

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MARGIE CRAWFORD

FROM: GAIL LEDWIG
SUBJECT: ATTACHED MEMO

We have called the office of the Consulate General Boggs in Hamilton, Bermuda and spoken with his secretary, Mary Jane. She has informed us that the guest cottage would be available for Michael McManus and guest from June 14th through June 19th if it is not being occupied by Maureen Reagan. As soon as they have any confirmation from Maureen or any more information they will let us know and we will keep you posted.

809/295-1342

Mary Jane

Mr. Steve Seiss

632-2622

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1984

DB
let's call

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: MIKE McMANUS *Mike for*

I am planning a trip to Bermuda departing on Thursday, June 14th and returning to Washington on Tuesday, June 19th.

I am wondering if it would be possible for you to see if the Consulate General's guest cottage is available on those dates. I would really appreciate it.

Thank you.

Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee

Los Angeles, California 90084 USA
Telephone (213) 209-1984
Telex: 194694 • (Int'l) 4720482



Reply To:
1015 15th Street, N.W.
Suite 905
Washington, D.C. 20005
Telephone (202) 682-1984

Bul
221

6/29

Mike -

Here is a great PSI story which
you might have missed. I must admit
I feel a part of this movement and
my wish I could do more.

Had good meeting in DC yesterday.
Schultz was very sharp and did
much to reassure Sammons that
the US government is doing everything possible.
That really helps.

Best regards,

Helping Hands

Companies Change The Ways They Make Charitable Donations

'Enlightened Self-Interest' Is
Used in Selecting Donees;
Eyeing Cash Substitutes

Failure of a Worthy Cause

By WENDY L. WALL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

With deep gratitude, the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation recently accepted two special traveler's checks totaling more than \$1.7 million from American Express Co.

The gift, along with contributions from others, meant the grande dame of New York Harbor could be restored to past glory. Americans could gaze upon it with renewed pride and the donor could be hailed a corporate patriot.

Moreover, by doing good, American Express managed to do well. It generated the gift money by promising in a national ad campaign in last year's fourth quarter to donate a penny to the statue for each use of its charge card and a dollar for most new cards issued in the U.S. The result: Card usage increased 28% during the quarter over the same period in 1982; before the campaign was devised, the company had forecast a card-usage increase of 18% for last year's fourth quarter. New card holders rose more than 45% during the campaign, and the company's card business had its best fourth quarter ever.

"The wave of the future isn't checkbook philanthropy," says Jerry C. Welsh, an American Express marketing executive. "It's a marriage of corporate marketing and social responsibility."

Certainly, it seems to be a time of great change for corporate philanthropy. For decades, big business more often than not handled charity in an unbusinesslike way; philanthropic budgets were generally small, and contributions were frequently based on the whims of top officers, on country-club connections and on tradition.

Bigger Budgets

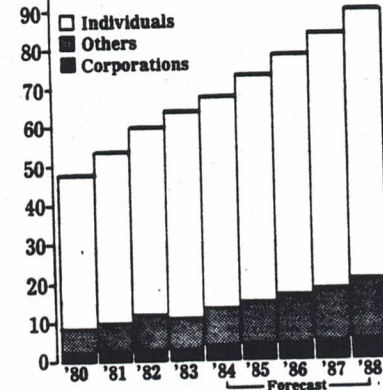
The change began in the early 1970s, when a burgeoning economy and a heightened sense of social responsibility (caused, in some measure, by the anti-business attitudes of the 1960s) led to increased corporate budgets for charitable endeavors. A decade later, therefore, when federal funding for numerous nonprofit organizations was cut back by the Reagan administration, it was only natural that many of the victims swarmed to the Fortune 500 to pick up the slack. But by that time, recession was pinching corporate resources. The situation was a powerful incentive for corporations to overhaul their giving programs by such means as hiring professional charity-administration staffs, more carefully selecting recipients and finding alternatives to cash gifts.

The new approach is creating corresponding upheaval in the offices of potential beneficiaries. To attract the more discriminating donors, nonprofit organizations are polishing their images, honing their management skills and, in some cases, altering their very missions.

Those charities that adjust adroitly to the new era may reap a bonanza, experts in the field say, but those who don't may be out of luck and, eventually, out of money. "There will be organizations that just don't make it," says Amy Rome, executive director of the Metropolitan Association for Philan-

Corporate and Individual Giving

(In billions of dollars)



Sources: American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel, Inc. and Chemical Bank

thropy in St. Louis. "A number have already had to close their doors, because they weren't able to market themselves effectively."

One of the changes in corporate giving involves new meaning for an old term; enlightened self-interest. That has actually been a watchword of corporate philanthropy to some degree ever since the 19th century, when railroads supported the Young Men's Christian Association, which provided cheap housing for their workers. But now companies have begun applying the principle with greatly heightened sophistication.

American Express, for one, is tying charitable outlays to business income far beyond the shores of Liberty Island. In 31 markets around the country, it has supported everything from the Cape Hatteras lighthouse to the San Jose Symphony with the same formula: an ad blitz pledging a contribution to a local institution for each American Express card use or application. In the case of the San Jose Symphony, the company directly generated \$30,000 for the ensemble, raised another \$205,000 for it out of the publicity, and raised card usage and new appli-

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WALL ST. JOURNAL
6-21-84

Helping Hands: Companies Change Ways They Make Charitable Gifts

Continued From First Page

calls it "cause-related marketing." At Carter Hawley Hale Stores Inc., enlightened self-interest has steered the Los Angeles retailer to contribute for the most part only to the visual and performing arts and only in major cities. Until recently, Carter Hawley had a potpourri of charitable interests: its decision to narrow its approach was based on bringing its name in connection with its charities, to the attention of the people who really count in its business—the decidedly upscale.

"There's been a real determination to bring the contributions program in concert with corporate goals," says Jeanette McElwee, Carter Hawley's corporate contributions manager. "You have to look at the second layer: Is this good for Broadway? Is it good for Neilman-Marcus?" (Both are Carter Hawley units.)

Gaining recognition for one's good works also helps explain another trend: companies' growing insistence that nonprofit agencies be soundly managed and have strong prospects for survival before the companies make donations. "Corporations don't want to put money behind an organization that's going to go under in a year," says Sheila Leaty of the Chicago Donors Forum, cooperative association of grant makers.

Management Skills

In many cases, therefore, companies are putting more emphasis on contributing to agencies' management skills than on just contributing a bundle of cash, as in the old days. For example, Los Angeles-based Times Mirror Co. hosted a five-day management and fund-raising seminar for officials from 14 Independent Living Centers, which advise the disabled on living alone. Atlantic Richfield Co. recently gave Para Los Ninos, a Los Angeles child-care program for skid-row youngsters, a \$42,000 grant, with the proviso the money be used to hire a professional development director.

In the last two years, Esmark Inc. has earmarked about 6% of its philanthropic budget to go to nonprofits for the express purpose of obtaining management consultants and business training. Last year, the Chicago-based holding company created "Excellence Awards," offering three \$10,000

up their donations to food banks; companies increasingly lend executives to nonprofit organizations. A Los Angeles agency recently found itself in stylish new quarters when Crocker National Bank moved its office with 18 months left on the lease and donated the space.

In a Conference Board survey of 266 firms, such donations accounted for 29% of total giving in 1982. Even if the surge to that level can be laid in large part to recession-induced cash conservation, the proportion may well remain high even in better times. As with their manufacturing operations, companies have been "learning to orchestrate everything they've got," says Kathryn Troy, a Conference Board researcher.

In the face of all the change in corporate attitudes and practices, the nonprofit agencies themselves have learned a thing or two about orchestrating. The Midwest Women's Center, a Chicago service and advocacy group, spent more than 100 hours filling out its winning application for Esmark's "Excellence Award." The money it received was nice, an official says, but more important was the stamp of approval for the center's management that will help attract other corporate funds.

Some organizations have learned how to get businesslike in a hurry. In 1981, the Young Women's Christian Association of Washington, D.C., studied the feasibility of

raising \$1 million to construct a new headquarters building. The conclusion: It couldn't possibly win needed corporate support for the fund-raising effort because the capital's few major corporations were inundated with applications, and the YWCA had never received any corporate support.

But they hired a consultant, as nonprofit organizations are wont to do these days, and put together a business plan: It would sell its old building, use the proceeds to build extra stories on its proposed new building and rent out office space on those floors to generate income.

Hardheaded Approach

Corporations were impressed with the hardheaded approach and the attention to cash flow, according to Susan Scribner, the campaign's fund-raising coordinator, and they came through with \$150,000, enough to put the drive over the top and get the building built. Now Miss Scribner is herself a consultant, showing other nonprofit agencies how to apply such techniques.

The advice can pay off. "Corporations are more attracted to an agency that has a spirit of entrepreneurship," says Linda Youngblood, executive director of Kids in the Middle, a St. Louis concern that counsels children of divorced parents.

In that spirit, she has persuaded a supermarket to let Kids in the Middle advertise its services on grocery bags. And Miss

Youngblood, who used to run a marketing business, now is helping to organize a two-day "parenting fair" to generate interest in the subject of family relations and to generate fees from participants. Three companies have pledged to underwrite the fair's costs, drawn by the attendant publicity value and the booth space they will get.

Kids in the Middle's ability to generate 80% of its revenue from client fees and fund-raising events has made it easier to ask corporations for the remainder, thereby helping the agency expand its budget and services by leaps and bounds, Miss Youngblood says.

Other nonprofit organizations have changed their focus outright. In part to appeal more to corporate donors, Chicago Youth Centers, which works with children from poor families, is shifting from offering mainly recreational programs to stressing education, job skills and counseling. Those purposes seem to play better in the executive suites, says agency director Victor Peterson, and that is vital. "Over the next four or five years, there will be agencies that go out of business," he says. "We feel the moves we have made will make us more competitive."

As a result of companies' more tough-minded targeting, some losers are already beginning to show up. Hospitals, long a philanthropic pet, have come upon harder

times. Quaker Oats Co. reviews all hospital donation requests with its employee-benefits department, with an eye toward rewarding those that seem to be working to curb health-care costs (a recent winner: Chicago's Northwestern Memorial Hospital) and rejecting those that don't (a loser: Lawrence, Kan., Memorial Hospital).

And some nonprofits have dropped by the wayside. The Christian Women's Benevolent Association Youth Home took care of neglected and abused children in St. Louis since the turn of the century. But as the government and church funds it relied upon dried up in recent years, it had to turn to area companies for help.

The home got some nobles of interest, according to Mildred Volkman, a trustee, but she says potential donors were clearly wary of its management. The Youth Home carried heavy real-estate debt, didn't generate any of its own funds and was run by board members who had no professional training and were of advancing years, like the 72-year-old Mrs. Volkman.

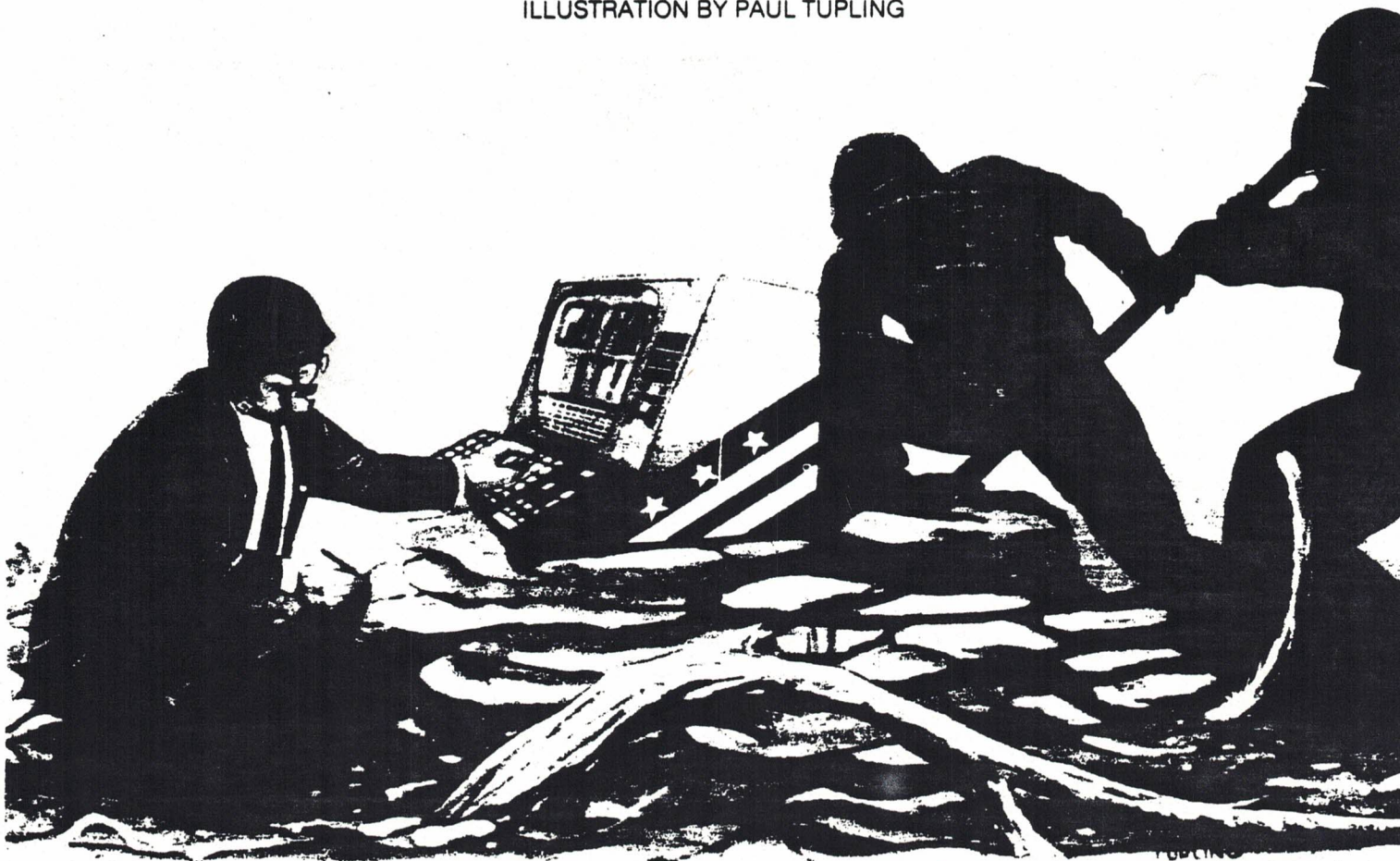
"I'd be in meetings with five or six men, and they'd ask me, 'What training do you have for this job?'" she recalls. "I'd tell them we were just instruments of God." Corporations gave the Youth Home the cold shoulder. It closed in December.

File

THE CRISIS MACHINE

When US troops invaded Commonwealth Grenada, Margaret Thatcher may well have been locked out of the action by a computer. That computer is America's new crisis machine, a system so powerful and quick to respond that it could be set in motion without consulting even the President. Field tested for the first time in the Caribbean conflict, this computer will now orchestrate all military operations involving the US and probably NATO. As the much-vaunted safeguard of consultation with Downing Street becomes little more than a joke, *Penthouse* talks to the man behind the machine that could create global war: a convinced Mormon who converses with deceased relatives and firmly believes that the end of the world is at hand.

BY ROLAND PERRY
ILLUSTRATION BY PAUL TUPLING





The Old Executive Office Building on the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street in Washington DC is a colonial style antiquity with surface-to-air missiles on its roof to protect the President next door in the White House. Security in the OEB itself is tight, for many of the US's top administrators, including vice-president George Bush, have offices there. Tucked away quietly in one corner of the second floor is Room 200, a splendid suite of offices with plush carpeting and high ceilings, in which is found Dr Richard Smith Beal, whose title is Special Assistant to the President, Crisis Management and Planning. Beal, 38, is like a tranquilised young Mickey Rooney: short, chubby, outgoing and confident. Yet his benign appearance and manner mask his real, increasing power and importance. This devout Mormon and former academic is responsible for setting up a system to control and computerise international and inter-

nal conflict, the most important aspect of the Presidency in the nuclear age.

The system — based on six Digital computers — enables the US President and his aides to respond so quickly to potential danger in any world trouble spot that it begs the question of whether there would be any consultation at all, with say a British Prime Minister, in the fast build to a nuclear crisis on European soil. Beal's Crisis Management Center — in an even larger suite along the corridor from his office — had its first major test in October 1983, when US troops demonstrated that President Reagan's administration was willing and able to use force for the first time in history to impose its will on that part of the British Empire now known as the Commonwealth Caribbean. The operation had been nursed in secret at the CIA, the State Department and the Pentagon in Washington where for four and a half years officials had been seeking ways of putting an

CRISIS

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

end to the left-wing government of Grenada. One feature of Beal's new network was that it would synthesise all the data from these various departments, so that the director of the National Security Council, Robert 'Bud' McFarlane, would be able to fulfil his true role as the President's National Security Advisor. The co-ordination of vital intelligence by the network facilitated the US invasion of Grenada at a moment when other crises, such as the horrific Beirut massacre of US and French troops, may otherwise have seen it abandoned. The success of the Grenada attack, which was in effect a trial run for other possibly bigger operations, ensured that the NSC's computer network would be institutionalised. From that fateful week in October 1983, every conflict would be increasingly monitored and managed by machines. For better or for worse, this vital operation of the Presidency was now being greatly influenced and manipulated by computer.

Further evidence that the Crisis Management Center has catapulted the US into a new era of crisis decision-making — that could even preclude its allies under certain circumstances — was given by Beal in a lengthy filmed interview in October 1981,

and again in March 1983. When asked about events which could lead to World War III he made it clear that the speed and advance of technology had taken decision-making out of the hands of elected and traditional authority and placed it in the memory banks of sophisticated machines.

For instance, in the event of Soviet forces attacking West Germany, the President of the US might not be in a position to stop the introduction of nuclear weapons. Decision on their use, according to Beal, would already be in the field of battle with the NATO Commander. There would be no time for consultation, except possibly to inform Washington of a fait accompli.

'The President would have that kind of situation already defined for him by the Defence Department,' Beal said. 'He would know what the priorities and options were.'

Decisions are made in advance to save time. All possible scenarios have been considered in wargames on the computer where possible developments are 'simulated' to prepare a plan of action. If such plans were to fit what was happening in the field, the Commanders — not just in Europe, but wherever in the world an incident escalated very quickly — could, under extreme circumstances, start firing nuclear weapons. Beal reiterated the President's position when he played down the chaos which ensued after the attempted assassination of President Reagan on March 30, 1981. In that inci-

dent, US Army Colonel Jose Muratti, the person carrying the black attache case known as the 'Football', was separated from the President. The 'Football' contained the top secret 'Gold Codes' and the President's instructions to communicate with the US National Command Authority. Members of this body would have had the power to release nuclear weapons and execute American war plans if the assassination attempt had proved to be part of a Russian plot to destroy the US.

'That incident was misunderstood,' Beal said. 'The "Football" was one of four ways the President could communicate with the National Command. If he is incapacitated, he and all the others in the chain of command have successors. There are many back-ups.'

When asked what would happen if Soviet forces had attacked NATO forces in Europe at the same time as the attempted assassination, Beal said, 'Again, as in all cases, the President does not have his finger on the button. Commanders in the field have the authority to take the necessary operational decisions.'

This development makes a mockery of the claim by our own Government that it has the right of veto over the firing of American-

Dr Richard Smith Beal (right) explains the strategic plan to Director Jack Grossman (standing) and journalist Roland Perry.



controlled Cruise missiles from British soil. If, on specified occasions, not even the US President has to be consulted before the plans for war are executed, it is out of the question that a US commander in the field of battle would bother to contact a British Prime Minister and ask permission to fire Cruise or any other nuclear weapon. And without a dual-key system, there would be nothing to stop the weapons being used.

This is a crucial point in the nuclear argument that currently rages between our own political parties. Pointers to the fact that a British Prime Minister would have no control over the weapons that are sunk deep in British soil have been ignored, discredited and ridiculed by many involved in the debate. The offhand remarks of US generals concerning our almost complete lack of control over Cruise and Pershing have gone unpublished, and the missiles tour the roads in the Berkshire night.

But the development of the crisis machine has altered the chain of command irrevocably. No-one who knows of its existence — and one wonders quite how many Westminster politicians do — can now claim that we will know anything about the missiles leaving their silos in time to do anything about it. It's more likely that the first we'll hear about it is the enemy missiles arriving at our own population centres.

Beal's crisis computer set-up has thus further enhanced America's isolation from its allies in decision-making. Just as in the Grenada invasion, the new network's involvement in a European conflict would most likely preclude consultation for reasons of secrecy, speed and the necessity to avoid disagreement which could delay a pre-planned computer operation. Quarrels over the Falklands operation, and Grenada, demonstrated clearly that the US and the UK have major differences in their geopolitical outlook. In both those wars there was time for consultation. In the case of the Falklands conflict, arguments were heard but not resolved. Where Grenada was concerned, the British were ignored at key moments. In a nuclear war crisis, where argument would be just as likely, consultation in the quick lead up to conflict would again be unlikely. Once a superpower had its computer system set on a war path there would be little chance of human intervention.

What then is the background of Richard Smith Beal, the person who has pushed the US war machine into such an important new operational dimension? First and foremost he is an extremely religious member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints — the Mormons. His great, great grandfather was shot with Joseph Smith (hence Beal's middle name) the founder of the faith, and Beal, like other Mormons, claims to be in contact with dead ancestors. He sees and speaks with them in the middle of the night. Such visions are accepted as not unusual by many in the Mormon church. Its President, Spencer W. Kimball, claims to have revelations from God. The power of 'prophet, seer

and revelator' has been passed on from Joseph Smith to successive Mormon Presidents. He had a record 112 revelations.

Pertinent to Beal's position in the Reagan administration is the fact that he firmly believes we are in the latter days of the Latter Days. In other words, the apocalypse and the Millenium — when Christ is expected to return to Earth and rule for a thousand years — are upon us. Did Beal think that such momentous events could be precipitated by one of the many scenarios of conflict he has 'wargamed' on computer as part of the development of his crisis system?

'Oh yes,' he said with conviction, 'it could.'

This is another indication of quite how far apart the US and UK political scenes are. It's difficult to see any British senior defence civil servant openly predicting the imminent end of the world. It's also difficult for us to comprehend how someone who thinks that Armageddon — just around the corner, remember — may be brought about by

Again, as in all cases, the President does not have his finger on the button.

nuclear war could be put in charge of the technology that would be responsible for starting it.

Religious fanatics in the Whitehouse, the President programmed by backstage string-pullers — this is the scenario we are used to laughing at on satirical comedy shows. In the quiet countenance, the religious fervour and the technological expertise of Richard Smith Beal, all this has become a reality. When men like Beal — committed, honest and extremely frightening — are in charge, perhaps these really are the latter days of the Latter Days.

Perhaps significantly Beal's position in charge of crisis means he is one of the few people in US Government who would be part of a secret survival plan in a nuclear war in an attempt to keep the administration functioning when the missiles start firing.

Beal is also convinced that the US Government will almost collapse (according to Church doctrine, 'the US Constitution will hang as if by a thread'), but will be saved by the Mormons. Would Beal be one of the saviours?

'If I am not,' he said with quiet certainty, 'those I teach, will.'

After studying at the main Mormon univer-

sity, Brigham Young, Beal learned the basis for the NSC system while doing his PhD at the University of Southern California. He had a burning interest in international relations — how nations related and reacted to each other, especially in times of political tension. Those who worked with him, such as fellow students Nancy Wilshausen and Frederick Rothe, found him very ambitious and 'incredibly bright'. 'He was easy to get along with and always patient and helpful,' Wilshausen said, 'but he worked so hard and put on so much weight that I worried about his health.'

Beal quickly taught himself to program computers at USC because he became aware early of the advantages of technology in his field. Computers were tailor-made for this modern clean-cut Mormon. His mind had been trained, indeed indoctrinated, to be ordered and structured. He eschewed what he saw as the common vices of society — alcohol, drugs, sex before marriage — and anything else which he felt could possibly mar his efficiency in his private or working life. To him and other Mormons of the 1980s, computers were objects of utter perfection, machines of infallible logic and discipline. If used properly, they promised to speed the march of Mormon progress in life and business, and thus expand Mormonism. Its members, for example, have built a vast computerised genealogical library in the side of a Utah mountain to enable them to trace dead ancestors whom they can baptise into the Church.

Once master of the modern metal beasts, Beal went on to make a science of international relations. Tantalised by being able to predict world crises, Beal applied computers to WEIS (World Event/Interaction Survey). Its aim was to gather information and turn it into a graph on a computer terminal screen. The idea was that the graph's peaks and troughs represented heights and depths of activity between nations. Too much talking between diplomats or even too little could mean, for example, that a war was brewing somewhere in the world. In short, Beal aimed to be a soothsayer of war. While others on the campus were getting their kicks from grass, he was getting high on the possibility of seeing coming conflict in his computerised crystal ball. At first the information or 'intelligence' for his experimental system was restricted to collecting clippings from the *Times* and the *New York Times*, and filing them under different headings. These showed whether nations were talking, fighting or cooperating. While on face value the basic data seemed flimsy, the two newspapers, particularly the London *Times*, had a great tradition of covering events sometimes with greater depth and accuracy than government intelligence agencies, for reporters could often go where MI6 and the CIA could not. The scores of categories were collected from these papers and then programmed into the computer where they could be seen as trends on a graph. By linking all the categories such as 'force', 'request', 'deny',

'demand', 'warn', 'threaten', which showed the relationship between certain nations over several years, it was possible to learn something from the peaks and troughs. When the bumps on the graph were spotted, the theory went, potential areas of trouble could be isolated. This was about as far as it could go in the university computer room. However, some useful indications emerged from those basic patterns. For example, Beal was excited by the fact that if the US Government had been using such a system, it may well have been able to predict the surprise attack on Israel by Egypt in the Yom Kippur War of October 1973. He saw the possibility of taking the WEIS concept to a highly sophisticated level so that coming wars could be accurately predicted and acted on. This became Beal's academic speciality, and he spent much of the 1970s developing his ideas about predicting and 'managing' crisis, especially as a Professor at Brigham Young.

Then a major break came in 1980 when Dr Richard Wirthlin asked him to join a select squad of Mormons who were secretly programming Ronald Reagan's bid for the Presidency. Wirthlin, a close friend of the former actor and Governor of California, was in charge of the Republican campaign's planning and strategy from February until November. As such he was the person most responsible for Reagan becoming President. The pay-off for this success was the appointment of many campaign supporters to important jobs in the White House. Wirthlin himself remained happily outside government with a more than one million dollar a year contract to advise the President and the Republican Party, and it was he who asked that Beal be given a special place inside the White House. Reagan agreed, and a totally new office — Planning and Evaluation — was set up. It put the young academic very close to the seat of power as a special adviser to the President. This began well for Beal and he took part in some of the major planning by the White House including the US's confrontation with Libya in the Bay of Sitre in August, 1981, in which two Libyan jets were shot down.

After a year, however, Beal's over-zealous activity and inexperience in government saw him in conflict with others around Reagan such as White House Chief of Staff, James Baker. Beal's problems were, in part, attributable to his faith: he took his role in government very seriously and adhered strictly to the Mormon Church's Doctrine of the Covenants, which dictated that 'All men should uphold their governments... governments were instituted of God for the benefit of men.' Inextricably bound to this was his total, almost blind dedication to Reagan, who happened to be well disposed to the Church's views in all

main issues. Beal's dedication caused him to become precipitately involved in trying to see that some of Reagan's more extreme aims were achieved, and this brought him into conflict with some of the more moderate staff in the White House.

At the depth of his trouble, Beal seriously considered returning to teach at Brigham Young, but in October 1982, William Clark, then Reagan's security advisor, asked him to join the National Security Council (NSC). Clark knew of Beal's expertise in crisis management, and he encouraged him to create a computer system which could be relied on to give Reagan answers and options in times of international, and even internal strife.

Clark was what the White House described as a 'passive' administrator, which was a euphemism used to hide his ignorance of international politics. At the time of his appointment to the Reagan administration, Clark candidly admitted: 'I

It's difficult for us to comprehend how someone who thinks that Armageddon may be brought about by nuclear war could be put in charge of the technology for starting it.

don't know any more about the subject (of foreign affairs) than any casual reader of *Time* and *Newsweek*.' Emphasis should be placed on 'casual', to understand the sudden elevation of Beal to a position of prominence in foreign policy concerning crisis.

By May 1983 the system, using the six computers, scores of terminals, General Electric scanners and processors, was in place within a short walk from Beal's office. The scanners could 'read' and electronically edit intelligence coming, in standard form, from all US Government sources worldwide. The CIA, the NSA, the military and State Department would be sending input to the system. WEIS had come a long way since the primitive days of newspaper cuttings, although reliable information from journalists would still be used in the new advanced system. When the huge amount of data arrived daily the processors and scanners would strip away excess words to the bare essentials and store the information on computer. A message would appear on TV terminal screens telling the users that filing had taken place. The detail could be flashed up instantly if requested.

Beal aimed to link and synthesise information so he could monitor trouble spots

anywhere in the world, whether they be the China-Vietnam border, the Iran-Iraq war, Beirut or Belfast. The strategist hoped that by the second half of 1983 the President would not just be relying on data coming individually from the military, the CIA, or the NSA. The National Security Council would have the capability to integrate and sift all the data coming into the White House — in keeping with the NSC's true role — so that the Commander-in-Chief (Reagan) could press a button and see the options at his disposal in a crisis. Beal in fact did not want the system to produce just summaries. He was determined to introduce computerised maps of the trouble spots which would allow the President to make an instant decision on, for instance, where an invasion force might be landed. This visual data would be supplemented by satellite photos and other data which could make or break a mission. Beal was particularly concerned with the failure of the US military to free the hostages in Iran. In his opinion, if some of the top level decision-makers had had a better understanding of the distances, the soil topography and conditions in general, the rescue mission might have been successful. Yet the strategist's ambitious project was not merely aimed at presenting military options to the President. He wanted the Commander-in-Chief to push one button and see the problem, and then be able to push another and see all the economic, cultural and political conditions connected with the troublespot.

Suppose the President was thinking of invading a country near the US border because he believed it posed a threat to America's national interest. The computer system would be able to present the President with instant details of actions which could put economic pressures on the country rather than invading it. He could also see the political ramifications of a decision to invade, such as the effect diplomatically on allies and enemies. Beal's aim was to avoid the President being backed into a corner and left thinking he had just one military option open to him in the event of a crisis requiring immediate decisions. The strategist's idea was to provide quick diplomatic and trade options which could possibly avoid confrontation and military risks.

The same principles were to apply to internal US crisis, and Beal has been asked to monitor the potential troublespot of the 1984 Olympics. In 1983, those in charge of security were preparing for it as if they were certain of a terrorist attack. The Olympic Law Enforcement Coordinating Council began cooperating with Beal and the President. 27 subcommittees in charge of everything from intelligence to communications were set up. If the worst happens, as it did in Munich in 1972 when Israeli athletes were taken hostage, Reagan will be better prepared than any previous leader of a nation hosting an Olympics.

When Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was murdered in Grenada last year, the Crisis Management Center had been running for

just a few months. It had been monitoring developments on the tiny Caribbean island ever since becoming operational, and the system was ready for its first big test. Beal was summoned back to the OEB on the night of October 19 by NSC boss McFarlane as the US considered plans for invasion. No one in the computer crisis team except Beal knew action was likely and he kept it to himself, for secrecy was vital for a successful attack on the island. Through the night and well into Thursday 20, data started building up in the crisis system from terminals linked to other areas of government such as the CIA, State and Defence Departments, which in turn gathered data from satellite links to military, diplomatic and CIA sources, particularly in the Caribbean. The crisis computers distilled pertinent details about Grenada, including information concerning its armed forces, constitution, economic and trade conditions, culture and — most important to the President — the number and location of American citizens. Late in the day Reagan asked Vice President Bush to convene a Special Situation Group which was to meet in the OEB. Based on the intelligence at hand, the decision was made to prepare for invasion and it was agreed that the US should let the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) know that it was willing to use force to restore order and protect American citizens. All these states were concerned that the new extreme-leftist regime that had taken over in Grenada posed a threat to them. It was not difficult therefore to get them to 'ask' the US to invade Grenada, and also to supply a token force to accompany the Americans on their mission. The invitation from OECS came in the early hours of Saturday 22 October and was received by Secretary of State George Shultz at Augusta National Golf Club in Georgia. Reagan was informed and pictures of the Commander-in-Chief in his pyjamas being briefed by Shultz were taken to authenticate the well-staged moment. They had ostensibly been at the Golf Club for a relaxing weekend.

Beal was awakened at 4am by a call from Bush's office and was asked to report in person immediately. He found the OEB a hive of activity as pressure built for action in the Caribbean. The vice president and McFarlane wanted a wide range of intelligence regularly supplied to them. McFarlane had been in the top NSC job only a week after Reagan had posted Clark to the Department of the Interior, and the 45-year-old former marine Colonel was concerned to cover all contingencies, and not let the focus on Grenada neglect potential problems elsewhere. He was well aware that an inadequate performance now could finish his promising career.

The first test came when a gunman took hostages at the Gold Club's pro shop, a half mile from where the President was playing a game with Shultz. Reagan was informed that the man wanted to speak with him. McFarlane quickly ascertained

that this 'drunken gunman' was not, according to the crisis system, part of a wider plot or disturbance. The President still had a green light for Grenada if he wanted to make the final decision to invade. Everyone at the clubhouse breathed a sigh of relief.

'As if we didn't have enough on our hands,' Reagan said to McFarlane.

Early the next morning a far more serious event occurred when a Mercedes pick-up truck packed with explosives was driven into the US Marine HQ building, in Beirut. The collision at the front entrance killed 250 marines. Within minutes the horror story was flashed to the Crisis Center. Beal, who like the President was having little or no sleep, was again on his way into the OEB in the middle of the night. The next few hours were spent in urgent telephone conversations with Beirut, Paris, London and Washington. Reagan now had second thoughts about the Grenada invasion. 'Could we be in danger of

Could we be in danger
of having too much
blood on our hands?

having too much blood on our hands?' an aide asked him.

McFarlane could see no logical reason for not going ahead with Grenada unless the Crisis Center found some new piece of intelligence which would deter action. By 9am on Sunday 23 October, when Reagan, Shultz and McFarlane were back in Washington for a special meeting of the NSC — this time in the Situation (or War) Room in the White House basement — the intelligence from Beal indicated that world conditions had been stable since the Beirut Massacre. The military was prepared for the Caribbean assault. All through the night, the computer system had read, rejected, sifted and synthesised intelligence from innumerable sources worldwide, and McFarlane was confidently able to tell Reagan that events were 'under control and manageable.'

At midday during the height of the tension, Beal was in the Cordell Hull Conference Room next door to the computer suite when he suddenly announced to two of the crisis group: 'I've got to be away for three hours, and no-one will be able to contact me.' When asked where he was going, Beal replied, 'Church with my family.' Being Sunday, only one thing came above his commitment to his

President and his country, that was worship to his God at the gleaming white Mormon Washington Temple. Beal intended to pray hard for the good judgment of himself and his President, and the smooth operation of the computer system.

As more timely data filtered through from the Crisis Center during Sunday, Reagan firmed on a final decision. At six pm he signed an order which put the invasion plan into action. Operation 'Urgent Fury' was underway. Once the American forces were on the island early on Tuesday 25 October, the computer again played an important role as intelligence from Grenada and all over the world flowed into the system, and succinct summaries were passed to the President.

The speed and precision of the system and the breadth of data, which included reaction from allies and enemies, allowed Reagan to stay on top of events which ranged from military to diplomatic and public relations decisions. Just two days after the invasion, the President was able to go on TV in prime time to the nation and the world and do his familiar and effective 'selling' of the operation. Reagan kept it simple. 'Grenada,' he said, 'was a Soviet Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy.' Then he added theatrically, 'We got there just in time.'

Polling surveys quickly indicated that Reagan had great support for his action and on Friday 28 October, McFarlane visited the Crisis Center to thank Beal on behalf of the President for the 'timely and vital data' that had come to him at the most critical times in the week of high pressure. Shaking hands with Beal, the National Security Advisor said, 'That's the first time in American history that a crisis has been truly managed.' Traditionally all the heads of departments such as the CIA, Defence and State had jealously guarded their intelligence and data from one another. Now for the first time all information had been channelled to the National Security Advisor, allowing him to monitor — via the system — the whole spectrum of events on the President's behalf. This significantly increased the control and speed of the invasion and its aftermath.

Although unaware of the secret technology behind the decision, sections of the stunned and surprised world press were unconvinced when they came to review the speedily executed affair. Some saw it as too hasty, others saw it as unnecessary. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 (when the Soviet Union tried to place their nuclear warheads on Cuba aimed at the US) was cited warily as a conflict where decisions made too fast could have led to a deadly confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Commenting on that crisis, the then Secretary of State, George Ball, wrote: 'Had we fixed on a response during the first 48 hours we almost certainly would have made the wrong decision.' Crisis planners, he said, must '... carefully examine all the consequences and look far beyond the initial action.' At first, the planners in 1962 assumed

CRISIS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 49

the US would have to take direct military action. In the early moments of that 13 day affair, President Kennedy described an air strike on the missiles already on Cuba as something 'we're certainly going to do.' But as time, diplomacy and discussion took their course, other options emerged which placed military action down the list.

Yet despite this justified and inevitable press skepticism, the crisis computer system, which in this case significantly helped facilitate the operation from invasion to diplomacy afterwards, is here to stay. The success of the Grenada exercise in the eyes of the key White House planners has ushered in a new era in world international politics. O—■

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(Roland Perry's book, *The Programming of the President*, was published in May, by Aurum press. It chronicles the dramatic rise to prominence of America's new power brokers, focussing on the titanic struggle between the key strategist behind Ronald Reagan — Dr Richard Wirthlin — and the mastermind behind the rise from obscurity of Jimmy Carter and Gary Hart — Patrick Caddell.)



Doctor Beal and Roland Perry go into detail



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(OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN OF DÁIL ÉIREANN)

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(DUBLIN 2)

18th June, 1984

The Honourable Michael Deaver,
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President of
the United States of America,
White House,
Washington D.C.

File

Dear Mr. Deaver,

I wish to thank the President for his kindness in presenting gifts to our Parliament and to myself. They will be treasured by us as reminders of a memorable occasion long after the excitement of the visit has died down.

I would ask you to convey to the President and Mrs. Reagan our kindest regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Tom Fitzpatrick

Tom Fitzpatrick
Chairman of Dail Eireann.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1984

See

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: J. DOUGLAS HOLLADAY 

SUBJECT: The Relationship of Religion to Politics
in America

Boston sociologist Peter Burger claimed that for most Americans religion was "... privately engaging yet socially irrelevant." A decade ago this statement was a fairly accurate assessment of Christian activism in America. The following seeks to explore the important relationship of Americans with religious faith to the contemporary political environment. This data was assembled for the purpose of better understanding the Christian world's emerging political and social consciousness and strength, a new phenomenon of the last ten years.

I. How religious are the American people?

Historically, religion has been an important force in the public and private lives of Americans. Toqueville's observations in the 1830's are equally valid today: "The religious atmosphere of the country was the first thing that struck me on arrival..." Or more recently, the Connecticut Mutual Study of 1981 noted: "We are not so much a nation of rich or poor, male or female, of even liberal or conservative. Rather, we are increasingly a nation with different levels of religious commitment, ..." We are indeed a religious people.

Consider the following:

- 45 million Americans (26% of the 174 million Americans 14 and older) describe themselves as "intensely religious" (Connecticut Mutual Life 1981).
- 3 out of 4 adults describe themselves as religious (Connecticut Mutual Life 1981).
- 3 in 5 Americans say that religion is important in their lives (Gallup 1982).
- 1 in 6 adults read the Bible daily (Gallup 1982).
- 51% of adults think religion will be more important in their lives 5 years hence (Gallup 1982).
- 69% of Americans state that religious faith is the most important influence in their lives (Gallup 1982).
- 9 out of 10 Americans state a religious preference (59%-Protestant, 28%-Catholics, and 2%-Jews), (Gallup 1982).
- The Baptist denomination is the largest protestant affiliation -- 19% of the total adult populace -- The Methodists are second with 10% (Gallup 1982).
- Number of Evangelicals
 - 30-65 million evangelical Christians in America (Newsweek 9/15/80).
 - 17% of our adult populace identify themselves as evangelicals (27 million adults), (Gallup 1982).
 - 60-80 million evangelical Christians in America (Christian Voice 1983).
- 1/4 of adult populace claim to lead a "highly Christian life" (Gallup 1982).

- Amount of money given to churches in 1981...\$24.85 billion (Gallup 1982).
- There are 336,281 churches in America, consisting of 134,816,943 members, (7 of 10 Americans claim membership in a Church or Synagogue), (Gallup 1982).
- 41% of the Church members attend services each week (Gallup 1982).
- 40% of Americans participate in a regular religious meeting outside of formal worship (Gallup 1982).
- 13.3. million Americans watch religious programs (1984 University of Pennsylvania School of Communications Poll).
- 32% (1/3) of Americans say they have watched religious programs on television within the last 7 days (Gallup 1982).
- There are 1300 Christian television and radio networks and stations.
- 83% of adults favor religious instruction for youth (Gallup December 1981).
- Half of all teens attend church weekly (Gallup Youth Survey 1981).
- Breakouts: 174 million American adults
 135 million church members
 50-80 million evangelicals
- Less than half the public (44%) attend church frequently, yet 3/4 (74%) consider themselves to be religious.
- Southerners are twice as likely as Northerners to be highly religious (35% versus 17%), while people from the Midwest and the West fall between these 2 extremes (28% and 22% respectively).
- Blacks are far more likely to be highly religious than whites (42% versus 25%).
- Women are more inclined than men to be highly religious (34% versus 19%).
- Those with lower, rather than higher incomes are more likely to be highly religious (33% versus 19%).

- Those with lower, rather than higher, levels of education are more likely to be highly religious (32% versus 18%).
- Moral Majority - 2 million members (1980)

II. Reasons for the re-emergence of Religious America (Connecticut Mutual Survey)

- "Owes itself... to the uncertainties and dilemmas of modern existence in a society saturated with choices."
- Desire for order and roots.
- Reaction to the permissiveness of the 60's.
- "Bewildered by the confusion of the present, large numbers of citizens now find solace in the firm convictions of their ancestors."

III. Where evangelicals stand on the issues.

1. Traditional Values

"In the end, however, the nation saw an overwhelming victory for President Reagan -- a candidate who, our survey suggests, was not elected for his known and admired qualities, but rather, it would appear, because he was successful in sounding a 'call to faith' in traditional American values" (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

"... most religious citizens demonstrate that a return to traditional certainties is one way to forge a sense of community" (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

64% favor excluding homosexuals from teaching in public schools (Gallup).

"It is this special combination of political turmoil and economic decline that makes the swelling support for traditional values... so compelling as a contemporary concern" (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

"Most of our people voted for traditional family values" (Jerry Falwell, U.S. News and World, 11/17/80).

2. The Family

The most religious are far more likely than the least religious to say it is very important to do things as a family group (93% versus 58%), (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

9 in 10 (92%) Americans say they would welcome "more emphasis on traditional family ties" (Gallup 1982). The figure for evangelicals is even higher: 96%.

"This report clearly demonstrates that it is via religious commitment that some Americans have been able to retain their faith in family, community, work, and in the American political process" (Gallup 1982).

A majority of Americans feel that it is very important to do things as a family unit (74%). Those identified as religious are even higher: 93%.

3. Tuition Tax Credits

A clear 52.8% - 37.1% of the Torrance sample support tuition tax credits for parents who "chose to send their children to private or parochial schools" (Torrance Survey 1983).

White evangelicals showed a strong 53.9% - 36.2% preference for tax credits while black respondents opposed those credits by a margin of 7 percentage points (48.5% against, 41.2% in favor), (Torrance Survey 1983).

The more important religion is in a respondent's life, the more likely he or she was to support tuition tax credits.

Tuition Tax Credits

Evangelicals	Fundamentalists
Strongly favor	
37.6	44.7
Favor	
15.2	11.2

4. Equal Rights Amendment

Evangelicals generally support the ERA by a margin of two-to-one (55.5% - 26.2%), (Torrance Survey 1983).

5. Abortion

Should be illegal, all circumstances	27.3%
Should be illegal, some circumstances	39.1%

Those respondents who favored outlawing abortion completely tended to be older and have less formal education. They also tended to have a lower family income. While evangelicals are split on the legality of abortion, there is general agreement that government funds should not be used to pay for abortions for those

who cannot afford them.

While 47% of all evangelicals favor a ban on abortions, 52% oppose any limitation on abortions (Gallup 1982).

Abortion

Evangelicals

Fundamentalists

Oppose under all circumstances

23.8

23.9

Abortion should be allowed

50.0

53.8

6. The "Work Ethic"

Americans frequently feel that they do their jobs well (91%), (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

Americans find their work interesting (73%).

Americans believe their work contributes to society (68%).

Americans feel a dedication to their jobs (76%).

(Demographic factors do not distinguish the most satisfied worker from the unsatisfied. Men and women, those with lower or higher levels of education and income, blacks and whites, old and young, and blue-collar and white-collar workers all show striking similarities in their feelings toward their work.)

The most religious Americans are more likely to feel a sense of dedication to their work (97% versus 66%).

66% of the populace would welcome more emphasis on working hard (Gallup).

7. Increased Spending for Social Programs

The nation is divided over this issue, yet among evangelicals 50% oppose increased government spending on social programs (Gallup 1982).

8. Pornography

86% of all evangelicals favored tougher pornography laws (Gallup 1982).

77% of the general populace favor tougher pornography laws (Gallup 1982).

The most religious are much more likely to find pornographic movies immoral (87% versus 46%), (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

9. School Prayer

The evangelical sample was in almost total agreement on the subject of school prayer. A huge 91.4% of the sample thought that "voluntary prayer should be allowed in the public schools," while only 5.8% disagreed. In July, a 1983 Gallup Poll found that 81% of the adult population, irrespective of any religious affiliations, favored prayer in schools. Interestingly, 79% of whites and 91% of non-whites supported the amendment.

Voluntary Prayer in Public Schools

Evangelicals	Fundamentalists
Strongly favor	
76.9%	78.7
Favor	
14.8	14.2

10. Nuclear Freeze

The total evangelical sample was split almost evenly between those favoring a freeze on Soviet and American nuclear weapons "even if that means the U.S. has slightly fewer weapons" (Torrance Survey 1983).

11. Defense Spending

When evangelicals were asked whether the United States should increase or decrease the amount of money spent on defense, a narrow 39.3%-33.4% plurality supported greater defense spending. Support was greatest throughout the South. The differences between the sexes is relatively moderate. (Torrance Survey 1983).

Defense Spending

Evangelicals	Fundamentalists
Strongly increase	
27.2	35.5
Increase	
12.1	9.1
Unsure	
27.3	27.4
Decrease	
11.2	8.6
Decrease Strongly	
22.2	19.3

12. El Salvador and Central America

Evangelicals showed surprising levels of support for the sending of military support or foreign aid and advisors "to El Salvador and other Central American countries in order to stop the spread of communism". Evangelical respondents opposed sending American troops by a surprisingly narrow margin (44.0%-39.4%) (Torrance Survey 1983), but one third of those opposing troops indicated that they would support military aid and military advisors to Central America.

IV. Priorities for Evangelicals

Most Important Things to Change (Specific Issues)

1. Prayer in School	9.7%
2. Help Unemployed	7.4%
3. Abortion	6.3%
4. Taxation	6.0%
5. Moral/Social Issues	3.6%
6. Nuclear Arms/War	3.3%
7. Economy	
8. Education/Schools	2.9%
9. Reform Welfare	2.7%
10. Religious Influence	2.6%

Most Important Things to Change (General Categories)

1. Social Issues	23.9%
2. Economy	19.2%
3. Foreign Policy	8.0%
4. Crime	4.1%
5. Help Needy	
6. Honesty/Integrity/ Clean up D.C.	3.8%
7. Schools/Education	3.7%
8. Reform Welfare	2.7%
9. Environment	0.6%
10. Don't Know/Nothing	21.3%
11. Other	8.6%

V. Party Affiliation of Evangelicals (Torrance Survey 1983)

Registered Democrats	52.9%
Registered Republicans	33.3%
Independent	11.4%

Party registration is not directly related to religiousness. The traditionally important variables of education, occupation, income and race explained the partisan division of evangelicals.

How evangelicals voted in the 1980 Election

44.1%	Reagan
32.7%	Carter

Democratic candidates draw support from evangelical voters and from the various categories of highly religious Christian voters. These voters have long identified themselves as Democrats, and the Republican Party must provide them with an important reason to crossover and vote Republican, or else many Christian voters will continue to vote according to their tradition and history.

VI. Evangelical Religion's Bearing upon Politics

Evangelicals are a good deal more conservative in their religious ideology than they are in their political philosophy (Gallup).

<u>Evangelicals</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Politics</u>
Total Right	69%	58%
Far Right	42%	20%
Moderate Right	27%	38%

Political Philosophy (Gallup)

	<u>Far Right</u>	<u>Substantially Right</u>
Mainline Protestants	4%	9%
Evangelical	3%	10%
	<u>Moderately Right</u>	<u>Slightly Right</u>
	23%	17%
	25%	18%
	<u>Center</u>	<u>Slightly Left</u>
	10%	11%
	10%	11%
	<u>Moderately Left</u>	<u>Substantially Left</u>
	9%	3%
	10%	2%
	<u>Far Left</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	3%	11%
	2%	9%

While 36% of the American people consider it important to work for the betterment of American society, 61% of evangelicals place extreme importance on this role (Gallup 1982).

Evangelicals: 1984 voter survey (Survey by V. Lance

Torrance & Associates, June 1983)

Ronald Reagan	47.0%
Undecided	19.2%
Walter Mondale	33.8%

VII. 1984 Election ProjectionsFundamentalists (Sample: N=197) Lance Torrance

Reagan	52.28%
Mondale	31.98%
Undecided	15.74%

Evangelicals

Reagan	47.0%
Mondale	33.8%
Undecided	19.2%

Among Biblical Literalists (N=405)

Reagan	40.99%
Mondale	36.54%
Undecided	22.47%

Reagan	35.80%
Glenn	41.73%
Undecided	22.47%

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

1. Those in the work force who earn less than \$20,000 annually are attracted to Ronald Reagan because of his emphasis upon traditional values, (family, school prayer, belief in God, etc.), even though their natural inclinations and cultural identification are Democratic. If the President de-emphasizes such concerns, they will invariably vote their pocketbook and tradition as Democrats. The religious route provides access into groups which historically have opposed the Republican Party.

2. Christians are not a monolithic block. Even evangelical Christians lack such uniformity. There are many subgroups and affiliations in the Christian world. Thus, there is little consensus on the issues. Yet there are several themes that would provide a rallying

point for the entire Christian world (135 million) -- the family, child pornography, school prayer, and belief in God to name only a few. A sizeable proportion (20%-25%) of the adult population are evangelical Christians. This constitutes a potential voting bloc much larger than blacks, hispanics or Jewish voters combined.

3. Conservative Christians are more prone to grassroots activism than any other group in the nation. While they will likely vote for Reagan, it is an open question as to whether they will actively work for him. (21.8% of the evangelicals who were registered volunteered time for a political candidate), (Torrance and Associates 1983). The most religious are far more likely to do volunteer work for a local organization (38% versus 6%), (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

4. An untapped source of support for Ronald Reagan is evangelicals within mainline protestant denominations. Many of them see themselves as moderates and therefore identify with Mondale rather than Reagan.

	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Mondale</u>
Evangelical Conservatives	56%	20%	25%
Evangelical Moderates (Torrance Survey 1983)	32%	24%	46%

This is an important target group: evangelicals within the mainline denominations.

5. The most religious Americans are far more likely than the least to believe that the vote is the main thing that determines how the country is run (64% versus 32%), (Connecticut Mutual Survey).

The most religious Americans are distinctly more likely than the least religious to vote in local elections (77% versus 49%).

6. Who elected Ronald Reagan

"I don't think any group can take credit. The religious community and the group which has become the 'new right' had a profound impact. The people that put Jimmy in, put Jimmy out. He ignored these people -- the conservatives and conservative Christians who put him in -- and they abandoned him. They turned the tide against him" (James Robison, television evangelist 11/17/80 U.S. News and World).

Who elected Ronald Reagan (cont.)
Post-election analysis 1980:

Harris... said that the key to the election (1980) rested in the hands of the 28% of the white voters who are "followers of the so-called moral majority TV producers".

CBN News -- New York Times Election Day surveys: white "born-again" Christians voted for Reagan over Carter by a 64 to 72 percent margin.

Christian Voice -- Registration Drive

1980 -- Christian Voice registered 2 million evangelicals.

1984 -- Goal is 5 million evangelicals.

"President Reagan had relatively little formal contact with religion until he came to public life, but he considers himself an "evangelical"... that community supported him in 1980, but is unclear how they will vote this year because they have been unhappy with the lack of legislative progress on a number of key evangelical issues such as school prayer, an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution and tuition tax credits..." (Charles Austin, Religious News Service 2/17/84).

7. The President should continue to address religious gatherings but use such occasions to discuss related themes that appeal to a wider range of Americans, e.g. the importance of the family, child pornography, traditional values, how curbing inflation has helped the poor, etc.



OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION

Washington, D. C. 20527

CRAIG A. NALEN
President and
Chief Executive Officer

June 25, 1984

Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

As the enclosed letter indicates, the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund has apparently contacted your office to see if President Reagan could keynote their annual dinner in Los Angeles on September 25.

I simply wanted to let you know that Cliff Whitehill (who wrote the enclosed letter), is the General Counsel for General Mills in Minneapolis. Besides being a principal spokesman for Hispanic issues, he is a very highly respected businessman and attorney on a national level. He is also a close friend and business associate of many years.

Obviously, Hispanic issues are receiving a lot of attention these days, and if the President's schedule permits, this function could be an important one. I simply wanted to assure you that this particular organization (and Cliff Whitehill) are both very much on the level.

Regards,

Craig A. Nalen
Craig A. Nalen

Enclosure

GENERAL MILLS, INC. • EXECUTIVE OFFICES • 9200 Wayzata Boulevard • Minneapolis, Minnesota

C. L. WHITEHILL
Senior Vice President
General Counsel and Secretary
Tel. (612) 540-3862

June 19, 1984

Mr. C. A. Nalen
Overseas Private Investment Corporation
1129 20th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20527

Dear Skip:

At a recent meeting of the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund, the Executive Director, Ernest Robles, informed the Board that President Reagan had received an invitation to be the keynote speaker at our annual dinner in Los Angeles on September 25, 1984. His office has advised us that the invitation will be seriously considered and there is a good likelihood of a favorable response if his schedule allows for a trip to California.

For your private information, at this time we are considering the nomination of the Chairman of the Board of Coca-Cola to receive the Hispanic of the Year Award. As I mentioned to you, this dinner is probably the most important recognition in California (and elsewhere) of the need for support of Hispanic college education and the success of the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund.

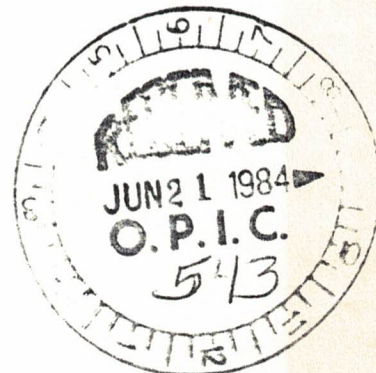
To give you further information on the Fund, I'm enclosing a copy of a draft of our first newsletter which will soon go to press.

Anything you can do to assist the President's office in reaching a favorable decision to our request will be sincerely appreciated.

Best regards,

CLW

CLW:gjk
Enclosure





NATIONAL HISPANIC SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Volume 1

Number 1

Newsletter

1984

NHSF 1983 Scholarships Reach \$400,000

The applications have been reviewed, the checks have been mailed, and by now, 652 outstanding Hispanic American Scholars representing every major field of study have directed the much-needed scholarship awards they received from NHSF toward meeting their academic goals.

Like the scholars it works to support, NHSF is consistently striving to improve its performance and judging by the awards made in 1983-84, this performance deserves a standing ovation. Through its generous contributors, NHSF was able to present \$400,000 in scholarships, a significant increase over 1982-83 awards which totalled \$350,000.

Significant growth has become a familiar pattern at NHSF. Dedicated to the single purpose of raising and awarding scholarships to outstanding Hispanic American students from every segment of the national Hispanic American community, NHSF has inspired the confidence of the major corporations of American business and industry. Not only has it inspired them to increase their support year after year, but it has broadened its base of core supporters to include a wide variety of corporations. Its varied support is in turn reflected in the awards made to students in a variety of disciplines where Hispanic students have been traditionally underrepresented.

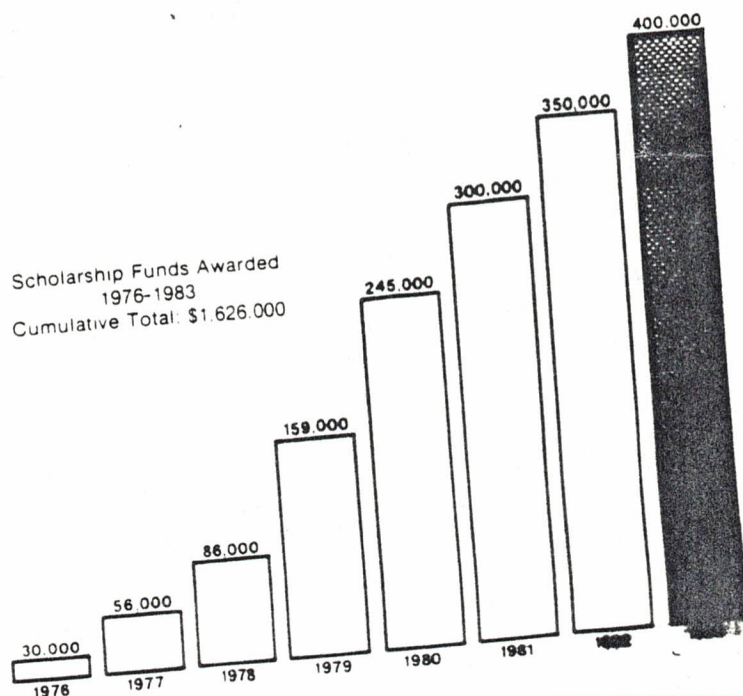
On September 25, 1984 NHSF supporters will attend the Fifth Annual

NHSF Awards Dinner at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, California. In addition to raising scholarship funds, the NHSF Awards Dinner traditionally recognizes and honors selected individuals who through their leadership have made major contributions to the Hispanic community. 1983 award recipients included the Honorable Toney Anaya, Governor of New Mexico; the Honorable Grace Montanez-Davis, Deputy Mayor of Los Angeles; and Mr. George F. Moody, President, Security Pacific National Bank. Mr. David E.

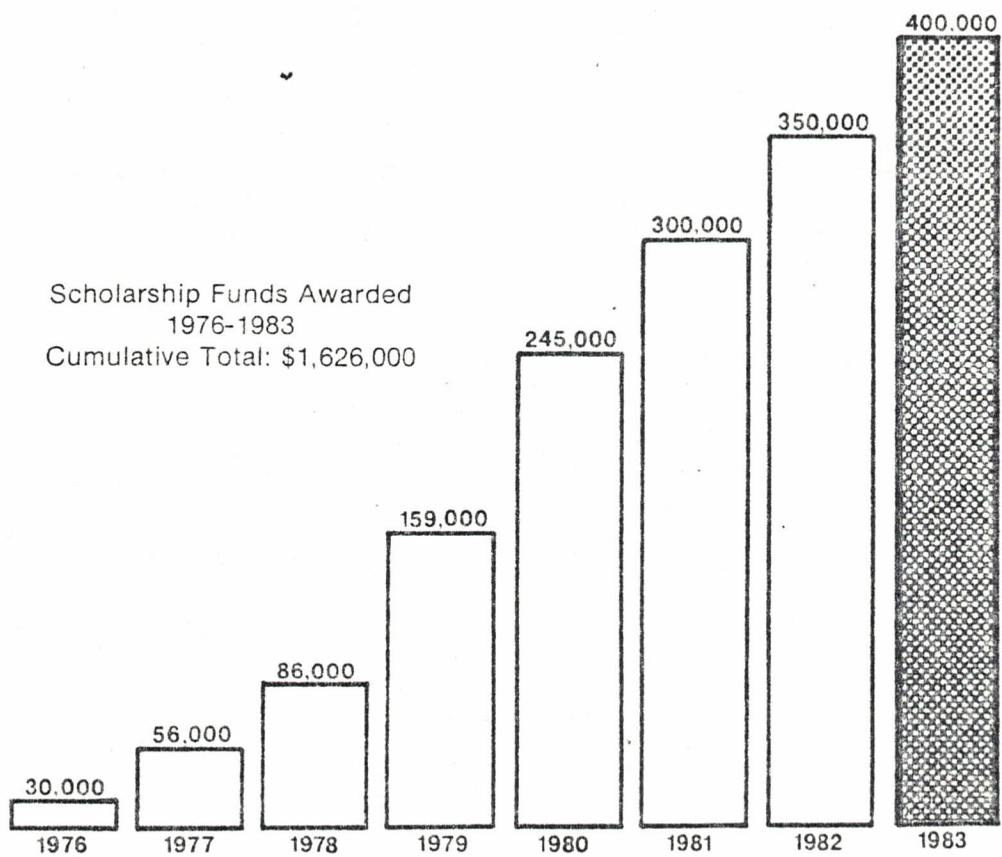
Anderson, President, General Telephone of California, served as Honorary Dinner Chair.

NHSF is pleased to announce that Mr. Manny Caldera, President of AMEX Systems, Inc. and longtime NHSF supporter will serve as Honorary Dinner Chair for this year's awards dinner.

Encouraged by last year's generous contributions, the NHSF Board of Directors looks forward to supporting the academic endeavors of even more outstanding Hispanic students in 1984-85.



Scholarship Funds Awarded
1976-1983
Cumulative Total: \$1,626,000



NHSF Scholar Named Rhodes Scholar

Catherine Kisse Sandoval, NHSF scholarship recipient for two consecutive years, was among 31 American students named to the prestigious Rhodes Scholarship Program. She was selected from approximately 1,200 applicants in the United States competing to participate in the scholarship program which provides transportation, academic and living expenses during two years of study at Oxford University in England.

Since it was first announced that she holds the distinction of being the first Mexican American woman to be named a Rhodes Scholar, Cathy's life has been a whirlwind of receptions, interviews, and speaking engagements. Even so, she managed to complete her senior year at Yale as a Scholar of the House earning straight A's in her course work. On May 28, 1984 she was graduated Magna Cum Laude and her project on Hispanic education was being considered for distinction in the major and for the William Clyde DeVane Prize for the Outstanding Scholars of the House Project.

Successful Return to College

Along with holding these two prestigious and elite distinctions, Cathy proudly speaks of another major accomplishment in her life which she wishes to share with Hispanic students. Cathy would like students to know that her academic success did not follow a

straight course from high school through college graduation; that she left college for a while but returned to complete her studies with renewed commitment and rewarding results.

Personal Quest

In the second semester of her freshman year at Yale, Cathy made the decision to leave college to recuperate from some serious medical problems and to re-evaluate her academic and personal goals. Once at home in Montebello, California, the 17 year old college freshman began to regain her health. Cathy's personal quest led her to work in a Los Angeles law firm for the summer. In September she traveled to Cuernavaca, Mexico for the first time. It was there that she became fascinated with the study of ancient cultures. She remembers this period of her life as one of deep introspection but not depression. At first there were more questions than answers, but her exposure to new experiences helped develop her sense of confidence.

Parents' Support Important

Cathy credits her parents' supportive attitude during these critical months with helping her to more clearly define her goals and to regain the confidence which led her to return to Yale.

"They never told me I was a failure because I had left at the second semester. They never said I was wasting

time. They were understanding and they supported me."

Define Goals Early

Based on her experience, Cathy advises students, "to understand as soon as possible why you are in college and what you expect to get out of the experience. Then look for bases of support, but know that your support is really always within you."

Cathy thanks NHSF for designating her an NHSF Scholar during her last two years at Yale. Says Cathy, "I am very grateful to NHSF for the scholarship awards and I would like to help in any way that I can to support other Hispanic students in their academic endeavors."

NHSF Award Recipient Makes Her Own Contribution

1983 NHSF award recipient Margaret Lemell of Northridge, California was recently honored for making a significant contribution of her own.

A biology major attending California State University, Northridge, Margaret was honored by the Veteran's Administration Medical Center in nearby Sepulveda for contributing in excess of 10,000 volunteer hours of service through the center's Pre-Med Club. She was elected president of the club in 1983.

This dedicated young woman's academic achievements have also

earned her many honors and scholarships in addition to those she has received from NHSF. They include: a CSUN Honor and Achievement Medal, a 1983 Sepulveda VA Pre-Med scholarship, and an Academic Achievement Scholarship from the Associated Students, Inc. of CSUN. Named to the Dean's List in the Fall of 1982 and 1980, Margaret is currently a member of the Golden Key National Honor Society and Official Advisor to the Sepulveda Pre-Med Club.

Margaret is married and is the mother of one child. Upon graduation in 1985, Margaret plans to enter medical school.

**Margaret Lemell (center) receives
volunteer award**

NHSF Scholars

◆East◆

Dear NHSF:

I thought you might enjoy knowing that as of this date, I have been accepted to the following law schools for the 1984-85 academic year:

Harvard Law School
New York University Law School
Boston University
George Washington University
Cornell University
Tulane University

I'm sure you can understand my excitement over (being able) to choose between Harvard and New York University.

Thank you again for your time and consideration.

Very Sincerely,

Carmen Hernandez
New York, New York ◆

◆Southeast◆

Dear NHSF:

I would like to thank you for selecting me as a 1984 NHSF Scholar. Your recognition is truly appreciated and the award money will be used to pay for my fees during the coming academic year. I just finished my junior year at Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton with the help of your previous award. Again, thank you very much for helping me to achieve my goals.

Sincerely,

Ino Moraquez
Miramar, Florida ◆

◆Midwest◆

Dear NHSF:

I would like to thank you for having selected me as an award recipient. I have since started by senior year in medical school and your funding came at a very opportune time. Your support and assistance have been greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Edward P. Montanez
Omaha, Nebraska ◆

Dear NHSF:

This money comes at a very needed time in my academic career. I sincerely appreciate your assistance in helping me attain my goal of a medical doctor. Recently I was able to secure a residency in obstetrics and gynecology at Maricopa Medical Center in Phoenix, Arizona. The hospital primarily serves an indigent population of Hispanics.

I will keep in contact with your organization so as to help assist others as you have helped me.

Gerardo Carvos
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin ◆

◆West◆

Dear NHSF:

I am now attending the University of Utah, and have recently been notified of my acceptance to the University of Chicago to finish my undergraduate career. I have also applied to Harvard and Yale...After securing my BA (major philosophy) in June of 1986, I plan on continuing to law school.

With Gratitude,

Carlos M. Henry
S.L.C., Utah ◆

Dear NHSF:

I am very proud to receive a scholarship from NHSF; the money could not have come at a more opportune time.

In December I was awarded the Bachelor of Science degree in Engineering (Agricultural Engineering) and began work on my graduate degree. I expect to complete the Master of Engineering degree in September 1984. Much thanks to NHSF for making it possible for me to continue my education.

Debora Maria Moran
San Francisco, California ◆

◆Southwest◆

Dear NHSF:

I wish you could have seen my surprise and joy at receiving a scholarship check from NHSF! Since I continue to work half-time at the University of New Mexico Press...the check could not have arrived at a more propitious time.

Work on my dissertation entitled "Hispanic Weavers of North Central New Mexico: Social/Historical and Educational Dimensions of a Continuing Artistic Tradition" progresses well.

Sincerely,

Helen R. Lucero
Albuquerque, New Mexico ◆

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IN MEMORIUM

Dr. Tomas Rivera

The National Hispanic Scholarship Fund and the academic community lost an esteemed and beloved colleague on May 16, 1984, when Dr. Tomas Rivera, Chancellor of the University of California at Riverside, died of a heart attack at 48 years of age.

Dr. Rivera held the distinction of becoming the first Hispanic chancellor of a UC university and also the youngest person ever to that position in the UC system.

Born in Crystal City, Texas, Dr. Rivera received his bachelor's degree in education from Southwest Texas State University and a doctorate in romance languages and literature in 1969 at the University of Oklahoma. He began his career in education as a teacher in Texas secondary schools while studying for his advanced degree.

Dedicated throughout his life to promoting the highest standards of academic performance, Dr. Rivera joined the NHSF Board of Directors in 1980 to help develop more educational opportunities for Hispanic American scholars across the nation. An award-winning novelist, poet and distinguished scholar himself, Dr. Rivera strongly advocated the development of the scholar concept for Hispanic American students.

Dr. Rivera's legacy of dedication to excellence in education will live in the hearts and minds of Hispanic American scholars forever.

GTE Awards NHSF
\$35,000 Foundation Grant

NHSF is pleased to announce that it has received a special \$35,000 GTE Foundation Grant to launch an "NHSF/GTE Foundation Scholars" Program for outstanding Hispanic students in electrical engineering, mathematics, science, and business. The grant represents the largest single gift ever received by NHSF.

This program will focus national attention on Hispanic scholars excelling in fields of study where Hispanics continue to be underrepresented. Statistics reveal that in 1982 for example, Hispanics accounted for only 1.5 percent of all engineering graduates. The GTE grant will help significantly to improve these disparities and increase Hispanic participation in our ever advancing technological society.

Using NHSF criteria of academic achievement, leadership, personal strengths, and financial need, the program will award scholarships to engineering, math, science and business students at the following institutions:

University of Connecticut, Storrs
University of Florida, Gainesville
University of Illinois, Urbana
University of Texas, El Paso
University of California, Santa Barbara

The NHSF Board of Directors applauds the GTE Foundation for having the vision to be in the vanguard of the future. NHSF is proud to be working hand in hand with GTE to expand opportunities in higher education.

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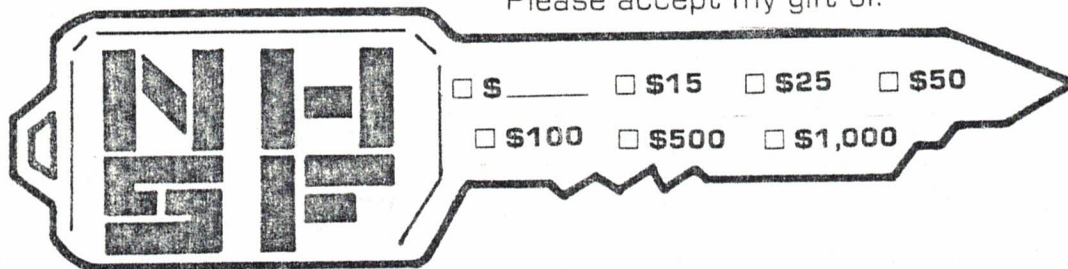


NATIONAL HISPANIC SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Your Support Is The Key To Our Success

☐ **YES**, I want to help NHSF increase scholarship support for outstanding
Hispanic American students.

Please accept my gift of:



THANK YOU ! Your support has helped increase the total annual NHSF scholarship awards from \$30,000 in 1976 to \$400,000 in 1984.
Please make checks payable to: NHSF Annual Fund