

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1984

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your recent request for an interview with the President and Tom Brokaw.

Discussions have been held with the President regarding time for interviews over the next four months. Unfortunately, due to the heavy demands on the President's calendar, we have to regret your request for the present time.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Robert D. McFarland
Vice President and
Bureau Chief
NBC News Washington
4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016



MICHAEL K. DEAVER

Mr Hara

Congratulations on your successful
career. I gave the President your
regards and hope that if you're in
Washington anytime - you'll let me
know. Best of luck -
Sincerely, Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

His Excellency Eikichi Hara
Embassy of Japan
Plot No 4 and 5 Chanakyapuri
New Delhi, India

Careel

I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that on completion of my assignment here I will be leaving New Delhi for Tokyo on 3rd January, 1984. I will retire from the Diplomatic Services in the beginning of March 1984 and resume another profession which will be informed to you after it is decided. I hope your cooperation and friendship will continue in the future.

My wife joins me in asking to convey our best regards to Mrs. Deaver and President and Mrs. R. Reagan.

EIKICHI HARA

Embassy of Japan,
Plot No. 4 & 5 Chanakyapuri,
New Delhi, INDIA.



*Mr. and Mrs. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington*

Air mail

U. S. A.



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Ray

I'm sorry to be so long in
Thanking you for the goose hunt.
It's a spectacular club and there
were plenty of birds flying - alas
- none around us. We didn't get a
shot but had a great time. Many thanks.
Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Ray Arnett
Department of Interior
1800 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20240

1/5/84

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Robert F. Finch
301 East Colorado Boulevard
Suite 704
Pasadena, CA 91101



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Bale

Thank you sincerely for
your generous response to my
request for Rose Bowl tickets. I
certainly knew who to call. I'm
very grateful — many thanks.
Mike

1/5/84

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 5, 1984

Dear Mr. Adler:

How flattering to have been chosen by you to be among the 500 Washingtonians who is a leader in their field. I look forward with interest to the special 1984 January edition of Dossier and to receiving a copy of your magazine for the next 12 months.

I greatly appreciate your recognizing me and sending the complimentary copies.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. David Adler
President/Editorial Director
Washington Dossier
3301 New Mexico Avenue, Suite 310
Washington, D.C. 20016

WASHINGTON Dossier

December 30, 1983

The Honorable
Michael Deaver
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Thank

My dear Mr. Deaver:

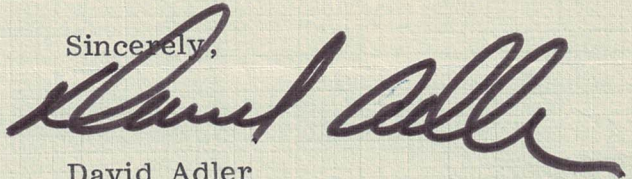
You have been chosen as one of the Washington 500, a special inaugural feature appearing in the January 1984 edition of the Washington Dossier. This is the beginning of a new tradition that attempts to take a snapshot of those individuals whom we feel are at the center of power and influence in their particular circle.

The Washington Dossier is in the unique position of watching the many parts of our great city, from the highest levels of national government to mundane everyday life.

We feel it is our mission to cover the human side of power in the nation's capital and address the needs of all as regular people in powerful situations.

Because you are among the leaders of the nation's capital, we will be sending you the Washington Dossier on a complimentary basis for the next 12 months. If you are currently a subscriber we will extend your subscription for an additional 12 months.

Sincerely,



David Adler
President/Editorial Director

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 5, 1984

Dear Thela:

Thank you for your writing. I am happy to be included in the project for your Latin class. I have, however, never studied Latin. I can not, therefore, answer the questions you have asked. I do encourage you in your study of Latin.

I hope that you are successful in securing information to help you in your project.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Miss Thela Hosten
38 South 17th Street
East Orange, New Jersey 07018

Rec'd
12/27/83

9 never
studied
Latin

38 50.17 Street
East Orange, N.J. 07018
November 11, 1983

Dear Michael K. Deaver,

I am a first year Latin student at East Orange High School. My Latin teacher has set an interesting project for us. That is why I am writing to you as a prominent person in American life.

I am to find out from you whether or not you have ever studied Latin in any part of your schooling. If so what practical benefit did you derive from it?

If you have never studied Latin have you ever wished you had? Do you see any practical benefits to it? Would you recommend that today's high school students

study such an ancient language?

I look forward to your reply. We will display your letter in our classroom and tally up the pro and con votes for studying Latin. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,
Thela' Hosten

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 5, 1984

Dear Tom:

Thank you for your letter of December 16 enclosing a copy of the letter you sent to Bill Smith. Alicemarie Stotler is being given every consideration for the position on the United States District Court in the Central District of California. I have taken the liberty of passing your correspondence on to John Herrington, Director of Presidential Personnel. I have asked him to keep you posted.

Thank you for letting me know of your support for such a well qualified candidate.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Thomas M. Jones, Esq.
Attorney at Law
Commercebank Tower
1201 Dove Street, Suite 490
Newport Beach, California 92660

THOMAS M. JONES

ATTORNEY AT LAW

COMMERCEBANK TOWER
1201 DOVE STREET, SUITE 490
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660
TELEPHONE (714) 476-2540

192342

December 16, 1983

*Thanks
4 to personnel*

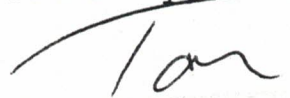
Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20050

Dear Mike:

Enclosed is a letter which I have sent to Bill Smith regarding the appointment of Alicemarie Stotler to the United States District Court, Central District of California. She has a lot of strong Republican backing and would be an excellent representative of Orange County on the District Court.

Thank you for your consideration and best wishes to you, Carolyn and the family.

Sincerely,



Thomas M. Jones

TMJ:11

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 6, 1984

Dear Mr. Mayor:

I have discussed the District's request for Federal Funds for 1985 with Constance Horner of David Stockman's Office.

The figure of \$425 million is quite a substantial increase from your budget of 1984, and it is the largest annual increase since Home Rule.

The issue of capital loans has been denied because last year it was mutually agreed that 1984 would be the final year for U.S. Treasury loans. Moreover, it is believed that the District can gain financing in the private market for all of its projects. The District has approximately \$185 million available in 1984, and we believe that, based on past trends, this can provide capital outlays well into fiscal year 1985. In the event that loans do become necessary, Mr. Stockman can review this issue at that time.

I will continue to follow your budget process and assist where I can.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

The Honorable Marion Barry, Jr.
Mayor of the District of Columbia
District Building
14th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Mr. David Stockman
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Mr. Stockman:

In the past three years I have appreciated your support and that of the administration in meeting the needs of the District of Columbia. As you well know, the financial and institutional relationships between the federal and District government are complicated and you and your staff have readily cooperated as we confront each new challenge presented by Home Rule. Your support for annual increases in the federal payment which have totalled \$110 million during your tenure has been instrumental in our ability to ensure balanced budgets and sound financial practices. I am grateful that we are again looking forward to OMB support for increased resources in FY 1985. Nevertheless, the purpose of this letter is to appeal the proposed federal marks in two areas critical to the District's financial condition: the amount and basis for the federal payment; and financing authority for capital programs already authorized, appropriated and in progress.

As you know the fiscal condition of the District of Columbia impacts directly on the federal government and on federal employees who live or work in Washington. I am always pleased, when meeting and talking with OMB staff, at the number of District residents I encounter. Yet our ability to provide basic services to them, to ensure a safe and properly maintained infrastructure, to sustain an exciting and improving system of public education, and to meet the needs of the many people in the District who are dependent upon government services is a direct function of the adequacy of our resources. Our tax effort is extraordinary in comparison with virtually every other state and city in this country. With more than forty percent of all District property federally owned or occupied, and therefore tax exempt, and with virtually insurmountable obstacles to non-resident income taxation, our local businesses and residents are asked to bear an enormous burden in order to support the state, county and municipal functions which we perform.

The restrictions we face on the revenue side are compounded by the explosive growth in mandated, nondiscretionary costs with which we are confronted. Retirement contributions for police, firefighters, teachers and judges now consume fully ten percent of annual operating expenditures, and have grown by \$53 million since FY 1982. These costs represent the burden inherited from a federally designed and administered pension system -- one which when transferred to the District had an unfunded liability in excess of \$1 billion

and which will have, by the year 2002, an annual cost of \$900 million and an unfunded liability approaching \$3 billion.

Debt service, now approaching nine percent of total District operating expenditures, is similarly driven by past federal policy and practices. In FY 1985 we anticipate \$184.7 million in debt service on outstanding Treasury loans which, almost without exception, were borrowed at rates exceeding those that would have been paid in the municipal market. I have no more important goal than ensuring that the District attain full market access and thereby minimize the costs of financing, yet that effort continues to be plagued by the problems of an accumulated deficit -- again inherited at the time of Home Rule -- and by the current legal and legislative debate about the Chadha decision.

Subsidies to the Washington Metropolitan Transit Authority, payments to the Bureau of Prisons, and contributions to St. Elizabeths Hospital have all grown at astounding rates; more than 39 percent and \$50 million in the period from FY 1981 to FY 1984. The proposed level of District contribution for St. Elizabeths in FY 1985 would add \$20 million to our operating costs; a rate of growth that simply cannot be absorbed without commensurate increases in the federal payment. In each of these cases federal policies have defined the scope and therefore the cost of the institutions, while District taxpayers bear the burden of meeting those costs.

In our original FY 1985 federal funds request and in our subsequent appeals we have pursued a formula federal payment based, as OMB has so long advocated, on our local tax effort. The formula proposed, in omnibus legislation that would have simultaneously addressed several fiscal issues, would have resulted in an FY 1985 increase in the authorized federal payment of \$56 million. The current mark has provided \$39 million and fails to address the formula issue. I had sincerely hoped, after five years of persistent staff effort on a formula payment, that we had reached the point of decision and could together promote the formula in the FY 1985 budget process. The difference of \$17 million between OMB's proposed mark and our request seems insignificant in the context of the federal budget, yet it is absolutely fundamental to our ability to keep pace with mandated cost growth. In the absence of these additional funds, services will be hurt and tax increases which I am unable to avoid in FY 1985, will of necessity be even greater. I would urge you to reevaluate the current mark as well as the formula approach which we have long considered.

The second area critical to our financial condition involves the financing of our current capital program. As you will remember, during the course of our FY 1984 budget discussions, both OMB and the District agreed that beginning in FY 1985 the District would finance its new capital budgets through bonds rather

than through Treasury loans. This policy is clearly in the District's financial interest and is one to which I remain committed. At the time of those discussions, however, we did not specifically address financing mechanisms for capital projects authorized prior to FY 1985 and in progress. Quite frankly, I do not believe that either the District or OMB fully realized the implications of the transition to market financing for partially completed projects, or the problem that would be faced for projects in progress as a consequence of the federal practice of authorizing lifetime authority but appropriating annual outlays. I assumed at the time and continued to assume that our interim borrowing authority and the appropriations bill language assured access to loans for the cost to complete these projects.

In the past six months we have done an enormous amount of work on the status, expenditure needs, timing and sequence of currently authorized capital projects. The results of that work have already been shared with Constance Horner and her staff. (I have enclosed a copy of the transmittal for your information.) The 356 capital projects in progress have a projected lifetime cost of slightly more than \$1 billion, of which \$577 million had been expended through FY 1983. We project expenditures of \$164 million in FY 1984 on these projects and expenditures in FY 1985-1990 of \$308 million. We believe that bond financing of partially completed projects will be extremely difficult and may be impossible in time for FY 1985 outlays. Some carryover from FY 1984 loans should be available to assist, but presently known funds will be exhausted no later than mid-FY 1985. The potential costs of a capital program interruption are significant and I cannot emphasize more strongly the importance of at least contingent loan authority to us. We have amended our original federal funds request to provide Treasury borrowing authority for the \$308 million FY 1985-1990 cost in amounts of \$155 million, \$120 million, \$35 million and \$3 million respectively. We are also willing to guarantee immediate refinancing of these loans as soon as market access is assured. This commitment fully protects federal interests and ensures that no interruption in critical programs will be required. I can personally attest to the reality of the "infrastructure" crisis and can assure you that postponement or cessation of capital construction for any period would have a visible and significant adverse impact on the District. Here again, I would urge your reconsideration of the proposed elimination of loan authority beginning in FY 1985.

OMB's staff have always demonstrated professionalism and cooperation in dealing with me personally and with my staff. Discussions on the FY 1985 budget have been no exception and I want to personally thank Constance Horner

and her staff for working so closely with us. Nevertheless, I cannot agree with their conclusions about the federal payment level, the deferral of approval of the omnibus legislation or the loan authority elimination and I am, therefore, compelled to seek your further review. I am sympathetic to the difficult task you face in trying to minimize federal deficits while still meeting all of your priority needs. I will appreciate any consideration that you can give to this request and would be happy to talk or meet with you personally or to provide any additional information that might be helpful.

Thank you again for your consideration and support and I look forward to on-going cooperation.

Sincerely,

Marion Barry, Jr.
Mayor

M. It -

I really need your help
on this one. I will call you
later today.

bcc: Michael Deaver



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

January 4, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: MICHAEL DEEVER
FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER *CH*
SUBJECT: Settlement of D.C.'s 1985 Budget

*prepare
draft
for follow-up
to Barry
call to
me.*

File

	(\$ in millions)					
	1983	1984	Request	Passback	1985 Appeal	Settlement
Federal Payment	361	386	442	386	442	425
Capital Loans	145	115	155	--	155	--
Other	76	100	93	75	3	77
	<u>582</u>	<u>601</u>	<u>690</u>	<u>461</u>	<u>600</u>	<u>502</u>

The above reflects my final settlement of the District of Columbia Government's request for Federal funds for 1985. This resolution is the result of personal meetings between myself and Mayor Barry and our respective staffs. Quite frankly, I believe this settlement is more than fair to the District.

However, we anticipate that the Mayor will further pursue his appeal to you or other White House staff for contingency long-term borrowing authority and for an additional increase in the Federal payment above the \$425 million level.

Federal Payments. The City requested a Federal payment in the amount of \$442 million. When I met with Mayor Barry I pointed out that a Federal payment in the amount of \$425 million was quite substantial. This level represents an increase of \$39 million over 1984; and it is the largest annual increase since Home Rule. The District wants the Federal payment increment of \$39 million plus any additional payment over the 1984 level that the City is advised to pay for its citizens at Saint Elizabeths Hospital.

Capital Loans. The District has requested long-term borrowing from the U.S. Treasury for all projects that currently are under construction. The District officials have indicated that they will seek funding in the private market for all new starts if we agree to make loans for the projects under construction (\$155 million in 1985 and \$153 million from 1986-89). As a fallback,

they have also proposed that we simply submit contingency loan authority as a backup.

The appeal for capital loans was denied because last year it was mutually agreed that 1984 would be the final year for Treasury loans. Moreover, we believe that the District can gain financing in the private market for all of its projects. The District has approximately \$185 million available in 1984, and we believe that, based on past trends, this can provide capital outlays well into fiscal year 1985. In the event that loans do become necessary, we can review this issue at that time.

Other. The principal costs under this category are the Federal contribution to the District's pension fund (\$52 million), fees for water and sewer services to Federal buildings, and other miscellaneous costs such as inaugural expenses, congressional add-ons, etc.

Our appeal settlement provides \$2.3 million for the 1985 inaugural expenses that the District anticipates that it will incur.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 5, 1984

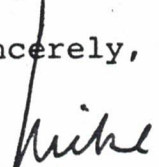
Dear Mr. Woodson:

Thank you for your letter bringing to my attention the possibility of a major misunderstanding between the Administration and the Urban Education Foundation of Philadelphia.

At no time was there ever any intention by this Administration not to fulfill the commitment given by the President at the announcement of the five million dollar assistance provided by the Federal government to allow the transfer of property from the Provident Mutual Insurance Company to Cheney State University and Lincoln College. I have received full assurance that the Department of Education will provide such notification in order to conclude all negotiations on the transfer.

Thank you for contacting me on this matter.

Sincerely,


MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Robert L. Woodson
President
National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise
1130 Seventeenth Street, NW, Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20036



National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise
1130 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Suite 500, Washington, D.C. 20036/(202) 331-1103

191072

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Robert L. Woodson

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University of Michigan
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Center for Urban Affairs
and Policy Research
Northwestern University

December 6, 1983

*Bill
What is this?*

Mr. Michael Deaver
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

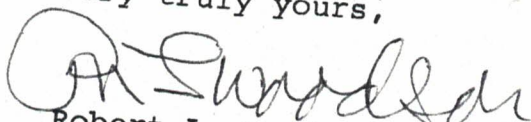
The good will of Pennsylvania residents, especially minority, established by the presidential announcement of the administration's support of the Urban Education Foundation of Philadelphia is seriously jeopardized by the lack of communication between the administration and the foundation.

Since the November 10th announcement of \$5 million to the foundation, there has been no communication from the administration to Judge Harvey Schmidt, the foundation's chairman, about how to facilitate the transfer of government funds.

It is imperative that someone from the administration send a commitment letter to Judge Schmidt confirming the \$5 million grant to enable the foundation to borrow funds necessary for them to take possession of the facility by December 31.

Again, I want to emphasize that time is critical. Numerous inquiries are being made about the administration's commitment by the Pennsylvania press corp, Senator Arlen Specter's office, Governor Thornburgh's office and others.

Very truly yours,


Robert L. Woodson
President

cc: James Coyne



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Lally

Thanks for the note and the
piece on J.T. He's quite a guy.
Enjoyed the clip on Lebanon.
Stay in touch.

cheers!
Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Lally Weymouth
21 East 79th Street
New York, New York 10021

1/6/84

Thursday
21 East 79th St. N.Y. N.Y. 10021
3044 O STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

Paul

Dear Mike,

Thanks so much for
all you did for me in
regard to my trip to Lebanon. I
hope you got the clips which I
sent to your office.

I thought you might enjoy

seeing the interview I did with

Jesse Jackson.

I hope to see you soon.

All the best, Lally Weymanth

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Tony Schwartz on the Son of 'Saturday Night Live'
Sticky Questions for Jesse Jackson, by Lally Weymouth

NEW YORK

Living With the Computer



STICKY QUESTIONS FOR JESSE JACKSON

By Lally Weymouth

Since entering the Democratic race for president, the Reverend Jesse Jackson has been acclaimed a brilliant orator, "the best in the country, along with the president," says Arthur Schlesinger Jr. By speaking up for the "Rainbow Coalition," his claimed constituency of minorities and women, Jackson has forced the Democrats to turn their attention from Reagan's issues—budget cuts, the economy, and defense—to the plight of the poor and the dispossessed. Yet, his exciting rhetoric has obscured questions about Jackson's candidacy, his past activities, and his change of position on key issues, such as abortion and Israel. I put some of those questions to him recently during a long conversation in Washington.

Lally Weymouth: Martin Luther King Jr. had a vision of a broad-based coalition that would include whites and achieve its goals through nonviolent action. Do you have a vision of working with whites?

Jesse Jackson: I have a great desire and a great ability to work with white people. The historical fact is that blacks and Hispanics vote for whites; the whites tend not to vote for blacks. So whites must pass the character test of reciprocal voting. I have no problem accepting white Democrats; I hope they

will have no problem accepting me, because I bring a contribution to the arrangement: more voters, loyal voters, revived interest. We're clear on the fact that the American Rainbow must have all of the colors in it and no longer punish anybody because of their race, their sex, or their religion.

Q: Since only 9 percent of the vote is black, you've got to figure out a way to reach the white vote, if you're serious about being a national candidate.

A: You're right, and that's why someone like Ramsey Clark is a member of



our steering committee, one of our earliest endorsers. Barry Commoner spoke at our opening, and he'll travel with me sometimes. We're reaching out to all of America. This is not a black campaign.

Q: Is your candidacy a Black Power campaign, an effort to organize the poor against the rich?

A: Of course it's not, of course it's not. No more than Mondale's is a white-power campaign, or Glenn's is a white-power campaign. I don't think they're running race-oriented campaigns, and I'm not running a race-oriented campaign. We're not talking so much about a black campaign as we're talking about American life from the black perspective. That's the perspective of the rejected, that's the perspective of the oppressed, that's the perspective of living without protection of law, and that's the perspective of women, of Hispanics, of Asians, and Indians, and children. We're

women are working together in the campaign.

Q: Are a lot of whites working in your campaign?

A: Sure they are. We don't have a running count. We've got whites on our staff. Don't be surprised at the level of participation in our campaign by peace activists and environmentalists and women.

Q: The media have been concentrating on your registration of new black voters and the possibility that these new voters could win the next election for the Democratic party. Do you think that you may also set off a white registration campaign by people who are afraid of you and don't want anything to do with you?

A: I think it's unfair to assume that white people are so timid that they cannot respond to my appeal to them to do justice and to make room for their companions who are black or Hispanic. Carter and Mondale were not terrified

Q: How do you explain why many leading blacks are not supporting your candidacy?

A: There are many more who are. They're just exercising their democratic option.

Q: You say it's imperative for you to run and win. Why don't other black leaders see it that way?

A: Some flowers bloom late. Maynard Jackson endorsed me last month. One can say, "Why didn't he do it a month before? He's kidding time."

Q: What do you say about black leaders like Andy Young and Coretta Scott King and others who either endorsed Mondale or are lukewarm to your candidacy?

A: I say so far Andy has not endorsed anybody. Ken Gibson endorsed me, and so did Marion Berry and Dick Hatcher and "Dutch" Morial and most of the members of the Congressional Black Caucus and, polls show, most black people.

Q: Looking at the voting figures, it appears that the success of your campaign depends a lot on your success with women.

A: It does. The success of the Democratic party depends upon women. The success of the nation depends upon women. As a matter of fact, the success of the human species—I mean, let's take this to its proper conclusion—depends upon women. [Laughs.] If Mrs. Indira Gandhi can run India—a nation of 700-million people, three times more than this nation, with far fewer resources—and Mrs. Golda Meir can guide Israel through war, and Mrs. Thatcher can run Britain, clearly women can run this country. There are now women in Congress, the Senate, the Supreme Court. And we just simply must destroy the remaining remnants of negative, unfounded thought that would limit the participation of women and those who've been locked out.

Q: Many of those key women voters are white.

A: That's right. Most of them.

Q: What do you have to offer women? After all, your anti-abortion stand was very unpalatable to a lot of women. Why should women vote for you over Mondale?

A: First of all, I must assume that women will be as fair toward a man as they expect men to be toward them. Secondly, I'd expect women to be as fair toward me as I am toward them. What I have to offer women is a challenge to the Democratic party that will make room for them to fit at every level, and to therefore achieve self-determination. I'm willing to challenge the party to make room for women—not just embellish the positions of women but empower them. I'm willing to challenge the labor unions that engage in restriction of trade training for women to make room

'We're bringing the experience of black America into politics as we brought it into music, into art, and into culture.'



bringing to bear the experience of black America into politics as we brought it in music, in art, in culture. Black musicians don't play a different kind of piano from whites; we do bring an experience to the keyboard that *sounds* a bit different.

Q: The Rainbow Coalition—who says the Hispanics and the blacks are going to see eye to eye and agree that you'll represent them?

A: We will grow in our appreciation of our mutual interests. Blacks and Hispanics have suffered the same indignities because of race and color and caste and economic barriers, and so we're learning to live together, along with the Indians and Asian-Americans and gays, women, young people, peace activists, environmentalists. We are learning how our mutual interests converge. All of us are locked out of the elite circle. Now that all of us have the right to vote, we must exercise it. Furthermore, we can survive without each other, but we cannot win without each other. So we are now learning to live together.

Q: Do you ultimately see a reconciliation between blacks and whites?

A: Of course I do. We're running a redemptive campaign. Matter of fact, blacks and whites and Hispanics and

when I traveled to 29 states and 82 cities for them. They were not terrified then, and I don't see why they'd be terrified now. The fears that were projected as we marched to get public accommodations proved to be unfounded. The fears that whites projected when blacks got the right to vote were unfounded fears. The fears about blacks' having access to open housing were unfounded fears. Any feelings that express fear grow out of a lack of contact. And that's why we must have more contact, because when we talk together and share together and act together, we become comfortable with each other, and we win together. . . . See, I have reason to believe that when the press assumes that whites will not vote for blacks that's being unfair to white people. Even though a lot of whites don't vote for blacks, they're going to learn to do so out of self-interest. After all, if they want to deal with the candidate that's going to confront plant closings, I'm the best candidate. If the poor want to get back on America's agenda and if they want somebody to challenge trade unions and their discriminatory patterns and corporations, they're going to gravitate to this leadership. So the litmus test is going to be service and positions on critical issues.



**'I'll challenge the party to
make room for women—not
just embellish the positions
of women but empower them.'**

for women who are locked out. I'm willing to fight to get the Equal Rights Amendment put in its proper perspective and passed. I'm willing to put a woman on the ticket as vice-president. I'm willing to argue publicly why that is a logical and a proper thing to do in 1984. And so I have more to offer women as a candidate than the other candidates do. On the question of abortion, I take the position that as a matter of law women must have their freedom of choice protected—that is the law, and I would not attempt to repeal that law.

Q: But you didn't always take that position.

A: Well, I've grown. I've matured. When you get older, you know, you grow or you rot. I don't apologize about growing and having a broader perspective. My position has not changed as radically as projected. As a matter of law, women must have freedom of choice, just as others have freedom of sex preference. Women have the legal right to choose what they would do with their bodies. I would never encourage abortion. It's people's right to make a choice about their bodies. Even theologically, we are God's creatures; we are free agents; we're not puppets. So we have the right to choose—that's the essential freedom of the human being—we have the right to choose the high road or the low road, but we must live with the consequences of the road that we choose. And that's the delicate balance in that situation.

I'm not going to run around appealing to people to have abortions or trying to violate people who do have them. After all, we do live under a constitution, not under a holy book. So I'd expect women to live with my sense of fear and trembling on that issue. And, I might add, a lot of women don't believe in abortion under any conditions. It's not an issue that is as cut-and-dried as good people and bad people. It's one of the most divisive issues of our day.

Does your ambivalence about abortion come out of your religious background?

It comes out of a combination of things. The first is existential. I was born into a bad wedlock, and my mother had a

choice: If she had made the choice based upon personal convenience and personal ambition, then I never would have had the option to live. That's existential at one level. At another level, it grows out of my sense of the religious imperative to protect human life. That's why I fight so hard to afford the people the abundant life. On the other hand, it grows out of my sense of the law, and my sense of the law is that people's choice in a free society must be preserved—their right of choice.

Q: Don't you think you have a credibility problem—that people who don't know you and who've read about you in the media say, "Oh yes, he's changed his position on Israel"; "Oh yes, he's changed his position on abortion"?

A: No. If you traveled and saw the crowds coming in numbers four and five times greater than for any other candidate, it would be clear to you I don't have a credibility problem.

Q: I'm not saying you're not attracting big crowds.

A: But that's one evidence of credibility. People who come voluntarily come because they believe in you. And when people don't show up, that's a vote also. I submit to you that people who react to me who don't know me are dealing in ignorance, and so as you share information and people get to know you, people's fears are relieved. There is no basis to fear one who has a formula to make the Democratic party win. If blacks, Hispanics, and women are included, the party can't lose; if they're

locked out, the party can't win. If the trade-union movement locks us out, it cannot keep its credibility; if it includes us, it gains its credibility. It's like when they thought I was going to run; at first, there was a trauma. Now that I'm running, many people who had fears three months ago are now beginning to see my candidacy as an asset to the national ticket. Some people who were afraid three months ago have now come full circle. That's going to continue to take place.

Q: You have to address certain questions—for instance, some that were recently raised in a *Wall Street Journal* editorial. The *Journal* spoke of federal auditors' trying to decide what Operation PUSH did with federal money and asking Operation PUSH to return between \$880,000 and \$2.1 million. It's suggested that there has been a lot of bookkeeping sloppiness in Operation PUSH. What do you say to that?

A: I would say that our accountants and the government's auditors are now in a routine procedural process to determine the end results of programs—which happens in cities with grants every day. I would submit that there are, between the Department of Education and the Department of Labor, 5,000 unresolved audits totaling \$213 million. [In fact, Labor says it has 175 unresolved audits involving \$70.2 million. Education says it has 1,037 involving \$69 million.] So unresolved audits' being in dispute is routine. There is no allegation of criminal conduct or anything illegal. We're simply dealing with questionables and disallowables. This is really just that basic. And so for [the *Wall Street Journal*] to attempt to make of the routine the extraordinary is playing the game by two sets of rules. We will abide by the law. Clearly, in Project Excel [a project started by Operation PUSH] our service outdistanced our revenue. The person with a credibility problem is the one who came into office with the promise of a balanced budget—who now has the largest budget deficit in the history of the nation. And so we must put this matter in context. There's no way to measure the good we meant to the youth of this nation by motivating them to leave their gutters of



**'Women today have a legal
right to choose what to do
with their bodies. But I would
never encourage abortion.'**

mediocrity, to move toward excellence. And those programs, of course, were cut down and pared down, and when the auditors and the accountants finish, we'll do whatever we should do within the law.

Q: It says in the *Wall Street Journal* editorial, "Mr. Jackson calls the audits a mere accounting dispute, but the Department of Education says PUSH will have to return \$880,000 to \$2.1 million. This is a whopper of an accounting dispute."

A: You know, for four years we've been harassed about being a Libyan agent. And it finally has come out, after four years, that there was no foundation for the allegation. But four years of constant harassment in the press—and that's in that same *Wall Street Journal* [editorial] about some Libyan connection—that had no foundation!

Q: But didn't you make a request of the Libyan government on behalf of a small oil company?

A: At the time, this country had full diplomatic ties with Libya. For example, Armand Hammer and Occidental were relating to Libya—I might add, as they are now—and I believed a part of my job was to expand business opportunities for blacks, because I think that private-business development is an alternative to government aid or to welfare. It fulfills the American promise. And so if anybody was doing oil business in the Middle East, why couldn't blacks do oil business in the Middle East? [The Wallace Company, of Tuskegee, Alabama] happened to be one of those companies that we supported, because it had the right to do business there. It was just good business. We have ten or twelve small black oil companies that we tried to help, in the Middle East, in Venezuela—everywhere.

Q: As a Democratic politician with a controversial position on Israel, do you now think it was unwise to have sought contributions from Arab businessmen, to whom you're reported to have said, "We'll do something for you if you do something for us"—or something to that effect?

A: I'm not going to back off of that. I think that strong leadership must mold opinion and not just follow opinion polls. All of us have the right to use all of our rights within the law. Supporting minor-



'There is no allegation of any criminal conduct with Operation PUSH. We're dealing with questionables.'

ity-business people in international trade is routine and proper.

Q: Are you speaking of your assistance to business in Libya?

A: At the time we had full diplomatic ties with Libya, that was the *proper* thing to do. The administration was encouraging minority-business trade between this country and Africa. There was a meeting when I came back [from the Middle East] where I challenged a group of Arab-Americans to begin to express their Americanness and come out of isolation, to get more involved in voter registration, get more involved in education, in running for public office, in being a part of the broad-based human-rights struggle, and not just project their own narrow interest. The only way they could expect to get help from members of a broad-based coalition was to be participants in a broad-based coalition. Blacks can't just focus on Africa if they expect to get help on other issues. Jews can't just focus on Israel if they expect to get help on other issues. Arabs can't just focus on the Middle East and expect to get help on other issues. A broad-based coalition must make its presence felt on a broad range of issues. It was within that context that that statement was made.

Q: Do you mean the Arab businessmen could be a part of the broad-based coalition?

A: It was not just a group of businessmen or wealthy sheikhs. We had a breakfast, you know, which involved some Arab-American students and some professors and store owners. In Chicago and Detroit, for example, you have many

small Arab business people, and so they are part of our community. They're buying and selling, and hiring people. They're paying taxes and going to school with our children. And so it was a challenge to us when we came back [from the Middle East]. They were interested. We'd been to Jordan, we'd been to Egypt, we'd been to the Persian Gulf, and we'd been to the camps; we'd been to Lebanon. So they were interested: "What can we do?" [I said,] "See, here's the kind of thing. You jeopardize your standing by not being as involved as you ought to be in the broad range of American concerns."

Q: In retrospect, was it unwise to solicit money from Arab businessmen, in the sense that this act might compromise or open to question your position on subjects such as the P.L.O.?

A: It's not offensive to take money from Jewish businessmen who are Americans, or black businessmen who are Americans, or Arab businessmen, or Hispanic businessmen. It is not right to make lepers of any group of Americans. That's not right. Across the years, we've enjoyed support from a broad range of American business people, whether they were Irish or Italian or...

Q: In Operation PUSH?

A: All of them: Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., hospital charities, Harvard University. Harvard has not turned down any money from Arab businessmen. I want to get that point clear. There is nothing unusual about the use of Arab-American money in the American political system. Banks use it, universities use it.

Q: You know as well as I do that all Democratic senators, including the most progressive ones, are virtually 100 percent pro-Israel.

A: But that is not in the best interests of our nation. We must be pro-American! Let's be fair to America. We must protect America's interest. America has an interest in the Middle East. America does have an interest in Israel's security within internationally recognized boundaries. America has an interest in Israel morally, economically, militarily, geopolitically. America also has an interest in Palestinian self-determination (a) because we are a democracy, (b) because they're human

'America has an interest in normalized ties with the Arab world—for moral, economic, and military reasons.'



beings, (c) because at this point they're the enemy to our Israeli ally, and by relieving our ally of its enemies we relieve us and the ally of a burden that's a heavy burden to bear. We have an interest in normalized ties with the Arab world—also for moral, economic, geopolitical, and military reasons. And we also have an interest in Lebanon's territorial integrity being protected and in sparing Lebanon, if we can, from being partitioned.

Now America must reconcile its several interests. The other candidates, who have not gone to the Arab world, who have not met with Arab leaders, who have not met with Israel's enemies, are less able to relieve Israel of the pressure of her enemies. It is irresponsible for American leadership not to talk with all sides. It's irresponsible for a Democratic candidate to be less willing to dialogue about the Middle East with the members of the Knesset, with members of the Labor party, or Peace Now. We must not see open dialogue about the Middle East as anything other than operating in the highest and best American tradition.

Q: What about the remark you once made about having heard too much about the Holocaust?

A: Position taken out of context. The point was that if I continued to rehearse the episodes of slavery and the drama of it all I would become too embittered toward white people to function. If I, in my search for my family roots, began to track down the whites who were our slave masters, I'd become too paralyzed by the past to go into the future. I went to Africa some years ago and went up in the rocks where they held the slaves and put them on ships. I went with a group of people: Everybody was excited. We got up early in the morning and went in where they held the slaves in the pits. We kept looking at a little dingy place. People were very quiet. Roberta Flack began to sing "Oh, Freedom." People started crying. I said to myself, "If I rehearsed this pageantry too much, I couldn't function!"

It was in this context that [I remarked that] the Holocaust ritual, unless it's kept in perspective, can be damaging. We have ugly dimensions of our past. They must give way to our hope for the future. That was not meant to be an unkind statement. I was really projecting my own experience with trauma. Anybody who would amplify that statement as being anti-Jewish is being unfair. It's a distortion of my views. My religious roots run too deep in Judaism to harbor any anti-Jewish feelings. It's just unfair.

Q: I read in the *Times* a story about your present views on Israel. It certainly seems that you've changed your positions on Israel quicker than John Glenn has. Is this so?

A: No, no, no. That needs to be put in context, too. Because it's interesting how they just wrote the Israeli assessment and

not the Arab assessment [that I gave] in the same press briefing before about 30 press people. My point is that we already have a strategic military alliance with Israel, and it's in our interest to keep it. Then came this blank-check arrangement with [Israeli prime minister Yitzhak] Shamir, which is not in America's or Israel's best interest—which is peace in the Middle East. This blank check to Shamir, the offering up of cluster bombs—clearly offensive weapons—signals a possible attack upon Syria that could lead us into a tremendous state of world destabilization. It was unwarranted. These concessions, without any adequate dialogue in regard to the annexation of the Golan Heights or the West Bank, or settlements on the West Bank, or the offensive use of American weapons in Lebanon, are not in America's best interest. For Shamir to leave here with his arms full, and for [Lebanese president Amin] Gemayel to leave here with his hands empty, feeling humiliated, is not in America's best inter-

hunches? That's unrealistic to think that. The press, because of its posture, has been kind of slow to deal with the *reality* of what did happen.

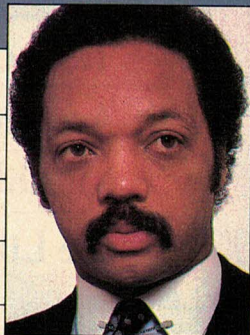
What did happen was they came together, in desperation, and freed each other. They arrived at what I arrived at four years ago: that if you talk, you act, and if you act, you change things. Therefore, the stories need to show that what we suggested should happen four years ago finally did happen, and the net results are what we predicted: that the Israelis finally determined that [P.L.O. leader Yasir] Arafat in fact represented a chance for some kind of rapprochement. That's the position we took.

Q: I don't see evidence to show that the Israelis feel Arafat represents any chance at all. I think the Israelis are hoping a West Bank leadership will emerge.

A: But they did deal with him.

Q: Only—through intermediaries—over the prisoners.

A: All I'm trying to say is that as a



'If I continued to rehearse the episodes of slavery, I would become too embittered to white people to function.'

est. It's not in Israel's best interest, as well. That's my position.

Q: The *Times* story said that you now refer to the "Palestinians," not to the "P.L.O.," and that there'd been an agreement reached between you and various Jewish leaders on this subject.

A: That's not true. We had a meeting with Mark Siegel [a political consultant] and a couple of Jewish people who expressed their sensitivity to the reference to the P.L.O., and three days later Jewish leaders and Arafat had a meeting.

Q: Which Jewish leaders?

A: Those who worked out negotiations to free up the Jews and Palestinians from the prison camps, when they freed up the Israeli prisoners of war and the 4,000 Palestinians. Obviously, there was a negotiation with the P.L.O. And all it really proved was that when the P.L.O. and the Israelis talked, they freed each other, and when they were not talking, they killed each other.

Q: You don't know for a fact they talked, do you? Because they could have talked through the Austrians or the Red Cross.

A: You think they did it by telegram? How else could they have done it without talking? Do you think that they did it with

human-rights activist, we wanted to be able to meet with [then Israeli prime minister Menachem] Begin. He refused to meet with us. And we went to meet with the Arab leaders on the West Bank, and we advocated a mutual-recognition policy. At this point, they don't recognize each other. And you cannot have progress without mutual recognition and mutual respect. I further submit to you that if this country uses the same diplomatic and economic strength that was used when we convened Camp David, to bring about a high-level dialogue between Palestinians and the Israelis, we can make peace in the Middle East. The P.L.O. is not just an organization in the Middle East. It's a spirit; it's bred in the children. And it's not just a military arm—it's hospitals, it's industry, it's education, it's a way of life. American people know too little about our Middle East options, because of such a dearth of dialogue in this country.

Q: Are you in favor of a Palestinian homeland?

A: Certainly I'm in favor of a Palestinian state, a homeland.

Q: On the West Bank?

A: The West Bank and Gaza is the most logical place to put it. And that's

why the West Bank occupation, expansion of settlements, is such a threat. And I might add that many other people consider the West Bank occupation to be illegal: Nixon, Ford, and Carter. My basic Middle East position is consistent with many elements of the Labor party and Peace Now. My position should not be projected as some unilateral position *in isolation*. It's a contradiction for an American Democratic candidate to be embracing the Likud's position, as opposed to [the positions of] Labor and Peace Now. In this country, Democrats classically are to Labor and Peace Now what Republicans are to the Likud. That's how our politics break down.

Q: But you went way beyond that.

A: No foundation for it. What did I say beyond that?

Q: You called Zionism "a poisonous weed."

A: Let's deal with that one; let's deal with it one at a time. Zionism. A lot of controversy about Zionism and Judaism, you know. Zionism is rooted in race; it's a political philosophy. Judaism is religion and faith; it's a religion. And there are points on the curve where Zionism and Judaism are in conflict. To the extent to which the prophecy of Judaism is made silent by the politics of Zionism, it is a threat to the glorious flower of Judaism, which is in the Garden along with Christianity and with the Moslem religion. Again, that's not a personal position that I conjured up; that's a running debate. But I'm not ignorant of the difference between the two. There are many Jews who are not Zionists. I support the Jews in their struggle for a homeland. There are obviously extremists who've gone far beyond a homeland for the Jewish people into the occupation and suppression of other people—and that tension is gnawing away at the soul of that nation. That's [the cause] of its great internal agony right now.

But do you get my position on the Middle East? Because the reporting has not been fair—it has been distorted, deleted. I simply reserve the right to be a part of an open dialogue about a region of the world where America's interest is involved. One cannot have a blank-check arrangement with any nation and protect our nation's interest. Right now, by not dealing at all with the offensive use of weapons in Lebanon, by not dealing with that in negotiations, it makes America a party to the invasion, which is in fact a declaration of war. It takes away the innocence of the American soldiers who are there. It says their presence is not just a peacekeeping force.

Q: Why are you running for president when it appears virtually certain that you can't win?

A: I'm running because there are more people locked out of the Democratic party who are its natural constituents than are locked into it. Twenty years

ago, blacks, Hispanics, and teenagers didn't have the right to vote. And now, twenty years later, blacks, Hispanics, and women are voting in great numbers. As a matter of fact, the old minorities are the new majority. But the old wineskins have not made room for us. The result is the nation is 51 percent female and we've not been able to pass an E.R.A. amendment. The party did not fight as vigorous a fight for it as it should have. The Voting Rights Act of '65 has not been adequately enforced. In the ten Deep South states, where 53 percent of all blacks live, there's only one congressperson out of 115. [In fact, 41.5 percent of all blacks live in the ten Deep South states, and 2 of the region's 132 members of Congress are black.] So I'm running to defend the poor and make welcome the outcasts and to deliver those votes that are stuck at the bottom. I think that is the salvation for the Democratic party, the democratic process, and for the soul of America.



'It's a contradiction for an American Democratic candidate to be embracing the Likud bloc's position.'

Q: When you arrive at the Democratic convention, how many delegates do you expect to have?

A: I'll have enough delegates to win the Democratic nomination. There are 50 percent female voters, about 25 percent black and Hispanic, plus young people. If that element chooses to fully use its political franchise, it can redirect the course of this nation. You put those elements together—that is the Rainbow Coalition. We have the power to bring about a new course and to elect a new leadership.

Q: In all likelihood, you have the opportunity to influence Democratic-party politics but not the opportunity to be the candidate. Thus, the choice you apparently face is what to do with the votes of your followers: keep them within the party, perhaps in exchange for something, or go outside the party and run as an independent candidate. Which course do you favor?

A: At this point, I'm running third out of a field of eight. And the race has hardly begun. The polls indicate I have tremendous room for growth and acceptance, so I will not by any means presuppose at this point any negative thoughts upon my candidacy. If we follow your scenario, for the sake of conversation, then at the convention in San Francisco,

I am far more concerned about public negotiations for parity for the "locked out," for the Rainbow, than I am about private negotiations, private brokering for a position. For example, the Democratic party must end segregated slate-making. Where blacks, Hispanics, and women vote together, they should be slated together. It must end the second-primary system. The second primary has been used in the South as a tool to keep blacks, Hispanics, whites, and poor people out of the Congress and out of statewide positions. In nine southern states, if you win in an open field, you must then run a second race. That's neither constitutional nor is it applied in 41 other states. [I also want the party to] end dual registration, where, in Mississippi, people have to travel up to 70 miles round-trip in some instances just to vote. These changes are the guarantees for the party's future and viability. It must make room for the majority of its members.

That's what I mean by public negotiations for parity and not private brokering for a position.

Q: You are saying that you are more interested in giving your votes to a candidate who promises party reforms than to one who would offer you a Cabinet post?

A: The Cabinet post is quite secondary to our share of congressional seats and state legislative seats and judicial seats and sheriffs and registrars and tax assessors. The aristocratic Democrats must not use restrictive measures that limit participation of the majority of the party.

Q: If you or any candidate doesn't get 10 percent of the vote in two successive primaries, federal campaign money is automatically cut off. Are you worried by this?

A: I don't see it as a problem. I think that's the way the law is interpreted. We're going to meet with [Democratic-party chairman Charles] Manatt on the whole question of the Hunt [delegate selection] rules, because they're stacked against me, but that's not going to alter our movement.

Q: Much has been written about your campaign's being, in effect, a registration drive for black voters.

A: That's one attribute of my campaign.

Q: Is it in fact only a registration drive?

A: Of course not. It's an effort to win the Democratic nomination. At this point, we are registering more new voters than any other candidate. We are reviving the interest of voters who had despaired in any other candidate. By reviving the progressive wing of the Democratic party, we have diminished tremendously the [potential] third-party revolt led by [John] Anderson, because Anderson was going to draw heavily upon disgruntled Democrats. And thereby we made the party more viable. So, far from splitting the party, we have broadened the base of the party, which is the only strategy that can effectively win against Reagan or whomever the Republicans run in '84.

Q: But your scenario requires an arrangement between you and the Democratic nominee whereby you bring your so-called progressive wing into the party and do not pursue an independent ticket. Is this the scenario we can expect?

A: The progressive wing is already in the party. The most loyal element in the Democratic party is the black vote.

Q: But, as you've pointed out, many of these people aren't voting.

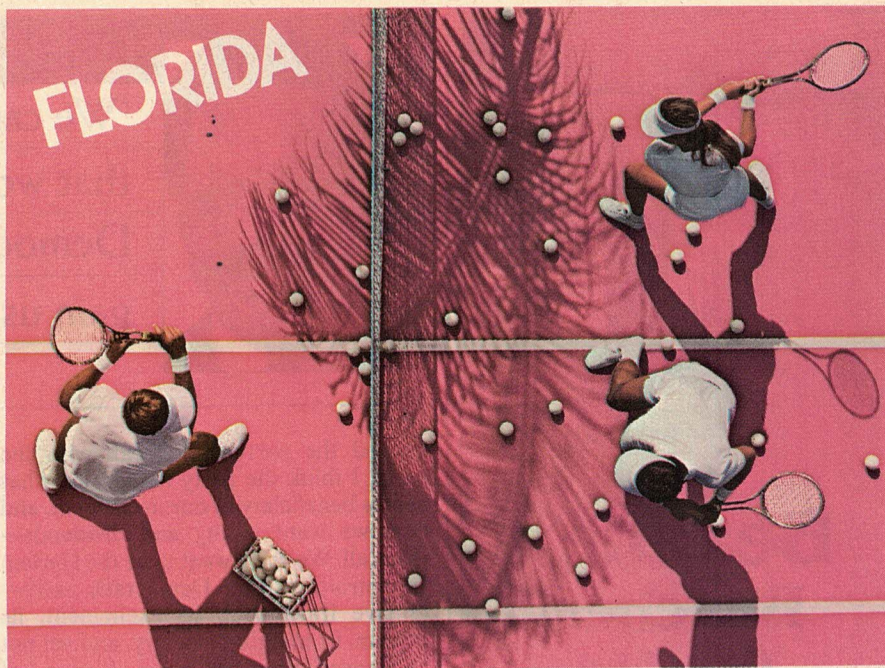
A: Many of the new ones have not voted before. They have Democratic leanings. In 1980, while the labor vote split and the Jewish vote split, the blacks remained 90 percent loyal to the party. You're talking about the most loyal core of the party. We are demanding accountability and a return on our investment. I talked with Bert Lance [last month]. He's the state party chairman in a state that depends heavily upon the votes of the black and the poor as we seek equity and parity. We're asking for the party to break an old habit and make room for its membership. And I told him that it was important that we meet to work on a strategy for winning in 1984, and that strategy necessarily included ways to make room for women and Hispanics and blacks and poor people, the most natural constituents of the Democratic party. And he has agreed to convene the other southern chairpersons.

I said, "Now, you look at these all-white, male supreme courts, sponsored by Democrats—there must be a change." And his immediate response was "I can't do anything about it; I can't deliver." My response was "If the party cannot deliver for its membership, why should the membership deliver for the party?"

The relationship has to be a mutually beneficial relationship that is respectful, and so far the relationship has been too one-way. If the old wineskins don't accept the new wine, the new wine will develop wineskins of its own.

Q: Does that mean that you'd go off and be an independent candidate?

A: I'm not inclined to; I'm inclined to



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'We came up with a strategy that would both expand the Democratic party and also gain us new respect within it.'

expand the party, not break with the party. I think the party for too long has been a beneficiary of our investment, and now we want equity and dividends—that's all. We don't want to be the Harlem Globetrotters of the Democratic party—to give it its soul, its excitement, its rhythm, its margin of victory, and yet not be allowed to set any policy. It's kind of like being the party concubines: They get the fun with us, then they marry other people. We want to be full partners, and we want to have our share of the judicial seats, legislative seats, sheriffs, registrars: We want to share that. That's fair.

Q: People write that your decision to run for president came out of the Harold Washington campaign for mayor of Chicago. Had you contemplated running before then?

A: It's deeper than that. The evolution of the drive for self-determination and self-respect on one hand and on the other the reduced options the party was presenting to blacks, Hispanics, women, and poor people somewhat culminated when Mondale and Kennedy came into Chicago to support [Jane] Byrne and [Richard] Daley over Harold Washington in the primary fight. A city 39 percent black, about 15 percent Hispanic, about 10 percent Polish, about 9 percent Irish, about 3 or 4 percent Jewish. Clearly, out of those numbers, Harold Washington had a good chance of winning. But here were two of our most liberal or progressive allies making a unilateral entry into the race to defeat us. That traumatized much of our leadership, for if the two most progressive leaders in the party would take advantage of us—

Q: Mondale and Kennedy?

A: Yes—then it suggested that there was a gross insensitivity, and that we needed to redress our grievances, not by starting another party but by running for the presidency in the Democratic primaries and challenging the Republicans in the general election. We came up with a strategy that would at once expand the party on the one hand but also gain a new respect within the party. So this strategy spares us of the need for a third party.

Q: Did you come up with this yourself or did you arrive at this decision after having talks with various leaders?

A: I talked it over with a combination of people. But I'm the one who received the lion's share of the telephone calls the night the news broke that Mondale and Kennedy were going to support Byrne and Daley. And then I talked to Harold Washington about it, and, of course, he was upset by it. He was not expecting it. He had worked hard for the Carter-Mondale ticket, and therefore he didn't expect that. We called Mondale, and he said, "Well, I made a commitment to Daley two years ago, and I will not go back on my word."

I said, "Well, it seems like Mr. Daley should relieve you of that commitment because he's not going to win, and he's going to affect you negatively."

I then called about 50 national leaders and appealed to them to send him telegrams to ask him not to come in. Well, he did so anyhow. We had supported Da [for state's attorney in 1980] on the commitment that he would not run for mayor and he made that commitment. So Daley was telling us he would not run because I'm going to run." So talking double. And Mr. Mondale commitment that he should have made.

But I look back with no sense. It's just one of those juncture points, a kind of crystallization of many thoughts over a long period that we had to go another way. It stimulated new thoughts in Black America now catalyst for Hispanics, for women. We have now catalyst for a new, broad movement in this country.

Q: Are you going to run again if you don't win?

A: That's a station on the line to deal with.

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✓
Mr. David Murdock
10644 Bellagio Road
Los Angeles, CA 90024

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

✓
Mr. Harold Burson
866 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022

✓
Mr. Lester Korn
Korn and Ferry
1900 Avenue of the Stars
19th Floor
Los Angeles, CA 90067

11644

Mr. Philip Hawley ✓
550 South Flower
Los Angeles, CA 90071

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Robert Dilenschneider ✓
1 Illinois Center
111 East Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60601

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Drew Lewis ✓
Route 1
Schwenksville, PA 19473

Manipulating the Media Is a Specialty For the White House's Michael Deaver

By RICH JAROSLOWSKY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—It was, says an admiring White House official, "a Deaver special."

Just before last spring's Williamsburg economic summit, presidential aide Michael Deaver invited Hedrick Smith, the New York Times's chief Washington correspondent, in for lunch. A few days later the Times ran a page-one story on President Reagan's vigorous preparations for the summit: how hard he was studying, even how he planned to take the official notes.

But the real payoff was how Mr. Smith's piece set the tone for the television networks' coverage of the summit. All of the TV broadcasts conveyed the image of a president firmly in charge. ABC News featured Mr. Reagan's note-taking on two successive evenings.

Actually, this all involved a little hype. Mr. Reagan's diligent preparations didn't prevent him from watching "The Sound of Music" on TV. His note-taking was hardly unusual, since every host has been the official note-taker for these economic summits.

As subtle media manipulation, however, it was remarkably successful. To people viewing the event, the image conveyed "really answered the question of whether Ronald Reagan could be a world leader," contends Michael McManus, an aide to Mr. Deaver.

As President Reagan gears up for his anticipated reelection race, this illustrates one of his considerable assets: This White House probably seems more successful than any of its Media Age predecessors in projecting the strengths and hiding the weaknesses of the man in the Oval Office.

The main attraction is the president himself. Although he's often fuzzy on facts, allies and adversaries alike credit the former Hollywood actor with an instinctive understanding of how to use the media. He's affable, sometimes a bit schmaltzy, but sophisticated enough to avoid the maudlin or clichéd and to project strength when necessary.

"People ask me who took my job in this administration," says Gerald Rafshoon, Jimmy Carter's media adviser. "I say Reagan."

Another vital element, though, is the Reagan team's keen understanding of television, the major source of news for most Americans. Mr. Deaver, who is chief image-maker, and his crew appreciate that the foremost need of TV is pictures, and they believe favorable visuals far outweigh any depreciating comments from TV cor-

respondent Anne Burford, late in the day, limiting the time the networks have to produce full-blown stories for the evening news. When embarrassing stories break early, they often rush out upbeat news in an attempt to overshadow the negative. They also love to send Mr. Reagan out into the country. The media treat presidents on the road as much more newsworthy, even if the message isn't any different from back in Washington.

Just about all the top White House political operatives, including chief of staff James Baker, are deeply involved in the media machine. The key player, though, is Mr. Deaver, a former public-relations man who over the past 17 years has developed almost filial ties with Mr. and Mrs. Reagan. "Mike has an uncanny sense for knowing what the president would feel, would want, and how he would react in a given situation," says Richard Darman, a top presidential aide.

The Deaver touch was everywhere on the president's meticulously planned, triumphal visit to Asia recently. At Guard Post Collier, a desolate frontline observation post in the Korean Demilitarized Zone, Mr. Reagan showed up in a green military parka to tour the facility. Gray masking tape with "The President" written on it showed him where to stand so the TV cameras could get the best angle. The pictures were captivating. The TV cameras also zeroed in on the Reagans' guests on the flight home—two little Korean children who were coming to the U.S. for critical heart surgery.

It "provided some of the best presidential television in a long, long time," exults White House communications director David Gergen. (Mr. Gergen, who is leaving his job this month, is another master at using the media.)

A major reason for the Reagan team's success is its consistency of approach, Mr. Rafshoon believes. "They set a theme and they don't ever digress . . . and they don't ever do anything to detract," he said. As a result, he claims, Mr. Reagan usually appears a tower of resolution and steadfastness even when he's actually vacillating or playing politics.

A case in point: The president's sudden interest this year in "educational excellence." Surveys by presidential pollster Richard Wirthlin showed a 2-to-1 public disapproval of the administration's cutbacks in federal aid to public schools. But Mr. Reagan, seizing on a report by a pre-



reaching . . . obscure

The Reaganites shrewdly seize new opportunities. Mr. Gergen, the communications chief, unabashedly claims credit for maneuvering onto a recent cover of Parade magazine a picture of the 72-year-old chief executive lifting weights. The accompanying article on the president's exercise regimen, which was requested by the magazine and was ghost-written by a White House aide under Mr. Reagan's byline, never mentioned his age. But, Mr. Gergen says, readers perceived "an enormously fit individual who's fit to govern for a long time to come."

Overkill remains a danger, of course. "It's like squeezing an egg. Squeeze it too hard and you got egg on you," quips press spokesman Larry Speakes. A sudden flurry of Hispanic-related White House events last summer created cynicism among Hispanic groups, and many Reagan advisers now consider it a heavy-handed mistake. Still, as the 1984 election campaign unfolds, the advisers are looking for events that will associate the president with blue-collar voters and other crucial voting blocs.

One of the most stunning public-relations triumphs of the Reagan image machine has been the transformation of the First Lady's image. Several years ago, as she ordered expensive new china in the midst of cutbacks on food stamps and as she donated old gowns for a tax break, critics had a field day calling her "Queen Nancy."

Under the watchful eye of Mr. Deaver, that image began to change. She did a self-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

WALL ST. J.:1-5-84

Preston Moore

TO:

FROM:

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

☒ Information

☐ Action

Thought you would
enjoy this.

a Specialty Michael Deaver

Burford, late in the day, the networks have to produce stories for the evening. Embarrassing stories break and rush out upbeat news in an attempt to overshadow the negative. To send Mr. Reagan out into the media treat presidents as much more newsworthy. The message isn't any different in Washington.

At the top White House political, including chief of staff, are deeply involved in the. The key player, though, is former public-relations man. Last 17 years has developed a rapport with Mr. and Mrs. Reagan. He has an uncanny sense for how the president would feel, and how he would react in a given situation," says Richard Darman, a senior aide.

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The Reaganites shrewdly seize new opportunities. Mr. Gergen, the communications chief, unabashedly claims credit for the never-ending

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Preston Moore
Post Office Box 4285
Houston, TX. 77210

1/9/84

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Archibald B. Roosevelt
3400 R Street
Washington, D.C. 20007



MICHAEL K. DEAVER

Archie

I want you to know how
grateful I am for your continued
devotion and patience. Once again
you gave up your place at a State
Dinner. Again. Thank you sincerely,
Mike

11/6/84

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 6, 1984

Dear Mr. Black and Mr. Marcil:

The President has asked me to respond to your invitation to meet with a representative group of your membership. Unfortunately, the schedule for this month is extremely busy for the President. He has, however, asked me to inform you that he has asked selected members of his senior staff to meet with your group.

The President and I welcome hearing your views on the press policy concerning the Grenada Rescue mission.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Creed C. Black
Mr. William C. Marcil
American Society of Newspaper Editors
The Newspaper Center
Box 17407
Dulles International Airport, Washington 20041

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1984

*Bill
discuss with
FR & get
me a response*

TO: Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and Assistant to
the President

FROM: William French Smith
Attorney General *WFS*

The enclosed is as discussed in our telephone conversation. The principal thrust of my conversation with Bob Erburu was to the effect that their group would like very much to meet with the President. But, in any case, they feel they should have a response of some kind to their request.

Enclosure

TIMES MIRROR

ROBERT F. ERBURU
President and
Chief Executive Officer

December 20, 1983

The Honorable William French Smith
c/o The Beverly Wilshire Hotel
9500 Wilshire Boulevard
Beverly Hills, California 90212

Dear Bill:

I appreciated your taking time to visit with me after the Huntington Trustees meeting on Friday.

Enclosed are copies of letters dated November 1 and December 1, 1983 to The President from Bill Marcil, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association and Creed Black, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Although I was unaware of the event when we talked, Jack Nelson, Washington Bureau Chief of the Los Angeles Times, on Friday delivered a speech to Sigma Delta Chi, the Society of Professional Journalists, about The President and the press. You may have seen in Sunday's Times an article in the Opinion section by Jack based upon his talk. I doubt that you will agree with what he had to say but his remarks illustrate the strong feelings which are developing among the press about The President's position concerning access to information.

In this article, reference is made to the letters from Marcil and Black to The President and the lack of response thereto. I believe that it is important for the administration to discuss with responsible members of the press the current concerns of the press about the attitudes of the administration in the areas in question. A meeting with The President would be especially important at this time in light of the strong feelings on the part of some as indicated by tenor of Jack Nelson's speech. I appreciate your willingness to call this subject to The President's attention if it is possible for you to do so when you are in Palm Springs.

We obviously did not have time for a full blown discussion of this subject on Friday but as I read the Nelson speech I thought to myself that I would very much like to do so. Perhaps we can arrange for such an opportunity when next we talk.

The Honorable William French Smith
Page two
December 20, 1983

I hope you have a very happy Christmas and the best of
the New Year. Please give my best to Jean.

Warmest regards,



RFE:ak
Enclosures



TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF A FREE PRESS

American Newspaper Publishers Association

The Newspaper Center, Box 17407, Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041
Executive Offices: Reston, Virginia (703) 620-9500

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Jerry W. Friedheim
Executive Vice President

December 1, 1983

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We wrote you a short letter one month ago asking if a few press executives might meet with you to discuss serious matters of mutual concern to the press and to your administration. Because we have not had any reply to that letter, we want to reiterate that our concerns have not diminished.

We recently co-chaired a meeting with top-level representatives of The Associated Press, United Press International, The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, Associated Press Managing Editors and The Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi. It was clear to everyone that it is now more important than ever for a few of us, perhaps including one or two broadcast representatives as well, to have an opportunity to talk directly with you and your senior assistants.

We are confident that it would be mutually beneficial for us to talk together about press and government relationships.

We reiterate that we are recommending a small, substantive meeting so that we can discuss very serious and increasing concerns which are shared broadly throughout the U.S. news media.

Sincerely,

Creed C. Black *William C. Marcil*

Creed C. Black
President
American Society of
Newspaper Editors

William C. Marcil

AMERICAN
SOCIETY OF
NEWSPAPER EDITORS

ASNE

CHRISTOPHER CLARK
LEXINGTON (KY.) HERALD-LEADER
President

RICHARD D. SMYSER
THE OAK RIDGER, OAK RIDGE, TENN.
Vice President

ROBERT P. CLARK
HARTE-HANKS NEWSPAPERS
Secretary

MICHAEL G. GARTNER
DES MOINES (IOWA) REGISTER
Treasurer

Lexington Herald-Leader Co.
Main and Midland
Lexington, Kentucky 40507

November 1, 1983

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Would it be possible for a small group of newspaper editors and publishers to meet with you?

The leaders of our two organizations, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the American Newspaper Publishers Association, would very much appreciate the opportunity to discuss matters of concern to the press and the U.S. government. We believe such a discussion would be mutually beneficial.

Yours truly,

Creed C. Black

Creed C. Black
President
ASNE

William Marcil

William Marcil
President
ANPA

CCB:jc

cc: James Baker
Michael Deaver
David Gergen
Edwin Meese

bcc: William C. Marcil
✓ Jerry Friedheim
Edward R. Cony
Charles S. Rowe
Herbert G. Klein
Lee Stinnett

RECEIVED

NOV 7 - 1983

OFFICE OF
JERRY W. FRIEDHEIM

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American Newspaper Publishers Association

The Newspaper Center, Box 17407, Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041
Executive Offices: Reston, Virginia (703) 620-9500

Jerry W. Friedheim
Executive Vice President

December 14, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Alvah H. Chapman Jr.
Robert F. Erburu
Katharine Graham
Herbert G. Klein

There has been no response to the enclosed requests from Bill Marcil and Creed Black for a meeting with President Reagan. We are bringing this to the attention of the Vice President, Mike Deaver, Ed Meese, Dick Darman and Mike Baroody, and are urging them to help arrange this meeting.

It might now be appropriate for you to make any White House contact you feel would be helpful.

Jerry W. Friedheim

RECEIVED

DEC 19 1983

Office of ROBERT F. ERBURU

Reagan's Anti-Press Campaign

Grenada Drew on Wider Policy

12/18/83

By Jack Nelson

WASHINGTON

In the aftermath of the news blackout the Reagan Administration imposed on the Grenada invasion, the president of a major college told me: "We no longer have a free press in this country."

While that sentiment sounds a little extreme, it does reflect a growing concern among some thoughtful Americans that President Reagan's press-control policies are severely eroding Americans' First Amendment rights.

But while many Americans are concerned about this problem, many more acquiesce in—or even applaud—Reagan's press-control policies. And they turn their wrath on journalists who insist on their right of access to government information. Let me quote briefly from a few of the many letters denouncing the press I have recently received:

—An angry John Gannon of Memphis, Tenn., wrote that the press is "arrogant, egotistical, opinionated and far too antagonistic toward whoever we elect to run our government. I prefer to trust Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan or Walter Mondale, or whoever we elect as President, as I feel they have my interest at heart more than you do."

—Ray Shaw from San Jose wrote, "I am sick of the press and people like you trying to always put down our government and our country. You guys sound like enemies to our country. You should go to Cuba and Russia if you are so interested in them. The press distorts the truth. . . . P.S.—The hell with the press. My country is always first. The American public is sick of you news guys who act like our enemies."

—From Chester Wentzel in Valley Station, Ky., came another typical response: "Thank God President Reagan did keep the media out of Grenada those first few days or else we might have had another Vietnam. . . . If the press had been more honest about Vietnam our troops could have won in that action."

Many of the people who are angry at the press and fully support President Reagan's press-control policies wrote carefully thought-out letters through which run

The problem is that Reagan himself and his longtime confidants and inner-circle members all believe strongly in secrecy in government.

common threads: The press caused the loss of the Vietnam War and has undermined public confidence in our Presidents and our institutions. The press is arrogant, biased and irresponsible in its reporting.

S.H. Byers of Newport Beach wrote, "The only good thing that has happened as a result of the 'media restraint' regarding the Grenada episode is that it has proven to the American people that the United States can function for three or four days without the meddling, news-inventing and biased reporting of some of the media employees."

"Stop moaning and crying—the adjustment is long overdue for a little 'supervised restraint' of the press corps."

There is a widespread feeling that in protesting the Grenada news blackout and other press controls, journalists do not have the public interest in mind, but are being self-serving. Many of these critics would welcome even more "supervised restraint" of the press.

Judging by the tone of the letter-writers and by Reagan's success in press control during his first three years in office, the public can expect expect more press restraints during the remainder of his presidency. In fact, since taking office Reagan has methodically and relentlessly shut off access to information.

This policy can fairly be attributed to Reagan rather than to the Reagan Administration or the White House, as is so often done in news stories, because there is no question that this is one case where the buck does stop in the Oval Office. Repeatedly since taking office Reagan has made it clear that he is concerned about the leaking of government information, but not about making information available to the public. His policies have generally followed a press-control strategy recommended at the beginning of his Administration and outlined in a report by Robert Entman, a Duke University professor. The report was prepared for the Institute for Contemporary Studies of San Francisco, part of a foundation established by Edwin Meese III, Reagan's counselor, a man who has made no secret of his distrust of the press. (He compares a reporter using leaked information to a fence dealing in stolen property.)

The Entman Report—its tone reflected in its title, "The Imperial Press"—got scant attention outside the Administration, but a lot of attention within the White House. And, as the evidence shows, it has been carefully heeded.

The report urged that Reagan "tame White House-beat reporting by decreasing reporters' expectations of full access to officials, by directly asserting that the

Continued from Page 1

demands of leadership require a modicum of confidentiality."

And Entman advised: "Take advantage of the country's growing preference for strong leadership to legitimize this approach."

The report urged White House staffers to discourage discussions of the President's political motivations and strategies, but to "be open and accommodating with the technical policy analysis that undergirds the decisions."

"This tactic, Entman suggested, 'should defuse complaints about total inaccessibility' and 'could reduce the total volume of reporting since dry data are often defined as unnewsworthy.'"

The President was urged to "keep the press staff (except the secretary) in the dark about the politics of White House decision-making." Entman reasoned that if press officers were not privy to a President's political strategies and future plans, but were well-briefed on policies, they can "honestly fend off reporters' gossipy 'why' inquiries and steer the focus to the 'what.'"

The Grenada invasion showed that Reagan and his inner circle are quite adept at keeping not only the press staff, but the press secretary in the dark. Larry Speakes was not briefed on plans for Grenada until 30 minutes before the invasion. Since press officers were kept in the dark, they were in no position to make the argument they now say they would have made: that a pool of reporters should have accompanied the invading force.

Speakes' ignorance of the plans caused him to mislead the press by telling reporters before the invasion it was "preposterous" to think the U.S. intended to invade Grenada. He later acknowledged that his comments had seriously damaged his credibility.

Speakes and David Gergen, the White House communications director, were dismayed and frustrated by the news blackout and felt it was preposterous that they were kept in the dark. Speakes has never had the kind of access to the Oval Office normally given to a White House press secretary and necessary to do a credible job. And he remains on the job with his credibility further diminished. Gergen, his own inclination toward open government out of step with Reagan's policies, has resigned.

Because the press was excluded for two days and restricted in its coverage for three additional days, the only firsthand version of events at Grenada came from two governments—the one in Washington and the one in Havana.

Embarrassingly enough for the United States, the version from Havana turned out to be closer to the truth than the one from Washington. In the beginning the United States claimed that at least 1,100 "well-trained professional soldiers" from Cuba were fighting in Grenada. Cuba estimated there were fewer than 800 Cubans on the island and that only about 100 were "combatants." The State Department ultimately agreed with that assessment.

First impressions are lasting and the overwhelming impression left with the American people was that U.S. forces met stiff resistance from a large contingent of well-armed Cubans on Grenada. Washington reported that the United States had attacked Grenada with such precision that there were no civilian casualties, but later confirmed a report by the Canadian press that U.S. bombing of a mental hospital killed at least 20 patients and orderlies.

Washington reported that the day before the invasion, the Grenada military regime had closed the island's airport, making it impossible for Americans to leave if they so desired. As was later learned, four commercial flights departed from Grenada the day before the invasion.

President Reagan himself accused the Soviet Union of having "assisted and encouraged the violence" in Grenada that led to the bloody coup prior to the invasion. But no evidence that the Soviets played such a role has ever surfaced.

These examples—and there were other instances of erroneous or unproved information supplied by Washington—are cited only because they show how the people are misled when they get only the government version.

Without arguing the merits of the invasion, it seems obvious that people who want to be informed about what their government is doing would have been better served had the press been along to at least given some account other than the official version.

The problem is that Reagan himself and such long-time confidants and fellow Californians Meese, Deputy Chief of Staff Michael K. Deaver, Interior Secretary William P. Clark and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger and Atty. Gen. William French Smith all believe strongly in secrecy in government.

Even James A. Baker III, the White House chief of staff, who earlier was one of the more candid and accessible members of the President's inner circle, has played a key role in restricting the media's access to government information.

Press relations comes under Baker's jurisdiction and he and the President made the decision not to inform their own press staff of the Grenada plans. Even after the invasion occurred, the press staff was so ill-informed it was unable to answer questions from reporters who had managed to dig up some facts about the operation despite the blackout.

Not until two days after the media reported that U.S. planes had bombed the mental hospital did the White House press office confirm the bombing.

And not until six days after the Los Angeles Times reported that four planes occupied by Americans had left Grenada the day before the invasion did the White House acknowledge the Grenada airport

The only firsthand version of events at Grenada came from two governments, in Washington and Havana. Embarrassingly for the United States, the version from Havana turned out to be closer to the truth.

had not been closed on that day. Speakes earlier had cited the closing of the airport as evidence an invasion was necessary to save the Americans on the island.

A senior White House official, who agreed to be interviewed on the condition he not be identified, said he feared that unless Reagan and Baker admit the Administration made a mistake in misleading the press and barring reporters from covering the invasion, that policy will become "a model for the future."

Of course, Baker has already made it clear the Administration intends to use Grenada as a model for the future. He said, "I would argue that policy with anybody."

As bad as that precedent may be, the Grenada blackout was only a logical extension of President Reagan's policy of controlling government information. One year into the Administration, for example the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press compiled a list of 15 specific steps that had been taken to deny the public access to government information.

Briefly, some of them were:

- The Defense Department, attempting to trace news leaks, ordered employees with access to national security information to take lie-detector tests.

- Atty. Gen. Smith issued new rules to restrict information released under the Freedom of Information Act.

- The Justice Department supported a law allowing surprise raids of newsrooms in pursuit of national security leaks.

- The Administration supported a bill exempting much law-enforcement information from the Freedom of Information Act, if it relates to organized crime, counterintelligence and domestic disorders, even in cases where the information show the government has broken the law.

- An executive order was issued allowing the CIA and FBI to monitor and infiltrate the press and academic groups, if it is believed necessary for national security.

Since then, the Reporters Committee has catalogued another 15 steps the Reagan Administration has taken to deny access to government information.

Among those steps:

- The Grenada news blackout.

- A White House order initiated by Reagan that all press interviews and all press telephone calls to White House officials be cleared through the Office of Communications. This order has intimidated and inhibited officials who had cooperated with the press in the past and has had a chilling effect on overall coverage.

- A request for total exemption of the CIA from Freedom of Information Act, as well as an executive order suppressing much historical information previously available under the act and new Justice Department rules making it more expensive for the press and scholars to obtain such data.

- A requirement that any government employee with access to classified national-security information sign prepublication clearance agreements for books and articles.

- A Justice Department policy allowing the FBI to monitor and infiltrate press and academic institutions without the probable cause of suspicion of involvement in or information about domestic crime or disorders.

These 30 steps taken by Reagan to promote government secrecy have been taken one at a time in a noncombative manner, a strategy designed to minimize public opposition. But these steps have had a profound cumulative impact and have set a policy and tone for secrecy in government that exceeds anything since Watergate. In fact, not even during the Nixon years were so many steps taken to establish secrecy as government policy.

Reagan himself has been remote from the press. With the exception of Nixon, he has been much more inaccessible than any President in recent times. During the 35 months of his presidency, he has held only 20 press conferences. Nixon's record was similar, but the others all held one or two a month: Carter held 59 in 48 months; Ford 39 in 30 months; Johnson 135 in 62, and Kennedy 64 in 34 months.

But Reagan—as adroit at public relations as at governmental secrecy—has managed to avoid the impression that he is remote or secretive. You see him on television riding a horse or answering questions from high school students. You see him at state dinners or other formal occasions where he speaks, but answers no questions.

You see an interview with him in a sports magazine. You see him in Parade Magazine exercising and giving tips on how a 72-year-old man stays in shape and you see a television newscaster showing the pictures of Reagan exercising, saying with a big smile, "Mr. President, keep at it out there, you're an inspiration!"

And Reagan, with his amiable manner, comes across as a likeable guy and as an inspiration to many people. The public generally trusts him, but distrusts the press.

But behind the smile is a "We vs. Them" attitude that has set the whole tone for his Administration's relations with the press. It's not that he hates the press the way Nixon did, it's just that he is insensitive to the press' role in our society and sees the media generally as something to be manipulated, but not trusted.

Reagan's top advisers are leery of any press contact in which they do not absolutely control the agenda. But the basic press policy stems from Reagan himself. George Skelton, who covers the White House for The Times and who covered Reagan during his eight years as California's governor, says:

"Unlike career-long politicians, who learn to deal effectively with the news media, even sometimes respect it, Reagan spent most of his adult life in Hollywood working in the entertainment industry.

"There, hype and sensationalism and gossip were the norm for entertainment reporters and Reagan never trusted them. It took a long time for him to gain even a small amount of respect for serious-minded government and political reporters after arriving in Sacramento, and he has still not got a full fix on what the American press is all about."

So far there is no evidence Reagan takes seriously the media's protest over the Grenada blackout or his many other press-control policies. The other night at a Washington ceremony, the President turned to World War II hero Jimmy Doolittle, who led a daring air raid on Tokyo in 1942, and jokingly asked how the general had managed not to take any reporters along on the raid.

Other Reagan Administration officials have joked about the news blackout and spurned protests by journalists. And the President himself has ignored written requests by the presidents of the American Society of Newspaper Publishers and the American Society of Newspaper Editors to meet with him to discuss Grenada and other press-control issues.

In the end, the public will have to determine whether people are hurt more by the the abuses of the press or by the President's policy of increasing government secrecy, a policy that makes him less accountable to the people who elected him.

This nation's tradition has been that the abuses have been a small price to pay for a free press that gives the public information beyond the government's own version of its policies and activities.

The existence of abuses is undeniable and well known. Ever since the Janet Cooke case three years ago, the press has been examining and re-examining its own failings: cynicism, arrogance, irresponsibility, invasions of privacy. Publishers, editors and reporters, television news executives and newscasters all admitted the media's failings long before Grenada, which moved many journalists to renew and intensify their public self-examination.

The press does have to be more responsible: to be skeptical of government, but not cynical; to avoid arrogance and be sensitive to rights of privacy.

But it is a tribute to Reagan's public-relations genius that somehow, in the aftermath of the only news blackout ever imposed on a U.S. invasion, he has managed to divert the press from a much more crucial issue: His overall policy of keeping the press in the dark.

That's a message the media must get across to the people. They must see that when the press is kept in the dark, so are they. And all need to be reminded of Entman's advice to Reagan on how to win public acceptance of his secrecy-in-government policies:

"Take advantage of the country's growing preference for strong leadership to legitimize this approach."

Jack Nelson is chief of The Times' Washington Bureau. His article is excerpted from an address Friday to the Los Angeles chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, the Society of Professional Journalists.