemorative stamp.

Among his prized signatures is that of Abraham Lincoln. He also has autographs from 30 other U.S. presidents and from all the current Supreme Court justices except Antonin Scalia, who doesn't sign autographs.

Gerstley's collection dates back to 1935, when his grandfather decided to combine his two hobbies of stamp and autograph collecting.

His grandfather would send a stamp to a person whose autograph he wanted and ask them to sign the stamp, which was linked in some way to that person. For example, stamps commemorating the state of New York were sent to the governor and senators of New York.

When his grandfather died, he willed the collection to his only grandson, Gerstley, who was about 4 years old at the time. Gerstley didn't become interested in the collection until 1960, when he was recovering from the Hong Kong flu.

Gerstley's collecting is all done by mail. He positions the stamp on a card and mails it to the person whose autograph he wants. His response rate is better than 90%. "Most people say it's so unique that they are pleased to do it," he said.

Gerstley focuses primarily on politicians and other people of note such as Nobel prize winners. He has all the astronauts since 1960, including Neil Armstrong and the Challenger crew. He also has all the presidents and senators who have served since 1960.

The signature that Gerstley would most like to get is that of George Washington, which generally has a price tag of \$5,000 to \$12,000. The only autographs he has ever bought or plans to buy are former presidents. He paid \$400 for an authenticated signature of Abraham Lincoln four years ago and has since been offered \$2,100 for it.

But, he said, he's never sold an autograph and doesn't plan to. "My kids would kill me if I sold any. They all three want to keep it going." — C.D.S.

3/20

I called and left message on
machine for Vic Treznowski
(says he's friend of Andy's-
AC doesn't remember him)

Had a request for a Mr. Hasan
to expedite visa for Pakistani
Give him gist of memo ..

Thanks.

LG

✓
spohe 3/21 11:00 AM

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Matthew D. Smith to Andy Card, Re: Visa Problem. (1 pp.)	03/19/90	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the

Series: Card, Andrew H., Jr., Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Correspondence - General (1/90 -) [3]

Date Closed: 3/14/2025

OA/ID Number: 04013-001c

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2025-0373-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: March 15, 1990

TO: Matt Smith

FROM: Linda Gambatesa
Special Assistant to the Chief of Staff

This guy called and said he was a friend of Andy Card's. We would appreciate it if this could be handled as appropriate, i.e. Andy said don't do anything out of the norm.

Many thanks for your help.

Linda

WRT & ASSOCIATES

EXECUTIVE SEARCH CONSULTANTS

*Don't do anything
out of norm*

Telecopier # 201-232-7607

TELECOMMUNICATIONS COVER SHEET

Date: 3/16/90

Time: _____

Operator: KARENThe following document including this cover sheet is 4 pages.

PLEASE DELIVER THIS TRANSMISSION TO:

Name: Ms LINDA GAMBATESA C/O SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE CHIEF OF STAFFCompany: THE WHITE HOUSECompany Address: PENNSYLVANIA AVECity: WASHINGTON State: DC Zip Code: 20500Telecopy Number: 202-456-2397

THIS DOCUMENT IS FROM:

Name: VIC TRZESNIOWSKI (201) 232-9051Documents sent: MO HASSAN LETTER

If any of these pages are not legible or you do not receive all the pages, please call the telecommunications operator as soon as possible.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Letter	Vic Trzesniowski to Linda Gambatesa, Re: Visa issue. (2 pp.)	03/15/90	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the

Series: Card, Andrew H., Jr., Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Correspondence - General (1/90 -) [3]

Date Closed: 3/14/2025

OA/ID Number: 04013-001c

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2025-0373-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]

P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1990

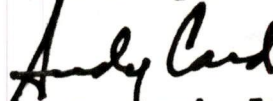
Dear Stoney,

Thank you for your recent letter and your kind words of congratulations. I am living a dream here at the White House.

By all means, when you next find yourself in the Washington area, please give my office a call so that I can treat you to breakfast or lunch in the White House Mess!

It was good to hear from you. Keep in touch.

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Steinar Midttun
Vice President
Aegis Insurance Services, Inc.
700 Plaza Two
Jersey City, New Jersey 07311-3994



DIRECT LINE: (201) 915-7208
Facsimile Nbr: 451-0715

March 29, 1990

Mr. Andrew Card
Assistant to the President
And Deputy to Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

Just wanted to take a few moments to send you a very belated note of congratulations on your appointment to your very prestigious position in President Bush's administration.

My how time flies. It wasn't so many years ago that I first met you when you were campaigning door to door for State Representative in the Holbrook/Braintree area of Massachusetts. I lived in Braintree Highlands then and was a member of the Braintree Republican Town Committee. To have become a Republican office holder in Massachusetts was an extremely difficult task, as you know much better than I. I was thrilled at that time to see a young, aggressive Republican willing to fight the odds and to succeed in Massachusetts politics.

When Paula and I moved to New Jersey almost ten years ago we immediately observed that the political climate was much different from Massachusetts. How refreshing it was to see the two party system working so well where political candidates of any ethnic origin can feel right at home in the Republican and Democratic parties.

Andy, we wish you the best of luck and success in fulfilling the duties and obligations of your office. I have no doubt that you will perform with distinction and honor. We also look forward to seeing you on television again at one of President Bush's future press conferences and hopefully one day we will have an opportunity to visit with you in the White House.

Sincerely yours,

Steinar Midttun
Vice President

SM/tof

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1990

Dear Gregg,

Thanks for your recent note keeping me up to date on the progress for the 1991 Accent on Architecture program.

Matt Smith is a great guy, and I'm glad to hear he is being helpful.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Ward, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Gregg Ward
Group Vice President
American Institute of Architects
1735 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006



April 9, 1990

Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief
of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

Enclosed please find a copy of the formal invitation AIA recently sent to Ambassador Andreani inviting President Mitterand to be our major speaker/host for the 1991 Accent on Architecture program. We are keeping our fingers crossed.

I also wanted to pass along that Matthew Smith at the State Department has been extremely helpful in making sure the proper protocols have been followed. He has communicated directly with Ambassador Curley as well as the proper officials here in Washington within the State Department. Thank you for offering his services to us.

I hope all is well with you and Kathy. Thanks once again for all your help.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Gregg Ward".

Gregg Ward
Group Vice President
External Affairs

GW/amm
enclosure



April 3, 1990

Sylvester Damianos, FAIA
President

His Excellency Jacques Andreani
The Ambassador of France
4101 Reservoir Road, N.W.
Washington, DC 20007

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

As you may know, The American Institute of Architects (AIA) and The American Architectural Foundation (AAF) have inaugurated a new annual program called Accent on Architecture. The purpose of this celebration of design excellence is to stimulate public discussion about, and understanding of, the considerable role that architecture plays in shaping the quality of our lives.

On February 22, we were very fortunate to have had His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales actively participate in the first Accent on Architecture celebration. He generously agreed to join in the opening of a major international exhibition at the AAF's Octagon Museum entitled "Sir Christopher Wren and the Legacy of St. Paul's Cathedral" and to serve as the special guest speaker at the AIA's annual awards gala. As you could imagine, his presence contributed greatly to public debate and awareness about architectural issues, both in this country and abroad.

Our intention is to build on this new tradition of public discourse by public leaders by inviting President François Mitterand to attend Accent on Architecture 1991, which will be held in Washington, DC, during the first full week of February. President Mitterand's interest in, and knowledge of, architecture is widely respected, and his patronage of the "grands projets" in Paris continues a centuries-old tradition of official patronage of design that is unmatched in the world. He has single-handedly excited a great deal of interest in architecture in France, and we would like to offer him an opportunity to share his views with American architects and the American people.

We hope President Mitterand will play a role similar to that of the Prince of Wales by participating in two Accent on Architecture events which will occur on the same day. The date will be either February 6 or 7, 1991, with the final choice open to negotiation. The American Architectural Foundation is currently planning to present an exhibition regarding the architectural history of the Louvre in Paris, from its earliest days through I.M. Pei's pyramid. (Incidentally, Mr. Pei has agreed to assist us in the development of the exhibition.) We would hope that President Mitterand would officially open that

His Excellency Jacques Andreani
April 3, 1990
Page Two

exhibition during the afternoon and then make a special address to the AIA's awards gala on the evening of the same day.

The awards gala, which is a black-tie dinner and ceremony, will likely be held again in the stunning Main Hall of the National Building Museum, and will feature the presentation of several architectural awards. An audience of 1,200 joined us this year, including leaders in government, business, and the arts, as well as over 600 architects, including many of the top designers in the world. The event generated major international media coverage of both Prince Charles and our award winners, and we anticipate the same in 1991 should President Mitterand agree to attend.

As you may know, the most prestigious architectural award in the world, the AIA Gold Medal, was presented this year by President Bush in a White House ceremony as part of the Accent on Architecture celebration, and should one be awarded next year we hope that the President will participate once again. Regardless of whether the medal is presented at the White House, the medalist--who, incidentally, need not be an American--will be honored at the gala.

We believe President Mitterand's participation in Accent on Architecture would present a unique opportunity to foster international discussion about crucial design issues in a changing world. The President has already left a significant architectural legacy of his own. His belief that "a people are great when their architecture is great," has stimulated nationwide design projects and engendered widespread public discussion in France about design issues. We would like him to bring his message to the United States.

Public discourse is particularly important at this moment in history as the European Community--and for that matter, the whole world--is on the verge of radical change. The internationalization of architecture, and its effect on national cultures and urban life, raises enormous issues that deserve public attention in the United States, especially in light of EC '92 and the transformation of Eastern Europe. Under the auspices of Accent on Architecture, we hope to offer President Mitterand a forum in which he can address these issues and carry the debate he has begun in his own country to American shores.

Please advise us regarding the most effective procedure for extending an invitation to President Mitterand. Obviously, with only a little over 10 months until Accent on Architecture 1991, we will need to proceed quickly. Your counsel and support will be greatly appreciated.

His Excellency Jacques Andreani
April 3, 1990
Page Three

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the dinner program from the February 22 awards gala so that you can better appreciate the scope of the Accent on Architecture effort in our inaugural year. I would be happy to discuss this proposal with you or other appropriate officials at any time.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Sylvester Damianos, FAIA
President
The American Institute
of Architects



Thomas J. Eyerman, FAIA, RIBA
Chairman Board of Regents
The American Architectural
Foundation

enclosure

SD/kef

THE WHITE HOUSE

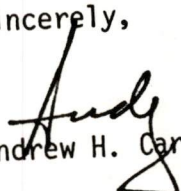
April 13, 1990

Dear Mrs. Brady:

Thanks for your recent correspondence and for the videotape on the assault weapon issue. I will take it home with me to watch when I have a few spare moments.

I appreciate you keeping me informed. All the best,

Sincerely,


Andrew H. Card, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. Sarah Brady, Chair
Handgun Control Inc.
1225 Eye Street, N.W.
Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20005

HANDGUN CONTROL

ONE MILLION STRONG . . . working to
keep handguns out of the wrong hands.

17

April 10, 1990

Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

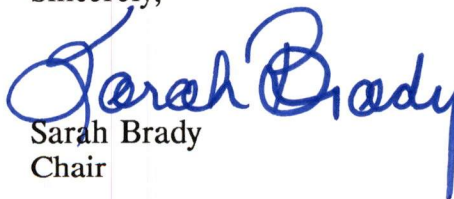
Dear Mr. Card:

I have enclosed for your review a copy of some of our recent television commercials on the assault weapon issue.

The enclosed videotape includes six commercials featuring prominent law enforcement figures: Phil McGuire, Law Enforcement Advisor for Handgun Control, Inc. and former Associate Director for Law Enforcement for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; Neil Behan, Chief of Police of Baltimore County, Maryland; and Dewey Stokes, National President of the Fraternal Order of Police.

I thought you would be interested in seeing them.

Sincerely,


Sarah Brady
Chair

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1990

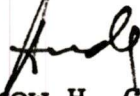
Dear Duke,

Thanks for your letter of April 11th and the copy of Jim Grady's article on labor law.

A quick glance captured my interest since "Massachusetts" is mentioned in the first line. I look forward to reading the article when I have a few spare moments.

I appreciate you thinking of me.

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Duke Zeller
Director of Communications
International Brotherhood of
Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA
AFL-CIO

25 LOUISIANA AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001



April 11, 1990

The Honorable Andrew Card
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

I'm taking the liberty of forwarding you a copy of "Broken Promises: The Failure of American Labor Law" by Teamsters General Counsel James T. Grady. Besides offering a readable overview of the evolution of labor laws in the U.S., Jim's piece suggests several provocative steps the American labor movement should take to ensure its political viability. One, in particular, I think you'll find of interest, is Jim's suggestion that the AFL-CIO refrain from endorsements in Presidential races and encourage its constituent unions to actively participate in both political parties.

Despite your busy schedule, I hope you can steal a few minutes to read Jim's article. I'd also appreciate any reactions or comments you might have in regard to it.

Sincerely yours,

Duke Zeller
Director of Communications

DZ:dw

T E A M S T E R S

NEWS SERVICE

April 1990

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Appearing in the current issue of the Labor Law Journal is an article written by International Brotherhood of Teamsters General Counsel James T. Grady. It is reproduced here for your use.

#

Broken Promises: The Failure of American Labor Law

By James T. Grady

Mr. Grady is the General Counsel of the International Brotherhood
of Teamsters in Washington, D.C.

© 1990 By James T. Grady

On January 1, 1912, the Massachusetts legislature reduced the hours of work for women and for children under the age of 18 years old, from 56 to 54 hours per week.¹ Since more than half of the 40,000 workers in the textile mills at the time were women and children,² the mill owners, principally the American Woolen Company, reacted by extending the new hours of work to men as well. However, on the workers' first payday under the shorter hours, they found that there had been a cut in their pay envelopes to adjust for the shorter hours. To the poorly paid mill worker, who averaged only \$8.76 per week,³ this meant a net loss of 25 or 30 cents⁴ and was a serious matter indeed.

What followed was a major strike throughout the mills of the City of Lawrence, marked by violence, bombings, and 296 arrests during the period of the strike, which lasted from January 12, 1912, to March 13, 1912. On March 14, 1912, 10,000 strikers gathered on the Lawrence Common and heard the recommendation of the strike committee to accept the companies' offer. William "Big Bill" Haywood of the Industrial Workers of the World put the question to the strikers, and the strike was called off. The strikers returned to work overjoyed at their total victory over the mill owners. Almost all of their demands had been met including a no discrimination provision to protect the

returning strikers from any retaliatory action by their employer. Indeed, the settlement had a ripple effect resulting in wage increases for between 175,000 and 250,000 textile workers throughout other New England mills of five to 20 percent.⁵ The I.W.W. had acquired a membership of 14,000 in Lawrence alone by the close of the strike. The heretofore traditional American labor unions were now being challenged by an avowedly revolutionary I.W.W., which viewed labor management relations as class struggle, pure and simple.

What happened to this budding movement? From a socialist perspective, what went wrong? Why wasn't a Labor Party established in the United States? Where are the descendants of the men, women, and children who took part in the "Bread and Roses" strike of 1912?

The generally accepted view is that the labor movement, for the period through the 1920s, was under the influence of Samuel Gompers, who took an "individualists" point of view, and thus went down the road of "voluntarism,"⁶ a sort of "laissez faire" in labor relations. The government was not wanted, or as Gompers said, "the best thing the State can do for labor is to leave labor alone."⁷ The rationale for this posture is claimed to be found in the deep rooted features of American society. Social mobility, ethnic and racial divisions

¹ M. Meltzer, *Bread and Roses*, 173 (1967).

² *Id.*

³ J. Rayback, *A History of American Labor*, 245 (1959).

⁴ Meltzer, *supra* note 1, at 173; S. Yellen, *American Labor Struggles*, 172 (1936).

⁵ Meltzer, *supra* note 1, at 186.

⁶ R. Fillipelli, *Labor in the USA: A History*, 181 (1984).

⁷ Gompers, *Judicial Vindication of Labor's Claims*, 7 *Am. Federation* 1st, 283, 284 (1901).

among workers,⁸ and a spirit of individualism characteristic of the American people are said to be the conditions that led to the non-political, minimal legal framework, upon which labor functions today.

The New Social History

These views are now being challenged to a certain extent by a new generation of labor historians led by Professor William E. Forbath of the UCLA School of Law. In his recent article in the *Harvard Law Review*,⁹ Professor Forbath states that the traditionalist view is flawed. The new social history of American workers, as the work of these historians is often called, is essentially that the American labor movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries deliberately put its trust into reform of the existing law and the enactment of protective labor legislation, rather than the establishment of a national political party. This perspective is gleaned from new studies which focus upon union history and the cultural and institutional life of union officers and their members.

Turning from an ideological confrontation, Labor looked to the greener pastures of favorable legislation. By 1933, it had the ballot box, free elections, and a new opportunity under Franklin D. Roosevelt. Labor did not need its own political party, it could get the laws enacted that it believed it needed through the New Deal Democrats. Victory was at hand. The promise of the 1912 Lawrence "Bread and Roses" strike was about to be fulfilled under the rule of law. Organized labor was about to take its rightful place in the halls

of Congress as a participant, rather than an observer.

To the New Deal's credit, the promises were kept. The Norris-LaGuardia Act¹⁰ and the Wagner Act¹¹ of 1932 and 1938, respectively, were passed by Congress and ultimately sustained as constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.¹² The authority of federal judges to issue injunctions against unions in labor disputes was dramatically curtailed, if not practically eliminated, and workers were now protected by law in their efforts to organize and bargain collectively with their employers. Despite the economic depression of the thirties, one would have to say that this was truly Labor's Golden Age. The period from 1935 to 1947 remains as Labor's watershed years, since shortly thereafter Labor's fortunes began going downhill rapidly. The twin towers of Norris-LaGuardia and Wagner, upon which the house of Labor was built, have been chipped away by both the courts and Congress, so that, today, there is little left of the underpinnings of the legal structure that once held such promise.

First came Taft-Hartley¹³ in 1947,¹⁴ which was approved by Congress over the veto of President Harry Truman. This law for the first time established union unfair labor practices, authorized damage suits against unions for breach of contract, permitted labor injunctions in cases of national emergencies, and forbid a union's secondary concerted activity.

Twelve years later in 1959, Congress passed a massive regulation of unions in the name of a bill of rights for individual

⁸ It wasn't until 1938 that the AFL granted a national union charter to a black union, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Fillipelli, *supra* note 6, at 197.

⁹ Forbath, *The Shaping of the American Labor Movement*, 102 Harv. L. Rev. 1111 (1989).

¹⁰ Norris-LaGuardia Act, ch. 90, 47 Stat. 70 (1932), (codified as amended at 29 U.S.C. Sec. 101-15 (1982 ed. and Supp. V)).

¹¹ National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act, ch. 372, 49 Stat. 449 (1935) (codified as amended at 29 U.S.C. Sec. 151-69 (1982 ed. and Supp. V)).

¹² *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937) (upholding the constitutionality of the Wagner Act).

¹³ Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act, ch. 120, 61 Stat. 136 (1947) (codified as amended at 29 U.S.C. Sec. 141-97 (1982 ed. and Supp. V)).

¹⁴ This was a culmination of the previous 230 major bills introduced in Congress to amend the Wagner Act from 1936 to 1947. 1 *The Developing Labor Law*, 33 (C. Morris ed., 2nd ed. 1983); See also, H. Millis & E. Brown, *From The Wagner Act To Taft-Hartley*, 24 (1950).

members. The Landrum-Griffin¹⁵ law put the government into the business of regulating union elections, trusteeships, finances and provided several criminal statutes to enforce its regulatory provisions.

The most recent legislative assault came in 1970 when Congress enacted the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations¹⁶ (RICO) statute. This law, as judicially interpreted and applied, permits among other things civil suits for damages to be brought against labor unions as well as authorizes courts to enter such restraining orders, prohibitions, or to take such other actions, including the placing of a union into trusteeship, as the court in its sole discretion shall deem proper. We have already seen the United States government as the moving party or the plaintiff in civil RICO suits brought against the Teamsters International Union,¹⁷ and our government is now planning similar attacks against other international and local unions in the near future.

The bankruptcy courts have not been idle in this regard. Sources such as *Business Week* acknowledge that bankruptcy courts are designed for the benefit of the company management,¹⁸ and not the workers or their union. The fact that the court will almost inevitably side with management is a given result in bankruptcy proceedings today. The continued success of the union busting of Frank Lorenzo in this forum is ample testimony to this fact.

The hostility of the courts to labor unions is not something that is readily

apparent. However, if you ask an attorney who represents unions whether the scales of justice are tilted toward management, he or she would readily say yes. The judicial result that promotes capitalism is the decision that can be predicated with regular certainty. Indeed, it is noteworthy that President Reagan, under the firm guidance of former Attorney General Edwin Meese, appointed 346 of the 761 sitting United States judges, which is more than any other President in American history.¹⁹ Similarly, during the period 1982 to 1987, the National Labor Relations Board, under former management lawyer Chairman Donald L. Dotson, had its decisions affirmed by federal appeals courts 84 percent of the time,²⁰ which was a 20-percent increase over the affirmance rate of the earlier Boards.²¹ The conservative stamp of the Reagan Administration will continue for many years to come.

Management Consultants

Capitalizing on the current anti-labor climate, a new industry of specialized management consultants has emerged. These firms, for a substantial fee, will guarantee an employer a "union free" environment. Their methods are to push the law to the extreme, while only crossing the line of unfair labor practices when absolutely necessary. Their strategy is to force the incumbent union into a strike by "take away" or "give back" bargaining, then to bring in the police, privately paid armed guards, guard dogs, video cameras, and, of course, prearranged strike replacements. Their advice to their clients is to hang tough, and you'll win, the law is on our side. The unfortunate fact is that they

¹⁵ Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure (Landrum-Griffin) Act, 73 Stat. 519 (1959) (codified as amended at 29 U.S.C. Sec. 401-531 (1982 ed. and Supp. V)).

¹⁶ Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Chapter of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 (RICO), 84 Stat. 941 (1970) (codified as amended at 18 U.S.C. Sec. 1961-1968 (1982 ed. and Supp. V)).

¹⁷ *United States of America v. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, AFL-CIO*, 708 F. Supp. 1388 (S.D.N.Y. 1989). For an in-depth review of this subject, see D.W. Elbaor and L.E. Gold, *The Criminalization of Union Activity: Federal Crimi-*

nal Enforcement Against Unions, Union Officials And Employees (1985).

¹⁸ DeGeorge, Payne, and Ivey, *Advantage Lorenzo*, *Business Week*, July 10, 1989, at 25.

¹⁹ Sanders, *Chipping Away at Civil Rights: With Two Key-Rulings, The Court Confirms Its Rightward Shift*, *Time*, June 26, 1989, at 63.

²⁰ Matlack, *Bypassing The Board*, *National Journal, Inc.*, January 16, 1989, at 127 (quoting Chairman Donald L. Dotson).

²¹ *Id.*

do win in enough cases to fuel their longevity and proliferation. To date, the NLRB and Department of Labor have characterized these firms as just "hard bargainers" and have permitted their distortion of the term "good faith bargaining."

Perhaps the most disquieting development of all is the "black hole" in the United States Constitution reserved for organized labor. Professor Pope of Rutgers University School of Law, in his 1987 *Texas Law Review*²² article, outlines the decisions of the Supreme Court that have built up a body of First Amendment protections outside of the labor area, while leaving labor issues to the sterile doctrines of the past. The courts view labor, particularly organized labor, as a commodity or an entity in the commercial marketplace. Union members are no longer individuals, they are "things" devoid of constitutional protection. As stated by Professor Pope, "[i]f current principles of First Amendment law were applied to unions and workers, restrictions on effective forms of labor protest would be subjected to such a degree of judicial scrutiny they probably would not survive."²³

Two recent union election losses are illustrations of current union organizing efforts. By a two to one vote, the United Auto Workers were rejected by the 2,400 blue collar workers at Nissan's Smyrna, Tennessee, plant.²⁴ This attempt by the UAW to establish a foothold in organizing the four Japanese-owned auto plants in the United States was a dismal failure. (Two years earlier, the UAW had called off an election at the Honda Motor Com-

pany plant in Marysville, Ohio, to avoid a certain defeat.) The Nissan workers, who were carefully screened at preemployment interviews as to their views on unions,²⁵ wore tee-shirts which stated across their back, "Union Free and Proud."²⁶ Nissan had done its homework.

By a similar two to one defeat, the Teamsters and United Steelworkers recently were rejected by truckdrivers and mineworkers at the Cypress Minerals Company copper mine in Miami, Arizona.²⁷ New company management set up a "Charm School" or seminars to train workers in transactional analysis, a psychological approach best known for the slogan "I'm OK, You're OK."²⁸ This "nice guy" approach proved to be successful, despite the union's claim of "brain washing." Psychological warfare has now moved into the battle for workers' minds and votes.

Overall, how has organized labor fared since 1947 to the present in this environment? The short answer is not well. Unions now represent just 16.8 percent of American workers,²⁹ an almost 50 percent decline since 1970. In fact, it is estimated that just to maintain its approximate 17-percent present share of the almost 100 million member labor force, unions must gain 335,000 new members per year to account for losses through NLRB decertifications.³⁰ As the number of workers in the labor force increases into the 1990s, organized labor must continue to similarly increase its organizing efforts to attract new members, or else it will be fighting a losing war of attrition.

While these declining membership figures are widely publicized, it is inter-

²² Pope, *Labor and the Constitution; From Abolition to Deindustrialization*, 65 Tex. L. Rev. 1071 (1987).

²³ *Id.* at 1072.

²⁴ Risen, *Unions' Future Questioned After Summer Of Setbacks*, *Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 1989, at 1.

²⁵ *Id.* at 12.

²⁶ Levin, *U.A.W. Has Trouble Shifting Gears*, *N.Y. Times*, August 13, 1989, at E4.

²⁷ Charlier, *Labor Of Love*, *Wall Street Journal*, August 8, 1989, at 1.

²⁸ *Id.* at A6, col. 1.

²⁹ *Union Membership Declines To 16.8% of Workers In 1988, BLS Survey Shows*, *Daily Labor Report (BNA)*, No. 18 at B-13 (January 30, 1989).

³⁰ This figure takes into account the increase in government employees that are currently off-setting the decrease in private sector union employees.

esting to note that the Bureau of Labor Statistics recently reported that the 1988 median weekly earnings of union members was \$480 per week, while the nonunion counterpart earned only \$356 per week.³¹ This statistic speaks a great deal as to why employers will spend millions of dollars to avoid or prevent a union from representing their employees.

The reaction of American labor leaders to this situation has not been uniform. All agree that the union movement is not throwing in the towel. Indeed, it is noted that organized labor's obituary has been written many times before.³²

Approaches to Return

One school of thought is that labor should just stay put. Union power has not waned, it is just awaiting the pendulum of change to swing back to the good old days of the late 1930s. This status quo or no action posture has obviously not yielded any encouraging results, but on a positive note it is a testament to its adherence, patience, and optimism.

A second view represented by United Mineworkers President Richard L. Trumka is to lift the legal structure which binds organized labor so that it may achieve its goals in the trenches, whether that be in politics, mass action, in state courts, or before juries. In reference to the NLRB, Mr. Trumka has stated: "The Board is far beyond surgery. I say, let's bury it. At least I can join in one proposition espoused by principled conservatives—deregulation."³³

Another version of this view is that of Laurence E. Gold, General Counsel to the AFL-CIO, who emphasizes labor law reform and aggressive enforcement of existing laws, such as the reporting

requirements of union busting management consultants.³⁴ Yet another version of the same theme is advanced by Lance Compa of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (U.E.) when he states: "To force reform of labor law, unions must wage a new round of strikes, solidarity actions, tough bargaining, aggressive organizing, and grass-roots political action."³⁵

Taking a somewhat different tack, others turn from the "deregulation" and "reform" strategies and espouse new and innovative approaches to capture the minds of the unorganized. They suggest that unions should offer nontraditional services, such as low cost auto and health insurance, subsidized housing through their pension funds, day care centers, literacy training, below market rate home loans, legal services, and recreational facilities.³⁶ In short, the union should fill the needs of its members outside of the workplace and be a full range social service provider for its members and their families.

The AFL-CIO has further refined this concept into the establishment of a special form of membership called associate membership. This membership is geared towards those who are leaving a union job, are former union members, members of a decertified union, or those industries that are not unionized. The membership costs less than a typical union membership and is directed more towards a support function for daily problems.

Still another suggestion is to increase worker participation in the management of the employer's business under union direction, so that the employee will achieve more personal satisfaction in his work. This concept of employee commit-

³¹ *Union Membership Declines To 16.8% Of Workers In 1988, BLS Survey Shows*, supra note 29.

³² Risen, supra note 24, at 12, col. 1.

³³ Trumka, *Why Labor Law Has Failed*, 89 W.Va. L. Rev. 871, 876 (1987).

³⁴ Gold, *The Capricious Lure Of Labor Law Regulation*, 89 W.Va L. Rev. 883, 892-893 (1987).

³⁵ Compa, *Comments On Richard Trumka's Why Labor Law Has Failed*, 89 W.Va. L. Rev. 909, 913 (1987).

³⁶ Pauly, 2001: *A Union Odyssey*, *Newsweek*, August 5, 1985, at 41.

tees or quality circles is intended to permit the worker to have a meaningful input in the manufacturing process rather than be just an unthinking cog in the wheels of production. It is believed that union participation and even leadership of such a concept will encourage workers to join such an enlightened forward thinking union. Its detractors see this as a Trojan Horse, which in the long run will eliminate the necessity for the union and result in a form of company unionism reminiscent of the early thirties.

These ideas and concepts are all premised upon the continuation of the present political environment, essentially unchanged from today. It is this writer's opinion that these proposals are mere band-aids, when major surgery is indicated. These short-term cures are destined to fail and will not produce the long-term positive solution presently being sought by representatives of organized labor.

If the past is prologue, then it should be abundantly clear to all that the situation is getting worse, not better, as the years go by. The assumption that one morning you will awake to a Congress that is ready to pass significant labor law reform, courts that are sensitive to the rights of workers, and employers who are compassionate and fair, is like following the yellow brick road that leads to the Land of Oz.³⁷ In short, it is wishful thinking that has been given birth by complacency and has been nourished by laziness. The American labor movement has to get off its duff and do something about the crisis it is in before it is too late.

Bipartisan Involvement

This writer would suggest that the major emphasis of organized labor should be focused upon the political process. Specifically, it should aggressively involve itself in *both* political parties. The Democratic party alone does not and has not adequately served the needs of labor.

Unions are no longer senior partners in the Democratic party. Its influence is "tokenism," particularly after the PAC money has been sent. Labor is just one more constituent of many who follow the banner of the Democrats. In this situation, it is impossible to lead. Labor is subservient to other competing interests that the so-called liberal establishment must carry and advance. Its power is diluted, dispersed, and frankly ineffective. The "all in one basket" approach of the past has failed. Labor's agenda has been ignored. The Democrats view labor as "captive," and the Republicans view labor as "outsiders."

Labor history tells us that the conditions of the working class advanced significantly in this nation under three Presidents representing both political parties. They were Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the 1932 elections, the AFL remained neutral and refused to announce itself in favor of either Hoover or Roosevelt. There can be no question that workers supported the candidacy of FDR, but the AFL wisely did not officially have any part in his election.

Today, the leaders of labor must look to the Republican Party. The party that has occupied the White House since 1980 is a reality that anyone who values success cannot ignore. I suggest that the AFL-CIO no longer endorse a candidate for President of the United States. I suggest that they take a totally neutral position, while encouraging its affiliated International Unions to actively participate in *both* political parties. Let each International Union choose its own candidate, support its own candidate, and hopefully advise and counsel its own candidate. This will, of necessity, result in a "no lose" situation on election day for at least some of its member International Unions, as well as a Republican Party platform

³⁷ See, *Congressional Research Service Report On Implications For Economic Policy And Labor Legislation Of*

Decline In Union Membership, Daily Lab. Report (BNA), No. 114, at D-1 (June 13, 1986).

that, at a minimum, has been tempered by the views of organized labor.

While the presidency is the crown jewel, other elective offices should also be sought by labor by using the election process to fill these positions with labor sensitive politicians. Alaska Senator Ted Stevens, Illinois Governor Jim Thompson, and Pennsylvania Congressman Tom Ridge, to name a few, are current Republican office holders who will listen to labor's concerns in a sincere and meaningful manner. The myth that only card-carrying Democrats are "friends" of labor should be exposed and put to rest.

This aggressive involvement in the political process by organized labor at all levels will cost money and require a serious commitment by the leaders of the AFL-CIO to be a success. Unions can prosper when the legal framework in which they operate is hospitable. A sympathetic Congress and President is a condition precedent to the successful achievement of the goals of organized labor.

Accepting the American legal tradition that Congress has heretofore been unable or unwilling to undo, i.e., that the Supreme Court Justices shape the law by imposing their personal views upon legislation governing cases before them, I would further propose an amendment to the United States Constitution that will require each sitting Justice of the Supreme Court to be voted upon every ten years, at the next following presidential election. The question simply put on every presidential ballot should be: "Should Justice (*name*) continue as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court?"

If a plurality of the Electorate say "yes," he or she remains another ten years. However, if a plurality say "no," the President, who is then elected, appoints his or her replacement. In this way, the political and social views of the Supreme Court will keep pace with the political and social views of the electorate, including those of organized labor. This opportunity for the electorate to periodically express its approval or disapproval of members of an important branch of government is fully consistent with democratic principles of our nation and should find favor in many groups, beyond that of organized labor. The Supreme Court that shapes and interprets our laws will be responsive to the will of the people, so that all branches of our government will finally and truly be one of the people, by the people, and for the people, including those who toil daily in the workplace.³⁸

These proposals are modest and within reach. Organized labor can do it, but it will require an all out effort. Labor's goals can be accomplished within our present system of government. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln said "Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."³⁹ In 1912, the men, women, and children of Lawrence, Massachusetts, proved to the world that the injustices and inequities of capital to labor will not be tolerated. The promise of a better future for American workers can be attained. The question now is do today's leaders of organized labor have the strength and commitment necessary to do the job?

[The End]

³⁸ Forbath, *supra* note 9, at 1114. See also, Oliver, *Systematic Justice: A Proposed Constitutional Amendment To Establish Fixed, Staggered Terms For Members Of The United States Supreme Court*, 47 Ohio St. L. J. 799 (1986). For a recent exposition on this subject, see Bork, *The*

Tempting Of America—The Political Seduction Of The Law (1989).

³⁹ F. Dulles, *Labor In America*, 93 (1955).