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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: SECRETARY BUTZ  
SECRETARY KLEPPE  
SECRETARY HILLS  
SECRETARY MATHEWS  
SECRETARY MORTON  
MR. SEIDMAN  
MR. ZARB  
MR. TRAIN  
MR. ROUDEBUSH


FROM: WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR.   
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: White House Conferences on Consumer  
Representation - January 13 through  
February 19, 1976

Attached is a follow-up memorandum to the memorandum of January 6, 1976, regarding the White House Regional Conferences on Consumer Representation scheduled to take place this month and in February.

If you have any questions, you may put your staff person in contact with John B. Shlaes, Director of White House Conferences, who will be handling arrangements. He may be contacted at 456-1414 at any time and at 254-8000 during business hours.

cc: Mr. Cheney  
Mr. Marsh  
Mr. Lynn  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Nessen  
Mr. Friedersdorf



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

J. CLARKE (DOI)  
A. HELLER (ERDA)  
P. WHITE (ERDA)  
J. LIVERMAN (ERDA)  
A. ALM (ERDA)  
H. ROLLINS (FEA)  
T. PARROT (HEW)  
T. COOPER (HEW)  
V. TROTTER (HEW)  
D. MEEKER (HUD)  
C. ORLEBEKE (HUD)  
H. CRAWFORD (HUD)  
R. VELDE (DOJ)  
T. KAUPER (DOJ)  
A. WEISS (DOL)  
J. CONNOR (DOT)  
A. SCHULTZ (VA)  
R. FELTNER (USDA)  
D. PAARLBERG (USDA)  
R. LONG (USDA)  
T. REED (DOC)  
B. ANCKER-JOHNSON (DOC)  
C. CLEWLOW (DOD)  
D. PETERSON (GSA)  
L. LAUN (SBA)  
W. BRECHT (DOT)

FROM:

JOHN B. SHLAES  
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCES  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT:

White House Conferences on Consumer  
Representation - January 13 through  
February 19, 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE ATTACHED LIST

FROM: JOHN B. SHLAES  
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCES  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

Pursuant to my January 6th memorandum, attached is a list of the Regional White House Conferences Offices, which includes locations, opening dates, White House contacts, and telephone numbers. I have also enclosed four White House Conference baggage tags for your convenience.

As the Regional Offices begin functioning, you may direct your questions to the White House contacts in the appropriate offices. However, I will always be available to assist you (456-7090 or 456-1414).

Enclosures

cc: J. Byington	W. Shaw
M. Sterlacci	T. Parker
W. Valis	D. Lefevre
M. Scanlon	T. Fortier
S. Huskisson	L. Hodgkinson
S. Troy	D. Lee
J. Glaub	

## REGIONAL WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE INFORMATION

### Atlanta

Conference Date: January 19  
White House Contact: Mike Scanlon  
FEB Contact: James Fields  
Office Location: Stouffer's Atlanta Hotel  
(office opens January 12)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 285-4661, -2, -3, -4, -5  
Commercial: (404) 526-5393, -5408

### Boston

Conference Date: January 16  
White House Contact: Trish Fortier  
FEB Contact: Frank Prout  
Office Location: Sheraton Boston Hotel  
(office now open)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 223-0651, -2  
Commercial: (617) 223-0651

### Chicago

Conference Date: January 13  
White House Contact: Tony Parker  
FEB Contact: Jerry Marks  
Office Location: Holiday Inn, Evanston, Illinois  
(office now open)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 886-3710, -11, -12, -13, -14  
Commercial: (312) 886-3710, -11, -12, -13, -14

### Denver

Conference Date: January 26  
White House Contact: Doug Lee  
FEB Contact: Cora Jean Leenheer  
Office Location: Brown Palace Hotel  
(office opens January 19)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 327-4751  
Commercial: (303) 837-4751

### Kansas City

Conference Date: January 14  
White House Contact: Mike Scanlon  
FEB Contact: Tony Zahn  
Office Location: Muehlebach Hotel  
(office now open)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 758-2871  
Commercial: (816) 374-2871

### Los Angeles

Conference Date: January 30  
White House Contact: Bill Shaw  
FEB Contact: Grace de Cook  
Office Location: Biltmore Hotel  
(office opens January 22)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 798-2928  
Commercial: (213) 688-2928

### Philadelphia

Conference Date: January 23  
White House Contact: Dave Lefevre  
FEB Contact: Joy Wadleigh  
Office Location: Sheraton Hotel  
(office opens January 16)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 597-7203, -4  
Commercial: (215) 564-3326, -7, -8

### San Francisco

Conference Date: January 29  
White House Contact: Sam Troy  
FEB Contact: Col. Al Ellis  
Office Location: Rickey's Hyatt House  
(office opens January 21)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 463-7341, -2  
Commercial: (415) 494-7213, -4, -5

### Houston

Conference Date: January 21  
White House Contact: Susan Huskisson  
FEB Contact: A. A. Hunter  
Office Location: University of Houston Hotel  
(office opens January 14)  
Telephone Number: FTS: 527-5931, -2  
Commercial: (713) 741-5604, -3460

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. (B)

Thought you would be interested  
in the attached.

Enclosure





# Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese

OF NORTH AMERICA  
388 MOUNTAIN ROAD  
ENGLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY 07631  
201 874-1222

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

On Thursday, April 15, 1976 President Gerald R. Ford met at the White House with the Executive Board of the Standing Conference of American-Middle Eastern Christian and Moslem Leaders to discuss the current crisis in Lebanon. Members of the Executive Board in attendance were Metropolitan Philip of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, Archbishop Joseph Tawil of the Melkite Catholic Exarchate, Bishop Francis Zayek of the Maronite Catholic Diocese, and Imam Mohamad Jawad Chirri and Imam Muhammad Abdul-Rauf of the Islamic community in the United States. President Ford was accompanied by the Chief of Staff, General Brent Scowcroft and Mr. William Baroody, Jr., Special Assistant to the President. The meeting had been requested by Metropolitan Philip, Chairman of the Standing Conference, to appeal to the President in behalf of Lebanese Americans to "use his good office to bring peace to Lebanon."

After welcoming the religious leaders, the President offered his personal assessment of the year long civil war in Lebanon, and remarked of his concern for the suffering now being endured by the Lebanese people. He noted that official figures place total fatalities at over 25,000.

-MORE-

He acknowledged the complexity of the situation, but stated forthright that "our government is doing everything possible to bring about a settlement." He remarked that L. Dean Brown, "a seasoned diplomat", was in direct contact with him on a daily basis and that Mr. Brown was doing his utmost to bring about a settlement. The President assured the religious leaders that he is interested in the reconstruction of Lebanon and that certain humanitarian assistance is being requested of Congress. He also noted that visas are being expeditiously handled for those desiring to leave Lebanon during the civil war. Visibly moved during his opening remarks, President Ford proceeded to request that the religious leaders offer suggestions that may assist him in his process of decision making.

Speaking in behalf of the Standing Conference which represents over two million American Christians and Moslems, Metropolitan Philip stated that President Ford is held in "highest regard by our people" for his moral integrity and honesty, adding that they "stood ready to do everything possible to assist the President accomplish his tasks." The Metropolitan continued, saying, "It is no mere coincidence that we meet to discuss the sufferings of the Lebanese people while Western Christendom commemorates the Passion of Christ." He pointed out that the fallacy of the Lebanese civil war being a religious war should be dispelled by the fact that Christian and Moslem leaders have joined forces to seek a common peace. "Christians, Moslems and Jews co-existed in peace for centuries in the Middle East." He further noted that "not all Christians are rightests nor

-MORE-



are all Moslems leftists." He appealed to President Ford to use the influence of his high office to "stop the bloodshed in Lebanon, preserve the independence of that country, and assist in its speedy reconstruction." Metropolitan Philip concluded his preliminary remarks with his expression of hope that "a new Lebanon may be born out of the ashes of the present tragedy."

President Ford replied that the United States has always had special concern for the people of Lebanon and noted that Lebanon has always maintained friendly political and economical relations with this country. He insisted that the United States stood ready to preserve the sovereignty of Lebanon.

Metropolitan Philip stated that the agreement reached in February by the warring factions had established a first step toward reconciliation and the cessation of bloodshed. He further asserted that the limited Syrian presence in Lebanon was designed to protect both Christians and Moslems and to bring about a speedy resolution to the civil war. He also expressed concern for the resultant refugees of this latest conflict in the Middle East.

In response, Mr. Ford stated that Lebanon was "top priority matter" on his daily agenda, and that he receives reports on the situation "the first thing every morning." He mentioned that he is in frequent communication with both the Syrian and Israeli governments regarding the situation. He insisted that a political, rather than a military, solution to the civil war is the only viable option. He

-MORE-

assured the religious leaders' that he spends "more time on this problem than on many pressing domestic issues."

The other members of the Executive Board expressed their personal appraisal of the Lebanese crisis, relating it to other pressing problems in the entire Middle East. Imam Chirri emphatically stated that "there will never be peace in the Middle East until the Palestinian question is resolved." He also reminded President Ford of the strong stand taken by President Eisenhower during the Suez invasion of 1956. Bishop Zayek urged President Ford to find a solution to "the thorny Palestinian problem" and in this way alleviate one source of tension in the Lebanese situation. Archbishop Tawil and Imam Abdul-Rauf stressed the urgency of an immediate peace in Lebanon and a solution to the Palestinian question. Throughout the conversation it was brought to the attention of the President that the current Lebanese crisis must be viewed within the context of the unresolved issues that have plagued the Middle East since 1947. It was made evident that it is in the best interest of the United States that there be a just and durable peace in that troubled area of the world.

As the meeting continued it was remarked by the religious leaders that President Ford is extremely well informed of the complexity of the situation in Lebanon and the entire Middle East. The President stated that, "the Middle East is one of the most potentially explosive spots in the world today." He repeatedly underscored his concern for the preservation of the territorial integrity of Lebanon.

-MORE-

At the close of the meeting President Ford expressed his gratitude for the opportunity to meet with the religious leaders and stated that he considered the meeting extremely helpful. The religious leaders expressed their gratitude for the invitation and hoped that the meeting may in some way help bring peace to Lebanon in the near future.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

talked on s/s

NOTE FOR: Connie G.

FROM : RON NESSEN

I need to  
talk to  
Barroody about  
this on Tues.

RECEIVED  
JAN 10 1983

RAN

MEMORANDUM ~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1976

TO: RON NESSEN ✓  
MARGITA WHITE

FROM: WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. (B)

SUBJECT: Press Coverage on May 5 "Ethnicity and  
Neighborhood Revitalization" Conference

I believe we should give approval to the Knight Newspapers to cover the conference on May 5. I also believe that one of you should respond to this letter.

Thank you.

~~Baroody now says -  
we should not have  
this Knight coverage -  
RH should talk  
to Baroody on it -~~

per Wayne  
Vallio - 4/29  
JB

WASHINGTON BUREAU,  
1195 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045  
(202) 638-2844

April 22, 1976

Mr. William Baroody  
Office of Public Liaison  
The White House

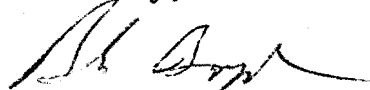
Dear Bill:

This is a formal request to cover the White House Conference on Ethnicity and Neighborhood Revitalization scheduled for May 5, which you mentioned at the Sperling Breakfast this morning.

The public interest in this matter is obvious, and we have papers in cities like Detroit, Akron, Philadelphia and Miami where ethnic neighborhoods and problems are extremely important.

Please let me know if press coverage can be arranged. Thanks.

Sincerely,



Robert S. Boyd

RSB/cmg

cc: Mr. Ron Nessen





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON NESSEN

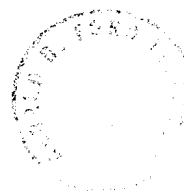
FROM:

BILL BAROODY

SUBJECT:

Reception

The Printing Industries of America will sponsor a reception in the White House Staff Mess from 5:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. Thursday, May 6, to meet with members of the President's senior staff. You are cordially invited to attend.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 27, 1976

FOR: JAMES E. CONNOR  
JAMES H. CAVANAUGH  
JERRY H. JONES  
RONALD H. NESSEN ✓  
JAMES B. SHUMAN  
DAVID R. GERGEN  
WARREN K. HENDRIKS  
FOSTER CHANOCK  
TIMOTHY J. AUSTIN

FROM: WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. (1)

SUBJECT: Article on "Sustained Recovery At Last?"

Enclosed is a very interesting article that provides an excellent defense of the President's economic and fiscal policies.



# Sustained Recovery At Last?



According to economist Beryl Sprinkel the conditions are right for a sustained recovery over a number of years. But whether or not this can be fulfilled depends on public attitudes.

by Gordon A. Moon II

REMARKS BY

WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR.

Assistant to the President  
For Public Liaison

Before The  
Graduating Class of  
SEATTLE UNIVERSITY

Seattle, Washington  
Sunday June 6, 1976

HOLD FOR RELEASE: Sunday, June 6, 1976 3:00 p.m. PDT



FRIENDS AND FELLOW ALUMNI OF JESUIT EDUCATION.

THERE IS A STORY ABOUT WINSTON CHURCHILL IN HIS LATE YEARS--THAT HE WAS INVITED TO ADDRESS A GROUP MUCH LIKE THIS ONE, ON AN OCCASION MUCH LIKE THIS ONE, DURING A PERIOD OF RELATIVELY RECENT HISTORY THAT WAS CONFUSED, ANXIOUS AND APPREHENSIVE, ALSO MUCH LIKE THIS ONE.

THE OLD MAN, THEN IN HIS EIGHTIES, WALKED OUT TO FACE THE GRADUATES, FIXED THEM WITH A FIRM STARE AND STOOD IN SILENCE FOR WHAT ALMOST BECAME AN EMBARRASSINGLY LONG TIME. FINALLY, SLOWLY AND DELIBERATELY HE SPOKE THREE WORDS ONLY. "NEVER GIVE UP," CHURCHILL SAID AND THEN WALKED OFF, HAVING SHARED WITH THEM THE LESSON A LIFETIME HAD TAUGHT.

I DO NOT HAVE THE SAME GIFT OF BREVITY--AS YOU WILL SOON SEE--BUT MY MESSAGE IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME, AND ALL THE MORE APPROPRIATE FOR YOU WHO HAVE AS YOUR THEME, "SERVICE TO HUMANITY."

THAT THERE IS AN UNCHARACTERISTICALLY HOPEFUL ONE FOR A GROUP OF YOUNG AMERICANS IF YOU ACCEPT THE CURRENT COMMON WISDOM THAT YOUNG PEOPLE--AND THE NOT SO YOUNG--ARE TURNED OFF, TUNED OUT, CYNICAL AND APATHETIC. HOPE IS A VIRTUE SOMEWHAT OUT OF VOGUE THESE DAYS. ALIENATION, APATHY, CYNICISM ARE ALL THE RAGE THIS SEASON AND SERVICE TO HUMANITY AND



THE HOPEFULNESS SUCH SERVICE IMPLIES ARE--HASN'T ANYONE TOLD YOU?--NOT IN VOGUE.

YOU KNOW ALL THE REASONS FOR PESSIMISM, ALL THE REAL WORLD DILEMMAS THAT ARGUE AGAINST HOPE. YOU MUST KNOW AND YET, UNLESS I MISREAD YOUR THEME--OR YOU DO--YOU PERSIST IN YOUR HOPEFULNESSS THAT SERVICE, REAL SERVICE, CAN BE RENDERED, THAT HUMANITY WILL RECEIVE IT AND THAT IN THE LONG SWEEP OF TIME THEREBY YOUR SERVICE--AND YOU--SOMEHOW WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

FOR WHAT IT MAY BE WORTH TO YOU AND WHATEVER SUPPORT IT MAY OFFER, I AM HOPEFUL ABOUT YOUR HOPE; FIRST, THAT IT WILL PREVAIL AGAINST TODAY'S MORE FASHIONABLE ATTITUDES AND SECOND THAT IT WILL BE REALIZED.

OBVIOUSLY THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE, AND CERTAINLY THE NEED FOR IT, ARE AS GREAT NOW AS EVER IN THE LONG HISTORY OF HUMANKIND. JUST AS OBVIOUSLY THE NEED FOR SERVICE--THE DESPERATE CRYING--OUT DEMAND FOR IT--WILL NOT SOON DIMINISH. BUT THE CYNIC MAY TELL YOU THAT THE EFFICACIOUS OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROVIDING SERVICE WILL.

HE MAY SAY WITH THAT CERTAIN RING THAT HALF TRUTHS ALWAYS'S HAVE, THAT THE CHURCH HAS LOST ITS MISSION, THE FAMILY HAS LOST ITS INTEGRITY, THE NEIGHBORHOOD HAS LOST ITS NEIGHBORLINESS, THAT COMMUNITIES IN GENERAL HAVE LOST THEIR COHESIVENESS, THAT GOVERNMENT HAS LOST ITS EFFICACY AND THAT PEOPLE HAVE LOST THEIR COMMON SENSE.

THE CYNIC, IN SHORT, POINTS OUT WITH THE RUDENESS PSEUDO REALISTS HAVE, THE FACT THAT WHEN ASKED WHAT, AND/OR WHOM THEY TRUST THESE DAYS, PEOPLE RESPOND "NOTHING AND NO ONE."

GLOOM, DOOM AND THEIR PROPHECY SEEM THE ORDER OF THE DAY. PRESENT AN AMERICAN TODAY WITH A SILVER LINING AND HE LOOKS FOR THE CLOUD. AGAIN TO TWIST A GREAT CHURCHILL LINE, "NEVER IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN HISTORY HAVE SO MANY WHO HAVE HAD IT SO GOOD FELT SO BAD."

THE QUESTION IS WHY.

AND THE SIMPLE ANSWER IS BOUND TO BE INCOMPLETE, THOUGH I HOPE STILL ILLUMINATING.

WE TRUST SO LITTLE NOW BECAUSE IN THE PAST WE TRUSTED TOO MUCH.

WE HAVE A CRISIS NOT JUST OF CONFIDENCE, BUT A CRISIS OF AUTHORITY, OF LEGITIMACY, OF FUNCTION AND THE LATTER THREE ARE RELATED, INDEED THEY ARE A SECULAR ANALOGUE TO THE TRINITY--EACH ATTRIBUTES OF THE SAME REALITY.

FOR SIMPLICITY'S SAKE, LET US SPEAK OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND FOR THE SAKE OF OUR ANALOGY, LET US SPEAK FIRST OF AUTHORITY, FOR IT IS OUT OF AUTHORITY THAT THE OTHER TWO SPRING. AUTHORITY HAS TO DO WITH WHAT YOU ARE. YOU HAVE AUTHORITY IF YOU ARE ONE. PARENTAL AUTHORITY IS YOURS IF YOU ARE A PARENT. MEDICAL AUTHORITY IS YOURS IF YOU KNOW MEDICINE. TEACHING AUTHORITY IS

YOURS IF YOU KNOW YOUR SUBJECT.

LEGITIMACY, ON THE OTHER HAND HAS TO DO WITH THE RECOGNITION OF YOUR AUTHORITY AND THERE IS ALWAYS THE DANGER THAT IT WILL HAVE LESS TO DO WITH WHAT YOU ARE THAN WITH WHAT YOU ARE PERCEIVED TO BE AND THAT THE TWO WILL NOT BE THE SAME. A LICENSED DOCTOR HAS LEGITIMACY NO MATTER WHAT HE KNOWS ABOUT MEDICINE. A LICENSED TEACHER HAS LEGITIMACY BY VIRTUE OF THE LICENSE AND NOT THE COMMAND OF THE SUBJECT. A PARENT, GOOD OR BAD HAS LEGITIMACY AS PARENT--AND A JEALOUSLY PROTECTED RIGHT OF PARENTHOOD--BY VIRTUE OF THE COMMUNITY'S RECOGNITION OF THE VALUE OF FAMILY.

AND YOU, AS GRADUATES WHO HAVE EARNED THE DEGREES YOU WILL BE AWARDED HERE TODAY, HAVE LEGITIMACY THEREBY AS EDUCATED MEN, WHETHER YOU CHOOSE TO REMAIN SO OR NOT.

THE TRICK, OF COURSE, IS TO ENSURE A SOCIETAL ORDERLINESS IN WHICH THE LEGITIMACY WHICH IS GRANTED YOU APPROXIMATES THE AUTHORITY OF WHAT YOU ARE.

IF THE TWO ARE TO COME TOGETHER, THEY WILL DO SO AT THE LEVEL OF FUNCTION, WHICH IS NEITHER WHAT YOU ARE NOR WHAT YOU ARE PERCEIVED TO BE, BUT RATHER IS WHAT YOU DO.



IF WHAT ONE DOES HAS NO RELATION TO WHAT ONE IS OR TO WHAT ONE IS "SUPPOSED" TO BE, THEN WHAT ONE DOES WILL DIMINISH AT LEAST ONE'S OWN AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY. IN THE INDIVIDUAL CASE OF YOU, WHOSE GOAL IS SERVICE TO HUMANITY, IT MAY, IF IT HAPPENS, ALSO MEAN THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN UP.

BUT TO RETURN TO OUR MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF WHY DO WE FEEL SO BAD WHEN THINGS ARE SO GOOD, AND TO MY SIMPLE ANSWER THAT WE TRUSTED TOO MUCH, LET US NOW BROADEN OUR SCOPE FROM THE INDIVIDUAL TO INSTITUTIONS; SPECIFICALLY, TO THE INSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT'S FUNCTION IS TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR PEOPLE TO PURSUE THE GOOD LIFE. IF THAT INDEED IS WHAT GOVERNMENT DOES, IF THAT INDEED IS WHAT PEOPLE EXPECT IT TO DO AND IF THAT INDEED IS WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE DOING IN THE FIRST PLACE, THEN THERE IS A BALANCE AND AN ORDERLINESS ABOUT WHICH NOTHING MORE NEED BE SAID.

IT OUGHT NOT AND CAN NOT BE GOVERNMENT'S FUNCTION TO DEFINE THE GOOD LIFE. IT IS NOT GOVERNMENT'S FUNCTION TO DEFINE THE VALUES WHICH ENNOBLE. THAT IS A JOB FOR OTHER INSTITUTIONS: THE CHURCH, THE FAMILY, THE SCHOOL, THE COMMUNITY.

BUT HERE AGAIN THE CYNIC WOULD INTERVENE WITH THAT RUDENESS REALISTS HAVE--AND THERE IS A LITTLE OF THE CYNIC (I HOPE) IN ALL OF US. HE WOULD POINT OUT THE AWFUL TRUTH THAT GOVERNMENT HAS USURPED THE FUNCTION OF THE OTHER VALUE-GENERATING INSTITUTIONS AND SOUGHT TO DEFINE AND THEREBY TO CONTROL THE GOOD LIFE.

THE CYNIC ALSO WOULD POINT OUT THAT GOVERNMENT MUST DEFINE VALUES IN TERMS IT KNOWS, USUALLY QUANTITATIVE TERMS AND STATISTICAL TERMS, AND ALWAYS, EVERYWHERE AND CONSTANTLY IN TERMS OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION--A SORT OF SECULAR VARIANT ON THE THEOLOGICAL NOTION OF ACTUAL GRACE.

AND THE CYNIC IN THIS CASE WOULD BE RIGHT AS FAR AS HE WENT, WHICH IN THE GENERAL CASE OF CYNICS IS NO FURTHER THAN THE MORE OR LESS ACCURATE IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEMS. THE CYNIC WOULD BE RIGHT IN HIS OBSERVATIONS THAT GOVERNMENT HAS GONE TOO FAR, USURPING FUNCTIONS WHICH IT HAS NO AUTHORITY TO DEAL WITH AND WHICH IT CAN NOT LEGITIMATELY CARRY OUT. IN SO DOING GOVERNMENT HAS UNDERMINED THE AUTHORITY OF THOSE OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIETY: FAMILY, THE CHURCH, THE COMMUNITY, BY DEPRIVING THEM OF THEIR PROPER FUNCTION.

FURTHER, ONE COULD POINT OUT THAT BY ASSUMING A FUNCTION IT COULDN'T PERFORM, GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY UNDERMINED THESE INSTITUTIONS IT ALSO UNDERMINED ITS



OWN AUTHORITY AND ITS OWN LEGITIMACY.

BUT THAT IS AS FAR AS CYNICS CAN GO. THE CYNIC WOULD BE WRONG IF HE OR SHE WENT FURTHER THAN THE OBSERVATIONS ABOUT AMERICA'S PRESENT CONDITION AND CONCLUDED, AS CYNICS OFTEN DO, THAT AS A RESULT ALL WHO ENTER AMERICA'S THIRD CENTURY MUST ABANDON HOPE, THEREBY ABANDONING CHURCHILL'S DICTUM AND, IN SHORT, GIVING UP.

FOR THE CYNIC REJECTS HOPE AND IS THEREFORE BLIND TO HOPEFUL SIGNS AND PORTENTS. THE CYNIC AND I CAN AGREE THAT WE HAVE SERIOUS--ALMOST OVERWHELMING PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS COMPOUNDED IF NOT CAUSED BY THE UNDERLYING PROBLEM OF DECLINING CONFIDENCE IN ALL OF SOCIETY'S INSTITUTIONS, BE THEY GOVERNMENTAL AND PUBLIC AND FUNCTION-  
USURPING OR PRIVATE AND PERSONAL AND FUNCTIONALLY  
USURPED.

THE CYNIC FAILS TO SEE THAT THERE IS A DEVELOPING WAY OUT IN THE NEW POLITICS OF THE LEFT AND THE NEW POLITICS OF THE RIGHT. THESE ARE NOT ESSENTIALLY SO MUCH LEFT AND RIGHT AS THEY ARE ESSENTIALLY "NEW." AND BOTH HAVE SO MUCH MORE THAT UNITES THEM THAN DIVIDES THEM THAT I AM CONFIDENT THEY ULTIMATELY WILL MERGE INTO A NEW POLITICS OF THE CENTER. THE SAVING GRACE OF THIS NEW POLITICS WILL NOT BE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS--

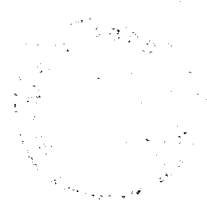
FAR FROM IT. IT WILL BE --IT IS, IN FACT--THAT THE NEW POLITICS WILL TEND NOT TO TRUST GOVERNMENT TOO MUCH AND BECAUSE OF THAT WILL ONCE AGAIN BE ABLE TO TRUST ENOUGH. THAT IS TO SAY, IT WILL TEND TO RESTORE BALANCE BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE.

IN THE LAST FEW DECADES GOVERNMENT, AND THE OLD POLITICS WHICH MOTIVATED IT, SHARED THE FUNDAMENTAL PREMISE THAT WHAT INDIVIDUALS COULDN'T DO FOR THEMSELVES HAD TO BE DONE BY GOVERNMENT.

THERE BEING--IN THIS EVER MORE COMPLICATED WORLD--EVER SO MUCH MORE WHICH INDIVIDUALS REALLY COULDN'T DO FOR THEMSELVES, THERE SEEMED ALWAYS MORE AND MORE FOR GOVERNMENT TO DO--AND RETURNING TO OUR THEME--FOR GOVERNMENT TO DO IN SERVICE TO HUMANITY.

IN SUCH A FORMULA, SERVICE TO HUMANITY BEGAN TO EQUATE WITH GOVERNMENT SERVICE. A DEMANDING AND CRYING--OUT HUMANITY DESPERATELY IN NEED OF SERVICE BEGAN TO LOOK TO GOVERNMENT NOT AS ONE AMONG MANY SERVICE PROVIDERS, BUT AS FIRST A NECESSARY AND LATER AS THE ONLY SUFFICIENT PROVIDER OF SERVICES.

AND NOT ONLY THE "NEEDY," BUT ALL OF US IN NEED, BEGAN TO PERCEIVE ALL OTHER INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONAL PROVIDERS OF SERVICES AS INCREASINGLY INSUFFICIENT AND UNNECESSARY.



WE BEGAN, IN SHORT, TO LOOK AT GOVERNMENT AND TO TRUST TOO MUCH, AND TO EXPECT TOO MUCH AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, TWO THINGS HAPPENED.

FIRST, BECAUSE WE EXPECTED MORE FROM GOVERNMENT, WE SUFFERED GREATER DISAPPOINTMENT WHEN IT FAILED. AND, AS A SOCIETY, THE SUM TOTAL OF OUR DISAPPOINTMENT REACHED THE POINT OF CRITICAL MASS IN THE '60's AND THE EARLY '70's, AS YOU WELL KNOW.

WE HAD LOOKED FOR MORE FROM GOVERNMENT AND WHAT WE GOT WAS LESS--STREET RIOTS AND CAMPUS UNREST. VIETNAM, WATERGATE AND RECESSION. EACH WAS AN EVENT ALIEN TO WHAT WE HAD COME TO EXPECT FROM GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA. AND THE SUM OF EACH EVENT ADDED TOGETHER HAD THE EFFECT FINALLY OF ALIENATING MANY OF US FROM WHAT WE HAD COME TO BELIEVE WAS AMERICA.

BUT BEFORE WE ENDED UP ALIENATED FROM THAT GREAT AND AUTOMATIC PUBLIC INTEREST PROTECTION MACHINE WE HAD COME TO THINK AMERICAN GOVERNMENT WAS, WE BECAME ALIENATED FROM OURSELVES. THE PUBLIC INTEREST WAS ALL, THE PRIVATE WAS NOTHING. THE PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL WAS SANCTIFIED AND THE PRIVATE AND PERSONAL WAS PROFANIZED. LONG BEFORE WE BECAME DISILLUSIONED WITH GOVERNMENT,

WE ALLOWED THE PRIVATE TO FALL INTO DISREPUTE, WHICH IS TO SAY THAT WE BECAME DISILLUSIONED WITH OURSELVES.

IF THERE IS BOTH AN OLD POLITICS AND A NEW, AS I BELIEVE THERE IS, THEN THIS DISILLUSIONMENT MUST BE A LEGACY OF THE OLD. AND THE VALUE OF THE NEW POLITICS WILL LIE IN ITS CAPACITY FOR RESTORING OUR PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORTH OF BOTH GOVERNMENT AND INDIVIDUAL, THE VALUE OF BOTH THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE.

IN HIS BICENTENNIAL STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE LAST JANUARY, PRESIDENT FORD CHOSE COMMON SENSE AND A NEW BALANCE AS HIS THEMES. HE TOLD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT HE HAD PLEDGED A NEW DIRECTION TWELVE MONTHS BEFORE AND THAT IT WAS THE RIGHT DIRECTION BECAUSE IT FOLLOWS THE TRULY REVOLUTIONARY AMERICAN CONCEPT OF 1776 WHICH HOLDS THAT IN A FREE SOCIETY THE MAKING OF PUBLIC POLICY AND SUCCESSFUL PROBLEM SOLVING INVOLVES MUCH MORE THAN GOVERNMENT.

IT INVOLVES A FULL PARTNERSHIP AMONG ALL BRANCHES AND ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS.

CERTAINLY THE NEW POLITICS I SPEAK OF DOES NOT SEEK THE RADICAL OVERTHROW OF THE OLD AND ITS RELIANCE ON GOVERNMENT. IT SEEKS RATHER TO RE-EMPHASIZE THE PRIVATE AND THEREBY TO RESTORE BALANCE BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE, BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTIONS.

IN MUCH THE SAME WAY, WE CATHOLICS KNOW, THE CHURCH  
FELL OUT OF BALANCE FOR A TIME BY THE ASSERTION OF THE  
ONE PRINCIPLE, THE HEIRARCHICAL, OVER ANOTHER EQUALLY  
VALID PRINCIPLE, THAT OF THE COMMUNITY. THEN CAME  
VATICAN II WHICH SOUGHT NOTHING MORE THAN RESTORATION  
OF BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SO THAT NEITHER HEIRARCHY  
NOR PEOPLE SHOULD DOMINATE, BUT THAT BOTH COULD PROPERLY  
BE FREE TO BE WHAT THEY ARE, BE WHAT THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO  
BE AND TO DO WHAT IT WAS THEIR PROPER FUNCTION TO DO.

THE NEW POLITICS SEEKS THE SAME RESTORATION OF BALANCE IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICS, GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY. IF WE ARE TO ABANDON ANYTHING AT ALL UNDER THE RUBRIC OF THE NEW POLITICS AS I UNDERSTAND IT, IT IS THIS ONLY-- THE NOTION THAT THERE IS BUT ONE WAY TO SOLVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SERVE HUMANKIND AND THAT IS THROUGH GOVERNMENTAL SOCIAL CONTROLS.

WE ARE BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT THERE IS A STRONG LINK BETWEEN THE SUCCESS OF COMMUNITIES, SUCCESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND A PROPER STRUCTURING OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY. IT IS CLEAR THAT GOVERNMENT MUST VIEW ITSELF IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT. IN THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT MUST STRIVE, INSTEAD OF ATTEMPTING TO PREEMPT ALL PROBLEMS, INSTEAD TO CREATE CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD ENABLE INDIVIDUALS, SPECIFICALLY YOU, TO SERVE HUMANITY IN THE PRIVATE OR THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND WITH EQUAL LEGITIMACY AND DIGNITY IN EITHER. UPON SUCH NOTIONS IS BASED THE MOSAIC AND THE FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY.

LEST YOU THINK THAT I AM MERELY PROVIDING YOU WITH RHETORIC, LET ME GIVE A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE OF THE POLITICS OF OPENNESS AND THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AS APPLIED TO A SPECIFIC HUMAN PROBLEM.

AFTER THE TRAGEDY OF VIETNAM ENDED IN EARLY 1975, OVER 130,000 VIETNAMESE REFUGEES WERE LEFT HOMELESS.



WE FELT, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER YOU SUPPORTED THE WAR OR NOT, THAT THESE HUMAN BEINGS HAD A MORAL CLAIM TO OUR ASSISTANCE. THEY HAD RISKED THEIR LIVES FIGHTING ON OUR SIDE AND IT WAS CLEAR THEIR LIVES WERE IN JEOPARDY SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS COME TO POWER.

SO WE AGREED TO ALLOW THESE 130,000 UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE TO EMIGRATE TO AMERICA. ONCE ASHORE WE ALSO HAD A MORAL OBLIGATION TO ASSIST THEM IN BECOMING A PART OF OUR SOCIETY. THERE WERE TWO WAYS TO ASSIST THEM. ONE WOULD HAVE BEEN TO BEGIN A MASSIVE WELFARE PROGRAM TO TRAIN, EDUCATE, HOUSE, FEED AND CLOTHE THE REFUGEES. IT WOULD HAVE INVOLVED THE EXPENDITURES OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF THE PUBLIC TREASURY AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF MANY FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS. THIS IS THE WAY SUCH PROBLEMS HAVE INCREASINGLY BEEN HANDLED UNDER THE OLD POLITICS OF THE LAST 40 YEARS. BUT SUCH AN APPROACH WAS REJECTED.

IT WAS REJECTED IN FAVOR OF A MUCH BETTER APPROACH--THE APPROACH OF OPENNESS, PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT. INSTEAD OF GOVERNMENT DOING, PEOPLE WERE ALLOWED TO DO. GOVERNMENT PROVIDED EXPERTISE AND GUIDANCE WHILE FAMILIES, CHURCHES, NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS AND OTHER VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS--WHOSE FUNCTION AT LEAST IN PART HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE "SOCIALIZATION" OF INDIVIDUALS--

WERE ALLOWED TO DIRECTLY DEAL WITH THE VIETNAMESE REFUGEES. THROUGH THEIR EFFORTS AND CREATIVE APPROACHES TO THIS PROBLEM THE VIETNAMESE HAVE NOW ALMOST ENTIRELY PASSED THROUGH THIS SOCIALIZATION PROCESS, THAT IS, HAVE BEEN MADE A PART OF OUR SOCIETY. OF COURSE PROBLEMS HAVE REMAINED, BUT IN GENERAL WE HAVE HAD A REMARKABLY EFFICIENT AND HUMANE SOLUTION TO WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN A THORNY PROBLEM.

WHAT WE NOW NEED IS MORE CREATIVE THINKING TO ENACT PROGRAMS SIMILAR TO THE VIETNAMESE REFUGEE PROGRAM IN OTHER SPHERES OF LIFE.

I BELIEVE THAT THE POLITICS OF OPENNESS AND THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION WILL BEGIN TO HAVE A REAL MEANING IN AMERICAN LIFE. IT WILL HAVE A REAL MEANING BECAUSE FIRST IT IS THE CORRECT APPROACH TO OUR PRESENT MALAISE. SECOND, AND VERY SIMPLY, I BELIEVE IT WILL BECOME A REALITY BECAUSE INCREASINGLY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL DEMAND IT, AS THEY WILL DEMAND AN END TO THE OLD AND USUAL POLITICS WHICH BECOMES INCREASINGLY A POLITICS OF DESPAIR.

I APOLOGIZE, IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR, FOR THE USE OF BRITISH QUOTES, BUT G. K. CHESTERTON MAKES AN ESSENTIAL POINT. "IT IS THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY:" HE SAYS, "THAT THE ESSENTIAL THINGS IN MEN ARE THE THINGS

THEY HOLD IN COMMON, NOT THE THINGS THEY HOLD SEPARATELY."

IT WAS PERHAPS THE FATAL FLAW OF THE OLD POLITICS THAT IT CREATED BARRIERS TO A RECOGNITION OF THAT FIRST PRINCIPLE. THE OLD POLITICS PLAYED TO PEOPLE'S FEARS AND ENCOURAGED SOME PEOPLE TO DISTRUST THE MOTIVE OF OTHERS. UNDER ITS RUBRIC THE WEALTHY VIEW THE POOR AS A THREAT AND THE POOR ARE ENCOURAGED TO THINK OF THE WEALTHY AS EXPLOITERS. WORKERS SEE MANAGERS HAVING NOT JUST A DIFFERENT SET OF FUNCTIONS BUT A DIFFERENT AND ILLEGITIMATE AND MALEVOLENT SET OF MOTIVES.

AND THIS EXTENDS INTO THE PRESENT WHERE DEBATE ON PUBLIC POLICY CENTERS ALL TOO OFTEN ON THE PRESUMED DARK AND SUSPICIOUS MOTIVES OF THE ADVERSARY.

THE OLD POLITICS HAS ENCOURAGED SOME MEN AND WOMEN--EVEN SOME PARENTS WHO HAVE CHILDREN THEY NATURALLY WANT THE BEST FOR--TO DENIGRATE AS RACISTS OTHER MEN AND WOMEN--OTHER PARENTS--WHO OBJECT TO BUSING PERHAPS FOR NO DARKER MOTIVE THAN THAT THEY WANT THE BEST FOR THEIR OWN CHILDREN.

THE OLD POLITICS DIVIDES PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF SUSPICION. SOME ENVIRONMENTALISTS OPPOSE INDUSTRIALISTS NOT SO MUCH FOR WHAT THEY DO AS FOR WHAT THEY ARE, AND THE MOTIVES WHICH A DISFUNCTIONAL POLITICS ILLEGITIMATELY ASSIGNS TO THEM.

SOME CONSERVATIVES DO NOT OPPOSE BUREAUCRATS FOR WHAT THEY DO SO MUCH AS THEY DENOUNCE THEM FOR THEIR IMAGINED MALICIOUS AND AGAIN ILLEGITIMATE INTENT TO DEPRIVE US OF OUR FREEDOM.

THE OLD POLITICS DIVIDES PEOPLE THUS AND SUBSTITUTES DENUNCIATION FOR DEBATE. AND IT ARROGANTLY ASSUMES THAT JUDGMENTAL FUNCTION OF SEPARATING THE SHEEP FROM THE GOATS WHICH OUGHT TO BE RESERVED FOR A MORE TRANSCENDANT THEATER.

SO LONG AS A PEOPLE REMAINS CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE SEPARATED FROM EACH OTHER AT THE FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL OF MOTIVE--THAT IN EFFECT "YOU CAN'T TRUST NOBODY"-- THEN ALIENATION, FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR WILL BE THE INEVITABLE MANIFESTATIONS OF ILLEGITIMACY, MALFUNCTION AND AUTHORITY'S ABUSE. AND IN SUCH A CIRCUMSTANCE THE ULTIMATE END OF FREE SOCIETY IS JUST AS INEVITABLE.

THE OLD POLITICS REALLY BELIEVED THOREAU'S DICTUM THAT MOST MEN LIVE LIVES OF QUIET DESPERATION. IN FACT, IT BUILT A PUBLIC POLICY CONSENSUS ON THAT FOUNDATION AND WROTE A RECORD OF MASSIVE PROGRAMMATIC FAILURE.

THE NEW POLITICS AS I SEE IT COMING IN AMERICA HAS A MORE POSITIVE PREMISE AND A MORE HOPEFUL PROMISE. HOWEVER, ANY PROGRAMS THAT MAY EMERGE FROM IT CAN ONLY

BECOME MEANINGFUL IF THEY RECEIVE YOUR CREATIVE ENERGIES, YOUR BEST THOUGHTS AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT. CLEARLY IT'S TIME TO LET THE PRIVATE SECTOR COME BACK INTO BALANCE AND ASSUME AN EQUAL PLACE WITH THE PUBLIC. BUT WE IN GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE YOUR HELP IF AMERICANS ARE TO SERVE HUMANITY. SO, I AM OPTIMISTIC AND PREDICT A NEW RENAISSANCE OF THE PRIVATE--AND A NEW AND HAPPIER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE--IN AMERICA. THERE'S A RENAISSANCE THAT WILL GROW OUT OF THE ASHES OF THE TURMOIL AND OUT OF THE BITTERNESS AND OUT OF THE FRUSTRATION. I THINK THERE CAN BE A NEW SPIRIT OF ACHIEVEMENT IN AMERICA. A NEW QUIET PRIDE, ONE OF SATISFACTION AND ACCOMPLISHMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT.

IN SHORT, I BELIEVE THAT WHAT JOHN XXIII DID FOR THE CHURCH IN RESTORING BALANCE BETWEEN HIERARCHY AND COMMUNITY CAN, INDEED IS, BEING DONE FOR THE SECULAR STATE IN AMERICA THROUGH THE INCREASING PRACTISE OF A POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT THAT PROMISES TO RESTORE BALANCE BETWEEN THE PRIVATE AND THE PUBLIC SECTORS IN AMERICA. THIS NEW POLITICS OF THE CENTER--IF PERCEIVED AND ACTED UPON--CAN, IN MY JUDGMENT LEAD TO A COMMON SENSE COALITION IN AMERICA THAT IS FOUNDED ON TRUST AND HOPE AND FAITH IN OUR COUNTRY AND OURSELVES RATHER THAN ON AN INCREASING POLITICS OF CONFRONTATION AND DESPAIR FOUNDED ON DISTRUST AND CYNICISM.

SUCH AN AMERICA WILL AND CAN BE YOURS IF YOU QUITE LITERALLY "KEEP YOUR HOPES UP." IT WILL AND CAN BE YOURS IF YOU WILL CONTINUE TO BLOCK OUT THE CYNICS COUNSEL AND CONTINUE A PROFOUND DISSENT TO THE RUDENESS OF THE PSEUDO REALIST.

IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR LET US NOT JUST CELEBRATE WHAT WAS, 200 YEARS AGO, WHEN THE FOUNDING FATHERS HAD THE COURAGE TO SAY THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL AND HAVE FREEDOM AS THEIR RIGHT.

LET WE, OURSELVES, IN THE HERE OF AMERICA AND THE NOW OF 1976, GO FORTH FROM THIS COMMENCEMENT, WITH OPTIMISM AND CONFIDENCE AND DARING TO SAY IT OURSELVES.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DOUGLAS P. BENNETT  
PHILIP W. BUCHEN  
JAMES M. CANNON  
JOHN CARLSON  
JAMES H. CAVANAUGH  
RICHARD CHENEY  
JAMES E. CONNOR  
MARIA DOWNS  
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF  
WILLIAM GOROG  
ALAN GREENSPAN  
DAVID GERGEN  
ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
JERRY JONES  
JAMES T. LYNN  
PAUL MacAVOY  
JOHN O. MARSH, JR.  
✓ RONALD H. NESSEN  
WILLIAM W. NICHOLSON  
PAUL O'NEILL  
ROBERT ORBEN  
WILLIAM RHATICAN  
EDWARD C. SCHMULTS  
BRENT SCOWCROFT  
L. WILLIAM SEIDMAN

FROM:

WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. (B)

On Wednesday, July 28, members of the Board of Directors of the National Paint and Coatings Association will participate in a briefing arranged by the Office of Public Liaison. Following the briefing there will be a reception from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. in the Staff Mess hosted by the NP&CA. You are cordially invited to attend.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN  
ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
JOHN O. MARSH, JR.  
RICHARD B. CHENEY  
JAMES M. CANNON  
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF  
BRENT SCOWCROFT  
L. WILLIAM SEIDMAN  
✓ RONALD S. NESSEN  
JAMES H. CAVANAUGH  
EDWARD C. SCHMULTS  
JAMES E. CONNOR  
ROBERT A. GOLDWIN  
JERRY H. JONES  
PAUL O'NEILL  
ALAN GREENSPAN  
WILLIAM F. GOROG  
DAVID GERGEN  
WILLIAM F. RHATICAN

FROM:

WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. (B)

Thursday afternoon, September 16, following a briefing in the East Room, members of the Young President's Organization and their wives will participate in a reception on the State Floor. The President will spend approximately 30 minutes with the group. You are cordially invited to the reception, which will last from 5:00 p.m. until approximately 6:15 p.m.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN  
ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
JOHN O. MARSH, JR.  
RICHARD B. CHENEY  
JAMES M. CANNON  
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF  
BRENT SCOWCROFT  
L. WILLIAM SEIDMAN  
✓ RONALD H. NESSEN  
JAMES H. CAVANAUGH  
EDWARD C. SCHMULTS  
JAMES E. CONNOR  
ROBERT A. GOLDWIN  
JERRY H. JONES  
PAUL O'NEILL  
ALAN GREENSPAN  
WILLIAM F. GOROG  
DAVID GERGEN  
WILLIAM F. RHATICAN

FROM:

WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. (B)

Wednesday afternoon, September 29, following a briefing in the East Room, approximately 140 business executives will participate in a reception in the State Dining Room. The President will spend approximately 30 minutes with the group. You are cordially invited to the reception, which will last from 5:00 p.m. until 6:00 p.m.

10/5/76 THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

NOTE FOR: BILL BAROODY, JR.

FROM: JIM SHUMAN 

Do you have any comment on this?  
If Mr. Grabowski's complaint is  
legitimate, do you think we should  
try to find time to squeeze him into  
the President's schedule?

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Edward J. Wilczynski

SOCIETY EDITOR

Anna-Danielska-Tibus

SPORTS EDITOR

Henry Zuchowski

POLKA NEWS EDITOR

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NEW ENGLAND COLUMNIST

Patti Ann Kosciuszek

PENNSYLVANIA COLUMNIST

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MICHIGAN COLUMNISTS

Bron Chapinski

Ray Zesk

U.N. COLUMNIST

Dr. Theodore J. Adams

COLUMNIST

John Salek

SECRETARY-BOOKKEEPER

Jean Grabowski

BUSINESS SECRETARY

Jane Paragh

OFFICE STAFF

Christine Grabowski

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Raymond Grabowski

Matthew Grabowski

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Raymond Grabowski

ACCOUNTANT

James Barwick

COUNSEL

Walter Tencza, Esq.

CLIFTON

Chamber of Commerce

OFFICIAL VOICE OF:

N.J. STATE CONFERENCE

OF AMERICAN POLONIANS

(NJSCAP)

Serving the Interests of the American Polish Community Since 1962



# POST EAGLE

AMERICA'S LEADING INDEPENDENT AMERICAN-POLISH WEEKLY

800 Van Houten Avenue :: P.O. Box <sup>2137</sup> ~~2137~~, Clifton N. J. 07013

New Jersey's Only American-Polish Newspaper  
Pennsylvania's Leading American-Polish Weekly Newspaper

Fastest Growing American-Polish Weekly in  
Michigan, Illinois, Florida, New England, Maryland, Delaware and Ohio

September 30, 1976

President Gerald Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Ford:

As the Editor of the leading American-Polish weekly newspaper in the country and the only American-Polish weekly in the State of New Jersey, which is a crucial state for you in the coming November elections, I would like to register a complaint in regards to the recent ethnic Polish meeting held by you in the White House.

Prior to writing this letter I had been in touch with the secretary to your assistant William Baroddy Jr. who insisted that I speak to Dr. Myron Kuropas, your special assistant on ethnic affairs. I have spoken with Doctor Kuropas on a number of occasions with no success. Doctor Kuropas has informed me that he will ONLY recognize Polish-American leaders whose stamp of approval is given by Mr. Al Mazewski. Consequently, due to this discrimination many top Polonian leaders have been stricken off the invitation list over the past few years. This type of discrimination against Polonian leaders by Doctor Kuropas and Mr. Mazewski can only hurt and affect your campaign for re-election to the Presidency of the United States.

I have asked Doctor Kuropas if it were possible for a meeting with you along with the Polish-American leaders from the Atlantic Seaboard States, but he emphatically stated that there could be no such meeting arranged now or at any time. So, at this time, I would like to bring to your attention some of the ethnic leaders whom you have not had the opportunity to meet. Leaders who are well-known throughout the East as well as the country. In most cases, these leaders who have the Republican persuasion and who have supported former President Nixon are Republican Chairmen of their various sections of the state.

Some of the men who have been snubbed by the Kuropas Mazewski duo are such leading men as:

1. Edward J. Piszek - A sustaining member of the Republican party, a millionaire businessman, owner of Mrs. Paul's Kitchen, and the President of the Kopernik Society of America.

BE PROUD OF YOUR  
-HERITAGE-  
IT'S ONE OF THE BEST

OUR SECOND DECADE



# POST EAGLE

*America's Leading Independent American Polish Weekly*

800 VAN HOUTEN AVENUE, P.O. BOX <sup>2127</sup> ~~2127~~ ~~2127~~

CLIFTON, NEW JERSEY 07013

President Gerald Ford

-2-

September 30, 1976

2. Dr. Walter Golaski - Prominent industrialist from Philadelphia, and the Chairman of the Kosciuszko Foundation which is the center of Polish culture with headquarters in New York City.
3. Mr. Joseph Glowacki - President of the Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn, the largest Polish-American Fraternal in the East.
4. Eugene Pasymowski - Pennsylvania Director of Action, was also a member of the U. S. Department of Labor.
5. Dr. Leon Nadrowski - Sustaining member of the Republican party and Republican leader in northern Brooklyn, Queens County Director for the 1976 Ford-Dole campaign, and President of the American Polish Heritage Committee.
6. Edward Bajek - President of the Joseph Poniatowski Assn. which is the largest New Jersey Fraternal located in Bloomfield.
7. Frank Piasecki - President of Piasecki Helicopter, whose wife Vivian Wayhauser Piasecki has been one of the leading Republican women in Penna.
8. S. Edward Hausner - Sustaining member of the Republican Party, Treasurer of the New Jersey State Conference of American Polonians, businessman from Elizabeth, N.J., and member of many Polish organizations.
9. Anthony Cielcien - From Monessen, Pennsylvania, editor of the Polish American Patriot, former administrator of Alliance College, and member of many Polish organizations in Pennsylvania.
10. Mr. John Cresko - Member of the Board of Directors of the Tatra Assn. of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., industrialist builder, member of many Polish organizations in Pennsylvania and Miami, Florida.
11. Matthew Pelczynski - Editor and owner of the Am-Pol Eagle of Buffalo, New York, the voice of Polish-Americans in Buffalo.
12. Stanley Labenski - One of the leading Polka promoters and Polish extravaganza directors, member of many Polish organizations, known by thousands of Polka fans throughout the country, Executive Director of the New Jersey State Conference of American Polonians from E. Brunswick.
13. Joseph Alecs - Former President of the Polish American Congress of South Boston, held numerous political positions on the state level in Massachusetts, one of the best known Polonians in the State of Massachusetts and New England.



# POST EAGLE

America's Leading Independent American Polish Weekly

800 VAN HOUTEN AVENUE, P.O. BOX <sup>2137</sup> ~~2137~~ ~~2137~~

CLIFTON, NEW JERSEY 07013

President Gerald Ford

-3-

September 30, 1976

14. Chester Grabowski - Editor of the Post Eagle, Chairman of the New Jersey State Conference of American Polonians which is the official voice of the Polish Americans in N.J., who was always welcomed to the White House under Nixon, Johnson and Kennedy, well-known to Polish communities in 36 states and overseas, Polish-American chairman for Nixon in his first election in New Jersey, Polish-American chairman for Barry Goldwater in 1964, Polish-American chairman for Republican candidates for Governor, Senate and Congress in the State of New Jersey, and member of many, many Polish American organizations.

This is only a partial list of Polonians we feel are true leaders and who can be of valuable assistance to you in your campaign in their respective states and districts, but who have been snubbed by the minions working under you.

A conference can be arranged to meet with the above mentioned men and dozens of others who are opinion makers in Polonian circles throughout the Atlantic Seaboard. Awaiting an affirmative reply, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

*Chester Grabowski*  
gm

Chester Grabowski  
Editor-Publisher  
Chairman NJSCAP

CG/gw

P.S. Doctor Kuropas informed me that it was only through his generosity that Ace Alagana, Editor of the Italian Tribune of Newark, N.J., was granted a five-minute interview with you for publication in his Italian ethnic paper. I asked for equal time but Dr. Kuropas flatly turned me down telling me that no way could I have a chance to meet with you individually or with a group. I am at your disposal any day but a Monday and would be willing to fly down with a representation to Washington or meet with you on your campaign trail anywhere in the East.



THE WHITE HOUSE


WASHINGTON

November 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN  
JAMES M. CANNON  
JAMES H. CAVANAUGH  
RICHARD B. CHENEY  
JAMES E. CONNOR  
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF  
DAVID GERGEN  
WILLIAM F. GOROG  
ALAN GREENSPAN  
ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
JERRY H. JONES  
JAMES T. LYNN  
JOHN O. MARSH  
RONALD S. NESSEN ✓  
PAUL O'NEILL  
WILLIAM F. RHATICAN  
EDWARD C. SCHMULTS  
BRENT SCOWCROFT  
L. WILLIAM SEIDMAN

FROM:

WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. 

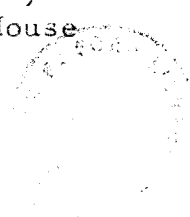
SUBJECT:

Reception for the Board of Directors  
of the Television Bureau of Advertising

You are cordially invited to attend a reception in the Navy Mess on Thursday, November 11, 1976, from 5:45 p.m. until 6:45 p.m. The reception will be given by the Board of Directors of the Television Bureau of Advertising and will be hosted by the Office of Public Liaison.

The Board of Directors of the Television Bureau of Advertising is comprised of senior management from television stations, station groups, station representatives, program syndicators, and television networks. Attached, for your interest, is a list of invitees.

We hope to have the pleasure of your company. Should you have any questions, please contact John B. Shlaes, the Director of White House Conferences, who is organizing this event, on ext. 7090.



TELEVISION BUREAU OF ADVERTISING

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Executive Vice President  
& General Manager  
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Huntsville, Ala. 35804

C. P. Persons, Jr. (205 432-5505)  
Executive Vice President  
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Box 2367 162 St. Louis Street  
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Robert E. Rice (309 694-4351)  
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President  
Peters, Griffin, Woodward Inc.  
277 Park Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10017

\*Arthur A. Watson (212 664-4444)  
Executive Vice President  
NBC TV Stations Division  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, N. Y. 10020

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8/28/76

\*phone no.  
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM CONNOR

FROM:

RON NESSEN *R. H. N.*

Attached find a recent memorandum from Bill Baroody and Jim Lynn to the President.

It indicates that in addition to hiring his own Press Secretary and putting out his own News Summary -- both duplications of the White House Press Office functions -- Bill Baroody is now reviewing answers to questions directed to the President at the White House Conferences.

This, of course, is a total duplication of what Jim Shuman and others in the White House Press Office do for the President on a regular basis. But, more seriously, separate Q & A briefing papers from Baroody apparently are NOT coordinated throughout the White House staff and the Administration, as Jim Shuman's briefing books are. This is dangerous because the President, following guidance provided by Baroody, could easily say something which is in conflict with Administration policies or is factually wrong because Baroody apparently is not clearing his suggested answers with the Domestic Council, NSC, FEA, the Counsel's office, the Congressional Relations office, etc., etc., all of whom check and approve the Shuman briefing book.

If we really are trying to reduce the White House staff, it seems to me that Baroody might well limit his activities to those functions he has been assigned and stop trying to take over or duplicate the functions assigned to (and performed very well) by the White House Press Office.