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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** McIntosh, David: Files

**Archivist:** dlb

**File Folder:** Bork: WHO Post Mortem (1 of 2) *OA 16531*

**Date:** 11/7/96

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. <del>Memo</del>	From Dinesh D'Souza to Gary L. Bauer Re: Life After Bork, 4 p.	10/14/87	P5
2. Memo	From Rebecca G. Range to Thomas C. Griscom Re: Next Supreme Court Nominee, 5 p.	10/19/87	P5 } CG 12/4/00
3. Action Plan	Presidential Announcement (next Supreme Court Nominee), 1 p.	n.d.	P5

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR GARY L. BAUER

FROM: DINESH D'SOUZA

SUBJECT: Life After Bork

With the Bork nomination apparently finished, it is time for the Administration to think not only about possible new nominees, but also the broad political and intellectual approach that should underlie the selection and marketing of future judicial appointments.

The lesson of the Bork nomination is that it is entirely unrealistic to expect that a nominee's ideology--or more precisely the contents of his judicial philosophy--can escape scrutiny by the Senate. We learned from the Bork case that the laborious edifice constructed by the White House over months was brought down five minutes after the congressional hearings began. Therefore, much as we may feel that it is historically appropriate that "advise and consent" be narrowly construed by the Senate, this isn't going to happen. Our solace here lies in two facts: first, it is entirely consistent with original intent jurisprudence that important decisions rest with legislative bodies; and second, no future liberal Democrat is going to be able to sail through the way that Thurgood Marshall, Abner Mikva and Ruth Ginsberg did.

Howard Baker has been quoted saying that the Bork case illustrates that only a bland homogenous candidate may be confirmable to the Court. It is true that Bork's vulnerability was a series of wild intellectual swings that the public found hard to comprehend--from socialist to libertarian to traditionalist. Yet, it is also true that the White House was helpless against its critics precisely because it tried to present Bork as a bland homogenous person, "another Lewis Powell."

We have to remember that bland homogeneity is precisely what the political left wants. They would much rather have milquetoast than conservatism of any stripe. Thus, it does not alarm them when we accuse them of destroying the integrity of the judicial selection process and only

making it possible for political eunuchs to be confirmed. What these people want is for conservative Presidents to nominate moderates, and liberal Presidents to nominate liberals. Thus is the Court's continual progressive direction ensured.

For the President to appoint a moderate would be to reward the kind of lynch mob that has strangled the Bork nomination. Even worse, it would be a powerful and haunting statement of acknowledgment that the President's agenda is no longer saleable to the American people. The Bork case, viewed in retrospect, would become a political liability--Democratic candidates could say, "Look at the maniac those people almost put on the Court." And by changing gears so sharply, we would have validated that charge.

So where do we go from here? It seems evident that we need two different things in the next nominee. First, we want a judicial conservative who, like the President, believes that law derives from the Constitution and not from the personal whims of the judiciary. Second, we want a qualified scholar who is within the mainstream.

The White House treated the Bork nomination as though these two requirements were contradictory. It reasoned that since Bork does not seem to be in the mainstream, it therefore makes sense to camouflage his judicial conservatism so it goes over with the Senate and the people. But this was a faulty assumption and, it turned out, unrewarding as well.

Of course, Bork or anyone who thinks like him will not be in the legal mainstream, defined by the predominant point of view in the law schools. On the other hand, judicial conservatives, even if a numerical minority, remain a respectable school of thought. Further, President Reagan's numerous sound appointments to the bench have ensured equilibrium between practitioners of judicial activism and judicial restraint on the Court, so the liberal mainstream is less evident there.

In a political environment, however, the most important mainstream is not the legal mainstream but the mainstream of public values. Here we must be confident that we can get the American people to identify with our conservative principles. After all, this is exactly what Ronald Reagan did in 1980 and 1984. Heartland values are what we cherish and what the special interests opposing us fear and detest. We must be able to demonstrate this.

Some suggestions for the hearings:

First, the nominee should take his case directly to the American people. Bork totally missed this opportunity. When Senators asked him whether he felt crime was a blight on this country, instead of giving examples of serial murderers set free on technicalities, Bork said that criminal law was not his specialty. When Senators harangued Bork about state laws requiring forced sterilization and other such atrocities, Bork should have replied, "Senator Kennedy, your question presumes a profound lack of faith in the American people. Do you imagine that the American people lack the good sense to pass laws under which they can live? In which state do you expect forced sterilization laws to pass? I am sure that Senator DeConcini can assure you that his constituents in Arizona would not pass such a law. I trust Senator Heflin will tell you the same thing about native Alabamans. In short, Senator, I am not too afraid of the horrible prospects you mention because I have faith in democracy and I have faith in America." Instead, Bork responded to politically-charged innuendo with legal esoterica. Our next candidate should remember that he is not speaking before a jurists' convention but before the American public. And Senators aren't voting as lawyers, but as representatives of the people.

Second, the nominee should not go into the detail that Bork did about how he would rule. Stating positions about to what degree the 14th Amendment applies to women and where the line between speech and pornography should be drawn, are only invitations to Senators to second-guess the nominee. Our next appointment should say that he believes that rights upheld must be constitutionally warranted and that he will respect precedent. Where exactly the nominee will allow precedent to enshrine even constitutionally-unwarranted rights should in no case be specified. Senators have never in the past been told this and they do not have a right to know. Leaving this ambiguous helps the nominee politically because it does not give people a reason to vote against him.

In conclusion, the next nomination should be aimed at invigorating not only the Court, but also this presidency. We need to demonstrate that a competent man who believes the things President Reagan believes about the Court can prevail over the special interests mobilized against him. We need to do so not through sugary talk about "working with the Democrats." The Democrats are happy to work with us, but only to destroy our agenda and promote theirs.

Previously when this President has found himself beleaguered, he has hung tough and taken his case to the American people. We should stop lamenting the democratization of the judicial process. This is now a populist argument whether we like it or not. We should emphasize our issues--violent crime, pornography, school prayer, busing, quotas--and not let the opposition set the agenda. All of this will not only get our man on the Court, it will also be good practice for 1988.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 19, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THOMAS C. GRISCOM, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND PLANNING

FROM: REBECCA G. RANGE, <sup>Rebecca G. Range</sup> DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: Next Supreme Court Nominee

Given the extremely short time frame between the announcement of the new Supreme Court nominee and the scheduled, or even projected adjournment of Congress, it is crucial that we be prepared to move quickly on the next nomination starting the day it is announced. To accomplish this following will be needed before the announcement:

- ° A biography/press summary and a two-three page summary of the nominee and what he/she stands for and why the President chose this particular nominee.
- ° Preparation now on all mailing lists that will be utilized, labels, etc. Correspondence alerted that OPL mailing of 6,000+ and IGA mailing of 1400+ will be commenced on the day of the announcement (completed and in book).
- ° Appropriate call lists for notification be prepared and ready, including, if appropriate, recommendations for phone calls by the President, Senator Baker, Ken Duberstein, A. B. Culvahouse, to: 1) the Hill; 2) Interest Groups or Individuals; 3) Elected Officials (need).
- ° Draft Presidential letter thanking those who supported Judge Bork and asking for their support on the new nominee. (OPL list done, need IGA).
- ° Draft statements, talking points for Cabinet and other spokespersons (need).
- ° Identification now of outside spokespersons who could be relied upon in the first 24 hours whether they are attorneys, elected officials, heads of interest groups, individuals with standing in Washington or in their own communities (OPL has reviewed some, Counsel and Justice must identify those who are "friends and associates of the new nominee).



- Identification of prominent women in Washington or in their communities who might be enlisted in the next nomination (done).
- Identification of those not involved in the Bork fight that might, given a certain kind of nominee, be brought in on this one (OPL done, need from Counsel specifics).
- Three to four event proposals with appropriate lists for the first few days after the nomination for Senator Baker and the President (OPL done).
- Other proposed meetings that should be handled by A. B. Culvahouse and others within the first 72 hours (done and in book).

The announcement itself will be the first opportunity -- and the best -- we will have to set the tone and themes of the next debate and to try to have at least some of the debate on our terms rather than purely defensive. As a result, I would recommend that it be handled in a more dramatic fashion than simply walking the nominee into the press room. I have written out some suggestions but that is more in your bailiwick. My only concern is that however it is structured, the President raise the issues of crime, talk about the nominee as a person, talk about the necessity of moving expeditiously and set some time frames and that the entire statement be done in such a way that it is played in full -- not just in clips.

In the first twenty-four hours, following the announcement, we must accomplish the following:

- Hold onto the support groups we had for Bork (OPL).
- Expand the groups to those who were not involved or only peripherally involved (OPL identified some, others needed).
- Have approved Presidential and Baker activities ready to go, with appropriate lists and contacts so that they can be accomplished soon (some done and in book).
- Have reasonable visible White House contact with key leaders in the Senate of both aisles so as not to be accused again of not doing anything early enough (need proposed from Congressional Affairs).
- Schedule daily late evening meetings to better coordinate efforts among White House offices so that resources are complementing each other.

- Establish a target list of reasonable dimension and update it daily so that efforts can be concentrated (need from Congressional Affairs).
- Set up in coordination with the nominee, a schedule of courtesy calls on Committee and full Senate to commence as quickly as possible (need from Congressional Affairs).
- Develop a joint OPL/IGA plan for activities in the states involving interest groups and elected officials and set a time line for those activities (in progress).
- Establish some time on the President's schedule each week for the nomination (need from Scheduling).
- Identify with Counsel a visible opponent of Bork, either witness or on the Hill and work for early endorsement of the new nominee. Possibly someone like Bill Coleman if convinced that this nominee were different and if properly stroked or someone with personal ties to the new nominee. The lawyers need to be working on this as the selection process goes on (needed from Counsel and nominee).
- Begin preparation for regularly issued talking points - perhaps on 3x5 cards for use by spokespersons, groups (need from Counsel/Communications).
- You probably know what the Republican National Committee (RNC) can do more than I, but ask for help on: 1) actualities (I think they did well on this the last time); 2) Immediate story on nominee in First Monday; 3) Use of the Voices of Victory; 4) Polling help (if we are to get back into polls it would be helpful to have some input into the questions and interpretation of help). (Note: Political Affairs woking on a separate strategy).
- Identification of a list of all significant conventions and meeting schedule around the country where group endorsement might be helpful - appropriate Administration officials briefed and used to secure endorsement (in progress from OPL).

Later events and weekly meeting should be approved in concept early to provide smooth planning an better quality events. I have included some concepts in the "Week Two and Beyond" section. In addition, however, weekly meeting at the staff levels with appropriate coalitions are necessary.

- I. Conservative/Law Enforcement meeting  
Ken Cribb, Rebecca Range, Christopher Cox
- II. Business Coalition Meeting  
Ken Cribb, Rebecca Range
- III. Possible weekly conference call with law enforcement heads around the country. Rebecca Range/Christopher Cox

Issues:

Obviously the nominee himself/herself and their background will determine the issues or lack of issues but, probably we can count on being tough on crime as one of our top offense issues. We were unsuccessful last go around with making it an issue at all because we kept the rhetoric "tough on crime". Everyone agreed that being "tough on crime" was "good" and weak on crime was "bad". Therefore, there was no controversy. We should not be reluctant to bring up controversial issues which reflect what we mean by "tough on crime" - particularly the death penalty exclusionary rule. Because of the crime bill, this may be easier to raise this time. Any other issue, for the offense - should be identified by Counsel as they go through the nominees record.

Assuming this next nomination will be a fight, it is important to make it clear to groups who did not get involved before, i.e. NRA, and some business groups, American Legion, etc... because "they never get involved in judicial nominees, " that it is important to the President and getting on board when it count will be noticed. I have some thought on this we might discuss.

If we do have a Bork look-alike, the issue will be how do we pick up the votes we didn't get on Bork. As I see it, those basically fall into three categories: 1) the "Moderate Republican Easterners" - Chafee, Specter, Heinz, Stafford, Weicker and for purposes of ease, Packwood; 2) the "Conservative Southern Democrats" - Bentsen, Breaux, Bumpers, Byrd, Chiles, Graham, Heflin, Johnston, Sanford, Shelby, Pryor, Hollings, Nunn, and Stennis, and; 3) the "Mid-Western and Western Democrats" - Baucus, DeConcini, Exon, Melcher and Bingaman.

Group 1. It seems to me that as to Group 1 there is very little in the issue category to "help" us. They do not care much about law enforcement (with exception of Specter) or pro-life, right to work or judicial restraint. Given that they have voted against

Bork, thereby declaring their independence of Reagan and his policies, the best argument comes from the "party" faithful in those states that they "owe" the party one now.

Group 2. They have some issue possibilities depending on the nominee. It can be argued that they solidified their 90% black vote with their Bork vote, the real issue for them according to Donatelli is whether they will get 40% white vote next time (as they did this time) or 20%. This includes groups such as law enforcement, Southern Baptists, Gun Owners, and the splitting off of brown-ethnics from black. Futher, some attempt should be made to split black groups if possible.

Group 3. To me, it seems more a one-on-one issue. No two would necessarily go for the same pitch.

Finally, as we do not have anything from Congressional Affairs, I would suggest a meeting Tuesday, chaired by yourself or Ken Duberstein, with appropriate heads of offices to decide on a coordinated plan.

MATERIALS TO BE READY BY DATE OF ANNOUNCEMENT

- I. For Distribution
  - a. Press/Biography COUNSEL/PUBLIC AFFAIRS
  - b. 2-3 page summary of nominee COUNSEL/PUBLIC AFFAIRS
  - c. Talking Points on nominee COUNSEL/PUBLIC AFFAIRS
  - d. Draft statements for Cabinet and spokespersons CABINET AFFAIRS/COUNSEL & PUBLIC AFFAIRS
- II. Themes for this nomination COMMUNICATIONS
- III. Draft letter of thanks for old supporters with request for support of new nominee. OPL/IGA/COUNSEL
  - a. List of those to receive OPL/IGA/COUNSEL
- IV. Mailing list for bio and summary OPL/IGA/COUNSEL/PRESS & CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS
- V. Call lists outlining who should be notified of the new nominee, at what time, and by whom -- Baker, etc... OPL/IGA/COUNSEL/PRESS & CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS
- VI. Development of list of those who would be early spokespersons in and out of government. OPL/IGA/COUNSEL/PRESS & CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS
- VII. Development of list of those not involved in Bork fight who could be brought in this time. OPL/IGA/COUNSEL/PRESS & CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS
- VIII. Identification of prominent women outside. OPL/CABINET AFFAIRS
- IX. Identification of those who opposed Bork who might be enlisted this time. OPL/COUNSEL
- X. Appropriate Senate consultation. LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS
- XI. Begin identification for witness list. COUNSEL
- XII. Mechanism in place for interoffice White House coordination with appropriate officials to make decisions.

DAY ONE -- ANNOUNCEMENT

(-2 hours)

- I. Phone calls to begin to key contacts -- Hill, Interest Groups, Individuals. Calls to be broken down by who should call -- Senator Baker, Ken Duberstein, Frank Donatelli, Rebecca Range, Will Ball, Nancy Risque.
  - a. Notification of upcoming announcement.
- II. Invitations to small group of influential group leaders to meet Senator Baker, A.B. Culvahouse in the Roosevelt Room at approximate time of announcement. (Note: Schedule proposals).
- III. Cabinet notified and given draft press statements tailored to their constituents.
  - a. Asked to write topic specific op eds.
  - b. Asked to include in all major speeches.
- IV. Pre-identified spokesperson called and given summary and biography as well as talking points.

(0 hours)

- V. Announcement by the President

MATERIALS SENT OUT

- VI. Draft letter thanking old supporters completed with name of new nominee and production begun.
- VII. Distribution of biography, summary material to additional mailing lists.
- VIII. Potential new allies contacted by Office of Public Liaison, White House Counsel's Office, Political Affairs, Intergovernmental Affairs, and Cabinet Affairs and new materials sent.
- IX. Invitations called out to:
  - a. Next day 450 briefing with Senator Baker.
  - b. Agency Congressional, Public Liaison and Intergovernmental Affairs meeting.
  - c. Women's Review Committee meeting for following week.
  - d. Conservative meeting.
- X. Media Placement begun and very important during first week to set our themes.

Phone Call lists



LIST OF KEY PHONE CALLS

I. Senator Baker

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

II. Ken Duberstein

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

III. A. B. Culvahouse

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

Note: From Public Liaison, Intergovernmental Affairs, and Congressional Affairs. Will be added to when appropriate.



## SUGGESTED PHONE CALLS

### I. Presidential

Donald Baldwin  
Executive Director  
National Enforcement Council  
1140 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 804  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
202/223-5598

### II. Arthur B. Culvahouse

- a. Paul Weyrich  
President  
Free Congress Foundation  
721 Second Street, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
202/546-3000
- b. Karl Gallant  
Vice President for Legislation  
National Right to Work  
8001 Braddock Road  
Suite 600  
Springfield, Virginia  
703/321-9820
- c. Patrick McGuigan  
Director, Judicial Reform Project  
Institute for Government and Politics  
Free Congress Foundation  
721 Second Street, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
202/546-3004

BAKER CALLS FOR SUPPORT OF NEW CANDIDATE

Rabbi Morris Sherer  
President of Agudath Israel  
(ultra orthodox)  
To thank and to ask for support  
(212) 797-9000

Rabbi Norman Lamm  
President  
Yeshiva University  
(modern orthodox)  
To thank for behind the scenes help and to ask him to take up  
the nomination with orthodox leaders  
(212) 960-5400

Mr. Andy Athens  
President  
Metron Steel Company  
A most prominent Republican Greek-American and also close to the  
Archbishop  
To thank and to ask for support of Greek-American community  
(312) 646-4000

Mr. Lane Kirkland  
President  
AFL-CIO  
This will do no good if the major civil rights organizations  
oppose the nominee.  
(202) 637-5000

Mr. Frank Stella  
Chairman  
National Republican Heritage Groups Council  
(313) 341-6400  
To thank and to ask for support. One of the most prominent  
ethnic Republican leaders.

Mr. Aloysius Mazewski  
President  
Polish American Congress  
296-6955  
To thank and ask for support. One of the most prominent  
Republican ethnic leaders.

Baker/Leaders Meet



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

October 19, 1987

TO: THE HONORABLE HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: REBECCA G. RANGE, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

REQUEST: For you to address a group of key business, religious and conservative leaders on the new Supreme Court nominee.

PURPOSE: To brief these leaders on the new nominee and to ask for their continued help and support.

BACKGROUND: Many of these key people were active in the Bork nomination, others have been identified because of their relationship with the nominee. By bringing them in early, we hope to gain their support for the President's nominee and discuss possible strategy with them.

DATE: The coincide as closely as possible with the President's announcement. Time: 30-40 minutes.

LOCATION: Roosevelt Room

PARTICIPANTS: 25 key business, religious and conservative leaders.

OUTLINE OF EVENT: Participants are greeted by Rebecca Range. The three page backgrounder on the nominee is distributed. A. B. Culvahouse briefs the group on the outstanding qualifications of this nominee and the reasons the President chose him/her. You stop by at the end of his remarks to discuss possible strategy and given them a "pep talk."

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points to be provided.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Closed

SUGGESTED NAMES FOR ROOSEVELT ROOM MEETING

Dick Leshner, President  
U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Sam Maury, Executive Director  
Business Roundtable

Sandy Trowbridge, President  
National Association of  
Manufacturers

Bill Lilley, President  
American Business Conference

Don Baldwin  
National Law Enforcement  
Council

Dan Casey  
American Conservative Union

Doug Johnson  
National Right to Life

Elizabeth Kepley  
Concerned Women for America

Ben Armstrong  
National Religious Broadcasters

Karl Gallant  
National Right to Work

Gordon Jones  
Heritage Foundation

Patrick McGuigan  
Free Congress Foundation

Dr. James Dobson  
Focus on the Family

Billy Melvin  
National Association of  
Evangelicals

James Boulet  
Liberty Federation

Paul Kamenar  
Washington Legal Foundation

Dr. Adrian Rogers  
Southern Baptist Convention

William Wilson  
Citizens for America

Note: List is very tentative, will change with nominees  
IGA may have additions

PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT BRIEFING IN ROOSEVELT ROOM

Frank Stella or his representative  
Chairman  
National Republican Heritage Groups Council  
7000 Fenkell Avenue  
Detroit, Michigan 48238-2083

Cabinet Notif.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR REBECCA RANGE

FROM: NANCY RISQUE *Nancy*  
SUBJECT: Cabinet participation for consideration

1. Press releases/statements simultaneous with public announcement. These statements should be aimed at their constituencies -- i.e., if possible pointing out how candidate relates to that constituency...
2. Specific speech inserts -- dealing with outgoing and incoming candidate -- should be made available to them for use in major speeches at time of announcement.
3. We should ask them to "touch" identified (by us) congressional folks, immediately. *If Will finds this useful...*
4. Specific message-of-the-week speech inserts should be forwarded to them.
5. We should ask them to have their people write topic-specific op ed pieces for placement by us.
6. Media placement should be stepped up.



Spokesmen and  
Talking Pts



EARLY SPOKESPEOPLE

Mr. Frank Stella  
Chairman  
National Republican Heritage Groups  
Council  
7000 Fenkell Avenue  
Detroit, Michigan 48238-2083

Mr. Hector Barreto  
Chairman-Emeritus  
The U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce  
4900 Maine Street  
Suite 700  
Kansas City, Kansas 64112

Mr. Jadc Terrazas  
Publisher  
Hispanic U.S.A. Magazine  
230 North Michigan Avenue  
Suite 930  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

Mr. Dinonicio Morales  
President  
Mexican American Opportunity Foundation  
670 Monterrey Pass Road  
Monterrey Park, California 91754

Dr. Ana Maria Perera  
National Association of Cuban American  
Women of U.S.A., Inc.  
3900 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 2036  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Note: These are potential spokespeople as Counsel identifies the nominee's friends and associates.



Announcement Prop

## PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Purpose: Rather than to simply announce and introduce the nominee, it is important to change the atmospherics immediately. The President, in some forum needs to talk about why he chose the nominee and what he stands for -- talk about keeping criminals off the streets, protecting the American people, keeping government off the backs of the nation. Also, the importance of moving expeditiously, the importance of the seat being filled. The announcement needs to be made in such a way as the American folks can hear the entire address -- not just a news clip, so that we can have the first chance to shape the debate on this nominee. To vote against him/her is to vote for criminals, pornography, etc...

### OPTIONS:

- I. Announce the nominee in a Presidential Address to the nation. It would be "news" and therefore might be carried in full.
- II. Announce the nominee in a speech (Room 450) where members of the audience include a victim who was terribly mistreated and the criminal went free, a disabled policeman, possible ethnic and some other type. The President would refer to their stories in his statement and ask them to stand or have them on the dais so that the cameras pick them up. Identify the nominee as someone who cares about these kinds of people.
- III. Announce the nominee in a press conference with a long opening statement on why. This would get covered in full and would provide the same benefits of option one. It does have down sides of course.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

**DRAFT**

October 16, 1987

Dear XXXXX:

I'm writing to thank you for your efforts on behalf of Judge Robert Bork. You gave willingly of your time and resources towards the most noble fight and I appreciate it.

During his confirmation hearings, Judge Bork gave the nation a lesson in legal tradition and the importance of judicial restraint. His willingness to hold to principles not politics through the difficult confirmation process reinforced my belief in his dignity and integrity.

As disappointed as I am that Judge Bork was not confirmed, I realize that we must move quickly to fill the vacant seat on the Supreme Court. Accordingly, I have selected XXXXX as my nominee. Judge XXXXX is an outstanding jurist who demonstrates a clear understanding of challenges facing the judiciary. I hope that you and XXXXX will join me in supporting the confirmation of XXXXX.

Sincerely,

ON COMPUTER)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Presidential Thank-You List  
Bork Support

Mr. Louis H.J. Dehmlow (Dear Lou)  
Chairman of the Board  
National Association of  
Wholesaler-Distributors  
Suite 710  
1725 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. Oliver H. Delchamps, Jr. (Dear Ollie)  
Chairman of the Board  
U.S. Chamber of Commerce  
1615 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20062

Mr. Richard DeVos (Dear Rich)  
President  
Amway Corporation  
7575 East Fulton Road  
Ada, Michigan 49355

Mr. Stanley Gault (Dear Stan)  
Chairman of the Board  
National Association of Manufacturers  
Suite 1500  
1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20004

Mr. Dana Heustis (Dear Dana)  
President  
Associated General Contractors  
of America  
1957 E Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. John C. Jones (Dear John)  
President  
Associated Builders and Contractors  
729 15th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Mr. David Koch (Dear David)  
Chairman of the Board  
Citizens of a Sound Economy  
Suite 700  
122 C Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001

The Honorable Arthur Levitt, Jr. (Dear Arthur)  
Chairman  
The American Business Conference  
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Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. Richard B. Madden (Dear Dick)  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
Potlatch Corporation  
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San Francisco, California 94111

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President and Chief Executive Officer  
National Federation of Independent Business  
Suite 700  
600 Maryland Avenue, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20024

Mr. Roger B. Smith (Dear Roger)  
Chairman of the Board  
GM Corporation  
General Motors Building  
3044 West Grand Boulevard  
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Mr. Jack Wilson (Dear Jack)  
Council for National Policy  
311 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Mr. Williard C. Butcher (Dear Mr. Butcher)  
Chairman  
The Chase Manhattan Corporation  
Post Office Box C32222  
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Mr. Jack Eckerd (Dear Mr. Eckerd)  
Chief Executive Officer  
Eckerd Drugs  
Post Office Box 5165  
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Mr. Joseph L. Jones (Dear Mr. Jones)  
President and CEO  
Armstrong World Industries  
333 Liberty Street  
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Mr. Robert D. Kilpatrick (Dear Mr. Kilpatrick)  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
Cigna Corporation  
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Mr. Howard M. Love (Dear Mr. Love)  
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National Intergroup Incorporated  
20 Stanwick Street  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Mr. Marion "Mac" Magruder, Jr. (Dear Mr. Magruder)  
President  
MacAir Aviation Corporation  
152220 North 75th Street  
Scottsdale, Arizona 85260

Mr. Robert Mercer (Dear Mr. Mercer)  
Chairman and CEO  
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company  
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Akron, Ohio 44316-0001

Mr. Paul H. O'Neil (Dear Mr. O'Neil)  
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Aluminum Company of America  
1501 ALCOA Building  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Mr. David M. Roderick (Dear Mr. Roderick)  
Chairman  
USX Corporation  
600 Grant Street  
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Mr. Vincent Sarni (Dear Mr. Sarni)  
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PPG Industries Incorporated  
One PPG Plaza, 40S1  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15272

Mr. John W. Teets (Dear Mr. Teets)  
Chairman  
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Greyhound Tower  
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Mr. Hays T. Watkins (Dear Mr. Watkins)  
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Post Office Box C32222  
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Mr. Henry Wendt (Dear Mr. Wendt)  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
SmithKline Beckman Corporation  
One Franklin Plaza  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 16, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR REBECCA RANGE

FROM:

LINAS KOJELIS *CK*

SUBJECT:

Letter from the President Re: Bork Support

Mr. Laszlo Pasztor  
Chairman, Executive Board  
National Federation of American Hungarians  
656 Greenlee Road  
Pittsburgh, PA 15227

Mr. Aloysius Mazewski  
President  
Polish American Congress  
6100 North Cicero Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60646

Mr. Joseph Avara  
National President  
Order Sons of Italy in America  
219 E Street, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Mr. Ignatius Billinsky  
President  
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America  
325 Dreshertown Road  
Fort Washington, PA 19034

Mr. Jack Stevens  
Executive Director  
Citizens for America  
Suite 320  
214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 16, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY DEWHIRST

FROM: MAX GREEN  
SUBJECT: Thank you letters

I suggest the following people receive thank you notes for their help with the Bork nomination:

Leonard Garment  
Dickstein, Shapiro and Morin  
2101 L Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Garment should receive a special note, not a form letter.

Rabbi Morris Sherer  
President  
Agudath Israel of America  
84 William Street  
New York, NY 10038

Rabbi Ephraim H. Sturm  
National Council of Young Israel  
3 West 16th Street  
New York, NY 10011

Chris Gersten  
Executive Director  
National Jewish Coalition  
415 Second Street, NE  
Suite 100  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Max Fisher  
Honorary Chairman  
National Jewish Coalition  
2700 Fisher Building  
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Richard Fox  
Chairman  
National Jewish Coalition  
Suite 201  
1325 Morris Drive  
Wayne, PA 19087-5506

Dr. Norman Lamm  
President  
Yeshiva University  
500 West 185th Street  
New York, NY 10033

Jacob (Jack) Stein  
20 Jerusalem Avenue  
Hicksville, NY 11801

Martin Plax  
American Jewish Committee  
Cleveland, OH

Professor James Blumstein  
Nashville, TN

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

WASHINGTON

**I. Thank you letter from the President**

Curt Anderson, President  
Coalitions of America  
721 Second Street, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Jo Billings  
Women for Bork  
425 New Jersey Ave., S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

James Boulet, Director of Legislative Affairs  
The Moral Majority  
505 Second Street, N.E.  
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Gerald Carmen, Chairman  
Citizens for America  
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Daniel Casey, Executive Director  
American Conservative Union  
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Washington, D.C. 20003

James Denton, President  
National Forum Foundation  
214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.  
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Washington, D.C. 20002

Peter Flaherty, Chairman  
Citizens for Reagan  
412 First Street, S.E.  
Suite 160  
Washington, D.C. 20003

Karl Gallant, Vice President for Legislation  
National Right to Work  
8001 Braddock Road  
Suite 600  
Springfield, VA 22160

Connie Heckman, Executive Director  
American Legislative Exchange Council  
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Suite 400  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Joan Hueter, President  
National Association of Pro-America  
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Margery Huges, Deputy Executive Director  
Citizens for America  
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Kay James, Public Affairs Director  
National Right to Life  
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Washington, D.C. 20004

Douglas Johnson, Legislative Director  
National Right to Life  
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Washington, D.C. 20004

Gordon Jones, Vice President for Government Relations  
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Washington, D.C. 20002

Paul Kamenar, Executive Legal Director  
Washington Legal Foundation  
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Washington, D.C. 20036

William Kennedy, Publisher  
Conservative Digest  
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Fort Collins, CO 80525

Elizabeth Kepley, Legislative Director  
Concerned Women of America  
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Washington, D.C. 20001

John Kwapisz, Executive Director  
Center for Peace and Freedom  
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Oaklandpark, FL 33334

Patrick McGuigan  
Director, Judicial Reform Project  
Institute for Government and Politics  
Free Congress Foundation  
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National Center for Public Policy Research  
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Americans for Tax Reform  
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Conservative Caucus  
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Larry Pratt  
Gun Owners of America  
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Competitive Enterprise Institute  
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Christian Action Council  
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Mr. Ray Allen  
American Coalition for Life  
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Washington, DC 20013

Mr. Kirk Shrewsbury  
Southern Baptists for Life  
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Tulsa, OK 74147-0050

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National Religious Broadcasters  
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Morristown, N.J. 07960

Donald E. Wildmon  
Executive Director  
National Federation for Decency  
Post Office Drawer 2440  
Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

Dr. Jerry Falwell  
President  
Liberty Federation  
Old Time Gospel Hour  
Lynchburg, VA 24514

Billy Melvin  
National Association of Evangelicals  
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9th floor  
Washington, DC 20005

Dr. James Dobson  
President  
Focus on the Family  
50 East Foothill Blvd.  
Arcadia, CA. 91006

**"WE THE PEOPLE"**  
**Organization Committee Members**

Victor Atiyeh - former Governor, Portland, OR

William Bagley - Attorney, former California Assemblyman;  
Chairman California Transportation Commission, San  
Francisco, CA

Victor A. Barbata - Attorney, San Francisco, CA

Craig Berkman - Chairman, Synektron Corporation, Portland, OR

Ben Biaggini - Retired, C.E.O., Southern Pacific Company,  
San Francisco, CA

Broughton Bishop - Chairman, Pendleton Woolen Mills, Portland, OR

C.M. Bishop, Jr. - President, Pendleton Woolen Mills, Portland, OR

Winton M. Blount - Chairman of the Board, C.E.O., Blount, Inc.;  
former U.S. Postmaster General, Montgomery, AL

Earl C. Bolton - Alameda, CA

Wendy Borchardt - Los Angeles, CA

Mr. & Mrs. William S. Boyd - Hillsborough, CA

Margaret Martin Brock - Los Angeles, CA

Fernando Buesa - Corporate Banker, Los Angeles, CA

Howard H. Callaway, Chairman, GOPAC, Washington D.C.; President  
and CEO, Crested Butte Resort, Colorado

Larry Campbell - Republican Minority Leader, Oregon House  
of Representatives, Portland, OR

Frank Chown - Chairman, Chown Hardware Company, Portland, OR

Don Cook - Manager, Pendleton Grain Growers, Portland, OR

Ward Cook - President, Oregon Pioneer Savings and Loan,  
Portland, OR

Ed Cooley - Chairman, Precision Cast Parts, Portland, OR

Mrs. Joseph Coors - Golden, CO

Mike Curb - former Lt. Governor of California, Los Angeles, CA

John B. DesCamp, Jr. - Partner, Weiss, Deskamp, Botteri, & Huber,  
Portland, OR

Governor George Deukmejian - Sacramento, CA

Marty Dyer - Sacramento, CA

William Eggeling - Boston, MA

Diana Evans - State Chairman, 1984 Reagan/Bush Campaign,  
Salem, OR

Dennis B. Ferguson - Senior Vice President, Jewett, Barton, Leavy,  
& Kern, Portland, OR

H. Joseph Ferguson - President, Ferguson & Wellman, Inc., Portland  
OR

Robert H. Finch - Attorney; former Secretary of Health, Education  
and Welfare, Pasadena, CA

Tom Fink - former Speaker of the Alaska Legislature, Anchorage, AK

Mayor Emory Folmar - Montgomery, AL

President Gerald Ford - Vail, CO

Alex P. Garcia - former California State Senator, Los Angeles, CA

John Gram - Timber Industry Executive, Portland, OR

Bruce Herschensohn - Television Political Commentator, Los Angeles, CA

Douglas G. Houser - Partner, Bullivant, Houser, Bailey,  
Pendergast, & Hoffman, Portland, OR

Edward Jagels - District Attorney, Kern County, Bakersfield, CA

Randall B. Kester - former Oregon Supreme Court Justice,  
Portland, OR

Bob Koch - Commissioner, City of Portland, Portland, OR

Governor Robert Martinez - Tallahassee, FL

Douglas V. McIver - President, Commerce Investment, Portland, OR

Tony Meeker - State Treasurer, Salem, OR

George Mehl - President, Cottonwood Properties, Tucson, AZ

Antonio Mendez - Labor Relations Specialist, Delano, CA

Steve Merksamer - Senior Partner in Nielsen, Merksamer, former  
Chief of Staff to Governor George Deukmejian, Sacramento, CA

Harry A. Merlo - Chairman, Louisiana-Pacific Corporation,  
Portland, OR

Ronald T. Miller - Chairman, Northwest Natural Gas Company,  
Portland, OR

Jose Montero - C.E.O., American Diversions Inc., San Antonio, TX

Mr. Robert A. Mosbacher - Houston, TX

William J. Moshofsky - former G.O.P. State Chairman and  
Congressional candidate, Portland, OR

Samuel T. Naito - President, Norcrest China Company, Portland, OR

Frank Nash - Senior Partner, Miller, Nash, Wiener, Hager, &  
Carlson, Portland, OR

Daniel Needham, Jr. - Boston, MA

Jack Pandol - President, Pandol Bros., Inc., Delano, CA

Dean Pape - Chairman of the Board, Pape Bros., Inc.,  
Eugene, OR

Gwen Pharo - Dallas, TX

Michael Ragsdale - Grubb & Ellis, Portland, OR

Gene Raper - President, United Packaging Company, Los Angeles, CA

Dennis P. Rawlinson - Partner; Miller, Nash, Wiener, Portland, OR

Arthur A. Riedel - President, Riedel International, Portland, OR

Richard J. Riordan - Attorney; Senior Partner, Riordan, Freeman,  
Spogly Merchant Bankers; Finance Co-Chairman, Crime Victims  
for Court Reform (1986), Los Angeles, CA

George Romney - former Governor, Bloomfield Hills, MI

James Roosevelt - former California Congressman, Irvine CA

Dr. Steven Rosenberg - Los Angeles, CA

Thomas Roser - Chicago, IL

Karl Samuelian - Attorney; Partner, Parker, Milliken, Clark,  
O'Hara, & Samuelian; 1986 Deukmejian For Governor Finance  
Chairman, Los Angeles, CA

Jordan Schnitzer - President, Northern Warehousing, Inc.  
Portland, OR

John Schwabe - Portland, OR

Robert H. Short - Chairman, Portland General Corporation  
Portland, OR

William French Smith - former U.S. Attorney General,  
Los Angeles, CA

Thomas G. Somermeier, Jr. - Beverly Hills, CA

John Spellman - former Governor of Washington, Seattle, WA

Dave Stirling - General Counsel, A.L.R.B., Sacramento, CA

Henry T. Swigert - Chairman, ESCO Corporation, Portland, OR

Charles J. Swindells - Chairman, Capital Trust Company,  
Portland, OR

William Swindells, Jr. - Chairman, Willamette Industries, Inc.,  
Portland, OR

Ted Taylor - Bruce Church Company, Salinas, CA

Walker M. Treece - Chairman, Grantree Corporation, Portland, OR

Richard J. Turner - President, The Turner Group, Inc., Portland, OR

Holmes Tuttle - Los Angeles, CA

Harold R. Walt - Woodside, CA

Cameron J. Warren - President, Three Oaks Development, Portland, OR

Robert C. Warren - Chairman, Cascade Corporation, Portland, OR

R.W. de Weese - President, Medalarm Corporation, Portland, OR

Harriett Wieder - Chairman, Orange County Board of Supervisors,  
Santa Ana, CA

Luke G. Williams - President, Northwest Telecommunications Company,  
Spokane, WA

William A. Wilson - former Ambassador, Los Angeles, CA

Wendell Wyatt - former Congressman, Portland, OR

William W. Wyse - Portland, OR

Dr. Julian Youmans - Sacramento, CA

Ogelsby H. Young - Portland, OR

Ed Zschau - Businessman; Senate nominee (1986); former  
Congressman, Menlo Park, CA

ADDITIONAL THANK YOU NOTES AND HELP

Mrs. Anna Faltus  
Washington Representative  
Czechoslovak National Council  
Suite 610  
1101 New Hampshire Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20037

Mr. Peter Flaherty  
Chairman  
Citizens for Reagan  
Suite 160  
412 First Street  
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Mr. Ihor Rebensky  
Editor English Edition  
America  
The Ukranian Catholic Newspaper  
817 N. Franklin Street  
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Chairman-Emeritus  
The U.S. Hispanic Chamber of  
Commerce  
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Mr. David J. Morales  
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National Hispanic Association of  
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Mr. Jack Terrazas  
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Dr. Ana Maria Perera  
Founder  
National Association of Cuban-  
American Women of USA, Inc.  
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Mr. Dionicio Morales  
President  
Mexican American Opportunity  
Foundation  
670 Monterrey Pass Road  
Monterrey Park, California 91754

Mr. Tony Valencia  
President  
Mexican American Opportunity  
Foundation  
1446 Front Street, #203  
San Diego, California 92101

COUNSEL MAILING LISTS

•



INTERGOVERNMENTAL MAILING LISTS

List-Mat. Dist

MAILING LISTS

PUBLIC LIASON

Defense and Foreign Policy

Linas Kojelis:	1600	
Max Green:	1500	
Rudy Beserra:	1400	
TOTAL:	4500	Ethnics, Conservatives, Jewish

Business Liaison Office

Dan Danner:	306	
-------------	-----	--

Domestic Liaison Office

Carol Hornby:	2300	Christian media, broadcasters, pastors
---------------	------	--

INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS/POLITICAL AFFAIRS

3000 Total Mailing List

## OPL MAILING LISTS

### I. Mailings sent to:

- a. NRB radio/T.V. broadcast networks - 1300
- b. key pastors - 1200
- c. Christian media - 800
- d. Key business representatives - 306

### II. Major mailing to include:

- a. RR address/announcement
- b. Fact sheet - talking points

### III. Depending on pro-life stance of the nominee, a special mailing may need to be sent to:

- a. Southern Baptists for Life
- b. NOEL
- c. Presbyterians for Life
- d. Good News
- e. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod
- f. Lutherans for Life
- g. Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life
- h. National Right to Life
- i. Christian Action Council
- j. American Coalition for Life

V. PUBLIC LIAISON CONSERVATIVE GROUP MAILING LIST

United Families of America  
220 I Street, NE  
Suite 150  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
546-1600

Bob Bartleson

Great Commission, Inc.  
P.O. Box 1790  
Hyattsville, Maryland 20788  
699-9300

Steve Hogan  
Geoff Botkin

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Gerry Carmin  
Peter Conlin

Council for National Policy  
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675-4333

Jack Wilson  
Chris Featherstone

Maranatha Ministries  
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Brett Fuller

National Association of Evangelicals  
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Richard Cizik  
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Association of Christian Schools  
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Jack Clayton

Society for the Defense of Tradition,  
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4301 Columbia Pike  
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Mario Da Costa

American Life League  
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Stafford, Virginia 22554  
546-5550

Jim Deger

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

V. Conservative Mailing List

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Col. Sam Dickens

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Bob Goldsborough

Americans for Tax Reform  
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Admiral Mark Hill

Black Americans for Free Angola  
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Dr. Maurice Dawkins

Black PAC  
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Lynn Bouchey

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Gerald Carmen

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Kimberly Roberts

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Dennis Kilcoyne

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Shannon O'Chester  
Elizabeth Kepley

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Peter Brommeo

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Peter Waldron



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