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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 27, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER 
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: Jewish Heritage Week

As you know the White House has had occasion to develop "theme" weeks over the past year to focus attention on specific constituencies. Congress will shortly pass a joint resolution asking the President to proclaim the week of April 21, 1985 Jewish Heritage Week. I would urge that the White House take the opportunity to make April 21-28, 1985 a Jewish "theme" week by focusing on a number of Jewish events for that week. Among those events might be:

1. Jewish Heritage Week Proclamation Ceremony

Last year Mr. Meese and Mr. Baker participated in the proclamation of Jewish Heritage Week in a Roosevelt Room ceremony. This year, I would urge the event be held in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building or the Indian Treaty Room with Presidential participation. At this event the President could "drop by" and speak for 10 minutes on the contributions of Jewish culture to western civilization, focusing on the 900th anniversary of the birth of Maimonides the great Jewish philosopher whose birthday this year is being celebrated by Morocco as well as UNESCO and Israel.

2. Photo Opportunity with Holocaust Survivors

April 17, 1985 is the "Day of Remembrance" for the holocaust. The President participated in these Remembrance ceremonies in 1981, 1982, and 1983. There is an expectation that he will participate this year and the United States Holocaust Council has requested that we replicate the East Room ceremony we did in past years.

In my view, the President would be better served by meeting instead with a small group of holocaust survivors in the Roosevelt Room for a photo opportunity and short discussion. That meeting should take place early in the week of the

April 20, 1985 and would focus on survivors and their trammels, not on the Council itself. Doing this would serve three purposes. (a) It would take some of the sting out of the President's inability to go to Dachau, (b) it would remove this program from the organizational control of the Holocaust Memorial Council -- with whom the White House has had bureaucratic problems in the past; (c) it would obviate the necessity of the President's attendance at the Holocaust Council ceremonies.

3. Photograph Opportunity with Orthodox Leaders

The Orthodox Jewish community was the community most favorable to the President in the November election. It contains a Republican infrastructure from which the support for the party will grow in the future. A photo opportunity with 8 to 10 Orthodox leaders would cement relations and express appreciation for past loyalty.

4. Non-Presidential Events

Other non-presidential events could be scheduled as appropriate during Jewish Heritage Week. For example, Health and Human Services might arrange a meeting on its new Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Israel on social services cooperation. Opportunities abound.

April 21-28, 1985 would make an appropriate theme week. We would build on the attention paid to the holocaust ceremonies the week previous and would lead into the AIPAC national policy conference April 27 -- the largest gathering of Jewish political activists in the Washington area. Thus this would be a good opportunity to highlight Jewish interests and concerns and show the President interested in subjects other than Israel.

I would be happy to review these thoughts with you at your convenience. I will be in Israel, however, March 3-14, 1985.

Thank you.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CATHOLIC DELEGATION

September 10, 1984

Send to John
Hurricane

Ohio

Mayor George Voinovich
Mayor of Cleveland.

Connecticut

Mayor Len Paoletta
Mayor of Bridgeport.

New York

Ed Rutkowski
Erie Co. Executive.

Illinois

Aloysius Majewski
President of the Polish National Alliance of Chicago.

Pennsylvania

Msgr. John Meyers
President, National Catholic Educational Assn..

Illinois

Mrs. Rosemary Diamond
Helped start Birth Right of Chicago. Mother
of thirteen.

New Jersey

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 30, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR DONNA BLUME

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER (MB)

SUBJECT: Proposed Speaking Engagements for Mr. Deaver

note before desert 2+17

#1 Since all of the 25 Energy CEO's and Washington Vice Presidents will be out of town August 16-17, I would like to propose changing the dates for lunch to September 11, 12 or 13. Houston

#2 With respect to the meeting with Jewish communal and financial leaders, we could shift this to a dinner in Washington, D.C. on August 16 or a dinner on either September 6, 20, 23* or 25. If the dinner is held in New York City, I would arrange a late afternoon meeting with communal leaders and a dinner with financial leaders.

- 25 around table
1. economy
2. quotas

- more select group

For your information, I have enclosed a copy of my July 18, 1984 memorandum to you.

3. advise committee reuel

Thank you.

Attachment

Donna - Could you let me know asap if any of these dates work. Dinner Aug. 16 would be good with Jewish leaders as it would mean only one talk by M. Deaver in September.

don't know
S+off

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR DONNA BLUME

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER

As we discussed, I wish to propose the following events which I believe Mr. Deaver's participation would be useful.

1. July 26 or July 27

Lunch with twenty Washington vice presidents and CEO's involved in the energy industry. After lunch, Mr. Deaver would speak for 10 minutes and answer questions from the group for approximately 20 minutes about present developments in the Administration. He would not speak about the energy industry specifically.

While the energy industry has been supportive of the Administration generally, we have done very few formal events for industry representatives in Washington, D.C. A number of Eagles would be present.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. September 10-14

On some convenient date, I would propose to organize a major event for Mr. Deaver which would assist in developing the Administration's relationships with the Jewish community.

If Mr. Deaver is able to travel to New York City, I would propose a meeting with approximately forty leaders of Jewish organizations followed by a select dinner with a different group of twenty financial and communal leaders. Participants for both the meeting and the speech will be drawn from the national Jewish community.

Should Mr. Deaver be unable to travel to New York City to speak, I would propose to organize a analogous dinner in Washington, D.C.

In my view, it would be preferable to have this function in New York City because it would provide for a more encompassing approach to the Jewish community and would ensure the highest quality participation by community leaders.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

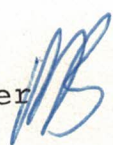
August 14, 1984

NOTE FOR DONNA BLUME

I very much need to know whether Mr. Deaver would be interested in meetings with Jewish leaders and with the energy community per our discussions of late July.

I believe that both meetings would be very useful, but need to know where we stand before the Convention in order to make post-Labor Day plans.

Thank you.

Marshall Breger 

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 17, 1984

NOTE FOR DONNA BLUME

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER



Following is a list of representative names of Jewish community leaders that should attend the round table the afternoon of September 23, 1984.

Nate Pearlmutter - Chairman, Anti-Defamation League

Kenneth Bialkin - Chairman of Conference of Presidents
of Major American Jewish Organizations

Robert Asher - President, American Israel Public Affairs
Committee

Ivan Novick - President, Zionist Organization of America

Alex Grass - International Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

The following is a list of representative individuals who would be invited to dinner.

Nina Rosenwald - Sears Roebuck

Larry Tish - Loewes Hotel

Michael Saperstein - Manager Partner, Bear Stearns

George Klein - Builder

Peggy Tishman - Real Estate

Jay Zises - Integrated Research Corporation

I will secure persons of similar qualifications from other parts of the country to fly to New York for these meetings.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1984

mmc
R. Darmon

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER *MB*

I thought you might be interested in the attached paper I prepared on issues connected with the Jewish vote.

I would be interested in any comments you might have.

Thank you.

Attachment

The Reagan-Bush ticket has the opportunity to strengthen and consolidate the inroads it made in the traditionally Democratic Jewish vote in 1980. Jesse Jackson's campaign and new-found influence have sharpened the growing divergence between Jewish voters and the Democratic Party. This gives Republicans a unique opportunity, and it is up to us to capitalize on these changes. This memorandum lays out the main considerations with respect to the Jewish vote for Republican strategists in the 1984 Presidential election.

1. Does the Jewish vote matter?

Yes. Jews make up 3% of the American population, but because they vote in disproportionately high numbers they make up 6-7% of the electorate. They are concentrated in important states--especially New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida, Illinois, and California.*

Moreover, a large share of the opinion makers who write in influential national newspapers and magazines are Jewish, so that Jewish opinion is quickly disseminated and influences other voters--especially those who are highly educated.

2. Can Reagan hope to do well among Jewish voters?

Yes. In 1980 Reagan won 40% of the Jewish vote. Much of that vote was a reaction against the policies of Carter and Mondale--especially the confusion on support of Israel at the U. N. symbolized by Andrew Young, and the perception they shared with other Americans that Carter stood for a weak America.

*The ten states with the largest Jewish populations, where Jews will have significant impact on election results, have 223 of 538 electoral votes --which is nearly 42%.

<u>State</u>	<u>Jewish Population</u>	<u>Percentage of Population</u>	<u>'84 Electoral Votes</u>
N. Y.	1,819,190	10.6	36
Cal.	789,260	3.2	47
Fla.	479,180	4.7	21
N. J.	425,180	5.9	16
Penn.	408,475	3.5	25
Ill.	261,985		24
Mass.	249,045	4.3	13
Md.	199,915	4.6	10
Ohio	137,785		23
Conn.	108,575	3.3	8

(Moreover, between 1980 and 1984, Texas [with 29 electoral votes] added 4,000 Jews to its population, raising the total to 77,100, and Arizona [with 7 electoral votes] added 3,000 Jews, raising the total to 49,000.)

Some of those worries remain and can be pinned on the Democratic candidates again. But now Jews will be looking at the Reagan record. Republicans must emphasize the solid support that President Reagan has given to Israel and to a strong defense. We must bring home the message that a strong America supports a strong Israel, and we must point to the dangers that the leftward lurch of the Democratic Party poses for Jews.

Since the French Revolution, Jews have thought that their welfare was bound up with the success of liberalism. This opinion is rapidly dissolving. We are at a watershed.

3. What could keep Jews from voting Democratic?

The Democratic Party has drifted far from its traditions of liberal internationalism and an equal chance for all--the traditions of FDR and JFK. Instead, it has heavily bought into neo-isolationist foreign policy and racial quotas as a test of equal opportunity.

Despite Cuomo's efforts to recall the old family values, it is not the same old Democratic Party that brought everyone under its old coalition. It is now the party of gay and lesbian rights, unilateral disarmament, and seeming sympathy with many of our enemies in the third world.

4. Don't the Jews have a strong antipathy towards the Republican Party because of discriminatory treatment they've received from Republicans?

Not necessarily. True, in some places Republican businessmen kept Jews out of the downtown clubs. But Democrats arguably had as big a role. In most cases, these considerations are not decisive. Until FDR Jews voted solidly Republican. The tradition among Jews of voting Democratic since then comes more from a general agreement with the Democrats on policy than from their having been treated better by Democrats. This agreement on policy is beginning to weaken.

5. What's the most important issue for Jews?

Support for Israel. Other issues matter, but if Jews lack the basic feeling that a candidate is good for Israel, he can forget about getting their votes. This may be for good or for ill, but it's simply a fact.

Democratic candidates, who have been used to counting Jews among their supporters, say the right things about Israel almost as second nature. This need not prevent us from competing for these votes. We need to remember that the President has an extraordinarily good record of support for Israel.

At their Convention some Democrats invoked support for Israel almost as if Israel were another disadvantaged client (along with blacks, homosexuals, and the handicapped). Mondale did not mention Israel in his acceptance speech. It will help us enormously to suggest gently that we treat Israel not as a charity case but as a valuable partner and ally, sharing many common concerns.

6. Aren't Jewish voters concerned that any second-term President will be less sympathetic to Israel than they would like?

Yes, many of them are. But the idea that any second-term President will somehow be independent of public opinion to restrain him from doing harm to Israel overestimates his insulation from ordinary political considerations. Whatever may have been true for Jimmy Carter, President Reagan's instincts and first term record are solidly pro-Israel. Republicans need to send this message out to Jews.

To allay their worries about a second term, the President must make the following points clear to Jews:

- o his deep and abiding support for the survival of Israel,
- o his appreciation of the long-standing enmities in the region and the threats they pose to peace there,
- o his realistic appraisal that the chance of eliminating those enmities is small, and
- o his lack of inclination to tilt towards the Arabs.

7. But isn't it hopeless for Reagan to try to out-Israel Mondale?

Yes and no. Mondale himself has professed strong support for Israel. No one would deny that. And at the Democratic Convention Cuomo invoked the Party's old stance that Israel was America's one good friend in the Middle East. Democrats are used to campaigning for the Jewish vote.

But other voices have begun to be heard in the Democratic Party. Under Carter, America drifted away from Israel at the U. N., and this year Jesse Jackson has tried to detach blacks from the American consensus in support of Israel. His supporters sat on their hands during Cuomo's invocation of Israel. Mondale's appointment of Bert Lance reminds Americans that Democrats have questionable ties to the Arabs (recall Billiegate).

Mondale may indeed be a good friend of Israel. But the intellectual baggage and personalities of much of the Democratic Party are not. A weak America doesn't make for a strong Israel, Mondale's rhetoric notwithstanding. Jews understand this, and they worry about it--but they need to be reminded of it.

8. Wouldn't Mondale's appointees be more sympathetic to Israel?

No, probably not. The Democratic intellectual establishment on whom Mondale would draw to staff the State Department and NSC is not solid anymore in support for Israel. Flirtations with the PLO, or even with the Soviet line that the Israelis are proto-fascist, are fashionable with many trendy intellectuals. Jews should be encouraged to think concretely about who would manage foreign policy under Mondale, and about what it would mean to have a Secretary of State acceptable to Jesse Jackson.

Mondale's foreign policy advisors in the campaign have been drawn from Brzezinski's old staff--David Aaron was number two at the NSC and Bob Hunter was head of Brzezinski's Middle East desk. Jews are afraid of Brzezinski's influence in a Mondale Administration. Other Carter appointees such as Harold Saunders and Cyrus Vance still arouse fear in the Jewish community, and the influence of George Ball is worrisome.

By contrast, a number of Republicans and other Administration officials--both Jews and non-Jews--are very popular today among Jews. Simply compare Andrew Young to Jeane Kirkpatrick as Ambassador to the U. N. Aside from the President and the Vice President, effective spokesmen would be Rudy Boschwitz, Bill Bennett, Richard Perle, George Shultz, and especially Jeane Kirkpatrick.

9. How can the Administration succeed in out-Israeling Mondale?

By convincing Jews that the Democratic policy of weakness in foreign and defense policy will hurt Israel. This argument has been made persuasively by Norman Podhoretz and others, but our job this fall is to make it stick. Jews, and others concerned about Israel, shouldn't trust the Democrats, because a policy of weakness encourages adventurism by the Soviets and by radical Arab states and movements.

The Democratic Party, which was once solid in support of American internationalism, has grown neo-isolationist and pacifist in recent years. Many Democrats have made a philanthropic exception to justify American support to Israel. That exception stood in contradiction to the new policies of appeasement, and it was only a matter of time before it began to erode. Jews, among others, are properly nervous about this.

Accordingly, the Administration

- o should contrast its real achievements in Israeli-American cooperation with the mere professions offered by Democrats (these include free trade, grants in aid, and strategic cooperation);
- o should point out that a strong Israel depends on a strong America, to which the Democrats only give lip service;
- o should remind voters that they are electing not just Mondale but also his friends (Jackson, Lance, and the pacifist intellectuals); and
- o should point out that the leftward drift of the Democratic Party has opened the door to respectability for the PLO (which is absolute anathema to the Jewish community).

10. How can we connect the general need for rebuilding our defenses with the security requirements of Israel in the minds of Jews?

There are two important points here:

- o American military weakness and our inability or lack of will to respond to threats firmly encourages terrorism, Soviet adventurism, and Arab rad-

icalism. To keep a lid on the particularly volatile Middle East, we need to extinguish sparks before they set off larger fires. This firmness is in Israel's best interests and Israelis know it. American Jews must be made equally aware of this.

- o If American stockpiles are low or if essential spare parts are unavailable, America cannot meet Israel's needs in the event of an emergency. This is no hypothetical problem: in 1973 Nixon's airlift of supplies to Israel came in the nick of time.

Furthermore, one can point to moral questions involved by reminding Jews of the Soviet treatment of Jews and its support for Arab adventurism around the world. Liberals have suggested that our resistance to Soviet expansion and rejection of detente hurts Soviet Jews by hardening Soviet attitudes against them. We need to emphasize that Soviet attitudes do not spring from compassion or persuasion but from a cold calculation of their own national interest--and as such our firmness gives hope to Soviet Jews and other dissidents such as Andrei Sakharov.

- 11. Won't the President be hurt among Jews by the peace plan he offered that was quickly rejected by Begin?

Not too much. This concern can be blunted by the fact that American Jews, and Americans generally, tend to be more dovish than the Likud government was. But it is better to let them hold their own suspicions about Begin (or Shamir) than to communicate the impatience that American negotiators have had. Even Jews who prefer Labor do not take kindly to non-Jews who criticize Likud "intransigence" too harshly, just as blacks who oppose busing do not take kindly to whites who are against it.

Unless the Administration plans to go front and center with a new peace plan this fall, the less said about the September 1 initiative the better--at least through November. The fact that no Arab government is prepared to jump in makes the issue only theoretical, and why argue over theory? It is better for the President to emphasize his strong commitment to the security of Israel.

- 12. Won't Mondale and the Democrats try to make an issue out of moving our embassy to Jerusalem?

They may. This issue is very sensitive and emotional among Jews, yet not many votes will be won or lost because of it unless the President is forced to oppose the move by pleading out front the need to be fair to Arabs. Besides, during the four years he was Vice President, Mondale himself did not do, or urge Carter to do, what he is now urging Reagan to do.

In fact, the Carter Administration opposed a Republican measure to move our embassy to Jerusalem in 1979. Frankly, whatever we think of the merits of the idea, it's easier to urge the move when you're in opposition than it is when you actually have to conduct American foreign policy.

If Congress does pass a joint resolution urging us to move our embassy to Jerusalem, the Administration should attack it as an infringement of

the conduct of foreign policy by the executive--as a separation of powers issue--instead of stressing our disagreement with Israel (if any) as to who should control Jerusalem.

13. But isn't Reagan vulnerable among Jews on the fairness issue?

Yes. It is doubtful whether any President can be elected who is seen as lacking compassion towards the poor and the disadvantaged, and Jews will be in the vanguard of those who insist on this compassion.

But Jews have seen reason to be skeptical of the usual Democratic ideas about what constitutes fairness. In particular, they are suspicious of quotas, which have in the past worked to the disadvantage of Jews.

Furthermore, Jews, like other Americans, are aware of the terrible effect that a culture of dependency can have in creating a black "under class." This permanent dependency can be blamed, in large part, on the Great Society programs that turned America into a welfare state. Many of the best critiques of this culture of dependency have been written by neoconservative Jews.

14. Aren't Jews nervous about Jesse Jackson?

Yes, and this is the issue with the greatest potential for increasing the Republican vote among Jews in the fall. Traditionally blacks and Jews have made common cause in support of civil rights. Recently that alliance has been strained because of black leaders' demands for affirmative action and quotas, but the Jews have mostly gone along with those demands against their own interests.

Jackson has been unfriendly to Jews and to Israel, welcoming notorious anti-Semites like Farrakhan and friends in his entourage, saying nasty things about Israel, and cozying up to the PLO. His limp and belated repudiation of Farrakhan, and his emotional "apology" at the Convention, such as they were, have not allayed mistrust among Jews--even among liberals who were itching to find grounds for reconciliation. Since the Democratic Convention, Jackson has continued to be friendly to Farrakhan, and Jews have reluctantly had to conclude that Jackson is no friend.

Here is what concerns Jews: Jackson is no friend, but they would like to think Mondale is. Yet Mondale doesn't want to have to choose between the blacks and the Jews. He won't quite repudiate Jesse Jackson. Many Jews voted against Carter because they thought they couldn't count on him. Mondale's indecisiveness, which reminds Jews of the indecisiveness of Jimmy Carter in firing Andrew Young, makes them worry that he won't have the guts to stand up for what's right if circumstances make it unpopular. The connection between Carter and Mondale hurts Mondale among Jews.

15. Will the quota issue rouse the Jewish community?

The quota issue can be of great importance in reaching out for the Jewish vote--not the least because it underscores the Democratic Party's inability to shake off special interest politics. It is particularly important to those Jews who are already friendly to the President--the Orthodox and the lower middle class.

In treating this issue, the President must capture the moral high ground. He should not allow himself to be tagged as not being strong on civil rights. Instead, he should remind Americans that the Republican Party is not the party of a bunch of fat cats--it's the party of Lincoln. The Republican Party has a deeper devotion to equal opportunity than to anything else. He should cite evidence that the Department of Justice has prosecuted violations of civil rights and that the Administration has a fine record of appointing minorities and women.

He should state his opposition to quotas as a crude method of trying to accomplish a worthwhile goal by ignoring the civil rights of some Americans. He should explain that not only does equal opportunity not require quotas--it requires that we not have quotas. He should point out that the Democratic platform supports quotas under a different name: "verifiable measurements." As Ed Koch pointed out, the Democrats don't use the word but that's what they mean. Our language this fall should specifically reject not just quotas but the Democratic platform's euphemisms for quotas.

16. Aren't Jews concerned that President Reagan wants to "Christianize" America?

Yes. Many Jews are fearful about the President's support for school prayer and the idea of Christianizing America, worrying that Judaism will be read out of the American civil religion. Jews have not always been counted into the mainstream of American society, and they are concerned about being counted out. This issue is most important to liberal Jews, but it also packs a wallop with many non-Jews, including the so-called yuppies.

It would help if the President referred to "our Judeo-Christian heritage" wherever appropriate, and if he made it clear that he is encouraging religious observance in general rather than the ascendance of any particular religion. Among Jews this issue can be defused by close ties between Reagan and the Orthodox Jewish community. For many Jews, who are less observant than the Orthodox Jews, the approval of Reagan by that community validates him and removes the worry that his religious agenda might be anti-Jewish.

17. Would it help for the President to announce the appointment of a Jew to some high post?

Perhaps. The Administration has only a thin cadre of Jews in its ranks, despite the large numbers of bright and sympathetic Jews available. But frankly, at this point, it would do more good to give more public prominence to Administration officials like Jeane Kirkpatrick, who are popular among Jews.

18. Should Jews be treated primarily as a special interest group?

No. Though they have some strong concerns about Israel and about quotas, these concerns are shared by other Americans as well--including fundamentalist Christians. And Jews have considerable sympathy for the President's agenda of restoring our economy, our military strength, and the vitality of American families.

No special accommodation of the President's position to particular concerns of Jewish voters is required--the Democrats have been doing altogether too much of that kind of "trimming." The best way for the President to campaign for the Jewish vote is simply for him to be himself.

* * *

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The Jewish campaign will turn on four factors:

- o relations between the United States and Israel,
- o anti-Semitism in the Democratic Party,
- o fears that the President wishes to Christianize America, and
- o (to a lesser extent) the fairness issue.

On the first two of these four issues, relations with Israel and our response to anti-Semitism, the President is strong. The other issues can be "contained" if the problems they represent are not highlighted through November. For purposes of the campaign, the following positive and negative themes should be the focus, in addition to the suggestions set forth above.

Positive Themes

1. Support from the Orthodox Community

The President should highlight his strengths among Orthodox Jews by emphasizing his concern for the following issues:

- o Tuition tax credits. The President could receive a petition from Orthodox Jewish day school children in support of tuition tax credits (in this well organized community almost 100% participation is possible).
- o Opposition to urban crime, drugs, and school violence. On average Jews are older than other Americans, and they are disproportionately urban. Moreover, they have a traditional respect for education.
- o Support for traditional American values. Reagan must be seen to include the Orthodox community under this broad umbrella. Mondale's positions on the social issues are anathema to Orthodox Jews.

2. Coalition Building

At the same time Republicans are hinting that there are undemocratic elements in the Democratic Party, the President should be showing his own inclination to accept a diversity of groups and concerns under his own coalition. He was successful in doing this, for instance, at the events in commemoration of Henry Jackson. We should always be on the lookout for ways to reach out to those who might be willing to ignore their Democratic past.

In particular, the President should underscore the extent to which the Jewish community is part of the American community and support for Israel a natural American thing to do. It is important to take away the ideas

- o that Jews are an improper special interest group with a parochial concern for Israel, or
- o that a return to traditional American values means hostility to Jews.

By dedicating the West Point Jewish Chapel, the President could bring together Jewish and American themes.

3. Free Trade with Israel

A treaty providing for the elimination of all tariff barriers between the United States and Israel is now being negotiated. This treaty would be a first for the United States.

If a bill approving a free trade area with Israel is passed in September, it could be the capstone of the campaign for the Jewish vote. It would serve as a major theme of sermons at Jewish New Year services at the end of the month.

4. Strategic Cooperation with Israel

Though Jews and other Americans have a sentimental and moral attachment to the security of Israel, they know that nations have to be guided by national interest and not by charity. Therefore, Jews are thrilled when they hear it said that Israel is a power allied with America in support of democratic principles in the region, a crucial pillar of America's global strategy, and a vital partner for NATO in the defense of the West.

We must, while remaining sensitive to security considerations, flesh out the meaning of strategic cooperation for the voting public. Right now their impression of it is too vague. Talking points should be agreed on which explain that this cooperation means

- o pre-positioning of armaments,
- o joint exercises, and
- o joint strategic planning.

In preparing the FY '85 budget we will have to ponder some of this anyway.

Republicans need to restate their 1980 campaign theme that Israel is a strategic asset to the United States. This helps to remind voters of their differences with the Democrats. The President could give a major speech on Israel, underscoring the new initiatives he has taken in economic and strategic partnership with Israel. This speech could be given at a synagogue or before an audience connected with Israel. The proposal for the President to receive an honorary degree from Tel Aviv University at a

dinner in the United States would provide an excellent opportunity to highlight his affinity for Israel.

Negative Themes

1. Quotas

The President should explain his opposition to quotas, in the context of his deep concern for civil rights and his support for the full participation of all groups in American life. This stance will help among white ethnics and Hispanics as well as Jews. When Reagan speaks, he should make it clear that the Republican Party is against quotas--by that name or by any other names, such as the ones the Democrats used in their platform (and he can quote it, together with what Ed Koch said).

Sympathetic academics should be organized to write pieces exonerating the President from the charge of indifference and laying out the justification for a race-blind policy.

2. Anti-Semitism

Republicans should remind voters that support for Mondale and Ferraro entails some kind of accommodation of the concerns of Jesse Jackson, and they should press the Democrats to say what it would be.

Specifically, Reagan or Bush might give a speech in New York after the Republican Convention and argue as follows. Everyone knows that deals are made in politics, and Mondale has made a lot of deals. He accepted the Hart peace plank at the Convention, and he accepted quotas from Jackson under other names. Mondale is a promiser. The question is: what else has he promised Jesse Jackson? The American people have a right to know.

Anything that keeps Jesse Jackson in the news will hurt the Democratic ticket generally, and especially among Jews. It is not only Southern Democrats who worry that the Democratic Party has been captured by a new kind of black leadership--leadership that is hostile to Jews and to Israel.

It is a scandal that Democrats include people hostile to Jews in their coalition, and they shouldn't be allowed to slip away from this dilemma. People should be urged to wonder whether they should believe the public professions of friendship with Israel by some Democrats or the demonstrated hostility to Israel by others.

3. A Weak America and a Weak Israel

Though he has the support of the AFL-CIO and some of the Jackson Democrats who have a better appreciation of the requirements for our defense, Mondale does not repudiate the advocates of American pacifism, disarmament, and neo-isolationism, as his acceptance of Hart's "peace" plank at the Convention reminded us. This compromise, and its message to the Soviets, properly worries those who are concerned about Mondale's decisiveness.

Jewish voters should be reminded that a weak America cannot rise to

the defense of Israel, and that the new principles of the Democratic Party sap the strength of those who would defend liberty.

* * *

SUMMARY

Voters, Jews and non-Jews alike, should be presented with the following contrast to ponder:

Reagan

- o proven record of leadership, exemplified by firing the air traffic controllers, shooting down the Libyan planes, and executing the Grenada rescue
- o concrete record of support for Israel, with solid achievements, backed by the resolution to see that our defense is sure
- o a man sure of himself, firm in his principles, with the courage to crack jokes when he was shot
- o supported by an experienced Vice President with a proven record in foreign affairs

Mondale

- o growing doubts about leadership, exemplified by association with Carter, irresolution about the Jackson question, and taking back the firing of Manatt
- o rhetoric in support of Israel at variance with the idea popular among Democrats that peace means U. S. concessions and pliancy
- o a man unsure of himself, always accommodating himself to special interests, tending to crack when he is pressed
- o running with an untried amateur with a record of opposition to a strong defense

The President's record on the issues of concern to Jews is excellent. The leaders of the Jewish community recognize it. Tom Dine of AIPAC admits it. The Israelis are reasonably happy with it. Our job is to get this message out--and turn this sometimes grudging admiration among Jewish opinion leaders into Jewish votes in November.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: MEL BRADLEY *MB*
SUBJECT: Reverend T.J. Jemison

Per your inquiry regarding Reverend Jemison, we have been in frequent touch with the leadership of the National Baptist Convention (NBC) and have received no indication of the potential endorsement that has been mentioned.

We had a personal conversation as recently as yesterday when I called on the behalf of the White House to welcome him and his organization to Washington where they will be holding their annual convention from September 3-10 at the D.C. Convention Center.

There are several factors which militate against an endorsement:

- o Jemison's long-term predecessor, Reverend Joseph Jackson, endorsed President Nixon and, as a result, created a great deal of opposition from much of the membership.
- o In winning the presidency in the Fall of 1982, Jemison campaigned on a platform which emphasized strong support of the civil rights leadership, which at this point is anti-Reagan.
- o Jemison has a very strong political and personal relationship with Jesse Jackson who supported him in ending the 28-year reign of the previous NBC president.
- o Jemison personally envisions himself as becoming a very popular president with the masses of the six to seven million NBC church membership and sees his relationship with Jesse Jackson and other popular black personalities as furthering this objective.

I am not suggesting that the President not meet with Reverend Jemison. As a matter of fact, I think he should. However, we should not expect an endorsement. The most we can realistically anticipate from such a meeting is that Reverend Jemison may not join Ferraro and Jackson in attacking us politically at the convention. Both are scheduled to speak. In the event the President does not meet with him, it might be helpful for him to give Reverend Jemison a telephone welcome.

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By NARA WDB Date 6/6/11
THE WHITE HOUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: J. DOUGLAS HOLLADAY 
SUBJECT: Proposed Meeting with Black Leaders

On September 6-7, Dr. T.J. Jemison leader of the largest black organization in the world will convene 37,000 blacks in Washington, D.C. He is a competitor of Jesse Jackson's and would love the opportunity to take blacks in a direction in opposition to him. Though Jemison publically remonstrates against the President, through private sources, I understand that both Jemison and another black leader, Dr. O.J. Patterson, (who represents 4 million American blacks) would endorse the President if they could briefly meet with him. (See attached scheduling proposal.) If this was done before the September 6 meeting, it could be a real coup for the President and could serve to offset Jackson's momentum in the black community. Of course this meeting would need to be set up delicately and appropriately.

Mike, I felt that this was important enough to bring directly to you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

August 20, 1984

TO: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR., DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

REQUEST: Brief Meeting with 3 prominent black family
leaders:

Dr. T.J. Jemison, President of the National
Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

Dr. J.O. Patterson, Presiding Bishop of the
Church of God in Christ, Inc.

Mrs. Mary Ellen Strong, Editor, Black Family
Magazine and Black Family Journal

PURPOSE: This meeting with the President brings the
Chief of State together with three of the
most influential blacks in America. Dr.
Jemison speaks for the largest black
organization in the world with 7.3 million
members. Mrs. Strong's publication, The
Black Family Magazine is highly regarded.

BACKGROUND: The black church is enormously influential
among the black population. These black
leaders would like to express their support
for the President. They care deeply for the
country and feel as though this President is
committed to strengthening the economic and
social fabric of our society.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: None

DATE & TIME: September or October

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. T.J. Jemison, Dr. J.O. Patterson,
Dr. Mary Ellen Strong

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: It is important that they sit down for 10-15
minutes and have coffee with the President.
He would listen to them as they express their
support and appreciation and then he would
make several informal statements in response.

REMARKS REQUIRED: None --
MEDIA COVERAGE: White House Photographer
RECOMMENDED BY: Faith Ryan Whittlesey
PROJECT OFFICER: J. Douglas Holladay

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 20, 1984

Dear Mary Ellen:

It was so good to talk with you. I am hoping that we can put together the meeting that you and I discussed. Let's hope so!

I will be in touch as things firm up from here.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "JDH", written over a horizontal line.

J. Douglas Holladay
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Dr. Mary Ellen Strong
President
Black Family International
360 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60601



BLACK FAMILY INTERNATIONAL

360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60601, (312) 855-0200

Wesley Bradley

BLACK FAMILY MAGAZINE

BLACK FAMILY JOURNAL

July 31, 1984

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Mr. Douglas Holloday
White House
Room 171
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Doug:

You will find enclosed six magazines that are relative to our discussion today. America's two most influential Black leaders are Dr. T. J. Jemison, our board chairman for Black Family International and president of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., a 7.3 (plus) million member organization, the largest organized body of Black in the world; and Dr. J.O. Patterson, presiding Bishop of the Church of God In Christ, Inc., a 3.5. million member organization.

We are putting the final touches on our in-depth research project, **BLACK FAMILY INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL**. A beautiful hardbound collector's publication, the journal is a documentation of names, addresses, phone numbers categorized by state of national Black businesses, financial institutions, organizations -- social and civic, religious groups, African and Caribbean Embassy offices and much more. Our journal will also have 14 special categories with individual highlights of an outstanding person or institution that have made significant contributions to the betterment of life in America.

Further, we are saluting the 1984 Olympics. I was thoroughly impressed and deeply moved by the opening ceremonies and festivities. It seemed to have rekindled love and respect for our leader, flag and country...true American spirit. Therefore we will pay special tribute to Olympiad XXIII--One of America's Finest Hours.

Over and above, we are dedicating a number of pages to our president, Mr. Reagan. For example, photographs of the signing of the Martin Luther King Holiday, the president recognizing Michael Jackson for his contribution to public service advertisements and other significant pictures of Blacks who have had an audience with the president. If we can obtain photos of the proposed meeting we discussed in time for our deadline, they too will be included in this exclusive journal.

Page 2

July 31, 1984

Mr. Douglas Holloday

It would be of great value and tremendous impact if BLACK FAMILY INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL could be released before November. Doug, if at all possible can you arrange a meeting for me to meet with Frank Fahrenkopf.

Our president had done some very outstanding things with Blacks in America and we are going to tell America and the world about them.

Sincerely,


MARY ELLEN STRONG

MES:cmi

Enclosures

U.S.A. Today.
8/31/84.

NEWSMAKERS

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH PEOPLE IN THE HEADLINES

Reverend guides blacks on paths both holy, political

Don't tell the Rev. T.J. (for Theodore Judson) Jemison religion and politics don't mix.

As president of the 7 million-member National Baptist Convention USA, Inc. — the nation's largest black church — Jemison made sure to schedule the church's election-year convention in Washington, D.C.

"We wanted to have impact in the nation's capital on the presidential election," said Jemison, 64, who will bring 37,000 conventioners to town next week. "We don't think the occupant in the White House has our best interests at heart."

In his keynote speech, the deep-voiced pastor will call for 1 million new black voters by November — to go with the 2 million the denomination already helped the Rev. Jesse Jackson register to vote.

He endorsed Jackson's presidential bid and urges pastors to seek voters as well as souls:

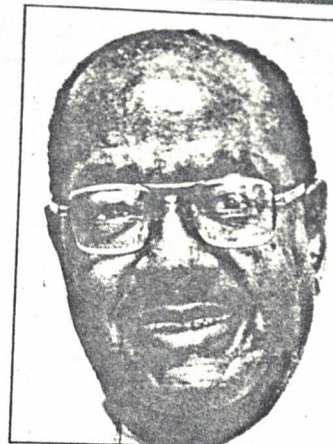
"The black church has always been in politics," Jemison said.

In 1953, he led the USA's first bus boycott, which integrated city transit in Baton Rouge, La., in just eight days.

"I gave Dr. King the blueprint for Montgomery (Ala.)," he said, recalling the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous 1955 bus boycott. By then Jemison was the convention's general secretary, and he helped King found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In 1961, the friendship strained. King and 500,000 followers quit and started the Progressive National Baptist Convention because Jemison's boss, the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, kept the church out of the civil rights protest movement.

Jemison stayed — and after biding his time 21 years, unseated president Jackson in the convention's 1982 election.



By Bill Feig, AP
JEMISON: President of 7 million-member black church

"My predecessor was a passivist. I'm an activist," said Jemison. And not just politically: when not traveling 200,000 miles a year on church business, he plays pingpong and basketball in the Mount Zion Baptist Church gym.

Their son and two daughters grown and married, Jemison and his wife, Celestine, live in an expensive Baton Rouge, La., neighborhood. But he said their \$275,000 home and his blue-and-gold Cadillac stretch limousine (for official business) don't bother church members. "They feel that when you get to be president of the largest thing that Negroes have, nothing is too good."

— Patrick O'Driscoll