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WALSH AND LEVINE
COUNSELORS AT LAW
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NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016



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December 14, 1984

The Hon. Michael K. Deaver,
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I am enclosing an article I wrote for an Argentine magazine on the election. I've been the lawyer for Argentine Airlines and several of the state entities of Argentina for 25 years so I know the country very well.

I also have spent 50% of my life as a lawyer representing California institutions here in the east and sold the Union Bank to Standard Chartered Bank. I also am co-owner of the San Francisco Merchandise Mart and Clift Hotel so I know California.

I thought this article might interest you.

Very truly yours,



Laurence W. Levine

LWL-JG

Enc. Analysis

FOOD PHARMACEUTICALS AND FARM CARTS
The 1985 Budget: A Delayed Balance
Natural Resources and The State
Cattle Stocks: How Many and What For?
Stagnation in the Metropolis
The Islands: Moorbeams From a Higher Lunacy
The Balance of Trade in Perspective

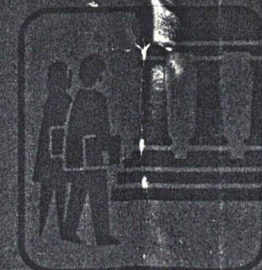
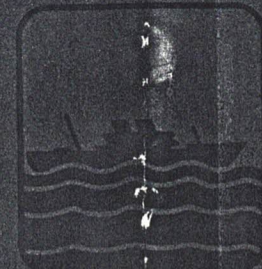
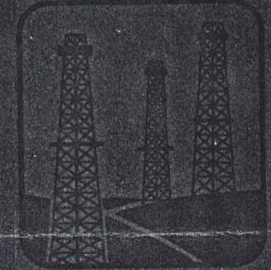
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REAGAN'S VICTORY ANALYZED

LAURENCE W. LEVINE

When I was in Argentina at the beginning of October, I told my friends and other people I met that Ronald Reagan would probably win the election by a very large majority and it might even be a landslide. I predicted he would carry 45 of the 50 states. Former President Carter, who had been in Argentina the week before, said Walter Mondale would win, and while I respected his devotion to his party, I think we knew that prediction was as big a dream as his seeing 12 foot rabbits while out fishing!

I thought it might be helpful to explain shortly why I think Reagan won and in an Argentine context as the nation relearns politics and democracy to understand the results for while the Democratic Party has a large majority of national registration, the country since 1952 has been governed most of the time by Republican Presidents. Eisenhower in 1952-1960 (two terms); Kennedy then beat Nixon by 150,000 votes and Kennedy-Johnson in 1960-1968; Nixon in 1968-72; Nixon-Ford in 1972-76; Reagan 1980.

Reagan, the ex-Democrat who co-founded and headed the Screen Actors Guild Union in California, won for the following reasons, in my opinion, in the order of importance:

1. — His personal style and personality. That above all is the most important. Many people have tried to say he is not smart, not intellectual, dumb, etc. But he has a personal style that we have not seen since FDR. He talks up, not down, to people, he makes them feel at ease. He listens. He has a smile that is not phony. And, he is the best communicator we have had since FDR.

2. — His attitude toward the country. Unlike Carter, who lectured us and preached to us about our faults, Reagan stresses the good things about the country and brings out the nationalism in us without going either to the left or to the right. Americans are centerists and they do not like extremists — right or left. Reagan or his advisors know that and he keeps a centerist line. A resurgence of pride in the country has taken place during his term and all the polls show that. And he is given credit for it. He has particularly captured the generally working class Democrats and Independents and as I explain later, the youth.

3. — The economic policies have been working — so far. Despite all the protests to the contrary and all the prophets of both parties that these deficits would cause a disaster, he has

lowered our tax rate (maximum now 50 per cent not 70 per cent), (capital gains taxes now 20 per cent, not 50 per cent). He has brought down inflation, boosted employment and factory usage to 90 per cent. The dollar is strong — some say too strong — and he has done it in a "non" Republican way — by deficit financing. But instead of having to print money to finance the deficit, dollars are financing it that are coming from the Eurodollar or domestic dollar market. Whatever the reason, as for now, just prior to election the economy was good. My own opinion is that the new administration has six months to either reduce the deficit through taxes or a new tax, or we shall see trouble. No country in the world has ever yet before been able to have these deficits for a long period of time and if they have to print money interest rates will rise. I do not believe that interest rates will fall further. The public was willing to give him a chance on his deficit financing. Reagan also insisted on lowering taxes.

4. — Leadership. Despite attacks to the contrary, Reagan has a good style of leadership. It is different than most Presidents. He's less of an activist and depends more on a team. He's like a football coach, he picks a good team and gives them the guidelines and the power to put them into order, and meets regularly with the team. Between him and his team, he has a younger group of assistant presidents that follow the detail and really run the show. His personality allows this type of operation. He trusts them. Most politicians are activists by nature and do not trust a staff with so much power. The American public did not mind that a good staff ran the day-to-day operation.

5. — He has appealed to the members of the Democratic Party. I'm going to explain in the next paragraph how the Democratic Party is in a shambles and how if they don't change, they are in for more trouble. But Reagan, an ex-Democrat, spent the last two weeks of the campaign, campaigning as an ex-Democrat among Democratic voters seeking their votes. And, he obtained 40 per cent of the so-called Jewish community; a good percentage of the ethnic Spanish, Puerto Rican and Black communities; and with that percentage the Democrats could not win. He used Harry Truman's train (and took it out of a museum to do it). He gave awards in the White House

for the Roosevelt, Humphrey, Johnson and Kennedy families — all Democrats.

6. — Foreign Affairs. Reagan enunciated a foreign policy that is pragmatic and real. People generally don't vote on foreign affairs. It generally, except in a war, has a low priority. They vote on the economy. The British kept Churchill in during World War II and voted him out in favour of the Labour Party as soon as the war was over, as pocketbook issues took over in importance. But despite the opposition of the New York Times and Washington Post, which still do not understand Reagan's personal appeal, he has pursued a policy of restrengthening the defense of the nation (some say He's spending too much and I agree) and outlining how the U.S. will react. The shooting down of two Libyan planes, arms to Egypt to stop Syria or Libya, assistance to Israel in Lebanon, the invasion of Grenada. I maintain that this has always had the support of the American people even if it has not had the support of the press and the election confirmed it. Americans know that they are the number one country in the world and although they do not like war, they do not like to be bullied.

7. — The last reason I give for his winning is the failure of the Democratic Party to run candidates that really represent the middle class of the country. The leadership does not understand the country. Ever since Adlai Stevenson's defeat by Eisenhower in 1956, the candidates have been very left of center and were nominated by the minorities in the U.S. who are very vocal but have few in number — according to the power that they exercise.

They claim to represent more than they really do. George McGovern was nominated by the youth of the nation led by Gary Hart as his campaign manager. The American people rejected him badly. He lost by nearly two to one. Kennedy won by a small amount and even he admitted that in a recount he might have lost. But he represented the center of the party even though he campaigned as a very great Liberal. Again, he had a personality that was hard to beat but he was a centerist. Carter ran on a moral ticket against the organisation which he said was corrupt and he gave Vietnam and Watergate as the two examples of the corruption of the system. When he came to Washington he refused to work with the leaders of his own party

saying that they had been against him and his Georgia team could do the job. They couldn't. Carter was the second President in power to be defeated. Hoover was the first. Now Mondale was nominated and he was the wrong candidate. Everyone will tell you that and did tell you that but he had for the first time in American political history, the backing of the major unions prior to a convention nomination. Without that he never would have been nominated.

The major American unions have traditionally backed the Democratic candidate and been a major source of finance and votes. But they waited for the convention to nominate a candidate. This time they designated Mondale before the primaries because without them, Hart would have won. They made a terrible mistake. The workers in the unions and the middle class did not like that. But the unions gave Mondale the money to win the primaries. He thought that with union backing he needed to win only the first four primaries and it was all over. Well he lost them and he nearly lost the nomination as the workers did not follow the leaders when they could vote secretly. Gary Hart had nearly as many delegates going into the convention as did Mondale. And, instead of picking Hart as his running mate which Hart expected and would have taken, Mondale remained furious at Hart for causing him all that trouble and he decided to choose a woman. I believe that Hart represented the very same youth he represented as McGovern's campaign manager 20 years ago, but now that youth was out working and they are now middle class America centerists. They voted for Reagan. They might have voted for Hart.

Mondale was nominated but made three mistakes, all in the same week of the convention, which I believe made it impossible for him to recover. First, he tried to fire Mr. Charles Mannett, the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mannett gathered all the major contributors that he had put together and they told Mondale that they wanted Mannett or else. Mannett stayed. But it showed poor judgement on Mondale's part. The second mistake was that Mondale wished to reward Bert Lance, the head of the Georgia Democratic Party who had raised \$ 4 million for Mondale and he nominated him to be the head of the campaign in the South. The rest of the party screamed and editorially all over the country, Mondale was vilified. Lance is that very capable man who was the gray eminence behind Carter. The trouble is that he was indicted and had to leave the government in disgrace. Even though he was never convicted, he had

little credibility outside of Georgia and to nominate him in face of all that history showed again — poor leadership. Mondale cancelled the nomination. The third mistake was the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro as Vice President. She was not Mondale's first choice. In fact, he did not like her and as the campaign wore on Mondale rarely mentioned her name. And during debate 2, Reagan boasted that George Bush was his Vice Presidential candidate and capable of taking his place in the event of an emergency. Mondale would not use her name in reply.

Mondale, after refusing to take Hart as his Vice Presidential candidate should have taken Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina. But the very local women's groups and Tip O'Neil, the leader of the House of Representatives pushed on the idea of a woman. Mondale said that if it was to be a woman, he wanted Diane Feinstein, the Mayor of San Francisco. But his aides said that a thrice married lady of excellent credentials married to a man in the real estate business, would not be accepted too well in a family orientated society. (Reagan has been divorced only once!) The fact that Feinstein is also Jewish did not really play a determining factor. Her husband's real estate business was a concern to the Mondale people. So he chose a lady that had campaigned for the job for a year. The trouble was that she never disclosed her personal interests and instead of being a poor lady from Queens, she turned out to be a partner of her husband's in the real estate business and among other things she forgot to pay a great deal of taxes and her husband suffered from adverse publicity on some of his deals and associates. (Exactly what they had feared from Feinstein). That publicity became worse as the campaign grew and instead of this being a great asset, she was a liability.

8. — I've told many people that the Democratic Party after World War II began losing its base of power — the middle class. Because of World War II, 20 million people left the cold east and midwest to be trained in bases in the south, southwest and west. After the war they wanted to live there and did not return home. In addition, because of the fear of German bombers, the major defense factories were moved to the States of Washington and California. Boeing from Brooklyn, New York to Washington. Douglas to California. The workers in the millions who went there never wanted to return and California, the home of the movies and the oranges became our defense state with ex soldiers and defense workers.

After the war, the blacks that had

emigrated north to work in the defense factories and experienced freedom and lack of bigotry never wanted to return home. And the Puerto Ricans in 1947, when given a certain type of independence, began migrating to the east to find work. So because of World War II, the entire ethnic pattern of the country changed. The west and southwest began as the new America and the eastern cities began getting black and Puerto Rican migration. Because of black immigration north, many northerners moved south and brought their business with them. So by 1968, when Barry Goldwater from Arizona ran as the first Conservative, he had an enormous following from the new middle class, mostly white. Since then 27 states of the south, southwest and west control our elections. All have voted Republican since 1968. That is the new middle America.

The Democrats have not recognized that and have not developed that constituency. They are still relying on the industrial northeast and the minorities but the minorities running the party rather than being a part of it with the middle class in control. The middle class do not like this.

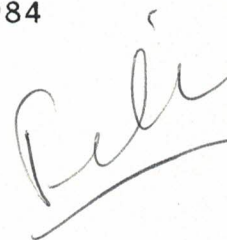
The Republican Party today is no longer the party of the oligarchs from the east and midwest. It is this new middle class whose fathers were Democrats. One look at Reagan's cabinet will show you that.

Nobody today can tell you if this is temporary or permanent change in American politics. The switch of the middle class to the Republican Party — or whether it is a phenomena of the Republican candidate Ronald Reagan — we will know more at the end of his second term and when we see who emerges as the candidate after Reagan and what direction the Republican Party takes. You will be able to follow all of this by watching five candidates that want to win in 1988. George Bush, the Vice President, who ordinarily has a lock in the nomination as the heir apparent. But Bush is originally from Connecticut and is a transplanted Texan. He is the candidate of the middle and still as of today is not completely trusted by the new so-called right. Senator Dole of Kansas who ran with President Ford as his Vice Presidential candidate and lost. He is Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, a powerful job. He is considered a person to the right of center. Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee, the head of the Senate, who is retiring now to spend the next four years campaigning to be the Republican nominee. He is considered the most experienced. And, Congressman Jack Kemp of Buffalo, New York, who is considered the most conservative of the lot.

Pumpkin Hill
Warner, New Hampshire 03278

December 13, 1984

Michael Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C.



Dear Mr. Deaver:

Your presentation on CBS-TV's "Night Watch" was excellent. The President is fortunate in the loyalty and effectiveness of his Deputy Chief of Staff.

Your Assistant William Sittmann has notified that my memorandum to you of November 15, 1984, based on my proposed "Reagan Peace Plan" of March 9, 1981 and recommending the creative initiative of a Christmas Eve Message of Peace and Goodwill to the tension-ridden Middle East, has received the consideration of appropriate members of the White House staff. I am disappointed that it will not be possible for the President to issue the message at this time.

Would you kindly take a few minutes to review the enclosed copy of the Addendum recently supplied to the White House Personnel Office. My record on behalf of Ronald Reagan, the Republican Party, and my country, the United States of America, is indicated.

As you have openings in senior positions in international relations, such as the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, I would appreciate an objective evaluation of the potential of my service in President Reagan's second term, when appropriately the emphasis will be the place of Ronald Reagan in history.

I do hope that sometime soon I can have the privilege of a personal interview with you and the President.

Sincerely yours,



FM/

Francis Maria

Enclosure: Addendum to Personnel File

P.S. Because of recent headlines, I trust that your advisors gave full weight to the favorable impact on our Economy and Budget, on mitigating terrorism and anti-Americanism, and on improving relations with the Soviet Union and with the third world, and on the political support of the great majority of citizens as well as the international community that would come with this peace initiative.

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ADDENDUM TO FILE OF FRANCIS MARIA, CANDIDATE FOR SENIOR LEVEL APPOINTMENT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PERSONAL

Francis Maria, Pumpkin Hill, Warner, New Hampshire 03278

Social Security Number: [REDACTED] b(6)

Date of Birth: January 1, 1913

POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

In credentials submitted to your office in 1981 early in the Reagan-Bush Administration, the following statement appears on page 2:

"Republican Party Service: longtime Republican Party worker on local, state, and national levels. Has contributed creatively to the growth of his party. Served in many national campaigns as Chairman of the Syrian/Lebanese American and later the Arab American Heritage Committee. Among the earliest supporters of Ronald Reagan's political candidacy."

Details and update follow.

1. Service to the Political Career of Ronald Reagan

Following Ronald Reagan's superb address on behalf of the candidacy of Senator Barry Goldwater for President, telegraphed Mr. Reagan urging that he become a political candidate to meet the needs of the Republican Party and the country. During the Reagan campaign for Governor of California, submitted creative suggestions through brother Albert Maria of LaHabra, California, who served with Ronald Reagan in the Army in World War II. Among these was "Creative Republicanism" which was later used by other Republican Candidates.

Was active in both Reagan-Bush campaigns on state (New Hampshire) and national levels (Nationalities Division, Century Club, Ethnics for Reagan-Bush, etc.). Had an affirmative role in the President's Peace Plan for the Middle East, submitting the memorandum of March 9, 1981, and lobbying with key Republican leaders for this historic and creative initiative.

Also, helped co-ordinate a significant lobbying effort by leaders in established churches in the U.S.A. in support of the President's courageous stand against the Moynihan-Lantos bills on the issue of the proposed moving of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. As a concerned Republican has been long urging the Reagan-Bush Administration to establish better relations and communications with the established churches and urging the Church leaders to effect initiatives in this desirable direction themselves.

Among the Blacks, the minorities and the religious groups, has taken advantages of opportunities to explain the objectives and policies of the Administration, and he feels strongly that historic progress toward justice and peace can be made by President Reagan during his second term.

2. Service to the Republican Party and to Republican Candidates

2. Service to the Republican Party and to Republican Candidates (continued)

Registered Republican and longtime worker on local (Lowell and Medford, Massachusetts and Warner, New Hampshire), state (Massachusetts and New Hampshire) and national levels. On all of these levels, worked for expansion of the party by appealing to unions, minorities and ethnic Americans.

During Senator Leverett Saltonstall's and Governor Christian A. Herter's re-election campaigns in Massachusetts, brought about significant labor and ethnic participation for the first time on behalf of Republican candidates and this historic advance became the basis of the national policy during the Nixon Administration, a policy which the Republican party has continued ever since.

During John A. Volpe's successful campaign for Governor of Massachusetts, applied his original concept of a "Human Relations Audit" to political polling and strategy and its unusual success began a new trend in political campaigning. His polling and political campaign recommendations for the Volpe 1960 campaign were the major contents of a book by Professor Murray Levin of Boston University entitled "The Alienated Voter".

According to Governor John A. Volpe, the failure of his re-election campaign to utilize the volunteer services of Frank Maria resulted in his defeat by the Democratic Party candidate Endicott Peabody. However, Governor Volpe made a successful re-election campaign bid in 1965 in which much use was made of Maria's political campaign experience and expertise.

Following the unexpected death of veteran Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers, Frank Maria's strategy, especially his creative suggestion of the slogan "Keep a Strong Voice in Congress", helped insure the success of candidate Congressman F. Bradford Morse and the continuation of the Massachusetts 5th District in Republican hands. The slogan "Keep a Strong Voice in Congress" later was copied and used by Republican incumbents.

Besides activity in both Reagan-Bush campaigns, has been giving much time to aid Republicans in the State of New Hampshire such as Governor John Sununu (two successful campaigns), Representative Judd Gregg (two successful campaigns for Congress) and Senator Gordon Humphrey (1984 successful re-election campaign).

Besides the successful Republican candidates already cited, has contributed to the political success of other well-known Republicans such as former Massachusetts Attorney General and U.S. Senator Edward W. Brooke and former Lt. Governor and Attorney General of Massachusetts Eliot Richardson.

POLITICAL REFERENCES

See page 3 of Addendum.

Political References

U.S. Senator Edward W. Brooke
1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
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TO THE WHITE HOUSE

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FOR MIKE DEEVER FROM COB BERN:
REGRET TO INFORM YOU THAT THE HOTEL MONT CERVAN IS BOOKED
DURING THE PERIOD 20-26 DECEMBER AS ARE MOST OF THE OTHER
MAJOR HOTELS IN ZERMATT. AN ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITY IS THE
HOTEL ALLALIN IN ZERMATT RATED FOUR STARS BY THE SWISS HOTEL
ASSOCIATION. WE HAVE PHONED THIS HOTEL AND TENTATIVELY BOOKED
THE FOLLOWING ACCOMMODATIONS PENDING REPLY FROM MR. CANZERI:
ONE DOUBLE ROOM AT THE RATE OF SWISS FRANCS 54 PER PERSON (RATE
INCREASES TO SF 75 PER PERSON FROM 22 DEC), AND ONE SINGLE ROOM
AT THE RATE OF SF 60 PER PERSON (RATE INCREASES TO SF 110 PER
PERSON FROM 22 DEC). WE HAVE ASKED THE HOTEL TO HOLD THESE
ROOMS A COUPLE OF DAYS FOR US FOR THE PERIOD 20 DEC UNTIL 26 DEC
(ASSUMING DEPARTURE ON 27TH) UNTIL WE HEAR FROM YOU.
JIM LAWLER SENDS PERSONAL HOLIDAY GREETINGS TO FORMER AMBASSADOR
FAITH WHITTLESEY.

UNCLASSIFIED



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION
Washington, D.C. 20503

December 14, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONNA BLUME
FROM: MICHELE M. ST. DENIS *masd*
SUBJECT: FACILITIES EXPENDITURES

Attached you will find the summary of your Facilities Expenditures for the month of November, 1984. This monthly total is summarized below, with both the expenditures and number of service requests.

For your records, GSA hourly labor costs for FY 85 are as follows:

Movers	\$12.90/hour
Craftsmen	\$19.06/hour
Sheet Metal Workers	\$20.57/hour

If you have any further questions or comments regarding this Facilities Summary or requests in general, please feel free to call me at (456)-7130.

TOTAL:

November: -0-

Attachments

Office of Michael K. Deaver
1F1/WW

file

file

MRS. TOBIN ARMSTRONG

December 12, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

file

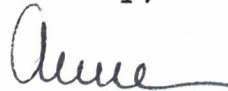
Dear Mike:

Thank you so much for sending me the photograph with its lovely inscription. It would take more time than you have for me to express what an absolutely superb job you have done in the first four years in earning the next, and I am sure in insuring that the great President continues the finest leadership our country has had in my memory.

Your accomplishments are all the more amazing -- and appreciated! -- because they are invariably associated with self-effacement.

Happiest of holidays, best of New Years to you and Carolyn, and with gratitude and admiration.

Sincerely,



Anne Armstrong

ARMSTRONG RANCH

ARMSTRONG, TEXAS 78338

John T. Hay
President



California Chamber of Commerce

to MKD
call Hay
→ 10/11/84

DB
why do
I have
this letter
addressed
to EM?

November 26, 1984

Copy to
Secretary
12/18
DB

Mr. Edwin Mæse III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

Please let me know what effort should be generated out here in your behalf for the Attorney General's position. I think you can now be assured of the Senate clearance but we don't want to leave one stone unturned. It will be great to have you there, and well-deserved I might add.

We're going to have a very large delegation of board members and spouses attend the inaugural events January 18-22. We have a Satellite Suite and 63 rooms reserved at the Washington Hilton. Anything you can do to get us some good inaugural tickets would be greatly appreciated. We'll have around 100 people. If you can secure any number for our use it would be most helpful. Enclosed is our 1984 "Leaders". Our 1985 line-up will be:

- Tom Paton, Chairman of the Board
- Jim Dickason, 1st Vice Chairman
- Howard Marguleas, 2nd Vice Chairman
- Jack Diepenbrock, 3rd Vice Chairman

Ed, I hope you and Ursula will be able to join our group at one of our get-togethers while we're in Washington. I'll keep you posted as events develop.

Best regards,

John T. Hay

JTH:jmc

Enclosure

(215) 676-2785

Maurice S. Dovberg
9889 Bonner Street
Philadelphia , Pennsylvania 19115

December 11, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Dever
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington , D.C. 20500

Attention : Deputy Chief of Staff Michael K. Dever :

Dear Mr. Dever :

My request is for an interview with you.


My situation is very special and rare. I have been advised, " Only the President can help you, you have already exhausted every possible approach, including four years of appeals to discuss this urgent matter with the Hon. President Ronald Reagan." Prior to the Election of 1984, I received a letter from a White House Aide telling me the President was too busy to grant me an interview. I accepted that, realizing that President Reagan was heavily involved with his re-election efforts and his campaign. As a constituent of President Reagan, I was happy for his victorious results to serve our nation for a second term as President and Executive Chief of State.

You will find our interview very important, timely, enlightening and nostalgic .

May I assure you, I am not a person who seeks publicity. With this Sincere and Personal assurance, I shall look forward to your invitation, and the pleasure of our interview.

With my very kindest personal regards, and my best wishes, I remain,

MSD/ dld

Sincerely,

Maurice S. Dovberg
Research Scientist , Inventor ,
Former National Business Administrator,
Economic Advisor, National Highway
Safety Causes - Technology Implementations
Life Saving Safety Standards .

MO saw
12/18
OZ

Joseph Verner Reed
Ambassador of the United States of America

Rabat, December 7, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver, Jr.
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike,

I am enclosing a letter of December 8 to the President which I plan to share with a few carefully chosen USG officials interested in Morocco.

Life and times in the Kingdom have been difficult enough since the Oujda Accord without the recent organized campaign to disrupt our efforts for America. My purpose in writing is therefore to set the record straight. You, on behalf of the President, were instrumental in my coming to this particular post and will, I hope, conclude that the "balance sheet" speaks for itself.

I look forward to seeing you when I get back for the Holidays. Do you have ten minutes on Tuesday, December 18?

With best regards,

Setup Appt.
Yes
No

P.S. The original of my letter to the President has been dispatched to the NSC.

Enclosures: As noted

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

Deaver, Michael: Files

Withdrawer

KDB 9/9/2011

File Folder

DECEMBER 1984 INCOMING (4)

25

F97-066/19

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13

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
118295	LETTER JOSEPH VERNER REED TO REAGAN RE MOROCCO	2	12/8/1984	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Tenure in Morocco: A Balance Sheet
1981 - to date

The Reagan Administration and the American Mission to Morocco have revitalized and restructured a dormant relationship. The United States has rebuilt a web of important ties with one of the first countries to recognize American Independence.

Milestones include:

- Establishment of a Joint Military Commission to oversee and rationalize military assistance.
- A military exercise program important to the readiness of U.S. forces in Europe which is our largest with any non-allied nation.
- An Access and Transit Agreement, signed in 1982, which gives the United States access to Moroccan bases in case of need.
- Opening of Moroccan ports to our Fleet, including over 60 major ship visits in the last three years.
- Establishment of a Joint Economic Commission to encourage trade, investment and coordinate economic assistance.
- Voice of America. Culmination of long, delicate and difficult negotiations to expand the VOA Station at Tangier into the largest broadcasting facility in the Free World, giving the U.S.A. a 25-year lease on this vital installation.
- 66 percent growth in economic assistance to Morocco from FY-81 to proposed FY-85 level.
- Restructuring military and economic assistance to take account of Morocco's staggering \$11 billion in foreign debt and maximize grants versus loans. Through constant pushing, grant aid has risen from \$29.2 million in FY-81 to a proposed \$85.25 in FY-85 or 65 percent of present military and economic assistance.
- A convention for cooperation in legal matters, the first signed by the United States with an Arab or African State.
- Establishment of the Moroccan/American Foundation on which President Reagan serves as an Honorary Co-Chairman, in this case with King Hassan.
- Creation of the U.S. - Moroccan Bi-National Commission, the first such Agreement entered into by the United States in thirteen years.
- Creation of close government-to-government ties through three visits of King Hassan to the U.S.A. and a working visit by the Prime Minister and senior cabinet members in February 1984. Nearly all senior Administration figures, except the President, have also visited Morocco (Bush, Shultz, Weinberger, Baldrige, et al).

Coda:

The Oujda Accord of August 13, 1984 has been and will be the test of these structures that have been put in place with the U.S.A. and Morocco. With careful management they will not only survive the 'marriage of convenience', but will strengthen with time. The greatest challenge, in three years, has been development of a nuanced diplomatic response to "union" with Libya to guard against overreaction or punitive measures against Morocco which could put the U.S.A.'s real, long-term interests in this strategic country at risk. To date, careful, behind-the-scenes diplomacy in Fes and, to an equal degree, Washington have kept the relationship on track in this delicate period.

12/1/84

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

19 December 1984

Dear Mr. Deaver;

In light of the fact that you are not receiving sufficient ideas and input as to how you should run the Inaugural I thought I should pass this on up the line for your consideration.

I shall be only too happy to introduce you to the authors of the enclosed document should you elect to put into play any of their ideas. This would allow you one on one contact in order to pick their brains for expanded data.

In light of time constraints I recommend that you contact NASA at your earliest convenience.

It goes without saying I shall be happy to assist in any way possible.

Very Respectfully


Billie B. Shaddix

Mr. Michael Deaver

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 16 December, 1984

TO: Billie B. Shaddix Director, Photographic Services
The White House, Washington

FROM: Ron Thompson
Nikon, Washington

RE: Inaugural Suggestions

Per your request for suggestions on Photo Ops for the Inauguration, please find attached a schedule resulting from interviews with various press personnel during the campaign and various stops during the debates.

These are merely suggestions aimed at permitting the event to equal-- in fact surpass-- events of the Long Hot Summer Of 1984.

A lot of details have to be worked out, but be aware various members of "The Roddey E. Mims Memorial Committee" have freely offered their time to this program.

If this crude outline is okay, please advise and we will begin detail planning immediately.

Of course, you can just say "to hell with it," and group will plan the normal conventional coverage of the event.

I am sorry this plan is offered so late, but please understand that the various committee members drink occassionally and it was hard to get them all sober at one time for consultation. I was involved only because I don't drink anymore. Please keep my name out of this whole affair, as I prefer to stay in the far, far background.

Soberly yours,



Ron

19 Jan 1985 2200 President and Mrs. Reagan depart Andrews Air Force Base for Cape Canaveral, FL.

19 Jan 1985 2215 President and Mrs. Reagan arrive Patrick Air Force Base. Reception and flight briefing.

19 Jan 1985 2245 President and Mrs. Reagan arrive Pad 39B and board Shuttle "Challenger." (If Challenger not working, substitute may be used, but name WILL BE changed to protect NASA credibility).

20 Jan 1985 0001 Challenger launches Presidential Inaugural party into orbit. (Night launch permits live viewing by residents of Southeastern U.S. Weather WILL BE clear. Launch WILL BE on time.

20 Jan 1985 1000 Presidential party continues inspection of craft and Whole Earth Survey. (Shuttle bay will be converted to White House area for receptions and all meals.

20 Jan 1985 _____ Private swearing in ceremony. Time is open to coincide with half-time of Super Bowl to permit live TV coverage.

20 Jan 1985 _____ After ceremony, ground based astronauts will call President Reagan for live telephone chat. Time open to coincide with end of Super Bowl. Open coverage as space permits.

20 Jan 1985 _____ Private celebration aboard Challenger. Closed Coverage.

20 Jan 1985 _____ Private staff time as required.

21 Jan 1985 1130 Presidential Party and Challenger execute landing Mall Area, Washington, DC.

21 Jan 1985 1145 Presidential Party walks to West Front of U.S. Capitol.

21 Jan 1985 1200 President Reagan receives oath of office West Front Capitol.

21 Jan 1985 1205 Presidential remarks.

21 Jan 1985 1206 Total eclipse of The SUN. Combined military bands render "Hail To The Chief" as 12 DOD Cobra Helos create light and sound show above The Dome. Light show consists of laser weaponry aimed to knock out dissenting members of the Congress.

21 Jan 1985 1215 Eclipse terminates. Opposition party terminates.

21 Jan 1985 1216 Presidential remarks.

21 Jan 1985 1217 Presidential party departs West Front.

21 Jan 1985 1220 Presidential party boards new Air Force One -- (DC-10 has been in storage for two years in basement of Air and Space Museum).

21 Jan 1985 1221 Air Force One departs using Pennsylvania Avenue as runway. (This departure contingent upon waiver of aircraft noise regulations by Arlington County Board of Supervisors).

21 Jan 1985 _____ Presidential Party views nationwide parade on old Route 66 while enroute California.

21 Jan 1985 _____ White House established for remainder of term at The Ranch. Closed Coverage.

22 Jan 1985 _____ Remainder of Washington moves to Southern California for remainder of term. Closed Coverage.

**** Move to California by Washington personnel contingent upon approval by California citizens. (This may require military intervention).

**** Challenger will become part of static display at Air and Space. Later will be moved via I-66 (with three pilots to conform to HOV rules) to lobby of Dulles Airport for perpetual display). (I-66 will be used during rush hour to avoid delaying highway traffic).

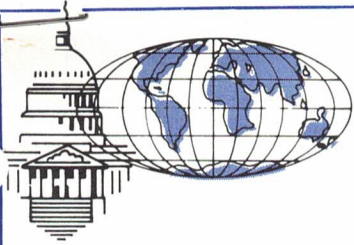
**** Use of Pennsylvania Avenue as runway may require military force on local governments regarding noise abatement procedures.

**** Because of landing weight limitations (and passenger count restrictions for Washington airports, all press and non essential personnel will be ejected into orbit prior to Mall Landing. Later recovery of personnel will be attempted on subsequent Shuttle Mission.

**** Admission of The Congress to California is based of adpotion of "balanced budget" rules already in effect in that state.

**** It is anticipated that Presidential Photographer Mike Evans will remain in orbit to begin freelance career.

**** By Presidential Decree, Minnesota will be abolished. Grenada will become 50th State.



HUMAN EVENTS

422 First Street, S.E. • Washington, D.C. 20003

ALLAN H. RYSKIND
Capitol Hill Editor

December 14, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

note

Dear Mike:

I want to thank you for arranging the interview with the President, and giving us so much time.

I apologize profusely for not being able to make it myself, not only because I really did have some serious questions to ask, but would very much have liked to have seen the President, as well.

Believe me, it was only because I was absolutely flat on my back from some intestinal disorder that I didn't attend, and I was still hoping I could do it at the last minute.

Again, thank you very much.

file

Cordially,

Allan

Allan H. Ryskind

AHR:cg

file

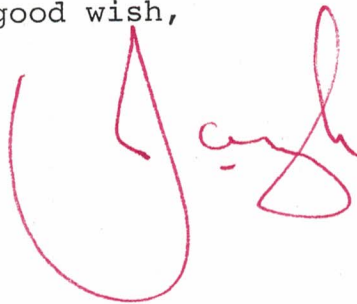
Joseph Vermer Reed
Ambassador of the United States of America
Rabat - December 12, 1984

Dear Mike,

The prospect of having you visit the Kingdom following inauguration is exciting. If you decide to come, you will have R & R, the Big Hello and an adventure in this historic land.

On another subject, I have skimmed the Gulley book called "Breaking Cover"--I understand Gulley worked for four Presidents in the logistics/support field--Mike, beware!

With every good wish,



Mr. Michael K. Deaver, Jr.
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



21 Dec 1984

NBC News

A Division of
National Broadcasting Company, Inc.

4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016 202-686-5455

Roger Mudd

Dear Mike — ^{file}

When I failed,
my mother-in-law
succeeded.

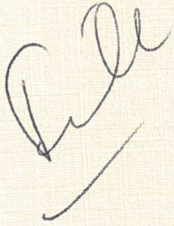
The President's call
meant a great deal
not only to me + S.J.
But also Hilda.

She was so excited
she damn near cancelled
the operation.

Thank you + Merry Christmas
Ry Mudd

AIRMARK CORPORATION

4411 Empire Avenue, Hangar #6
Burbank, California 91505
(818) 841-1800 Telex: 662555



James E. Markel
President

December 19, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

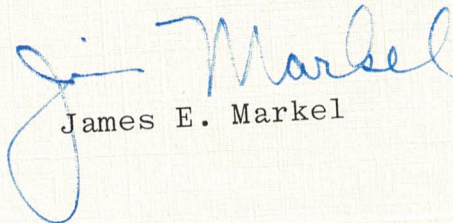
Dear Mike:

Thank you for your letter of December 11.

Your interest is appreciated.

Best wishes for a happy holiday season and most
pleasant New Year.

Sincerely,



James E. Markel

JEM:ah

THE PILLSBURY COMPANY

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402

612/330-4621

WILLIAM H. SPOOR
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

December 19, 1984



Mr. Michael Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

Many thanks for taking the time to meet with me last Friday regarding my interest in serving in the Administration.

I hope my areas of interest and experience were adequately described and that it will be possible to find a mutual "fit" as the needs of the Administration are identified. If you would like any additional information about me, please let me know.

Again, I am grateful for both your thoughts and counsel.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,



WHSpoor:ld

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1984

file

Dear Mike,

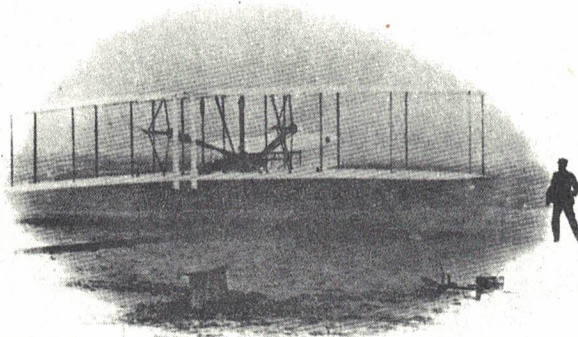
Thank you for sending to me the commemorative Inaugural license plates. I appreciate your thinking of me.

Sincerely,

Mike

Michael A. McManus, Jr.
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



Kitty Hawk, NC 1903
Wright Brothers

Mr. Terry D. Wright

645 W. North Street
Piqua, Ohio 45356

December 17, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver, Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20013

*Picture
sent
12/27/84*

Dear Deputy Chief Deaver:

I know that you are in charge of the planning of all major presidential trips. I don't know if you were in charge of President Reagan's whistle-stop tour through Ohio, but I wanted to congratulate you and your staff on a fine job and a tremendous idea in a current day political campaign.

The expertness, style and thoroughness that was used in getting the President through the Buckeye State was appreciated by all of us lucky enough to see the President. Now, I read that you may be leaving the President's second term so I just wanted to say thank you for your assistance in helping this part of Ohio become the historic stop for the Reagan whistle-stop campaign.

I teach political science at a local college. I also write a weekly article about area history for a local newspaper. I have enclosed a copy of one of my articles concerning the Truman whistle-stop for your pleasure.

Being interested in political science I also collect items from all areas of politics that are part of our American History. I enjoy using these items in my class room teaching. May I respectfully request a personally autographed photograph of you, Mr. Deaver, and a personally signed White House card? I would like these items personally signed and not autopenned or secretarially signed please. It would be an honor to add these items to my signed material of President Harding, William Jennings Bryan and First Lady Mamie Eisenhower among others.

I thank you for your time in reading my comments concerning the Reagan whistle-stop campaign, for reading my article and for answering my request if it is possible. Best of luck in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

Terry D. Wright

Terry D. Wright

Enclosure

Recalling Truman's 'whistle-stop' campaign

by **TERRY WRIGHT**
County Coordinator
River Corridor Committee

President Truman departed on board the Ferdinand Magellan for a train tour of the Mid-west on Oct. 10, 1948. The President's trip would take him through Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin and West Virginia. Campaigning by train was still a very acceptable way for a presidential candidate to meet the public, express opinions and obtain votes in 1948.

Because of the popularity of campaigning by train on Oct. 11, the next evening, the Republican candidate for president, Thomas E. Dewey, departed on board his own campaign train, the Victory Special, from Albany to cover Pennsylvania, Kentucky, southern Illinois, Oklahoma, Missouri and Michigan.

Polls taken during these last few weeks of the campaign indicated a Dewey landslide. Just one month earlier, before these mid-October "whistle-stops," Elmo Roper stopped syndicating his polls on the presidential race because Dewey, "is almost as good as elected."

Because of this loser image Truman had a difficult time raising funds for these "whistle-stop" campaign tours. In fact, prior to arriving in the Miami Valley, Truman's campaign train had stopped in Oklahoma broke with little hope of raising the needed large campaign funds to continue.

Two wealthy Oklahoma Democrats, Governor Roy J. Turner and W. Elmer Harber, gave a party in the Ferdinand Magellan and raised enough money not only for the rest of the trip but for the next one as well.

Thus, on Oct. 11, Truman found himself in Ohio campaigning his way north from Cincinnati along the Great Miami River on the tracks of the B & O Railroad.

The President was arriving in the Miami Valley with many dignitaries on board as was usually

the case. Local candidates always enjoyed being seen on board the President's train as it traveled through their districts. The 1948 campaign was no exception. When the Ferdinand Magellan arrived in the Miami Valley many local Democratic candidates were aboard.

Margaret Truman tells a funny story in her book, "Harry S Truman" about the "whistle-stop" campaign tour in the Miami Valley. The President's daughter said many of her father's special assistants were aboard the train of course, such as Clark Clifford, Charles A. Murphy, Matt Connelly and Charlie Ross as they entered the Ohio portion of the tour.

These particular men would work on the President's speeches with him in the dining room of the Ferdinand Magellan as the entourage moved around the country.

Because national news coverage on the campaign tour usually stated the "fact" Truman was going to lose, many Democrats running for local office along the way weren't sure they wanted to be seen with Truman and thereby become labeled a loser. One such candidate was Ohio's Democratic candidate for Governor, Frank Lausche.

Margaret Truman tells us Frank Lausche was aboard the Ferdinand Magellan as the train approached Dayton. Lausche planned to get off the train at a predetermined destination so he would not be tagged with the loser image when Truman lost the election. Upon entering the Miami Valley Lausche was surprised by the large crowds gathered to greet the President. An astonished Lausche asked President Truman if these crowds were usual. The President admitted he had seen larger crowds along the way. Gubernatorial candidate Lausche said they were the largest crowds he had ever seen in Ohio and Lausche wisely decided to stay on the train with the President past his original destination. President Truman smiled with pleasure at

Lausche's sudden change in attitude.

Just as when President Reagan visited here, great precautions were taken to assure President Truman's safety before his arrival.

Every section of railroad track was thoroughly checked and every spike between Dayton and Lima was nailed down before Truman's visit.

Unlike President Reagan's trip through Miami and Shelby Counties, however, President Truman had no pilot train ahead but there was a watchman at every crossing.

Truman arrived in Troy on Oct. 11. The Troy Daily News reported the President's train included 16 coaches. This special train stopped at the B & O Railroad Crossing on Union Street at 12:45 p.m.

Upon his arrival in Troy an energetic Truman smiled and waved from the rear platform of the historic Pullman car to the large crowd from Union to Water Streets. Several hundred people were gathered along the station platform to greet the President.

The largest crowd in Troy to see the President, however, stood on the Gummed Products warehouse platform and waved to a cheerful Truman.

After leaving Troy the President passed through Piqua about an hour later, taking only 14 minutes to travel from Troy to Piqua. Some 50 people were assembled at the Piqua station but were disappointed as the President did not stop nor come out and wave to those gathered.

The President's train sped on to Sidney for a scheduled stop.

Many dignitaries from Piqua such as Postmaster Harry E. Croner, former Mayor Joseph Thoma, George Hendricks and John Gerard, clerk in charge of the Piqua Post Office were on hand in Sidney to welcome the President.

Elaborate preparations were arranged in Sidney for a special reception provided for by a committee headed by E.C. Amos, publisher of the Sidney Daily News. Also in

anticipation of the President's to Shelby County the Sidney Police were joined by the railroad police, deputy sheriff's and a detail of National Guardsmen who patrolled the area where the train would stop. The crowds were held back by the Secret Service.

In Sidney a crowd of 5,000, including many children waited more than an hour to greet the President for a 20 minute stop at the Union Railroad station at the North crossing.

Upon Truman's arrival he complimented the people of Sidney in the vicinity for their splendid industrial record during the war. "The entire country has never had that kind of ingenuity," he said. "Grease Sidney appears to be doing," said a delighted Truman.

Truman's 10 minute stop in Sidney included blasting the Republicans, as he did at all other campaign stops. "The Republicans said the President, "seem to have more interest in big profits than in curbing prices. They are more interested in discussing the issues of this campaign because they are on the wrong side of the issues."

Truman also blasted the "nothing 80th Congress" which he said was a campaign theme through "whistle stops." The President added in Sidney, "He would rather have world peace than be President." Truman showed winning campaign technique and his adoptive style, "em hell, Harry" which he used on his own.

After ending his speech in Sidney, President Truman introduced "Boss" Mrs. Truman, his daughter Margaret to the attentive audience. Then he humorously encouraged the Shelby County vote for Truman by saying, "I can stay in the White House — I can stay in the White House — you vote for me."

Truman ended his visit to Shelby County by being kept busy with children held on the platform by their parents.

Calling Truman's 'whistle-stop' campaign

WRIGHT
ordinator
or Committee

Truman departed on Ferdinand Magellan for a of the Mid-west on Oct. e President's trip would through Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and West mpaigning by train was acceptable way for a candidate to meet the ess opinions and obtain 8.

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Lausche's sudden change in attitude.

Just as when President Reagan visited here, great precautions were taken to assure President Truman's safety before his arrival.

Every section of railroad track was thoroughly checked and every spike between Dayton and Lima was nailed down before Truman's visit.

Unlike President Reagan's trip through Miami and Shelby Counties, however, President Truman had no pilot train ahead but there was a watchman at every crossing.

Truman arrived in Troy on Oct. 11. The Troy Daily News reported the President's train included 16 coaches. This special train stopped at the B & O Railroad Crossing on Union Street at 12:45 p.m.

Upon his arrival in Troy an energetic Truman smiled and waved from the rear platform of the historic Pullman car to the large crowd from Union to Water Streets. Several hundred people were gathered along the station platform to greet the President.

The largest crowd in Troy to see the President, however, stood on the Gummed Products warehouse platform and waved to a cheerful Truman.

After leaving Troy the President passed through Piqua about an hour later, taking only 14 minutes to travel from Troy to Piqua. Some 50 people were assembled at the Piqua station but were disappointed as the President did not stop nor come out and wave to those gathered.

The President's train sped on to Sidney for a scheduled stop.

Many dignitaries from Piqua such as Postmaster Harry E. Croner, former Mayor Joseph Thoma, George Hendricks and John Gerard, clerk in charge of the Piqua Post Office were on hand in Sidney to welcome the President.

Elaborate preparations were arranged in Sidney for a special reception provided for by a committee headed by E.C. Amos, publisher of the Sidney Daily News. Also in

anticipation of the President's visit to Shelby County the Sidney Police were joined by the railroad police, deputy sheriff's and a detail of 26 National Guardsmen who patrolled the area where the train was to stop. The crowds were held back by the Secret Service.

In Sidney a crowd of 5,000 including many children waited more than an hour to greet the President for a 20 minute stop at the B & O Railroad station at the North Street crossing.

Upon Truman's arrival he complimented the people of Sidney and the vicinity for their splendid industrial record during the war. "The entire country should have that kind of ingenuity and elbow grease Sidney appears to have," said a delighted Truman.

Truman's 10 minute speech in Sidney included blasting the Republicans, as he did at all campaign stops. "The Republicans," said the President, "seem to have more interest in big profits than in curbing prices. They are afraid to discuss the issues of this campaign because they are on the wrong side of the issues."

Truman also blasted the "Do-nothing 80th Congress" which was a campaign theme throughout the "whistle stops." The President also added in Sidney, "He would much rather have world peace than be President." Truman showed his winning campaign technique in Sidney and his adoptive style of "Give 'em hell, Harry" which he initiated on his own.

After ending his speech in Sidney, President Truman introduced "The Boss", Mrs. Truman, and his daughter Margaret to the supportive audience. Then he humorously encouraged the Shelby Countians to vote for Truman by saying, "I won't be troubled by the housing shortage — I can stay in the White House if you vote for me."

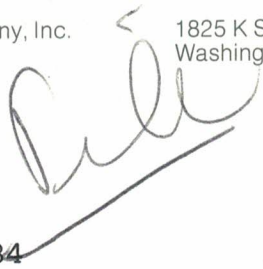
Truman ended his visit to Shelby County by being kept busy shaking hands with children held up to the platform by their parents.

NBC

National Broadcasting Company, Inc.

1825 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006 202-833-3600

Robert D. Hynes, Jr.
Vice President, Washington



December 21, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

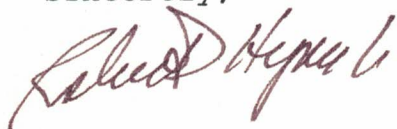
You will soon receive an invitation from Grant A. Tinker, NBC's Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, to a brunch to celebrate the 50th American Presidential Inaugural, on Saturday, January 19. Grant is hosting this brunch for Administration and Congressional leaders and other key government officials from 11:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.

A number of NBC's on-air personalities, including Tom Brokaw, Roger Mudd, the "Today Show" team of Jane Pauley, Bryant Gumbel, and Willard Scott, will attend the brunch. Quite a few Hollywood stars who are featured in NBC programs, such as Johnny Carson and Joan Rivers from the "Tonight Show," Daniel J. Travanti and Veronica Hamel from "Hill Street Blues," Ted Danson from "Cheers," and Bill Cosby of the "Cosby Show," are being invited to join us.

Since this will be a fairly busy time for most of us, Cory Dunham, NBC's Executive Vice President and General Counsel, has asked me to write to you personally about Grant's invitation and to offer the assistance of NBC's Washington office for any further information you may need.

We look forward to seeing you on the 19th for what we believe will be a most enjoyable gathering.

Sincerely,





Rady A. Johnson
Vice President, Government Affairs

File

Standard Oil Company (Indiana)

Washington Office
1000 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-857-5304

December 26, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear ^{*Mike*} Mr. Deaver:

We furnished Secretary Hodel the attached letter outlining our concerns with the Treasury tax reform proposal. I hope you will find the information useful.

Sincerely,

R. Johnson
for. Rady A. Johnson

ek

Standard Oil Company (Indiana)

200 East Randolph Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Richard M. Morrow
Chairman of the Board

December 21, 1984

Mr. Donald P. Hodel
Secretary of Energy
U.S. Department of Energy
1000 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20585

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Thank you for the opportunity to provide our thoughts concerning the tax proposals contained in the Treasury report "Tax Reform for Fairness, Simplicity, and Economic Growth," and their potential effect on the oil and gas industry. While I commend the Treasury's goal of making the federal income tax system more equitable and less complex, I have serious reservations about the "price" the oil and gas industry, and ultimately the nation, will have to pay as a result of some of the tax code changes embodied in the Treasury tax report.

I know you were made aware of many of the generic concerns of the oil and gas industry at the recent National Petroleum Council meeting. I must echo those apprehensions. The country has been enjoying stable energy supplies and prices, which have helped bring inflation under control and bolster the economic recovery. Absent prudent foresight, however, tomorrow's energy picture could change dramatically.

In the longer-term, industry trends portend declining domestic reserves and increasing imports of crude oil and petroleum products, and thus, the reoccurrence of the economic and national security problems that we have worked so hard to overcome. The Treasury proposal would accelerate those trends. Government energy, environmental, and tax policies must reflect the national importance of a healthy and stable domestic energy industry.

The wide-sweeping nature of the Treasury tax plan has made it difficult to complete any comprehensive assessment of its effects to date, but preliminary analyses point to some very serious problems. My comments focus on two areas: 1) the consequences of the Treasury plan on the corporate sector generally, and 2) the effects on the petroleum industry specifically.

The effect of the Treasury tax proposals would be to increase corporate taxes 25 percent in FY '86 to 37 percent in FY '90. That is, total corporate tax payments would increase from about \$87.9 billion to \$110.1 billion in FY '86, and from \$122.6 billion to \$167.4 billion in FY '90. This will have a profound adverse effect on job creation. Increased business taxes will stifle economic growth and ultimately result in fewer federal tax revenues and increased outlays -- continuing a dangerous cycle that we are just beginning to break.

Federal tax policy has traditionally been used not only to raise revenues for the government, but also to promote social and economic goals. The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 provided powerful tax incentives such as the Accelerated Cost Recovery System (ACRS) which spurred investment in productive plant and equipment, and is responsible for much of the current economic growth the country is presently enjoying. The erosion or repeal of ACRS and/or the Investment Tax Credit (ITC) simply runs counter to the nation's objectives of continued job creation and long-term economic growth, and could prove a high "price" for small gains in tax equity and simplicity.

The goal of the National Energy Policy Plan -- assuring an adequate supply of energy at reasonable costs -- can only be realized through government policies which promote the rational development and use of our domestic energy resources. However, certain elements of the Treasury tax proposal run counter to our national energy objectives. Proposed changes in the treatment of intangible drilling costs (IDCs) and dry hole expenses would discourage domestic exploration, thereby exacerbating the divergence between domestic reserve additions and production. Repeal of the ITC and the ACRS will also increase the cost and decrease the availability of capital which would have a negative effect on capital-intensive industries.

Specifically, our preliminary analyses of the Treasury tax plan indicate that the internal cash flow of the oil and gas industry will be reduced by approximately \$81.2 billion over the 1986-90 period. If corporate tax rates are indeed lowered, and the cash dividend deductibility and Crude Oil Excise Tax phase-out provisions retained, oil and gas industry tax liabilities would be reduced by approximately \$43.7 billion over the five year period. Thus, the Treasury tax plan results in a net \$7.5 billion annual tax increase on the oil and gas industry, or \$37.5 billion over the 1986-90 period.

Internally-generated cash flows represent only part of the total capital generated by the oil and gas industry. Estimates indicate that for each dollar of funds the petroleum industry generates internally, it will

typically raise another 35 cents from external sources -- primarily through borrowings. If the industry is unable to generate the initial \$1.00 internally through earnings and capital consumption allowances, lenders are unlikely to advance the 35 cents of additional borrowed funds. Hence, the total impact of the Treasury tax plan on corporate capital availability to the oil and gas industry will be more in the order of \$10 billion per year. This decrease in capital availability will result in a reduction in 1990 domestic crude oil equivalent production in the order of 1.0 MMBD, thereby increasing dependence on imports to satisfy domestic demand.

The proposed tax changes will also negatively impact prospective internal rates of return from new investments in oil and gas projects. In a highly competitive market for investment capital, and a reduction in prospective investment profitability in the oil and gas industry accompanied by prospective improvements in after-tax investment returns in other lines of business, available capital will be diverted from marginal projects in the petroleum industry to other business investments. While not readily quantifiable, the expected deterioration in project rates of return will further decrease capital availability, depress domestic production and increase imports.

The decline in domestic production will worsen in the years beyond 1990 as the impact of reduced incentives and spending affect a greater and greater share of our domestic production base. Domestic oil and gas production would be expected to decrease by an oil equivalent of 1.5 MMBD by 1995 compared with production under current tax laws. Domestic net oil imports are expected to increase from about 5 MMBD in 1984 to about 8 MMBD in 1995 under current tax laws. With the Treasury proposal, U.S. oil imports by 1995 would be expected to increase to over 10 MMBD or 60 percent of domestic oil requirements. This doubling of imports from the current 30 percent to 60 percent of requirements would make the U.S. extremely vulnerable from both an economic and national security standpoint.

Estimated 1984 spending by the oil and gas industry (net of lease bonus payments to government) is roughly \$50 billion, 80 percent of which will be in upstream spending to find and produce new oil and gas supplies. Industry spending commitments of this magnitude simply cannot be sustained in the face of a prospective cut of 25 percent or more in available capital and a sharp reduction in investment profitability.

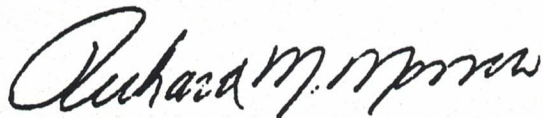
Mr. Donald P. Hodel
Page 4

The proposed reduction in the corporate tax rate, the treatment of dividends and phasing-out the ill-conceived Crude Oil Excise Tax represent significant steps toward long-term economic growth. I am concerned, however, that many of the favorable corporate tax provisions promised down the road in exchange for increasing business' tax burden in the short-term, will fall prey to changes in the political landscape. Without implementation of these tax reductions, oil and gas industry internal cash generation would be decremented by some \$25 billion per year and U.S oil and gas production would be reduced by an oil equivalent of 1.8 MMBD in 1990 and 3.5 MMBD in 1995.

As evidenced above, the present Treasury tax package would be severely disruptive to the domestic energy industry, particularly in terms of domestic exploration. In the longer-term, it is not difficult to envision the adverse consequences of declining domestic energy supplies, increasing crude and petroleum product imports, and the implications for the nation's economic vitality and security.

Given the potential consequences of such broad changes in the Internal Revenue Code, I think it only prudent that the Administration proceed slowly and deliberately in assessing the ramifications. We must be sure that we are not establishing policies that will plunge the nation into serious energy supply problems.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Richard M. M. M. M.", is written below the typed text.