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Date: 11/24/98

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	Dam to J. Baker (1 p) <i>R, 6/30/00 NLSF98-024/1 #3</i>	8/10/83	P1
2. Memo	Brock to Clark et. al. (2 p)	7/22/83	P5
3. Memo	Regan to J. Baker re: Jamaica (2 p) <i>L 8/16/02 F98-024 #4</i>	6/14/83	P1

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].
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- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER

SUBJECT: Slot Restrictions at O'Hare International
Airport

I have attached Elizabeth Dole's response to my question yesterday about slot restrictions at O'Hare International Airport.

The Department of Transportation strongly advises against changing the language with regard to slot restrictions to read "[the FAA will] restrict the number of airline landing 'slots' at O'Hare International Airport until not later than April 1, 1984.

I agree with the Department of Transportation. I think it would be a mistake to ask them to become locked into a situation where they would have to increase the slots on a certain date if they had any remaining concerns about the ability of the controllers to handle the increased load.

As a matter of general practice, if the FAA Administrator believes that the system will be ready April 1, 1984, he would announce a few weeks in advance that a decision had been made.

Let me know if you want any additional information.

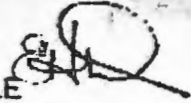
cc: Ed Meese

cc: Ed Meese



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ELIZABETH HANFORD DOLE 
SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

SUBJECT: Slot Restrictions at O'Hare International Airport,
Chicago

On October 5, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) announced that it will continue to restrict the number of airline landing "slots" at O'Hare International Airport until at least April 1. As you are aware, careful slot allocation is one of the means by which the FAA has assured the safety of air transportation in the wake of the illegal air traffic controllers' strike. Since that time, we have gradually increased the capacity of the air traffic system to the point that slot restrictions have been eliminated at most air traffic control centers and airports.

Chicago is one of the few places where slot restrictions remain. The on-the-job training of a large number of "developmental" controllers at the Chicago Center and O'Hare tower requires that these restrictions remain in effect until April. Controllers cannot be moved from one place to another very quickly -- they must learn the specifics of each position at a particular tower or center. The FAA also has had to reduce the overtime controllers have worked since the strike.

April 1, 1984, is the FAA's best estimate of the earliest date restrictions at O'Hare can be removed safely. We are sensitive to the need to remove obstacles to airline competition, and will remove the last of the "slot" restrictions at the earliest date that it safely can be done.

UNCLAS

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CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES 5

IMMEDIATE

DACOM # 19

RELEASER 10y

PRIORITY

DEX #

DTG 071620Z

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FAX #

FROM/LOCATION/

1. CRAIG FULLER

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. MR. JAMES BAKER / LOUISVILLE, KY. TOR/

2.

3.

4.

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1.

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

Delete work:
"at least"

✓ Call Dorman
✓ NR - recheck.
✓ Contingency
✓ Pot. Plan

UNCLAS

CLASSIFICATION

THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
WASHINGTON
20506

R.F.
✓

September 30, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: James Baker
FROM: William E. Brock
SUBJECT: Williamsburg Commitments on Trade

The President made certain clear commitments on trade at Williamsburg and I thought it time to report to you on the progress in our follow-up effort.

I have met with the Trade Ministers of the Summit countries twice this summer, once in London during July, and the second this week in Ottawa. These meetings have been supplemented by numerous bilateral and multi-lateral sessions at the working level. As of this past week, we have begun to get solid cooperation from my counterparts - who are showing a great deal of political courage in the face of their domestic economic and political problems.

With respect to the commitment to dismantle trade barriers, the trade ministers agreed to try to sell to their own governments the following steps:

- 1) The most important suggestion would be an agreement to accelerate the tariff cuts agreed upon in the Tokyo Round whenever any one of the countries reaches two percent growth in its economy.
- 2) An accelerated effort to expand the government agencies covered by the open bidding provisions of the Government Procurement Code.
- 3) The inclusion of aircraft parts under the duty-free provisions of the aircraft agreement.
- 4) A review of longstanding antidumping duties in order to eliminate those that are no longer necessary.
- 5) An intensive effort to establish a better discipline on subsidy and safeguard practices.

Actions such as accelerated tariff cuts and reduction in restricted government purchasing will certainly not be easy, since they will require Congressional approval in the United States and similar legislative steps in the other countries, but we have agreed to make the effort.

The Summit trade ministers have also agreed to remove restrictive trade measures and to settle outstanding trade disputes of mutual interest to the four trading partners. Through bilateral consultations we have already drawn up a list of concrete steps which we, as well as each of the other Summit partners, could take to create an example for others and to reduce trade tensions. We will have intensive consultations over the weeks ahead to expand the list.

The present list ranges from rather significant steps, such as the elimination of Buy America provisions on cement under the Surface Transportation Act, to more modest actions such as the elimination of restraints on imports of battered and breaded mushrooms from Canada. It includes mutual elimination of duties on semiconductors (U.S. and Japan), reduction of import restraints on footwear (Canada), expansion of agricultural import quotas (Japan), and other measures by each of the Summit partners.

Bilaterally, I have explored with Minister Uno of Japan what we might do with respect to the auto issue. We have discussed one approach which would have Japan terminate the current numerical export restraints on autos, but simultaneously assure us that Japanese auto manufacturers recognize the strategic importance of the auto industry to the United States and will therefore avoid destabilizing import surges in this crucial area.

I have begun to discuss an exciting possibility with Jerry Regan, the Canadian Trade Minister, regarding opening up more trade between us. Canada recently issued a comprehensive statement on trade policy which put major emphasis on improved and expanded trade relations with the United States, and raised the possibility of sectoral free trade arrangements with the United States. While Canada for domestic political reasons is constrained from proposing a complete North American free trade area, the negotiation of a broad range of sectoral arrangements could, over a period of years, substantially achieve the same goal. This has long been a dream of mine, and we have invested a great deal of effort and time (and patience) in its fruition. Someday, it could also be the single most important catalyst in achieving the President's long-held desire for a North American Accord.

The Williamsburg Summit Declaration also committed the Summit countries to liberalize trade with the developing countries. In this connection, the trade ministers agreed, again in their personal capacity, to seek the maximum feasible elimination of restrictions on imports from the least developed countries. However, all were less specific on this topic than on the previously mentioned moves, feeling that not much remains to be done except in extremely sensitive areas such as textiles and apparel - and there were no volunteers here.

Finally, the trade ministers agreed to address the issue of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations at our next meeting. The U.S. side will lead the discussion on this issue, and I am confident that we will be able to develop a consensus on the objectives and timing of a new round of negotiations.

Incidentally, I have appended a memo on our strategy to implement the Williamsburg Declaration for your information. If you have additional thoughts or suggestions, I would greatly value them.

Attachments

Implementation of the Commitments on Trade from the Williamsburg Summit Meeting

General Strategy

This paper sets out our general strategy for implementing the commitments on trade made at the Williamsburg Summit. Our objective is to link the political commitments to specific actions to be taken by Summit countries by spring, as well as to initiatives in international organizations. The actions will give concrete meaning and credibility to the Summit commitments. They also will set the stage for positive steps to be taken at the OECD Ministerial in May that will promote our strategy for managing international trade and financial problems at the London Summit in June.

To implement this plan, we will need to make appropriate use of the numerous opportunities, both formal and informal, for high-level political contact among the seven Summit countries, and others, over the coming months. Our first step should be to develop a consensus among Summit countries on an approach for implementing the commitments on trade. Our second step should be to broaden support for the Summit commitments and implementation efforts among other developed countries, and eventually developing countries. This could be achieved by making use of various informal meetings among key officials, as well as formal meetings in the OECD and the GATT. Further support could be garnered during possible meetings of trade and financial ministers and during the course of bilateral and regional consultations. The proposed Quadrilateral-ASEAN meeting in February could be particularly helpful in building support with key groups of developing countries.

Reaching a consensus on trade liberalization efforts will not be easy, however. With the exception of Japan, Summit countries continue to face major unemployment problems in key industries, and pressure on governments to intervene will remain strong. The United States will be in a particularly difficult situation. We must provide leadership in moving the Summit countries toward a reversal of protectionist trends, because no one else can. At the same time, our own trade problems continue to mount. We recently found it necessary to restrict imports of specialty steel and we will confront a number of other difficult decisions over the next six months, including the extension of auto restraints, pressures for additional restrictions on carbon steel imports, cutbacks in our bilateral textile arrangements, and potentially restrictive trade legislation. Election year pressures will only intensify these problems. Nevertheless, we must lead the effort and demonstrate that trade liberalization can advance the process of economic recovery in both developed and developing countries.

International Economic Considerations

To a large extent, the ability of countries to halt protectionism and dismantle trade barriers will turn on the pace of the worldwide economic recovery. Progress towards trade liberalization will not be possible without a significant improvement in the international economy.

The situation in the United States will be critical over the next 12 months. While the recovery in our domestic economy is stronger than in those of our trading partners, problems remain such as record high trade and budget deficits, high interest rates, and high unemployment in key sectors. Consequently, Congressional and private sector pressures for protection will remain strong. The Presidential election campaign is likely to reinforce these pressures.

Economic recovery in Europe and Canada lags behind that in the United States, and the situation in France is particularly serious. Barring a sharp upturn in the next few months, it will be difficult to persuade the European Community and Canada to take concrete steps towards dismantling trade barriers. We will need to demonstrate our own willingness to take some tough measures and devise a plan that establishes a sense of direction, while not asking countries to do the impossible.

Special attention will need to be devoted to developing countries. Many LDCs are struggling with large balance of payments deficits and growing debt burdens, and see little possibility for trade liberalization. Moreover, as a group they resist the notion that they would have to undertake commitments to liberalize trade. In order to gain their support, we need to convince them that there can be no solution to their balance-of-payments/debt problems without a reversal of protectionist trends and a new effort to dismantle trade barriers. Efforts by developed countries to dismantle barriers in basic industries will be as difficult politically as efforts by developing countries to lower their very high levels of protection. The two will be possible only if they are linked. We will need to demonstrate in concrete terms that an international effort to liberalize trade could help ensure high, stable growth rates and access to developed country markets.

Depending on the pace of the economic recovery worldwide, our goal should be to prepare for appropriate public endorsement of further steps toward trade liberalization at the OECD Ministerial next spring, and by a possible Ministerial-level of the GATT CG-18.

Summit Commitments on Trade

In the Declaration on Economic Recovery, the Summit participants committed their governments to:

- halting protectionism and dismantling trade barriers;
- achieving further trade liberalization negotiations in the GATT, with particular emphasis on expanding trade with and among developing countries;
- continuing consultations on proposals for a new negotiating round in the GATT, and to that end actively pursuing work programs in the OECD and the GATT, including services and high-technology; and
- encouraging closer cooperation between the GATT, IMF and IBRD on trade and monetary policies.

A. Dismantling Trade Barriers

The Quadrilateral partners have agreed that concrete steps to dismantle trade barriers need to be taken over the next few months to give meaning to the Summit commitments. Discussion among the Quadrilateral partners currently centers on the kinds of steps each country could take in the short-term. It is envisioned that future discussions will concern additional steps that might be taken as the economic recovery proceeds to achieve a reduction in protectionism and a further dismantling of barriers. The Quadrilateral meeting September 26-27 and possible future meetings should be used to solidify support for this approach.

Activities in the OECD can broaden the agreement among the Summit participants and help to bring non-Summit developed countries into the process of taking trade liberalizing measures. At their meeting in May, the OECD Ministers committed their governments to "reverse protectionist trends and to relax and dismantle progressively trade restrictions and trade distorting domestic measures, particularly those introduced over the recent period of poor growth performance". Since then, the Secretary General of the OECD has prepared a background note concerning the implementation of these commitments. The note sets out a two-step process involving (1) a set of concrete trade liberalizing measures to be taken in the short-term and, (2) a longer-term effort to map out the gradual dismantling of trade barriers imposed in recent years in basic industries.

As a means of implementing the first step, Van Lennep proposes to send a letter to all OECD trade ministers, asking them to identify concrete trade liberalizing measures they will take over the coming months in carrying out the OECD Ministerial commitment to dismantle trade barriers. Such a letter is likely to be sent after the OECD Trade Committee meeting (October 24-25) and the OECD Executive Committee Special Session (XCSS) meeting (November 7-8) when countries have had a chance to discuss this initiative.

The second step of Van Lennep's proposal calls for easing and gradually phasing out over a longer-term process recently imposed trade barriers in basic industries facing adjustment problems. Countries would agree on long-term adjustment objectives and a process for the step-by-step dismantling of barriers. The aim is to develop a consensus on such a plan by spring, so as to enable ministers to approve it at the OECD Ministerial in late May. This also would enable the Summit countries to endorse the plan at the London Summit in June.

A parallel process is underway in the GATT. At the GATT Ministerial, the member countries agreed "to refrain from taking or maintaining any measures inconsistent with the GATT and to make determined efforts to avoid measures which would limit or distort international trade." Implementation of the Ministerial language is the responsibility of the Consultative Group of Eighteen, however that group has met once since the Ministerial and its discussion has not been particularly fruitful. Another meeting is scheduled for October 12. We should coordinate our GATT strategy for this and other meetings with our Quadrilateral partners to ensure that a framework for dismantling trade barriers is concretely established in the GATT. U.S. leadership in the CG-18 will be particularly important.

Ideally, we should build upon the consensus reached among Summit countries through the Quadrilateral process and non-Summit developed countries through the OECD and strive to bring about in the GATT a broader consensus involving both developed and developing countries. In the GATT we should seek to reach agreement by developed countries to phase down barriers protecting their basic industries, and agreement by developing countries to reduce the level of protection in their trade regimes as their balance of payments situations improve. By coupling the commitments undertaken by developed and developing countries, we could lay the foundation for North-South negotiations in the context of a broad round of trade negotiations in the GATT in the years ahead.

B. Multilateral Trade Negotiations

The Summit leaders agreed "to continue consultations on proposals for a new negotiations round in the GATT." The consultations are implicitly, though indirectly, linked to the Summit agreement "to actively pursue the current work programs in the OECD and the GATT, including trade in services and in high-technology products." There also is an obvious link to the commitment "to work to achieve further trade liberalization negotiations in the GATT, with particular emphasis on expanding trade with and among developing countries." Our objective is to build upon the relatively immediate progress achieved in the dismantling exercise (described above) and set the stage for preparations for broader trade liberalization negotiations later in the decade.

Implementation of this commitment is dependent upon progress we are able to make on the OECD and GATT work programs. We should seek to make sufficient progress on the various areas identified in each work program to enable a consensus to emerge by spring that negotiations would be beneficial. Undoubtedly, progress will not come easily in some areas. For example, France, and therefore the EC, continue to block the high technology work program in the GATT.

One step in our preparation for future negotiations will be to build on activities underway in the OECD. The current work program on trade issues of the 1980s was established by the ministers in 1982. It is scheduled to be completed in early 1984 and will be reviewed by the ministers in May. The work program includes trade in services, trade in agricultural products, trade distortions created by investment policies, and trade in high-technology products. Tentative conclusions about these issues, coupled with tangible results from the dismantling exercise, could enable the ministers to point to a new round of GATT negotiations as the means for carrying the work forward. The OECD Ministers could pick up this theme from the Williamsburg Summit Declaration and prepare the ground for a more ambitious commitment at the London Summit.

At the same time we are bringing the OECD work program to an end, we should actively pursue the GATT work program. Because of its larger membership, our actions in the GATT will be key to developing a broad consensus for future negotiations. During the coming year in the GATT we should seek to solidify the support of developed countries and gain the support of developing countries for the new negotiations. A three step process would be useful here. First, we should seek to successfully implement the GATT Ministerial Declaration. Positive movement in the dismantling exercise (described above) will be of great help in this regard. Second, we should seek to make significant progress on individual issues in the work program,

particularly those of interest to developing countries. This may require us to constructively address issues that we have previously avoided discussing, such as structural adjustment in basic industries in exchange for more liberalized trading regimes in LDCs. Third, it would be useful if our efforts in the GATT were followed through with additional discussion in the course of bilateral consultations with developing countries and other informal meetings. This could help to coalesce support for new negotiations in the GATT.

Our success in generating GATT support for future negotiations will influence what we can achieve at the OECD Ministerial and the London Summit. If the degree of consensus-building in the GATT is sufficiently strong by spring, it might be appropriate for the CG-18 to meet at ministerial level to assess the situation. An up-beat statement by the CG-18, for example, would be of great help in encouraging the OECD Ministers to pick up the theme and the Summit participants to endorse future trade negotiations.

If this scenario holds, our next step will be to prepare for the 1984 GATT CPs meeting. Many of the issues contained in the GATT Ministerial Declaration will be completed and reviewed by the CPs. We should aim to have the CPs use their annual meeting in 1984 to announce preparations for a GATT Ministerial session in 1985 that would launch the new round of negotiations.

C. North-South Trade Relations

The Summit participants agreed that in any further trade liberalization negotiation in the GATT they would put "particular emphasis on expanding trade with and among developing countries." Similarly, the trade ministers at the GATT Ministerial acknowledged the important role of developing countries in international trade and agreed "to examine the prospects for increasing trade between developed and developing countries." Developing country issues will be an important component of the new negotiations envisioned for the GATT.

Over the course of the next year, our objectives should be to secure the support of non-Summit countries on the concept of North-South negotiations. We should stress that markets must remain open if we are to assure economic recovery and the ability of developing countries to service their debts. Negotiations designed to liberalize trade between developed and developing countries can help to ensure that markets stay open. Our second task will be to reach broad agreement on the objectives and parameters of such negotiations and how they would fit into a larger trade liberalization effort.

To the extent that we can build a consensus for North-South negotiations, our next step will be to translate the political support into action in the GATT. Our leadership position in the GATT will be particularly important as we seek to coalesce the GATT's commitment to North-South trade as well as solidify individual country support. Strong involvement by the CG-18 would be very useful. At an appropriate time, a CG-18 meeting at ministerial-level could give added political impetus to this effort.

D. Trade-Monetary Link

The Summit Declaration "encourage(s) closer cooperation and timely sharing of information among countries and the international institutions, in particular the IMF, IBRD, and the GATT." The Declaration also recognizes that countries "must act together and . . . pursue a balanced set of policies that take into account and exploit relationships between growth, trade and finance, in order that recovery may spread to all countries, developed and developing alike." Success in this endeavor is connected with countries' abilities to implement a strategy based on "effective adjustment and development policies by debtor nations; adequate private and official financing; more open markets; and worldwide economic recovery."

In view of the severe debt crisis affecting many of the most advanced developing countries, there is a clear need for closer cooperation between trade and finance ministers in setting national policies. Liquidity must be maintained so that pressures on the trading system are minimized. Trade opportunities must be maintained to give developing countries the opportunity to earn the foreign exchange needed to service their debt and to stimulate worldwide economic growth.

We have three goals in this area. First, we should seek agreement among countries that increased contact between international trade and financial institutions is worthwhile. Second, we should establish workable arrangements for periodic contact between trade and finance ministers so as to facilitate closer institutional ties among the IMF, IBRD and the GATT. Third, we should seek agreement on how future actions taken by the financial institutions on the one hand and the trade institutions on the other could be more closely coordinated to achieve an improved degree of liberalization and cooperation in both areas. This could tie in, and possibly enhance development of a consensus on preparations for further trade liberalization.

The GATT and IMF already have taken some preliminary steps to improve cooperation. The GATT Secretariat is contemplating an internal reorganization along country desks to develop greater expertise on the trade restrictions employed by various countries. The IMF is developing a system for increased visits of IMF staff to the GATT Secretariat. In addition, the IMF staff will emphasize trade considerations in Article IV consultations with developed and developing countries. These efforts should be encouraged. The OECD also is getting involved. The joint work program in the OECD of Working Party 3 and the Trade Committee focuses on the broader questions of managing the trade-monetary link. This work is just getting underway, but the objective is to prepare the ground for the OECD Ministers to address the issue at their meeting in May.

E. Investment

International investment issues have generally not been considered at recent economic summit meetings. For example, in this year's joint statement by participants in the Williamsburg Summit, no mention at all was made of international investment matters. However, a number of recent developments might make it an important issue to take up at the London Summit. These include:

(1) The growing recognition that one of the long-term solutions to the trading problems we have with Japan is to strengthen our bilateral investment relations; (2) Moves by the European Commission to formulate new laws with respect to the operation of multinational corporations in Europe (e.g., Vredeling); (3) The continued impact on foreign investors of the Canadian national energy policy and the Foreign Investment Review Agency; (4) The growing need to induce private sector investment by developed countries in developing countries in order to help deal with the international debt crisis; (5) The increasing intervention by governments throughout the world in controlling private investment flows (e.g., performance requirements, right of establishment) and (6) The Reagan Administration has just announced a more active international investment program in its International Investment Policy Statement.

Should the United States seek to include issues in the 1984 Summit, U.S. objectives should be identified at an early stage and a strategy for attaining those objectives developed. At this point, U.S. objectives might be the following:

- 1) Recognition by Summit countries that international direct investment plays a vital and expanding role in the world economy and that strong investment relations between Summit countries can play a role in the adjustment process and are essential for sound economic and trade relations;
- 2) Reaffirmation by Summit countries of their commitment to the OECD investment instruments and the principles contained therein, particularly the national treatment principle and the principle that international law should be strictly observed.
- 3) Agreement by Summit countries to continue to work to reduce or eliminate unreasonable and discriminatory barriers to entry of foreign direct investment, and to reduce the use of practices which distort, restrict, or place unreasonable burdens on foreign direct investment.

- 4) Agreement by Summit countries to seek ways of improving investment relations between developed and developing countries so as to create conditions that will facilitate the flow of private direct investment to developing countries; and

- 5) Agreement by Summit countries to consult both multilaterally and bilaterally on specific investment problems so as to foster better direct investment relations.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM:

CRAIG L. FULLER *CS*

SUBJECT:

Actions Recommended in Congresswoman Fielder's Letter

The letter Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler sent to Jim Baker was very thoughtful and reviewed a number of issues and possible actions. However; I think we should look very carefully at the specific recommendations since I do not believe we can endorse completely the suggestions in the letter. (The summary below is taken from the four page letter of August 27, 1983.)

Statement of the Problem

1. Entrance to the job market, particularly management positions.
2. Professional women suffer a pay gap when compared with men.
3. Women want to "compete for upward mobility."

Recommended Actions

1. Better understand the broad context of views of American women.
2. Coordinate all OMB and Justice Department decisions to avoid additional economic disenfranchisement and impediments to legal equity.
3. Make clear that the President is working to enforce women's civil rights and their protection under the law.
4. Take bold and dramatic action on legal equity initiatives.

5. Announce executive action on at least 3 or 4 significant agency practices and regulations, to be implemented within 30 days.
6. Appoint a special assistant to the President to serve as a watchdog and insure that these "new initiatives" are implemented on a fast track.
7. Meet with the Governors on the 50 States Project and request that all research on state codes be completed within 90 days. *FORGET IT -*
8. Link to the 50 States Project compliance a modest federal incentive grant program for increasing enforcement of equal pay and equal opportunity.
9. Ask senior administration women to serve as a subgroup of advisors to the President--this group would help the administration find the proper language to communicate with the modern American woman.

cc: James A. Baker III
Ed Meese III
Richard G. Darman

*GOOD
IDEA IF
PERSON IS
REAL &
PERCEIVED
AS
SUCH -*

*I HAVE
SAID THIS
TO YOU*

*FOR 2 YEARS
HAVE HIM MEET WITH
WOMEN*

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Bobbi Fiedler

August 27, 1983

The Honorable James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President
1216 Bissonett Avenue
Houston, Texas 77005

Dear Jim:

In sharing with you some ideas for implementing the President's legal equity initiatives, I'd like to make three points on the gender gap: 1) my perception of why women are responding as they are; 2) the political message I believe the President should bring to American women; 3) specific actions which might be most effective in demonstrating the President's commitment to legal equity.

① One of the most important messages I hope to convey is a better understanding of the broad context of views of American women. While women's economic position in our society is improving, the "62 cents on the dollar" pay gap and the difficulties of breaking into male-dominated management are continuing, major problems in the job marketplace.

Women yearn for a chance to compete for upward mobility. This is part of American women's new vision, and it's both an economic and civil rights issue. Upward movement has become the focus and goal for working women, as well as for those filling roles as housewives and mothers, who recognize that when the time comes to move into jobs after their children are grown, they want to feel assured that the American way of life offers them the same opportunity offered to their male counterparts. Young women want to know that all doors are open to them and that the sky's the limit. Women in their senior years, who may never have been able to achieve more than service-oriented jobs in their lifetimes, hope that opportunities for their children and grandchildren will be considerably improved.

It is important that the President's attitude does not appear to be frozen in time, but reflects the dynamic changes in society today and respects the diverse choices American women of all ages are making.

The opposition flourishes through its use of destructive tactics that create fear and dependency in its followers, while our fundamental philosophy is the promotion of independence and self-sufficiency. Our philosophy matches women's emerging needs and could be communicated by the President in a more personal, direct way. The President could convey that we will not stand for a leadership that suffocates women's

energies, creativity and resolve to achieve these ends, as does the "politics of dependency" proposed by the left.

1 In the crucial areas of the federal budget and civil rights enforcement, it is imperative that the President not be viewed as standing in the way of progress for women. Currently, the left is implying that his policies are doing just that. The White House should coordinate all OMB and Justice Department decisions to ensure that no Administration actions are viewed as creating for women additional economic disenfranchisement and impediments to legal equity. I believe these two areas provide the breeding ground for further attacks from the left. We should have further discussion in-depth regarding these two areas. I simply would like to caution you at this very sensitive time.

2 Beyond defensive action, the President must present a clear message of hope for upward mobility to those women struggling at the lower end of the economic spectrum. Lower inflation - interest rates and higher growth are statistics that are just not perceived as relevant to their lives. But the message of the President working to enforce their civil rights and protection under the law is something that inspires and creates an atmosphere for women's renewed confidence to join the system, not fight it, and move forward on their own.

3 In regard to specific actions, it is urgent that the President alone be viewed as the decision-maker on legal equity initiatives, taking bold and dramatic action, not watered down by the bureaucratic process. The mistake we have made has been to try to resolve specific, smaller issues while failing to capture the attention of the American people over the past two years. Periodic announcements of progress on the "ERA alternative" as now outlined are not enough. A new commitment on President's part and concrete achievements are called for.

4 Therefore, I would recommend that upon immediate review of the Attorney General reports under Executive Order 12336 the President should announce executive action on at least three to four significant agency practices and regulations, to be implemented within 30 days.

5 Further, he could announce the appointment of a special assistant to the President to serve as a "watchdog" and to ensure that his new initiatives go through on the fast track. Ideally, a woman with a strong civil rights record, perhaps a former judge, would aggressively administer the projects. With direct access to the President, she would not officially serve under the Attorney General. Subsequent action based on the Attorney General reports should follow quickly, including legislative proposals to the Congress and additional agency policy changes, again announced by the President within several months.

6 If the ERA alternative is to work, the 50 States Project is crucial and would seem to require a new approach on the President's part on the question of state's rights. I know how strongly he feels that we should not impose federal will on the states. However, an ERA

August 27, 1983

alternative must address, head on, violation of federal civil rights laws in the fifty states. Therefore, consider the following:

7 The President should convene a meeting of the Governors concerning the 50 States Project, at which he will request that all research on state codes be completed within 90 days. At the end of that period, upon receipt of all reports, the President would bring together the Governors and their Attorneys General to announce the next phase of the project--- a request to the Governors to present plans for implementation of legislative reforms within six to eight months, enough time to encompass a legislative session in their states.

8 It is imperative that the President use the hammer of federal authority to underscore his leadership position for change in the urging of implementation of state reforms, including possible subsequent Justice Department enforcement of civil rights laws or the withholding of federal funds. Another approach might be to link to 50 States Project compliance a modest federal incentive grant program for increasing enforcement of equal pay and equal opportunity laws.

As he announces these initiatives, the President could highlight several key points. Without apology, he might communicate that over the last two years it has been necessary to address his full attention to the most critical economic issue: reversing the deteriorating quality of life for all Americans. Now with the economy improving, the present climate of opinions and events requires a new focus and attention to equity and civil rights.

The President could remind us of his long-standing personal involvement in civil rights in the labor movement. He might also provide more of an historical perspective on legal equity problems, which have not begun or increased during the Reagan Administration, but have a long history of neglect by prejudice-dominated state legislatures and Congresses.

9 Finally, I would say that the White House desperately needs several top-level women, such as Secretaries Heckler and Dole, Nancy Risque and Faith Whittlesley, for example, to serve as a subgroup of advisors to the President. I would be happy to contribute in any way, at any level. This small advisory group would not need to come to the public's attention but could address what the White House lacks right now: the proper language to communicate to the modern American woman. One person's implementation of policy cannot substitute for the political advice of women out in the field.

The demographic and societal trends behind the gender gap do not reflect women as an oppressed class, but rather as an emerging power with great potential. Republicans have a golden opportunity to offer women a philosophy of government and a framework for their futures that works.

Page 4

The Honorable James A. Baker, III
August 27, 1983

With policies that expand the economy and with effective civil rights law enforcement, we can offer greater equality of opportunity for every woman, a greater degree of economic self-determination for herself and her family, and enhancement of the diversity of choice in life which she is now demanding.

I am convinced that with increased understanding, resolve to communicate and commitment to act, the President can succeed in bridging "the gap."

Sincerely,



BOBBI FIEDLER
Member of Congress

BF:dj



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

August 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES BAKER/ED MEESE

FROM: DAVID A. STOCKMAN *DAS*

SUBJECT: H.R. 3409 - ADMINISTRATION POSITION

I plan to recommend that the President sign H.R. 3409, which amends the present commodity distribution program and the Federal Supplemental Compensation unemployment benefits program.

As you know, Senator Dole and Representative Panetta proposed their own commodity distribution programs earlier this year. At the heart of each of these bills was the virtual elimination of administrative discretion in surplus commodity distribution and the creation of a court-enforceable mandate to distribute surplus food. Enactment would have resulted in mandated commodity distribution programs working at diametric cross-purposes with the farm price support program. The result would have been a budget explosion -- with added outlays potentially reaching \$60 billion over 5 years.

The CCC price support programs are designed to build up stocks of surplus commodities during periods of slack demand and to sell off these stocks during periods of peak demand with the intention of stabilizing farm prices. The Dole/Panetta mandate for large-scale distribution would deprive CCC of future sales receipts and depress prices during periods of slack demand. These potential dangers made the bills unacceptable to the Administration.

Yet, despite our stated opposition to the Panetta bill, the House passed it by a wide margin. Given the current public misperception that CCC has vast warehouses of food going to waste, the Congress seems certain to pass some sort of commodity distribution bill, with or without Administration support.

The commodity distribution provisions in H.R. 3409 are the product of extensive negotiation with the Hill. In my opinion, we have been successful in fashioning a program with sufficient safeguards to permit the Secretary to operate a prudent distribution program. At our request, several provisions were added, clearly granting discretionary authority to the Secretary and exempting his determinations from judicial review. In this way, a major budgetary threat has been averted, along with the risk of farm price destabilization. The program will respond to the President's commitment to release excess CCC stocks while keeping costs and market disruption to a minimum. Thus, I believe it is in our interest to accept H.R. 3409 because it puts the issue to rest for FY1984-85 and eliminates a major political issue for the anti-hunger crowd.

Although a drafting defect in the bill's Federal Supplemental Compensation (FSC) provisions increases the cost some \$50 million above that intended by Congress, the FSC provisions are a small price to pay, since the faulty clause is only effective for 30 days at most. If, at that time, we choose to extend the FSC program, we can work to eliminate the error in any subsequent legislation.

I am urging that the bill signing be delayed to the last possible day in order to minimize the impact of the FSC error.

cc: Darman
Duberstein
Fuller

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1983

Call Sugar

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: James A. Baker
Assistant to the President

FROM: Kenneth W. Dam *KWD*
Deputy Secretary of State

SUBJECT: Fundraising Letter

I am writing to give you a "heads up" on a problem involving fundraising that could create some embarrassment for the President. I understand that a letter along the lines of the attached form letter from Robert J. Perkins, Treasurer of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, has been sent to several hundred people.

We have learned that the French Government already has a copy.

Attachment

*Powell Moore has called 2/3 timer
now hope could pull it - ASAP -
should JAB call Sugar*

- ① only in this country (mailed)
- ② only to our own firms
- ③ 250 - 300 thousand letters dropped
- ④ by now it has been received

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F98-024/1 #3
BY *[Signature]* NARA, DATE 6/30/00



HOTEL PRINCE DE GALLES
33, AVENUE GEORGE V 75008 PARIS

August 3, 1983

Mr. John A Sample
123 Main Street
Washington, DC 10001
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Sample,

As I write this letter to you, I imagine my eyes still burning from the clouds of tear gas that seem to be a regular occurrence in the beleaguered city of Paris, France.

Right now, I'm making the short trip from Paris, France, to London, England. But the tranquil scene outside my window bears little resemblance to the volatile and ominous atmosphere I felt in Paris this morning.

I went to France, as Treasurer of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, to meet with American businessmen who are concerned with the radical changes being implemented by the socialist government there.

This morning, we talked with the conservative party leaders of France. What I saw, after they briefed us on what they are up against, was so shocking, I couldn't wait till returned to the United States to tell you about it, Mr. Sample.

If you were here, you too couldn't help but think about America -- that bastion of liberty and freedom -- and wonder if this catastrophe might one day happen at home.

Here's the situation: France's socialist government has imposed a series of economic regulations that drastically reduce the freedoms of the French people.

For example: Anyone wanting to leave France can take only the equivalent of \$480 in French currency with him. Imagine trying to take a vacation with your family, or a business trip, with only \$480 in your pocket. That makes it almost as difficult to leave France as it is to leave the Soviet Union.

But that's just the tip of the iceberg. Prosperous American subsidiaries of the Honeywell Corporation and International Telephone and Telegraph, were taken over by the socialist government of France!

Now, after nationalizing corporations, and taking control of the media and everyone's savings by nationalizing many banks, the socialist government has spent every dime of the country's money and France is literally flat broke -- and what's more, the socialists are making every French citizen bear the burden of their bad decisions.

Starting this month, each taxpayer must pay a forced loan to the government equal to 10% of his taxable income.

So far the people of France have demonstrated that they are against the new regulations. Doctors, teachers, business owners, workers and farmers all have protested against the socialist government taking away their personal freedoms.

And while I was there today the air seemed charged with rage. The entire city felt though it was going to explode with anger.

I'm writing you now on my way back to London for my flight to the United States later this week, because I wanted to tell you of my experience while it was fresh in my mind.

Pour la poste aerienn

Mr. Sample, we are dangerously, dangerously close to seeing our country go down the same path as France. That's why President Reagan, Chairman Dick Lugar and everyone at the National Republican Senatorial Committee needs your help so much this year.

Because there's no doubt that if the Democrats regained control of the Senate they'd reinstate their policies of spend, spend, spend -- bringing us higher taxes, spiralling interest rates and uncontrollable inflation.

Remember when our interest rates were over 21%, just over 2 years ago? Remember when inflation was at an all-time high of 13%? It makes you wonder just how close we came to an economic disaster of our own.

If you could see what I have seen you'd be more sure than ever that our policies of cutting government, as President Reagan said, "to make it work with us, not over us - to stand by our side, not ride on our backs", are sound and true.

And that's why the National Republican Senatorial Committee desperately needs your help.

Because this year we must repel the massive assault now underway by the Democrats.

They are determined to take back control of the Senate and destroy everything President Reagan has been able to accomplish so far -- interest rates below 11%, inflation below 4% and a strong, bright outlook for the future of our economy.

In 1984, our Republican candidates will be as vulnerable to defeat as they have ever been.

Your contribution of \$00000 will help ensure that President Reagan has a Republican Majority that will vote for maintaining our policies of reducing the government and protecting your personal freedom.

I know France is a long way away and it's hard to imagine the same nightmare occurring in the United States. But I'm sure no one in France realized the situation would ever get this bad.

And it's a chance we just can't afford to take. Won't you sit down right now, and send a check for \$00000? You'll help us provide our Republican Senate candidates with the financial support they'll need in next year's elections.

I, along with President Reagan, Senator Lugar and his Republican colleagues in the Senate, will be working hard this year to protect the accomplishments we've made already.

If we don't take advantage of having a Republican Majority now, while we have it, we may not get another chance for the rest of this century.

Don't let what I'm seeing here in France become an example of what could happen in the United States.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Perkins

Robert J. Perkins, Treasurer
National Republican Senatorial Committee

P.S. I wish I could bring every member of the National Republican Senatorial Committee to France to witness the tragedy being inflicted upon a proud and once free people.

You'd be convinced, as I am now, that the security and stability of our country depend on our success at maintaining and strengthening our Republican Majority in the Senate.

Won't you do your part and send a contribution of \$00000 today? On behalf of President Reagan and all our Republican Senators, thank you.

Pour la poste aerienn

MEMORANDUM FOR CONTRIBUTION

FROM: Robert J. Perkins, Treasurer
National Republican Senatorial Committee

TO: Mrs. John Sample
123 Main Street
Washington, DC 20202

I hope I have been able to accurately describe to you what I saw happening in France.

I fear that what I just saw could happen at home in America unless we maintain Republican control of the Senate and give President Reagan the support he needs.

Your contribution of \$00000 will allow us to continue the sound, conservative policies that have protected your personal freedoms and have given new life to our economy.

Please, send back your contribution of \$00000, or whatever you can afford today.

Thank you.

(your signature) RECID/// MCOB

P.S. Please sign your name on the line above and return this note with your check made payable to National Republican Senatorial Committee in the enclosed envelope today.

And please, don't forget to put a stamp on the enclosed envelope before you put it in the mail.

I wouldn't write you from Europe unless it was critical that you respond. Please, send back your contribution today. I'll be looking forward to your reply when I return.

*Bob Perkins
London, England*

(Paid for and authorized by the National Republican Senatorial Committee)



The Secretary of the Treasury

July 26, 1983



Dear Jim:

Per our discussion this morning on withholding, attached are copies of letters I sent to Dole and Rostenkowski telling them of the delay to August 5, but no further.

Attachments



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1983

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In keeping with the efforts of the Senate and House conferees to reach agreement on H.R. 2973, the proposed amendment to Section 3451 through 3456 of the Internal Revenue Code, the withholding of federal income taxes from interest and dividends payments, I have considered whether the Internal Revenue Service should further extend its regulation delaying application of the withholding requirement based on undue hardship from August 1, 1983 to August 5, 1983 in order to provide adequate time for Congress to address this legislation before the recess.

Although I am concerned about the continued delay and uncertainty for taxpayers as they now enter the second half of 1983 without any firm decision by Congress, I reluctantly find it is necessary to grant a further extension until August 5 in order to prevent the undue hardship which would be caused by the expenditure of funds to comply with a law that Congress is about to amend. However, if Congress does not act by August 5, it will have to be assumed that no legislation will be immediately forthcoming and thus no further administrative extension will be warranted.

Sincerely,

Donald T. Regan

The Honorable
Robert Dole
Chairman, Committee on Finance
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1983

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In keeping with the efforts of the Senate and House conferees to reach agreement on H.R. 2973, the proposed amendment to Section 3451 through 3456 of the Internal Revenue Code, the withholding of federal income taxes from interest and dividends payments, I have considered whether the Internal Revenue Service should further extend its regulation delaying application of the withholding requirement based on undue hardship from August 1, 1983 to August 5, 1983 in order to provide adequate time for Congress to address this legislation before the recess.

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Sincerely,

Donald T. Regan

The Honorable
Dan Rostenkowski
Chairman, Ways and Means
Committee
United States House of
Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
WASHINGTON
20506

July 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: William P. Clark
Edwin Meese III
James A. Baker III

FROM: William E. Brock

SUBJECT: Subsidies Agreement with Mexico

In advance of the President's visit to Mexico in August, we have completed two days of consultations with trade and economic officials from the Mexican government. During those discussions, the Mexicans informed us that a principal economic objective for the August meeting will be a presidential-level commitment on a bilateral subsidies agreement. I believe it will be nearly impossible to conclude any accord prior to the Presidential visit which would be politically acceptable in the United States. Moreover, given the domestic sensitivity of this issue, I would advise against President Reagan's personal involvement in any final pact. Instead, we should confine the presidential discussion to our overall trade relations, expressing our desire to maintain an open U.S. market, and attempt to work with the Mexicans on subsidies on a technical level over the coming months.

At the present time, Mexican articles are not entitled to receive an injury test in U.S. countervailing duty cases. Unless Mexico undertakes obligations substantially equivalent to the GATT Subsidies Code, it cannot be designated as a country under the agreement and thereby receive the benefit of an injury test.

During the fall of 1982, the United States and Mexico held intensive discussions to develop a mutually satisfactory subsidies agreement. In the course of the private sector and Congressional consultations required by law, we decided that the draft text developed by both sides would be domestically unacceptable. At the same time, the Mexicans suspended talks, indicating a preference for concluding an agreement soon after the inauguration of President de la Madrid. We received a new Mexican proposal only last week, and it appears no more acceptable than the draft text previously rejected by our advisors.

As currently written, the new Mexican draft can be expected to provoke strong Congressional opposition to our overall commitments policy governing the subsidy practices of developing countries. Earlier this year, I received the attached correspondence from members of the Senate Finance Committee's Trade Subcommittee stating their opposition to a weak agreement. In response, they have received assurances that they will be consulted closely during the course of any subsidies negotiations with Mexico. The scenario proposed by the Mexicans for final agreement by mid-August would prevent us from fulfilling this commitment and would therefore jeopardize the chances for acceptance of any bilateral understanding.

I believe that an agreement imposing meaningful discipline on Mexican subsidy practices would be useful. However, any attempt to negotiate an accord in haste would create serious adverse reactions, particularly from those members of Congress whose support we will need for approval of legislation, including the Caribbean Basin Initiative, IMF replenishment and renewal of the Generalized System of Preferences.

I therefore urge that we avoid any Presidential action involving subsidies at the August 14 meeting and proceed more slowly on developing a politically defensible agreement.

Attachment

WAS. BACKWOOD, OREG.
 WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., DEL.
 JOHN C. DANFORTH, MO.
 JOHN H. CHAFFEE, R.I.
 JOHN HEINZ, PA.
 MALCOLM WALLOP, WYO.
 DAVID DURENBERGER, MINN.
 WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG, COLO.
 STEVEN D. SYMME, IDAHO
 CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA

RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.
 LLOYD BENTSEN, TEX.
 SPARK M. MATSUNAGA, HAWAII
 DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, N.Y.
 MAX BAUCUS, MONT.
 DAVID L. BOREN, OKLA.
 BILL BRADLEY, N.J.
 GEORGE J. MITCHELL, MAINE
 DAVID PRYOR, ARK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 11, 1983

ROBERT E. LIGHTHIZER, CHIEF COUNSEL
 MICHAEL STERN, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

The Honorable William E. Brock
 U.S. Trade Representative
 Executive Office of the President
 Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Bill:

We are writing to express our concern regarding the potential negotiation with Mexico of a bilateral agreement involving their export subsidy practices. In particular, we are concerned that any such agreement in no way depart from the stated intentions of Congress with respect to our subsidy commitments and countervailing duty policy.

Recognizing the importance of our bilateral relations with Mexico, we remain convinced that it would be contrary to our national interest--as well as that of the Mexican economy--to reach any agreement that sacrifices long run U.S. trade policy objectives and principles for a political "quick-fix" in the short term. In this regard, we cannot abandon longstanding objectives, which this Administration and its predecessors have shared, to obtain the elimination of unfair competition from uneconomic foreign subsidies, including commitments to their phase out and elimination by developing countries. The granting of an injury test under the countervailing duty law continues to be our only real leverage to achieve the elimination of these trade-distorting practices.

In this context, we were extremely disappointed with the commitments under discussion with Mexico late last year. Certainly no level of "compensation" or "offsets" could serve as a substitute for our key policy objectives of gaining Mexico's adherence to the rules and disciplines of the international trading system under GATT, including the Subsidies Code. At a time when the Administration is attempting to bring together in a cohesive policy framework the trade and financial factors that influence international economic relations, imposing disciplines through the IMF and simultaneously allowing for digressions in a subsidies agreement makes little sense. Of particular concern in this regard is the potential sanctioning of Mexican export financing terms, including short term financing, that would be considered illegal under the MTN Subsidies Code.

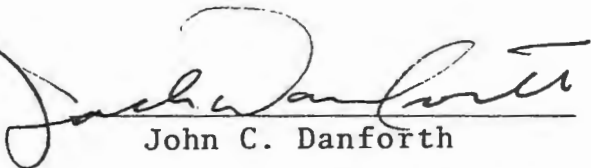
At a time when Mexico's financial difficulties and the devaluation of the peso make the resumption of export subsidies unlikely and unwise in the near term, we question the need to rush into any agreement. Moreover, the credibility of U.S. laws dealing with unfair trade

practices is unlikely to withstand another bilateral agreement perceived to place foreign policy interests beyond the law and over the interests of the American economy.

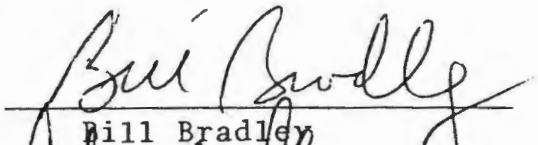
For these reasons, we believe it is vital that ~~any agreement reached with Mexico pertaining to their subsidy practices conform precisely to our basic objective of eliminating foreign subsidies.~~ That can best be achieved through Mexico becoming a signatory to the Subsidies Code and making a commitment thereunder. In any event, consultations with members of the Subcommittee on International Trade prior to any action with respect to Mexico are certainly in order.

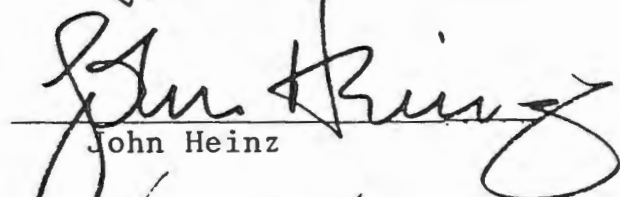
Thank you for your consideration.

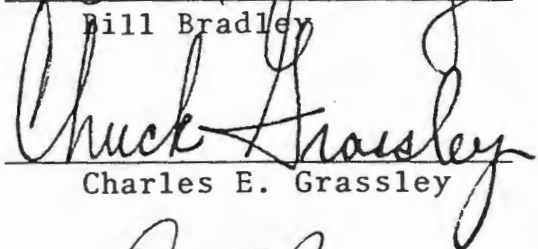
Sincerely,

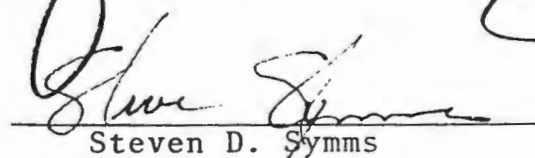

John C. Danforth

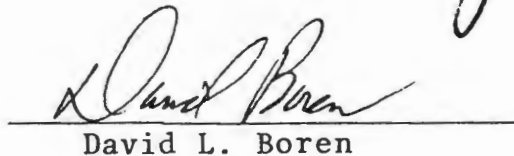

Lloyd Bentsen

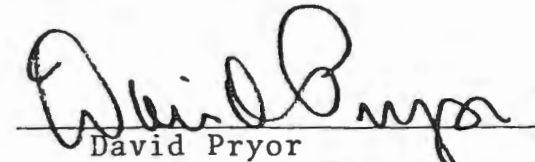

Bill Bradley


John Heinz

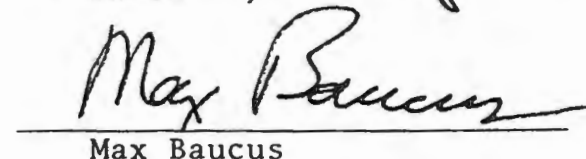

Charles E. Grassley


Steven D. Symms


David L. Boren


David Pryor

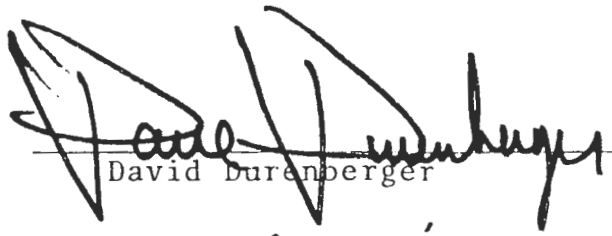

George J. Mitchell


Max Baucus

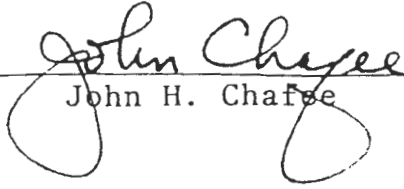
cc: George P. Shultz, Secretary of State
Donald T. Regan, Secretary of Treasury
Malcolm Baldrige, Secretary of Commerce



William V. Roth



David Durenberger



John H. Chafee



Daniel Patrick Moynihan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc: Bue Clerk

Fla



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
CHIEF OF STAFF AND ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: DONALD T. REGAN *DTR*
SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER SEAGA'S REQUEST FOR
U.S. GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

Prime Minister Seaga has requested \$150 million in immediate financial assistance from the U.S. Government, possibly as a bridge to future disbursements from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Government had been trying to raise additional financing in order to avoid more stringent adjustment and has apparently failed. We understand that on June 11, Ambassador Hewitt told Seaga that the United States would disburse all FY 1984 assistance to Jamaica as quickly as possible with the majority being disbursed in October 1983. We do not believe any additional assistance is justified, plus any short-term financing would not lead to a relaxation of IMF policy requirements. We believe that it is critical for Jamaica to begin the adjustment process now.

Background

Since Prime Minister Seaga took office in late 1980, the United States has provided large amounts of financial assistance in support of Jamaica's adjustment program. The United States provided \$177 million in FY 1982 and is providing \$186 million this fiscal year. Levels of assistance through FY 1986 are currently projected at over \$180 million each year. In April 1981, Jamaica received a three-year \$480 million Extended Fund Facility (EFF) from the IMF, of which \$320 million has been disbursed. Jamaica has also received large amounts of financial support from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

The IMF Executive Board is scheduled to consider the third year of Jamaica's EFF later this month (\$160 million available for disbursement). In order to justify continued IMF support, the Government of Jamaica must implement a number of measures which will reduce Jamaica's dependence on foreign financing from official and commercial sources and move its economy to a sound,

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F98-024-14

BY CRS NARA, DATE 8/10/02

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

sustainable growth pattern. Measures which will be required include raising revenues and cutting public sector expenditures in order to reduce the public sector deficit which was 15% of gross domestic product (GDP) in Jamaican fiscal year 1982/1983 which ended on March 31, 1983. A deficit of this size is extremely high by international standards and certainly not financeable in the current international economic environment.

Prime Minister Seaga would understandably prefer not to take politically unpopular actions which are necessary to get the Jamaican economy in order. Since taking office, Seaga has followed a very gradual approach to adjustment and the economic situation has hardly improved in the last two and one-half years. We believe Seaga's request for U.S. Government assistance is a last effort to get assistance in order not to implement the much needed adjustment measures.

We should not take any action which would undercut the IMF program and/or postpone adjustment. The IMF program is necessary for the financial assistance it will provide and also as a catalyst to continued assistance from the development banks and from commercial banks. For instance, on June 14, the World Bank Executive Board will consider \$120 million in loans, including a \$60 million second structural adjustment loan which is conditioned on approval of the third year of the IMF program. The Government of Jamaica has also begun discussions with its commercial bank creditors for a \$77 million loan to refinance maturing debt. Commercial bank lending will not be forthcoming without an IMF program in place. In any event, short-term bridge financing which might be provided to Jamaica at this juncture is unlikely to lead to relaxation of IMF policy requirements.

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

Jim:

Mike Deaver asked for the attached memorandum on women's issues some time ago. More recently, Dick Darman asked for general statistics which I have also attached.

I hope you find this information to be helpful as we work through these issues,

Elizabeth

6/23/83



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590



MEMORANDUM FOR: Richard Darman
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

FROM: Elizabeth H. Dole

SUBJECT: Title IX

The President's recent emphasis on education, as well as the concern about impact of Administration policies on women, highlight the importance of a case now pending before the Supreme Court. The Administration must file its brief in Grove City v. Bell by August 8.

The case relates to Title IX, the comprehensive federal law prohibiting sex discrimination in schools. That law has helped ensure that women and girls have equal opportunities in counseling and testing, enrollment, educational curricula, and athletics. Significant advances have been made for women since its passage in 1972.

I hope you will focus immediately on the Administration's position, for the interest and the visibility accorded by the press, civil rights and women's groups, is significant.

There are two basic issues before the Court. The first question, whether Pell Grants to students trigger Title IX enforcement, has been consistently supported by the Administration. In March 1982, the Department of Justice filed a brief in the Third Circuit Court of Appeals on behalf of the Department of Education which argued in strong terms that Pell Grants to a college's students were sufficient to subject its programs to Title IX. The Court of Appeals agreed. Apparently, the Department of Justice will take that position again at the Supreme Court level.

However, the Department sidestepped the second issue in its appellate brief; that is, if Pell Grants trigger Title IX enforcement, then how broadly in the institution does that enforcement requirement apply? It has been a longstanding regulatory policy (since the rules were first promulgated in 1975) that Title IX compliance is required for programs which receive or benefit from federal funds. The Department of Justice, however, has attempted to narrow the breadth of program coverage to include only those programs which directly receive funds (i.e. for student assistance, only the student aid office would be covered). The failure of the Administration to appeal earlier court cases (Richmond and Hillsdale College) and various remarks in briefs that have been filed on other cases, support this narrow interpretation of Title IX.

GENERAL STATISTICS ON WOMEN

- . In 1963, less than 30% of women were in the workplace. Today, more than 52% of women are working outside the home.
- . However, the number of working women who are poor or "near poor" is large and growing. Some 7 out of 10 working women earn less than \$10,000 a year.
- . Many of these working women are mothers. In fact, 63% of women with children between the ages of 6 and 17 were in America's labor force last year. Some 46% of women with children under 6 were in the labor force.
- . A growing number of working mothers raise their children alone. Of the 6.5 million single parent families in the U.S. in 1982, 86% of them were headed by women. That is an increase of 11% in just two years.
- . Some 40% of women potentially eligible for child support awards have not been granted them by the courts. Of the 60% who have been granted awards, about one quarter received less than the full amount owed them, and about the same percent (or 1.1 million women) received nothing.

THE EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY ACT (S.1285)

S.1285 was reported out of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources on May 16. (A similar bill "Emergency Mathematics and Science Education Act" passed the House in March.) The purpose of this Act is to improve the quality of mathematics and science teaching in the U.S. The American Association of University Women has been lobbying the Senate to include specific language to promote the full participation of women and minorities in educational programs and careers. The bill as reported out does contain certain language putting special emphasis on women and minorities. Additionally, it states that in providing assistance for demonstrations and exemplary programs, the state educational agency shall reserve not less than 20% of the amount available for special projects in mathematics and science, foreign language and computer education to "historically underrepresented and underserved segments of the student body including females, minorities, and the handicapped."

It is my understanding that the Administration testified in support of the bill when the funding level was \$50 million. However, the proposed appropriations are \$425 million for FY 84, and \$540 million for FY 85. The bill was originally sponsored by Senators Pell and Stafford, and both Senators Hatch and Quayle have since joined. The bill cleared the Committee by a 16-2 vote. Presently, according to some Hill staffers, they have enough votes to pass it.

The White House should move expeditiously to review this legislation and, if acceptable, the President should tie this into his whole push on excellence in education — specifically focusing on how this bill will help women gain access to non-traditional fields.



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590
June 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Michael Deaver
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

FROM: Elizabeth H. Dole

SUBJECT: Legislative/Administrative Proposals
on Women's Initiatives

The tremendous influx of women into the workforce over the past 20 years has created dramatic changes in American society, and a new set of problems for women.

. In 1963, less than 30% of women were in the workplace. Today, more than 52% of women are working outside the home.

. However, the number of working women who are poor or "near poor" is large and growing. Some 7 out of 10 working women earn less than \$10,000 a year.

. Many of these working women are mothers. In fact, 63% of women with children between the ages of 6 and 17 were in America's labor force last year.

. A growing number of working mothers raise their children alone. Of the 6.5 million single parent families in the U.S. in 1982, 86% of them were headed by women. That is an increase of 11% in just two years.

These dramatic changes pose complex problems — problems that any President would face in the 1980's. This Administration has the opportunity to respond to these very real needs.

That perception is closely linked to the so-called gender gap, a real and significant issue according to data released by the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), which reports that the gap stood at 14% in June of 1981, 23% in September of 1982, and 15% this past spring. These figures take on particular relevance in the context of 1980 Presidential election statistics. There, for the first time, when measured in both numbers and percentage, the women of America outnumbered, outregistered and outvoted the men. Women are not just another voting group; they are the majority.

The women who comprise the so-called gender gap are the socially conservative, female blue-collar workers — often the single head of household who earns less than \$15,000 per year as well as older women who have been homemakers and, with the increased rate of divorce, find themselves in the largest growing poverty group. These women, in many instances

would be surprised to be considered feminists. They are more concerned with day care and wage discrimination than the Equal Rights Amendment. They work not always by choice, but by necessity.

In his State of the Union address, the President took an important step in publicly recognizing some of the problems faced by women today. He promised to seek economic and legal equity for women, to strengthen child support enforcement laws and remedy pension inequities. This pronouncement by the President showed both his sensitivity and concern for the problems of concern to women. Therefore, it is important that those commitments be fulfilled and that the President's concern be continually reiterated.

The Administration's response to these matters of economic equity - child care, child support enforcement and pension reform - will be a concern not only to the target groups of affected women, there will also be a strong residual impact among those individuals concerned about the overall fairness issue.

At a recent Cabinet meeting, Ed Meese expressed support for legislation expanding Independent Retirement Accounts (IRA's) for homemakers. The revenue impacts of such a proposal are estimated to be \$135M in 1984, \$377M in 1985, and \$421M in 1986. (Department of Treasury, April 1983.) If the Administration is willing to invest additional funds of this magnitude to accomplish these goals, I would suggest that we pursue instead day care tax credits and child support enforcement, both of which are aimed at low and middle income families, and both of which are very popular issues across the political spectrum.

In my view, these initiatives are consistent with the President's philosophy, and are the lowest cost proposals yielding the greatest impact on the problems of working women.

As stated earlier, there is a need to clearly articulate that whatever initiatives are adopted be part of an ongoing, continual process of concern for women.

In addition, perhaps the most volatile issue and the one requiring the most immediate attention, relates to Title IX and its application to equal opportunity for women in education. The Administration must file its brief in the Grove City case currently before the Supreme Court by July 8. It is important the Administration maintain the position it took in the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, which was approved by that Court. To do otherwise would probably set off a "Bob Jones University" reaction in the media, and evoke criticism from minorities, women and the handicapped.

It is also important that the Administration continue its efforts to increase appointments at all levels of government and in the judiciary. In addition, we must go forward with the 50 States' Project and complete

the review of federal laws and regulations. I also recommend that the President consider implementing a multi-faceted program for women employed in the federal government, similar to the one I have instituted at the Department of Transportation which is included in this package. In addition, I have also attached a brief description of S-1285, an educational effort for women moving through Congress which should be examined.

A comprehensive communications plan, such as the one laid out in "The 52% Solution," which I forwarded in December, is a key component in a successful strategy for the President. Attached is an updated strategy, as well as a description of each of the policy initiatives recommended. Obviously a comprehensive legislative strategy cannot be prepared until we determine which initiatives will be pursued.

50 STATES PROJECT

Summary: The 50 States Project implements President Reagan's campaign commitment to assist in identifying and correcting state laws which discriminate on the basis of sex.

Background:

. The first year of the 50 States Project was spent laying the groundwork for the program, with each Governor appointing a representative to the Project. The Governors' representatives met with the President and Mrs. Reagan in October, 1981 to discuss the overall goals.

. In July of 1982, during the final six months of my tenure at the White House, I was asked to initiate a canvas of each state to identify those laws which discriminated on the basis of sex. That extensive review was completed, and a document published in February and distributed to all Governors, their representatives, the leadership of the state legislatures and the chairs of the Commission on Women. With the issuance of this report the project began to receive renewed interest and support around the states. (A copy of the "Status of the States" Year End Report is attached.)

Recommendation: It is important that the Administration pursue this campaign promise by following up with the Governors and their representatives in order to encourage passage of legislation in the states.

During the course of the analysis of state laws, Catherine Bedell, was appointed as a consultant to the Project. This eight-term Congresswoman and former Federal Trade Commissioner should be asked to continue in this role. Her access to the Governors and state legislators would be most helpful in encouraging the introduction and passage of state laws remedying discrimination.

CHILD CARE

Summary: Day care for children of working parents is a support service for female heads of household at the low and middle income levels. If additional expenditures in the areas of concern to women are decided upon, the President should propose an increase in the dependent care tax credit for low income workers.

Background:

. Some 63% of women with children 6 to 17 years old, and 50% of women with children under 6, were employed outside the home in 1982.

. Approximately 13 million children 13 years of age and under are in households in which both parents or the sole parent work full time.

The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) replaced the previous flat rate credit for dependent care with a sliding scale that focused the maximum benefit of the credit on those least able to pay. The tax credit was from 20% to 30% of expenses, depending on income.

Recommendation: The Administration should support provisions of the Economic Equity Act of 1983 to increase the tax credit allowed for dependent care expenditures, with emphasis on those at the lower end of the economic scale.

The proposal could be similar to, though not as costly as, a provision in the Economic Equity Act (EEA). The sliding scale of tax credits for dependent care could be increased for lower income families to a level which fits the revenue impact desired.

In addition, support for the establishment of community-based clearinghouses for information exchange and technical assistance should be considered. The revenue estimate for this provision is approximately \$8M. The clearinghouse will provide information on child care supply and demand at the local level, technical assistance to providers, and cooperative assistance with employers interested in establishing employer-assisted dependent care programs. It represents an expansion of efforts now underway in the Private Sector Initiative Program.

In addition, the Administration should also support one other minor provision in the EEA, which enables non-profit organizations providing work-related child care to be eligible for tax-exempt status. Current tax code definitions make it difficult for child care facilities to qualify for 501 (c) (3) status. Under present law, an organization can qualify for this status only if it is operated exclusively for educational or charitable purposes. This apparently excludes many after-school or infant care centers.

Political Impact: Next to child support enforcement, child care is perhaps the most serious and visible problem facing the working mother. Expanding the sliding scale to increase assistance to the lower and middle income working families is particularly attractive, in light of the real needs as well as the fairness issue.

Cost: Increase sliding scale for dependent care adjusted to accommodated revenue loss desired.
Clearinghouse cost would equal \$8M.

Action: The President should announce support for a modified version of the Economic Equity Act provision increasing the sliding scale for child care.

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

Summary: Child support enforcement is a critical economic issue to a growing number of women who head single parent families. While the problem is gaining increased attention on the Hill, the Administration is drafting legislation which is viewed by some as unresponsive. The President should direct the focus of legislation from a nearly exclusive concentration on collection efforts for welfare (AFDC) recipients to child support enforcement assistance for all single parent families. It must be clear that the Administration is increasing child support enforcement efforts for all children, as the President indicated in his State of the Union (SOTU) address. The Administration's proposals to date have been criticized as efforts to reduce welfare costs rather than helping parents get support needed by their children. Again, if we wish to spend additional dollars, the program efforts could be effectively increased at the state level.

Background:

. There were 6.5 million single parent families in the U.S. in 1982, an 11.4% increase from 1980. Women head 86% of these families. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982.)

. In 1982, there were 13.7 million children involved in single parent households, nearly a 40% increase in just two years.

. Some 40% of women potentially eligible for child support awards have not been granted them by the courts. Of the 60% who have been granted awards, about one quarter received less than the full amount owed them, and about the same percent (or 1.1 million women) received nothing. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1978.)

. The average support payment for those women who do receive it is \$1800 per year. (Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.)

. The median income for single women raising children alone is \$10,900.

. In Los Angeles County alone, some 1000 new cases a week are processed by child support enforcement attorneys.

. Not a single study has found a state or county in which more than one half the fathers fully comply with court orders. Research indicates that a very sizable minority of fathers -- typically between a quarter and a third -- never make a single court-ordered payment. (Lenore J. Weitzman, Stanford University, 1982.)

The Child Support Enforcement Program (CSE) was established by Congress in 1975, under Title IV-D of the Social Security Act. It requires each state to have an approved program of child support enforcement, including measures to establish paternity, locate missing fathers, establish or modify child support orders and collect court-ordered support payments. The program is intended to serve both AFDC and non-AFDC families, with the latter being charged fees for services provided.

In practicality, however, most states have concentrated on pursuing AFDC cases, the benefits of which accrue to the government, not the family. The Administration's 1984 budget includes proposed legislation to strengthen incentives to states to be more cost-effective in child support collections from parents of AFDC families. This re-structuring serves as a disincentive for states to pursue non-AFDC enforcement, particularly in light of the "net collections" concept imposed by the proposed legislation.

(Net collections measures cost effectiveness by looking at TOTAL administrative costs (for both AFDC and non-AFDC cases) against the amount collected only on the AFDC cases.)

Political Impact: The current Administration-sponsored initiative which proposes a re-structuring of the program was universally rejected by House and Senate authorizing committees last year. The proposed legislative modification now at OMB for approval begins to address the basic problems outlined above. Many believe it is not a substantive change.

An Administration-sponsored initiative which significantly strengthens the program now conducted by the states is likely to receive immediate favorable attention by Congressional committees. Such an initiative would convey to women that the Administration recognizes this serious problem facing single heads of household, and is committed to improving their economic security by enforcing the law.

Recommendation: The Administration should modify its proposed legislation to strengthen the Child Support Enforcement Program by increasing attention on non-AFDC compliance. In order to gain support in Congress and recognition from the target women's population, such legislation should include:

- A clear policy statement that the child support enforcement program is to serve all children in the U.S., and that it is not simply a welfare-cost-reduction program.

(This mandates elimination of the "net collections" concept, and structuring strong incentives for states to enforce non-AFDC payments, as well as those for AFDC recipients.)

- Child support clearinghouses or comparable procedures in each state through which all child support payments will be made (less than \$50M cost). The clearinghouse will provide an impartial and objective measurement of whether or not support was paid in full and on-time. It would provide a means of automatically triggering enforcement activities without requiring legal actions and court appearances by custodial parents in order to establish that support is in arrears.

The complexity of the issue, in terms of formulas and incentives most conducive to achieving the above goals, requires a dialog with local

and state child support enforcement agencies in the development of legislation. Once these principles are publicly discussed by the President, such a proposal could be developed through working with states and key Congressional committees, and submitted in a matter of two to three weeks.

Cost: \$50M - \$150M, depending on level of increased effort in legislative proposal.

Action: In the context of his announcement of an initial "women's package," the President should clearly state the basic principles on which legislation will focus -- that is, extending the program to all women and children, regardless of their AFDC status; committing to a continued emphasis on enforcement by the states, where the domestic relations responsibility lies; recognizing, however, that interstate cases may require an extra effort on the part of the federal government.

. The President should then extend an invitation to work with Congress and state enforcement agencies in developing this legislation.

THE EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY ACT (S.1285)

S.1285 was reported out of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources on May 16. (A similar bill "Emergency Mathematics and Science Education Act" passed the House in March.) The purpose of this Act is to improve the quality of mathematics and science teaching in the U.S. The American Association of University Women has been lobbying the Senate to include specific language to promote the full participation of women and minorities in educational programs and careers. The bill as reported out does contain certain language putting special emphasis on women and minorities. Additionally, it states that in providing assistance for demonstrations and exemplary programs, the state educational agency shall reserve not less than 20% of the amount available for special projects in mathematics and science, foreign language and computer education to "historically underrepresented and underserved segments of the student body including females, minorities, and the handicapped."

It is my understanding that the Administration testified in support of the bill when the funding level was \$50 million. However, the proposed appropriations are \$425 million for FY 84, and \$540 million for FY 85. The bill was originally sponsored by Senators Pell and Stafford, and both Senators Hatch and Quayle have since joined. The bill cleared the Committee by a 16-2 vote. Presently, according to some Hill staffers, they have enough votes to pass it.

The White House should move expeditiously to review this legislation and, if acceptable, the President should tie this into his whole push on excellence in education -- specifically focusing on how this bill will help women gain access to non-traditional fields.

~~PRIVATE PENSION REFORM~~

Summary: Pension reform is an issue which ultimately benefits older women, a group which composes one of the fastest growing groups in America and an increasing percentage of the poor. The Administration should submit legislation requiring equal annuity benefits for men and women, on a prospective basis, and leave open the issue of retroactivity, which promises to be a continuing topic for debate in Congress. It is important not to remove the Administration from a potential role as arbiter between insurance companies and women in ultimately resolving the retroactivity problem.

In addition, the President should support legislation altering administrative provisions which discriminate against women in pension plans as proposed in Senate Bill 19.

Background:

. Under private pension systems, women are penalized if they leave the labor force to rear children, and/or if they divorce. Because employed women are concentrated in sales and service jobs, and interrupt their service for family obligations, most working women receive no pension coverage. In fact, only 21% of women workers are covered by pension plans, compared to 49% of men.

. Only 13% of all working women actually receive their pension benefits because of vesting requirements.

. Only 10% of older women receive some sort of private pension benefit, compared with 27% of older men. In addition, older women's median income from private pensions is about \$1400, compared to about \$3,000 for men.

. In 1981, 10.5% of women over age 65 were receiving a private pension averaging \$2,427 a year. Some 28% of men over 65 were securing a private pension or annuity and their benefits averaged \$4,152 a year.

. Most women who receive pensions are either charged higher premiums than men for identical coverage, or pay a like amount but receive smaller periodic payments upon retirement, due to their sex.

The use of sex-based tables in pension plans, with resulting unequal rates and benefits, has been questioned as a possible violation of existing law as contained in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. In Manhart (1980), the Supreme Court struck down sex-based contribution rates to a pension plan on Title VII grounds. Other Title VII cases before the Court (Spirt, Norris) challenge unequal benefits.

In its brief in support of certiorari in Spirt, the Administration this year opposed sex-based pension benefits. However, the Administration must still decide what remedy is appropriate.

The President, in his State of the Union (SOTU) address, pledged "action to remedy inequities in pensions."

Recommendations: If the Supreme Court ruling in Spirt (expected in the next week) does not rule in favor of retroactivity, the President should submit legislation requiring equal annuity benefits for men and women, on a prospective basis, while leaving open the issue of retroactivity. It must be understood that the pension reform initiative proposed at this time is a prospective effort only, which will be interpreted by women's groups as a step backwards, since some courts have already held Title VII rights to be retroactive in several cases. Since at least 1980, employers and insurers have been on notice that Title VII prohibited discrimination in insurance and annuities connected with employment. (Los Angeles Department of Water and Power v. Manhart (1978); EEOC v. Colby College (1978); Spirt v. TIAA-CREF (1979)). In addition, the body of case law in race and sex discrimination (hiring, promotion, wage discrimination) supports remedies which can be figured back two years before the charge was filed. In the Spirt case, in which the Administration supported the concept that equal pension benefits be required in employer-related plans, the lower court held that limited retroactive remedies are appropriate. Thus, the Administration should not box itself in on this issue, in order to allow us to play the role of arbiter on this issue in future debates in the Congress.

In addition, it is my understanding we are ready to support legislation altering administrative provisions which discriminate against women in pension plans, as proposed in ~~SENATE BILL 1111~~. They are as follows:

Prohibit waiver of survivor benefits in ERISA plans unless spouse agrees.

Provide that pensions can be assigned by divorce courts.

Lower required participation age for ERISA plans from age 25 to 21.

Require retirement plans to count maternity leave as no "break-in-service."

Require ERISA plans to pay survivor benefits if participant dies after 10 years.

Political Impact: Pension reform is a visible issue in Congress, made more visible by the President's commitment to remedy pension inequities in his State of the Union Address. Its importance to women, particularly older women should not be underestimated. A policy initiative which is perceived as minimizing the inequities would be well-received by our target groups and those concerned about fairness.

Cost: No federal revenue impact.

THE APPROACH

Objective

To demonstrate the President's recognition of the changing role of women in society and his commitment to take the steps necessary to redress existing legal and economic inequities.

Thematic Presentation

While each of the proposals recommended in this memo is effective as a remedy for existing problems, they gain strength when presented as a whole. The President's commitment comes through. The actual implementation will, of necessity, be piecemeal.

Reinforcement

We should plan a highly visible announcement of the President's theme of women's initiatives. As important as the initial announcement is, of course, the reinforcement it gains with immediate, and long-term follow-up to demonstrate the President's commitment.

The President's recent emphasis on education issues is an excellent example of the kind of approach that would work well with women's issues. Other senior Administration officials can follow up on the President's themes.

Obviously, a full legislative strategy is dependent on the elements to be included in the Administration package. However, it is my perception that the proposals outlined in this memo have widespread support in Congress. Presidential leadership could make a substantial difference in the pace of Congressional action.

Since time is short in the remainder of this legislative session, we should consider using "short-cut" approaches like floor amendments to achieve completed action this year in addition to proceeding with the regular legislative process. An advantage to trying the floor amendment approach, in addition to speed of enactment, is that it negates attempts of those who would refashion our proposals to make them ineffective or otherwise unacceptable.

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS

Early summer speech to major economic forum. The Quiet Revolution: Changing and expanding role of women in American society and Administration's response to that change.

Meeting with individuals and organizations concerned with economic equity for women. State Administration policy and future initiatives.

Saturday radio speech on changing role of women, building on State of the Union policy themes.

Meeting with Governor representatives to the 50 States' Project to review progress and future priorities.

Attend National Convention of Republican Women in Kentucky.

Meeting with Republican women candidates to support their candidacy for elective office and to highlight the accomplishments the Administration has made in advancing legal and economic equity for women.

Legislative strategy session with Congressional leadership and meeting with Republican Congresswomen on how to proceed with legislative proposals on women's issues.

Special events highlighting the theme, in which the President participates; speak to women engineering students or other non-traditional role events (factory workers, airline pilots, air traffic controllers), visit a day care center, and similar events.



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

July 11, 1983

7/14
Told Mr. McNamar :
Can't do -
Arms Control
(Hear)
Will put out a
statement

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES BAKER
MICHAEL DEEVER
EDWIN MEESE
WILLIAM CLARK

FROM : R. T. McNamar *R.T.M.*

SUBJECT : President's July 16 Radio Address:
IMF Funding Increase

The Floor vote in the House of Representatives is now scheduled for Thursday, July 21. As you know, it is important that the President restate his commitment to the IMF quota increase. The leadership of the opposition to the passage of the quota increase comes from within the Republican party.

Our view is that without this level of visible Presidential support, there is a substantial probability that the authorization bill will not pass. A negative vote on the quota increase could substantially undermine the President's international economic leadership so well established at Williamsburg, raise domestic leadership questions, and be extremely disruptive to the international financial markets, i.e. raise interest rates.

There are no policy disagreements within the Administration about this bill. The President has promised this bill in the State of the Union Address and written support letters.

Accordingly, we would like to reiterate our June 22 request that the Saturday radio address discuss the need for United States leadership in international financial and trade areas following Williamsburg.

We would appreciate consideration of this at a morning White House senior staff meeting as quickly as possible so that we may assist in drafting an appropriate address.

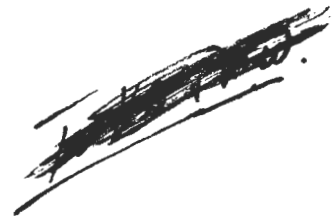
cc: C. Fuller
K. Duberstein
D. Gergen
L. Speakes
M. Barody
A. McLaughlin
D. Thomas



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

June 2, 1983



MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE
JAMES A. BAKER, III
CHIEF OF STAFF
AND ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Presidential Activities and Support of IMF
Legislation

As we move toward Floor consideration of the Administration's request for increased participation in the IMF, I believe some visible evidence of the importance of this issue to the President is necessary. The Williamsburg Summit provides an ideal opportunity to press the significance of international economic issues to all Americans, and to emphasize the central role of the IMF, which will be considered by the Congress in the next 2-3 weeks.

I recommend the following actions:

1. a briefing by the President with Secretary Shultz and myself, for key Congressional committee members, and House and Senate leadership. Committees included should be Senate Foreign Relations, Banking and Appropriations; House Foreign Affairs, Banking and Appropriations. Invitations could be extended to the Chairmen and Ranking Minority Members of the full committees and relevant subcommittees.
2. a Presidential address which would underscore U.S. leadership in international economic policy, highlight the importance of international trade to our domestic economy, and demonstrate our commitment to encourage the development of a more open world economy.
3. meetings with business representatives arranged through Faith Whittlesley's office to underscore the Administrations's linkage of international finance and trade issues, and the importance of the IMF in assuring a stable economic environment for trade to continue to grow.

OK

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OK

The Senate is due to consider the IMF authorization on June 6-8 and the Supplemental Appropriation, including the IMF request, shortly thereafter. The House could schedule the authorization the week of June 20th. Therefore, I recommend these events be scheduled as soon as possible for maximum effectiveness.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D. Regan', is centered on the page.

Donald T. Regan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR HEADS OF ALL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

FROM: THE BUDGET REVIEW BOARD
James A. Baker *JAB*
Edwin Meese III *EW*
David A. Stockman *ADS*

SUBJECT: Initial Guidance for Development of Fiscal
Year 1985 Budget Proposals

Background:

Many agencies are now in the early stages of developing budget proposals to submit to the Office of Management and Budget this fall. Given the stringent budget environment, and the need to hold the level of Federal spending to the absolute minimum necessary to carry on essential government functions, we must start now to ensure that the budget options presented to the President this fall all reflect the need to hold the line. Further, if the President's stated objective to reduce Federal civilian employment is to be met, full-time-equivalent (FTE) employment ceilings will have to be maintained that are consistent with the 75,000 FTE government-wide reduction target.

Guidance:

In developing Fiscal Year 1985 budget proposals for submission to OMB, agencies should plan now to submit proposals which, in the aggregate, do not exceed --

--for annually appropriated discretionary programs (including salary and expenses accounts), the 1985 levels established in the Fiscal Year 1984 budget process, as reflected in the April Update;

--for entitlements, the levels, consistent with April Update economic assumptions, assumed for these programs for FY 1985 in the FY 1984 budget; and

--for FTE ceilings, the ceilings established for Fiscal Year 1985 in the 1984 budget process.

In addition, agencies should prepare options and consider priorities in light of the strong possibility that final agency ceilings for both spending and personnel levels for Fiscal Year 1985 may well be established below the levels described above.

Implementation:

Heads of Departments and agencies should advise their staffs and operating divisions of this guidance at the earliest possible opportunity.