

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Baker, James A.: Files
Folder Title: Political Affairs January 1984-July
1984 (4)
Box: 9

To see more digitized collections
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

DIST	WHITE		HISPANIC	
	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
01	Joe Russ* Clint Wilson*	Anna Sparks*		
02	Wayne Michael Jerry Ayers	Donna Hord* Linda Stanford* Joan Morgan*		
03	Jack Diepenbrock* Ross Relles	Joyce Pollack* Lola Brekke Mabel Hay	Fernando Aldecoa Dave Armendariz Julio Calderon Mark Guerra Frank Marquez Gene Reyes	Teresa Speak Lita Olivarria
04	Bob Thierry* Roy Brophy* Wayne Bartholomew* Fred Herring Ben Robertson		Andy Mendez	
05	Gene Trefethen* Bob Johns*	Connie Ross		
06	Bill Filante* Dennis McQuaid	Elnora Dean Sally Rakow* Barbara Stidham	Jose Fernandini Jose Graves	
07	Dennis Wilson* John Boyles*	Dorothy Kranhold*		
08	Joe Duffel* Bill Baker* Jay Margosian Don Mulford Tim Beer Marsden Cason	Janet Glocker Joan Berger Pat Dieterich*	Manuel Cabello	
09	Richard Bigelow	Rachel Kaldor* Maxine Toft* Mary Landry*		
10	Jeff Conner*	Yvonne Simonson* Peggy Waters* Dianne Flores Mary Carter		

ALTERNATES

64 WHITE MALES
64 - WHITE
14 - HISPANIC MEN
14 - HISPANIC WOMEN
6 & 6 - BLACK
4 & 4 ASIANS

ALTERNATES

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|
| 11 | George Yerby* | Jeanne Mahon* | Jean Orr* |
| 12 | Ed Zschau*
Mike Brady*
Ernest Konnyu*
Hank Mc Cullough
Dean Watkins
Lou Mariani | | |
| 13 | John Mercer* | Betty Quick*
Lu Ryden*
Auralee Street | |
| 14 | Mike Spinetti
Bob Laurie
Norm Shumway | Mary Chaney*
Barbara Nagel*
Joan Hunter*
Lorene Hanford | |
| 15 | Marv Baxter
Jim Dignan | Joan Recca*
Carol Voss*
Mary Ellen Berryhill* | |
| 16 | Jerry Diefenderfer
George Gowgani
Jim Yates | Jane Barnes*
Judy Morgan*
Inge Patee*
Marilyn Liddicoat
Kathryn Williams | |
| 7 | Bill Jones*
Chip Pashayan* | Sharon Levy* | Phil Sanchez |
| 8 | Clay Daulton
Jack Rucker | Marti Nielsen*
Carol Schmidt* | David Padilla*
Margarito Garza
Tommy Savala |
| 9 | Paul Deats* | Martha Hickey*
Gwen Tillemans*
Diane Klinger
Georgeanne Ferini
Emily Wullbrandt | Robert Munoz |
| 0 | Phil Wyman*
Frank Visco*
Dave Moore
Robert Nimmo | Martha Fallgatter
Frances Gulbranson*
Ann Gutcher | |

ALTERNATES

21	Tom McClinton* Hal Bernson	Cathie Wright* Nada Price* Dolly Swift Colleen White	Sal Ramos	Blanche Gomez Ana Lopez
22	Pat Nolan* Newt Russell* Ed Davis* Mike Montgomery	Virginia Crawford Jean Wieberg Kay Noble Gwyneth Gayman	Jose Deetjen Lazaro Barrera Victor Blanco	Alyce Minsky
23	Bill Erwin Mark Spiegel Joe Crail	Shirley Whitney* Ann Ascher* Gloria Holden* Libbie Doheny Marcia Hobbs Jean Campbell	George Adams Robert Holguin	Blanche Gomez Norma Bodelon
24	Alex Stiglitz* Jack Harriman* Jonathan Winters*	Marjorie Pope		
25	Richard Ferraro	Ruth Hare Ann Edmonston*	Jose Barajas John Espinoza	Arline De Santis*
26			Henry Cespedes* Richard Hernandez* Alfred Villalobos*	
27	Ted Hicks* Josh Fredricks Alex Haagen, Sr.	Leslie Dutton* Helene Irvin Donna Little	Armando Soto-Mayor Manuel Cano Sergio Pinchio*	Rita Esquivel
28		Shirley Chilton Liucija Mazeika*		
29	Del Clawson* Ed DiLoreto	Alyce Coleman*	Sal Montenegro*	Abel Armas
30	Frank DeBalough*	Mary Hagen	Bob Apodaca J. William Orozco Richard Gomez Enrique Hernandez Alex P. Lopez Mark Martinez Joe Valverde Ralph Ramirez	Lisa Valencia Gilda Gjurich

Gwen Duffy*

Ramona Banuelos*

ALTERNATES

32	Jerry Felando* Jim Willingham* Bob Langslet*	Paula Teri	
33	Pete Schabarum* David Drier* Chuck Bader* Frank Hill H.L. Richardson Rich Snyder		David Romero
34	Clarence Hobdy* John Zimmerman*		Xavier Hermisillo* John Perez John Velasco
35	Bill Leonard* Ed Dombroski* Charles Cummins		Gil Olivarria*
36	Martin Matich* Bob Older* Gary Rawlings*		
37	Dave Kelley*	Gretchen Poulson* Corky Larson*	Naiz Mohammed
38	Mike Lewis*	Connie Bleick* May Koleff*	
39	Bill Dannemeyer* Ross Johnson* John Lewis* Ed Royce Carl Karcher Joe Gillmaker	Louise Steel	Dan Mantano
40	Daryl Arnold* Nolan Frizelle* Ollie Speraw* Don Koll Tim Strader Reed Sprinkel Al Friedman Coalson Morris		Manuel Quevedo John Acosta Manuel Sepulveda

ALTERNATES

41. Bill Lowery* Betty Wilkinson Tom Topuzes
Larry Stirling* Yvonne Larson
Jim Ellis*
Norm Roberts
Bob Schuman

42 Dennis Brown* Naida Hanson* Fernando Niebla
Deane Dana* Mary Benz
Bill Dalessi
William Lansdale
Al Taucher
Julian Virtue

43 Ron Packard* Sunny Mojonier*
John Dailey* Betty Adams
Bob Frazee
Doug Allred
Bill Bradley
Bill Craven
John Duffy

44 Estelle Milch* Larry Mattera*
Ralph Ramirez

45 Duncan Hunter* Phil Saenz
Ernie Dronenburg* Luis Monge
Darwin Cohee Nick Britto
Alan Royster

0131

BLACK
MALE

FEMALE

ASIAN
MALE

FEMALE

ALTERNATE

03

W. Connerly*
L. Kemp
J. LongD. Kemp
G. Velasquez

05

L. Payne
Jim Stratten*Steven Doi
T. Kong Lee
John B. Tsu
Benny Y. Yee
Kein Nhieu Do

06

Steven Jeong*
Ernesto Sana

Agnes Chan

08

O. Coffey
Ken SmithSandra Smith
Gerti Thomas

10

Yoshio Fujiwana

12

Gloria Hom

21

Janet Eark

Peter Hang

23

Ruth Watanabe

24

Fred Quevedo
Daniel Pang

Julia Wu

25

Bill Galloway*

28

Gil White*
Deroy Murdock*
Eric Jones
Henry Miller
Jim Goodson

Marg Justice

Yoshio Takagaki

29

Glenn Johnson

30

Suzan Fisher*

Kai Higashi

Agnes Arakawa*

31

George Armstrong
Woodley LewisSam Fujimoto*
Carolos Manlapaz
Lance Izumi

32

Albert Magee

33

Richard Koo
Chang Hwan Pyon

ALTERNATES

40

Wendall Handy

42

Harold Chung
Henry Yee

Elizabeth Szu

44

George Walker Smith
Mike Garrett

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/9/84

Fred:

I am sending the attached letter to you for your approval. JAB made substantial changes in the draft you submitted, and he asked that you sign off on this before it is sent out.

Thanks.

Barbara

*I reviewed
w/ JAB -
OK
→ 4/9*

U

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1984

Dear Lew:

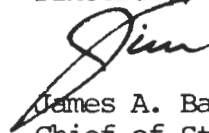
Thank you for forwarding informational copies of your letters expressing Citizens for America's support for Administration policy in Central America and for Ed's nomination to be Attorney General.

We very much appreciate the support of private groups on policy matters, and I know that these letters reflect the independent views of Citizens for America. At the same time though, I am concerned that no-one think that the White House might review these or similar letters in advance and/or endorse them. This, of course, is true with respect to other private groups as well.

Further, in this regard, I know that in future letters you will be careful about statements that could be construed to suggest that the President and members of his staff have endorsed or are affiliated with the Citizens for America effort. Any group may, of course, state its support for the President's policies. However, the White House feels that statements to the effect that the President or members of his staff "will be anxious to see our results," or "must be able to depend on" or "count on" the group and its efforts, could have the effect of suggesting endorsement or affiliation.

We very much appreciate your and Citizens for America's support of many of the President's policies and simply want -- as I am sure you do -- to avoid any claim that the President or the White House has endorsed or is affiliated with your efforts and, of course, to avoid questions being raised about the status and purposes of your organization and its efforts.

Sincerely,



James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President

Mr. Lew Lehrman
Chairman
Citizens for America
214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Suite 320
Washington, D.C. 20002

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 1984

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

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING 
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Citizens for America Letters

Attached for your review and signature is a letter to Lew Lehrman concerning his recent letters, as Chairman of Citizens for America, about Central America and the Meese nomination.

I would appreciate your staff returning a signed copy of the letter for my files. Let me know if you have any questions; thank you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 1984

Dear Lew:

Thank you for forwarding informational copies of your letters expressing Citizens for America's support for Administration policy in Central America and for the President's nomination of Edwin Meese III to be Attorney General. *Ebi*

We very much
~~The Administration~~ appreciates the support of private groups on policy matters, and I know that these letters reflect the independent views of Citizens for America. At the same time, though, it is important to emphasize that the White House did not review these letters in advance and has not endorsed them. These statements would also apply to any letters Citizens for America or other private groups might send in the future.

Further
In this regard, I must also express concern about statements in your Central America letter that could be viewed as suggesting that the President and members of his staff have endorsed or are affiliated with this Citizens for America effort. Any group may, of course, state its support for the President's policies. However, ~~without such prior White House commentary,~~ it would be potentially misleading for a group to state that the President or members of his staff "will be anxious to see our results," or "must be able to depend on" or "count on" the group and its efforts, *could have this effect.*

Accordingly, I must ask Citizens for America to refrain in future letters from including statements that suggest that the President or the White House has endorsed or is affiliated with your efforts. This request -- which has been made to other groups in similar instances -- will avoid misconceptions that the White House has no choice but to disavow, and may also help avoid questions being raised about the status and purposes of such organizations and their efforts.

US
Sincerely, *We very much appreciate your and Citizens for America's support of many of the President's policies and sincerely want*

James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President

Mr. Lew Lehrman
Chairman, Citizens for America
214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Suite 320
Washington, D.C. 20002

I am concerned that no one thinks that the White House might receive these or similar letters in advance and/or endorse them. This of course is true with respect to other private groups as well.

That could be construed to suggest White House concern that statements to the effect that

as you see you do - to avoid any suggestion that the President or the White House has endorsed or is affiliated with your efforts, and, of course, to avoid

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 3, 1984

Dear Trent:

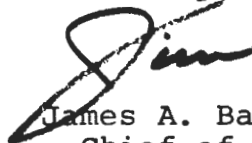
I have discussed with Dick Wirthlin and others the seven areas you suggest might be contentious with respect to the Platform. Our general reactions are as follows:

1. Department of Education: No need to mention.
2. Department of Energy: No need to mention.
3. 55-mile-per-hour speed limit: No need to mention.
4. Flat rate tax vs. tax credit: Mention commitment to making tax system more simple and more fair -- articulating only general principles for tax simplification as in the President's State of the Union address.
5. Women's Issues: Follow the approach suggested by the President's April 5, 1984 speech.
6. Foreign Aid: Find vague compromise language to bridge from the approach reflected in the President's budget to the more restrained approach that some Republicans favor.
7. Lebanon: Overtaken by events.

I suggest we meet soon to discuss not only these issues, but the overall outline, tone, timetable for drafting, etc.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff
and Assistant to the President

The Honorable Trent Lott
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

TRENT LOTT
9TH DISTRICT, MISSISSIPPI
REPUBLICAN WHIP
RULES COMMITTEE
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
TOM H. ANDERSON, JR.

Received SS

1984 MAR -1

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

February 28, 1984

2400 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
202-225-5772

DISTRICT OFFICES:
GULFPORT, MISSISSIPPI 39501
801-864-7670
HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI 39401
801-582-3246
LAUREL, MISSISSIPPI 39440
801-846-1231

3/1
To DA

Copy has gone to
Withlin who's
coordinating move of
Kevin Hopkins + Cong
to R.N.C. Feb 28 discuss.

J. White

Honorable James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jim:

Following our conversation of last Friday, the following are areas where we would be interested in your comments with regard to the Platform:

1. Department of Education
2. Department of Energy
3. 55 mile-per-hour speed limit
4. Flat rate tax versus tax credit
(since you cannot have both)
5. Women's issues
6. Foreign aid
(with particular reference to multi-national organizations)
7. Lebanon
(this may be moot, of course, by August)

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Trent
Trent Lott

TL:sw

Postage Paid

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III ✓
MICHAEL K. DEEVER
MICHAEL A. MCMANUS
EDWARD J. ROLLINS

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER MOT

DATE: MARCH 29, 1984

SUBJECT: USE OF THE ROOSEVELT ROOM FOR POLITICAL MEETINGS

Mr. Baker asked me to ask Fred Fielding if we should be using the Roosevelt Room for political/campaign meetings. Mr. Fielding advised against such use of the room. Therefore, in the future all such meetings (other than the weekly Tuesday meeting in Mr. Baker's office) will be scheduled in the Conference Room in room 175 of the EOB.

Additionally, please note that the mailing/signature meeting scheduled for April 3, 1984 has been changed from the Roosevelt Room to the Conference Room in room 175 of the EOB.

Thank you.

cc: Fred F. Fielding

The Tuesday Team, Inc.

New York, New York

Reagan-Bush '84
440 First Street
Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20001

Attention: Edward J. Rollins

Dear Ed:

This letter will confirm your appointment of our firm as your advertising contractor and detail the terms of our agreement (the "Agreement") as set forth below:

1. Products

It is understood that our Agreement covers advertising for the Reagan-Bush '84 primary election campaign.

2. Services

As your advertising contractor, we agree to devote our best efforts to further your interests and to endeavor in every proper way to make your advertising successful. Our activities will at all times be conducted in accordance with the highest ethical and professional standards applicable to the advertising industry in strict compliance with all applicable laws and regulations. To that end we will:

- A. Familiarize ourselves with your campaign.
- B. Create, prepare, and submit to you for your approval advertising ideas and programs.
- C. Establish a written creative strategy that is conducive to achieving your objectives.
- D. Prepare and submit to you estimates of your advertising expenditures.

- E. Exert our best efforts in acting as your contractor to order media time and space and to purchase artwork, printed matter, and other production items for your advertising, all at the most favorable rates
- F. Execute advertisements in finished form in accordance with your prior approval and forward such advertisements to media in fulfillment of commitments made in your behalf.
- G. Monitor advertisements and media for appearance, date, position, size, and mechanical reproduction.
- H. Credit and pay all proper bills incurred for your account.
- I. Make no agreements, commitments, or disbursements, and incur no obligations for your account without your prior written authorization.

3. General Provisions

- A. It is understood that we shall serve you as an independent contractor and that we are neither authorized nor empowered to act on your behalf nor to represent you except as expressly set forth herein. For the duration of this Agreement we agree that we will not represent any other candidate for the office of the Presidency of the United States, nor will we represent any political committee or organization which makes or contemplates making any independent expenditures on behalf of the re-election of President Reagan. However, it is understood that we may represent other candidates or political committees as well as business clients.
- B. We agree that no advertising, publicity, or program will be placed and no media selection will be made by us without your approval. The following procedures shall be used for such approvals:
 - (a) Approvals or disapprovals are to emanate from the Campaign Director of Reagan-Bush '84;
 - (b) Approval of "key copy" shall constitute approval of advertising, publicity, and programming based thereon;
 - (c) Approval of types of media shall not constitute approval of individual media; and

- (d) If no approval is received by us within ten days of each submission to you, the subject matter is deemed to be disapproved.
- C. You reserve the right to modify, reject, cancel, or discontinue (hereinafter referred to as "Alter") any and all agreements entered into by us on your behalf, as well as all plans, schedules, or work in process, and we shall immediately take proper steps to carry out such instruction. In turn, you agree:
- (a) To assume any liability for all such Altered commitments;
 - (b) To pay us, in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement, any and all proper charges earned and incurred by us in connection with such agreements up to the time they are Altered; and
 - (c) To indemnify us against all liabilities, judgments, and expenses, including attorneys' fees, arising out of any claims, suits, or proceedings brought before any court, arbitrator, administrative, governmental, or industry self-regulatory body, or other tribunal for damages and expenses in consequence of carrying out such instructions.
- D. We will take all reasonable precautions to safeguard any and all of your property entrusted to our custody or control, but in the absence of negligence on our part or disregard by us of your property rights, we are not to be held responsible for any loss, damage, destruction, or unauthorized use by others of such property.
- E. We will take all reasonable precautions to guard against any loss to you through failure of media or suppliers to properly execute their commitments, but we shall not be held responsible for any such failure on their part.
- F. We will verify the accuracy of all media invoices by procuring tear sheets of advertising space actually published from all print media with which we place your advertisements, and station affidavits or similar proofs of performance of radio and television time from radio and television stations with which we place your commercials, and compare such proofs of performance with the billings rendered. Media invoices will be

retained by the agency for one year after the month of advertising and tear sheets will be retained for six months after the month of advertising.

- G. You will indemnify and hold us harmless against any and all liabilities, judgments, and expenses, including attorneys' fees, arising out of any claims, suits, or proceedings, including but not limited to product liability claims and allegations of misrepresentation with respect to the effectiveness, nature, quality, or content of your products or services, brought before any court, arbitrator, administrative, governmental, or industry self-regulatory body, or other tribunal with respect to the dissemination of materials furnished to us by you and the publications of all advertising prepared by us and approved by you.
- H. We shall indemnify and hold you harmless from and against any and all liabilities, judgments, and expenses, including attorneys' fees, arising out of any claims, suits, and proceedings brought before any court, arbitrator, administrative, governmental, or industry self-regulatory body, or other tribunal with respect to the publication, broadcast, or presentation of advertisements created by us which are not based on materials, claims, data, surveys, or other information furnished to us by you, and which are either not approved by you in advance or, if approved, are approved in consequence of our failure to fully inform you of any material facts.
- I. We are covered by a standard advertising liability policy (the "Policy") that provides coverage up to five million dollars (\$5,000,000) for any loss resulting from any final judgement for money based on:
- (a) Libel, slander, or defamation;
 - (b) Infringement of copyright, title, or slogan;
 - (c) Invasion of privacy, unfair competition, or idea misappropriation under implied contract; and
 - (d) Any invasion of rights of publicity or privacy committed in the conduct of our business or advertising.

We agree to maintain the Policy in effect so long as we are your advertising agency, and we will indemnify you for any of the above claims made by a third party against you based on materials we have provided for your advertising. If the insurance company at any

time modifies the kinds of claims covered under the Policy, or any succeeding policy, we will so advise you, and the above provisions will be modified accordingly.

- J. You will indemnify us against all liabilities, judgments, and expenses arising out of any claims, suits, or proceedings brought before any court, arbitrator, administrative, governmental, or industry self-regulatory body or other tribunal with respect to the use of commercials produced by us and arising out of your obligation under the applicable union codes or contracts relating to the production of commercials.
- K. We shall maintain and retain all of your records in the manner required of you under all applicable laws pertaining to you, including but not limited to all applicable provisions of the Federal election laws, and the regulations thereunder.
- L. We reserve the right to refuse to undertake any campaign, prepare any advertising or publicity materials, or cause publication of any advertisement which in our judgment would be unlawful, libelous, indecent, misleading, or otherwise prejudicial to our respective interests.
- M. All radio, television, and motion picture talent (the "Talent") employed by us pursuant to this Agreement shall be engaged through an outside service and shall not be considered your employees. We shall instruct such outside talent service to withhold all legally required taxes for the Talent, and to prepare and file all tax filings in connection with the Talent.
- N. We shall not enter into contracts for time or space for you unless approval pursuant to subsection A above has been secured. Upon such approval you are authorized to make such contracts in your own name with a proviso according to which you are solely financially liable for such time or space. You are obligated to enter into all contracts chargeable to you at the lowest rates obtainable from the other party. You shall indemnify and hold us free and harmless from any and all your contractual obligations on your agents, representatives, servants, or employees, as well as all obligation, costs, claims, judgments, attorneys' fees, and attachments arising out of or in connection with such contracts. You shall establish a trust account satisfactory to us, the funds in which will be used to discharge obligations arising under the facilities contracts.

- O. We recognize that we are under a duty not to disseminate, or use for our own purposes, both during and after the termination of this Agreement, any "confidential information" imparted to us by you. We understand that duty is in addition to any other duty imposed upon us by law.

4. Charges and Compensation

Our charges to you and our compensation for rendering our services hereunder are set forth in the Schedule of Charges and Compensation attached hereto and made a part hereof, which schedule you agree to.

5. Adjustments

- A. If, in a medium having a schedule of graduated rates, less space or time than contracted for us is used, you shall pay us any difference between the amount due at the rate applicable to the quantity of space or time used, and the amount due at the rate applicable to the quantity of space or time initially contracted for, in accordance with such short rate payments as we may be obligated for in connection with your advertising.
- B. If, in a medium having a schedule of graduated rates, more space or time than contracted for is used, we shall refund to you any excess you have paid us over the amount due at the rate actually charged in accordance with any such refunds made to us by said media.

6. Terms of Payment and Cash Discounts

In accordance with the generally recognized principle that we are not required to finance the advertising or activities of our clients, it is agreed that:

- A. Our invoices to you are payable on or before the due dates specified therein. Such due dates generally precede by ten (10) days our deadline for paying the media for the time or space or suppliers for the materials or services invoiced to client. All such payments shall be made out of the Trust Account referenced in Section 3N hereof.
- B. Cash discounts received from media for time or space will be allowed to you provided that you forward payment for such time or space to us on or before the date specified in our invoice, and provided that you

are current in the payment of all other invoices and debts to us at the time we receive the discounted invoices from the media.

7. Term

The terms of this Agreement shall commence as of the date hereof, and shall terminate on August 24, 1984, provided that you may terminate at any time during the term by giving us at least thirty (30) days prior written notice (the "Termination Period"). During the Termination Period, the rights, duties, and responsibilities hereunder of each of us shall continue in full force. We will continue to order and bill all advertising in media whose closing dates fall within the Termination Period.

8. Termination Provisions

This Agreement shall terminate effective at the end of the Termination Period. Upon termination of this Agreement:

- A. We will transfer, assign, and make available to you or your representative all property and material in our possession belonging to you (that is, approved by you and fully paid for by you) and all pertinent information regarding your advertising. We will also give you all reasonable cooperation in transferring all orders, contracts, and other arrangements for unused space, time, services, and materials to the extent that third parties in interest approve and provided we are fully released from obligations thereon. Upon termination you shall assume all obligations and liabilities incurred by us with respect to all outstanding agreements made with your approval on your behalf, and you will indemnify us against all liabilities, judgments, and expenses, including attorneys' fees, arising out of any claims, suits, and proceedings brought before any court, arbitrator, administrative, governmental, or industry self-regulatory body or other tribunal with respect to such agreements.
- B. You shall own any layouts, copy, artwork, films, and other advertising material which we prepared for you or purchased for your account, which you paid for and which was utilized by you or on your behalf. Any rejected, unused, or unpublished advertising campaigns, programs, plans, and ideas created by us shall also be and remain our property.
- C. Any completed or uncompleted work approved by you in writing, either specifically or as part of a campaign, program, or plan, shall be paid for by you in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

- D. We shall not be entitled to commissions or compensation with respect to space, time, facilities, materials, or media services after the effective date of termination of this Agreement, except as to advertising which you have previously approved, which has been substantially completed by us prior to the effective date of termination, and which has been delivered to the media for publication, broadcast, or presentation prior to the date of termination.

Our respective signatures hereto will constitute the foregoing a binding Agreement between us, effective as of the date first above written.

Very truly yours,

THE TUESDAY TEAM, INC.

By _____
James D. Travis, President

REAGAN-BUSH '84

By _____
Edward J. Rollins,
Campaign Director

By _____
Angela Buchanan Jackson,
Treasurer

SCHEDULE OF CHARGES AND COMPENSATION

1. Monthly Fee

- A. Reagan-Bush '84 shall pay The Tuesday Team, Inc. a monthly fee for services during the term hereof as follows:

April

May

June

July

August

Except as expressly set forth below, the foregoing fees shall include all charges, costs, and expenses of The Tuesday Team, Inc. during the term hereof.

- B. The Tuesday Team, Inc. shall send an invoice on the first of each month to Reagan-Bush '84 addressed to the Treasurer for that month's fee. These invoices shall be due ten (10) days after date of receipt. All invoices must be accompanied by an itemized report of all charges.
- C. The amount of the foregoing monthly fees is subject to prospective adjustment at any time by initial Agreement of the parties.
- D. A mutual review of the amount of the monthly fees may be initiated by either party by notice to the other. Both parties shall thereupon enter into good faith negotiations regarding the requested prospective adjustment. Neither party shall, however, have any recourse in seeking an adjustment outside of such negotiations.
- E. No adjustment of the amount of the monthly fees shall be effective unless it is evidenced by a writing signed by both parties.

2. Media Costs

All media costs shall be billed monthly by The Tuesday Team, Inc. to Reagan-Bush '84 at net rates (with no markup or commission) and shall be payable in accordance with the terms of this Agreement.

3. Other Costs

All other "out-of-pocket" costs, including production and media fees, must be approved in advance by Reagan-Bush '84 and shall be billed monthly by The Tuesday Team, Inc. at net rates (with no markup or commission). Such costs shall be payable in accordance with the terms of this Agreement.

4. General Terms

- A. In no event shall The Tuesday Team, Inc. incur any costs, expenses, or other obligations for which Reagan-Bush '84 will be charged, without first obtaining approval of the Treasurer of Reagan-Bush '84. Any costs or expenses incurred or commitments made without such prior approval shall be deemed unauthorized and Reagan-Bush '84 shall have no obligation to pay any amount to The Tuesday Team, Inc. with respect thereto. If initial approval is obtained orally, confirming approval shall be obtained in writing from the Treasurer of Reagan-Bush '84.
- B. Notwithstanding any other provision hereof, Reagan-Bush '84 shall have the right, at its election, to remit funds due and owing to third parties with respect to obligations incurred on Reagan-Bush '84's account directly to such third parties.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER *MDT*

DATE: MARCH 26, 1984

SUBJECT: GOP WOMEN'S GROUPS

As you know, Thursday morning I met with the four women who have been spearheading individual women's groups across the country. Those attending included Maureen Reagan, special consultant to the Chairman on Women's Issues at the RNC, Betty Heitman, Co-Chairman of the RNC, Sonia Landau, Coordinator for Women for Reagan-Bush, and Betty Rendel, President of the National Federation of Republican Women. Below, you will find a synopsis of the activities currently being undertaken, as well as those planned, for each of these women from now until the time of the Convention.

MAUREEN REAGAN

1. As you both know, Maureen hosted five day long briefings for state and local women office holders at the White House. Total attendance for all five briefings was 400 plus. These briefings were successful and accomplished their objectives. As office holders, it was felt that these women would go back to their communities and talk to local media, which they have been doing. Three more luncheons are being proposed, two for early summer, one in September. Maureen will soon be submitting a formal request to Mike Deaver. These are to be attended by more women officials, nominees coming out of the primaries, women who may not have been included previously and those unable to get to Washington before. No repeaters will be included, and the same format will be used.
2. Maureen plans to do extensive travel, with the understanding that a part of her appearances will be on behalf of women candidates in those states. She will focus on insuring press attention for women candidates and helping them to raise money. It is Maureen's intention to have covered all 50 states by the election. She is willing to personally do thirty of the states. Attached you will find Maureen's schedule (Attachment A). Mrs. Reagan, as well as Mrs. Bush will also help in this area.

3. Coordinating Republican Women's Council. Intentions are to increase their mailing list and network to help GOP women candidates. The Council will act as a defensive group for women candidates when and if attacks occur. This group will attempt to counter the negative impact of women's groups like NOW, etc., on the campaigns, such as that which plagued the campaigns of Heckler and Fenwick in '82. Maureen has plans to send one mailing a month.
4. As you know, you have received a memo from Frank Fahrenkopf on a women's luncheon to be held at the Convention, which Frank has asked Maureen to head. This will include approximately 2,500 people. The plan would envision a GOP star hosting each of the 200 plus tables. Major past and present GOP political appointees and elected officials, well known names from Schafly to Jill Ruckleshaus, as well as women relatives of past Republican presidents like Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Betty and Susan Ford, will be honored. Event is scheduled for Thursday, August 22. Theme would be women's unity behind President Reagan. This will be an at cost, ticketed event, with no head table. This is an approved, scheduled event by the Convention.

BETTY HEITMAN

1. Wine and cheese event planned for Sunday at the Convention to highlight GOP women candidates, similar to an event held in Detroit last year. Also, has set up a women's information service to provide info on women delegates to the press. Will also set up press interviews with women throughout that week.
2. GOP Leadership Forum recently held in Miami, last of four that were held. Has established a briefing book on RR administration to date which has been mailed to women across the country. This will continue to be updated. From these forums, there are now 17,000 women's names (GOP women leaders in their respective states) on a computer listing. This list will be used to mail issues of interest, etc.
4. Established National Women's Coalition to encourage party building. Currently made up of about 50 women (Attachment B) and anticipates adding 50 more. Initial three day briefing was recently held in D.C. (Attachment C). Betty reports that these women are very enthusiastic. They will create a network which will be used mainly for the press - high visibility. Not a surrogate program, but to be used to gain regional media and local press attention.
5. Executive Women's Briefing - a non-partisan program. Have held two in D.C. to date. Companies pay all expenses which includes an extensive briefing (Attachment D). Also attached are some of the corporations represented (Attachment E). Betty would like to do more of these. She has been doing them by department, matching women from

companies that may have interests within that particular agency/department. In addition, Betty is also traveling, doing alot of press and fundraising. Finally, Betty is networking within the Administration, keeping women briefed through different means (i.e., briefing book, training program to help with speaking engagements, etc.)

SONIA LANDAU

1. The Campaign has designated two co-chairmen for each state. To date, 33 have been selected and by April 1, there will be two in every state. Of these two individuals, one is an active Republican, who is clearly identified with the state party. The other will be a professional woman, an independent type. These women are selected by RR/GB '84 state chairs. A national agenda has been developed, as well as critical issues within each state. Topics like abortion and ERA are to be avoided. Strong emphasis will be on the economy, inflation, child care, and child support enforcement. Each state will have their chairmen, working as volunteers, at the RR/GB '84 state headquarters. Will use a grass roots approach. These women will identify networks within the state and speak out on behalf of the President, utilizing local media, community newspapers, etc. Regional meetings will be held in April, according to the regions set down by RR/GB '84. "Womens equality is economic equality" is the theme for the group. Their objective will be to outreach and network. Proposal is to have the President, on his next political trip, make announcement of that state's two chairmen; all other state co-chairs will then be announced simultaneously.
2. Rally to be held Thursday of the convention, looking for participation of 12,000 - 17,000. Will be organized in one of two Convention arenas and will include all women delegates, women from the Dallas area, Administration women who will be in Dallas, etc. Would like to see rally attended by the President and Mrs. Reagan and the Vice President and Mrs. Bush. Carol Vander Jagt is helping to coordinate this event. Will be a free, ticketed event with no food or refreshments. This has been submitted to Rollins and Atwater for approval. Proposal will be forthcoming. If the President is unable to attend, they would prefer not to hold the event.
3. They will also have a surrogate program, recruiting their own speakers within each state. This program will be coordinated with the efforts of Dan Morris when needed.

BETTY RENDEL

1. Perceptions Dinner to be held on March 27, in D.C. at \$1000 a plate. Funds raised from this dinner will be used to

establish media programs, as well as direct mail pieces in such targeted areas as Del., N.M., and Minn. Objective is to get RR message out. Will attempt to use elected officials at the national level to talk through their local media to their communities, using television spots, etc. Money is a problem. Congressional, Senatorial, and RNC all trying to raise money for this program. Individual slates will be tailored to the states. They will be using Wirthlin and Teeter material to determine the specific targeted groups.

2. Holding campaign schools and seminars for women candidates across the country. One was held last week in Maryland. Anticipates doing 5 or 6 more. This group will be very involved in voter registration. Betty is traveling a lot and speaking a great deal at the Federation's state meetings. Will attend April board meeting in St. Louis. One hundred women plan to attend another in September in D.C.

The Federation will again host a luncheon at the Convention for Federation members, at which there will be approximately 1000 attendees. Planned for Monday of that week. Mary Kay is sponsoring and underwriting the whole event.

cc: Maureen Reagan
Betty Heitman
Betty Rendel
Sonia Landau
Pam Bailey
Frank Fahrenkopf
Ed Rollins

March 14, 1984

TO: FRANK FAHRENKOPF Jr.
FROM: MAUREEN REAGAN *(MR)*
RE: FUNDRAISING FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES

We are present working on additional fundraising for our women candidates out in their states. If all goes well we will have completed events in connection with other Party functions in the following states by June 30:

Michigan - already did one event in January, and will have another in April for all Legislative candidates.

Massachusetts - March 14 (today) for all women candidates

Illinois - for Lynn Martin

Missouri - for Carrie Francke (Congressional candidate)

Colorado - for all women candidates

Montana - for all women candidates

Oregon - for all women candidates

Vermont - for all women candidates

Hawaii - for all women candidates

New York - for all women candidates

So. Dakota - for all women candidates

Kentucky - for all women candidates

Rhode Island - for all women candidates

Minnesota - for all women candidates

California and Washington held events for Susan B. Anthony which benefitted all women candidates.

Keep your fingers crossed.

/
Attachment B

NATIONAL WOMEN'S COALITION

PARTIAL LIST OF MEMBERS

March 2, 1984

Catherine Anderson, Esq.
10706 Minnetonka Boulevard
Hopkins, Minnesota 55343
612/348-4239

Ms. Ann Ascher
President
Ann Ascher Interiors, Inc.
201 South Beverly Glen Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90024
213/279-1189

Honorable Catherine May Bedell
514 Sandpiper
Palm Desert, California 92260
619/568-2118

Ms. Mabel H. (Muffie) Brandon
President
Rogers & Cowan, Inc.
2550 M Street, N.W., Suite 450
Washington, D. C. 20037
202/466-2925

Ms. Joy Burns
Owner and President
The Burnsley Hotel
1000 Grant Street
Denver, Colorado 80203
303/789-9555

Mrs. William Clements, Jr.
4800 Preston Road
Dallas, Texas 75205
214/522-9177

Mrs. Rose Elder
Rose Elder & Associates, Inc.
Suite 1201
1725 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
202/857-0745

Mrs. Susan G. Fisher
Senior Vice President
Investment Services Division
Marine Midland Bank
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10177
212/949-7552

Honorable Barbara Hackman Franklin
1320 19th Street, N.W., 4th Floor
Washington, D. C. 20036
212/887-5058

Mrs. Phyllis Galanti
21 Maxwell Road
Richmond, Virginia 22326
804/359-6366

Honorable Carla Hills
Attorney at Law
Latham, Watkins and Hills
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
202/828-4400

General Jeanne Holm (USAF, Ret.)
2707 Thyme Drive
Gingerville
Edgewater, Maryland 21037
301/266-5098

Ms. Tonian Hohberg
President
The Fashion Institute of Design & Merchandising
818 West Seventh Street
Los Angeles, California 90017
213/624-1200

Honorable Paula Hughes
First Vice President and Director
Thomson McKinnon Securities, Inc.
200 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10166
212/949-8650

Mrs. Kay Bailey Hutchison
Attorney at Law
Hutchison Price Boyle & Brooks
211 North Ervay Building, Suite 1500
Dallas, Texas 75201
214/742-3882

Mrs. Jewel Lafontant
Attorney at Law
Vedder, Price, Kaufman & Kammholz
115 South La Salle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60603
312/781-2200

Mrs. Moya Lear
Chairman
Lear Avia Corporation
P.O. Box 60000
Reno, Nevada 89506
702/972-2601

Mrs. Patricia S. Lindh
Vice President and Director of Corporate
Communications
Bank of America
555 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, California 90071
213/228-3258

Ms. Jean Lindsey
Managing Partner
Brandon Petroleum Properties
P.O. Box 2766
Laurel, Mississippi 39440
601/649-2261

Dr. Sherry Manning
Assistant to the President for Marketing
and Development
The John Madden Company
Englewood, Colorado

Mrs. Paula Kent Meehan
Chairman
Redken Laboratories, Inc.
6625 Variel Avenue
Canoga Park, California 91303
213/992-2716

Mrs. Rita Mehos
54 Nearwater Lane
Darien, Connecticut 06820
203/655-0327

Ms. Angela Miller
Vice President of Corporate Affairs
First Florida Building Corporation
5900 Southwest 73rd Street
P.O. Box 430990
Miami, Florida 33143
305/665-1146

Honorable Betty Southard Murphy, Esq.
Attorney at Law
Baker and Hostetler
818 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
202/861-1586

Honorable Kay A. Orr
State Treasurer of Nebraska
Capitol Building
Box 94788
Lincoln, Nebraska 68509
402/471-2455

Ms. Gloria Portela
Attorney at Law
Hutcheson and Grundy
1200 Smith Street, Suite 3300
Houston, Texas 77002
713/654-7000

Honorable Charlotte T. Reid
2466 Chatham Road
Aurora, Illinois 60506
312/897-7070

Ms. Ruth Reister
Agriculture Credit Corporation
1300 1st Bank Place, East
P.O. Box 522
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480
612/370-4852

Ms. Nancy Clark Reynolds
President
Wexler, Reynolds, Harrison and Schule, Inc.
1317 F Street, N. W., #600
Washington, D. C. 20004
202/638-2121

Mrs. Ilana Diamond Rovner
Deputy to the Governor and Legal Counsel
116 North La Salle (21st Floor)
Chicago, Illinois 60601
312/793-2117

Honorable Joan M. Shapiro
Mayor, City of Newburgh
Office of the Mayor
City Hall
83 Broadway
Newburgh, New York 12550
914/565-3333

Honorable Cathie A. Shattuck
Vice Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
2401 E Street, N. W. , Suite 504
Washington, D. C. 20507
202/634-6730

Ms. Betty Shrader
President
Sunset National Financial Group
12919 Montana, Apt. 303
Los Angeles, California 90049
213/395-6361

Ms. Pam Shriver
PHS, Ltd.
1127 Greenspring Valley
Lutherville, Maryland 21093
301/296-2121

Ms. Mary Singletary
158 Valley Road
Mountclair, New Jersey 07042
201/642-0358

Ms. Sandra R. Smoley
Chairman
Board of Supervisors, County of
Sacramento
700 H Street, Suite 2450
Sacramento, California 95814
916/440-5471

Mrs. Hildegard S. Wexler
President
H. S. Wexler Associations, Inc.
50 South Steele, Suite 556
Denver, Colorado 80209
303/329-0691

Kathryn D. Wriston, Esq.
Attorney at Law
Sherman & Sterling
870 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Honorable Anne Armstrong
Armstrong Ranch
Armstrong, Texas 78338
512/595-5551

Mrs. Marianthi Lansdale
President, Marina Pacifica Oil Company
P.O. Box 27
Seal Beach, California 90740
312/488-2240

Attachment C

NATIONAL WOMEN'S COALITION
February 21 - 23, 1984
Loew's L'Enfant Plaza Hotel

Tuesday, February 21

8:15 A.M. - on
Renoir I

Registration

9:00 - 10:00 A.M.
Renoir I

Opening Session

Welcoming Remarks:

The Honorable Betty Heitman
Co-Chairman, Republican National Committee
Chair, National Women's Coalition

Overview of Reagan-Bush '84:

The Honorable Margaret Hance
Co-Chairman, Reagan - Bush '84

10:00 - 11:15 A.M.
Renoir I

Briefing: The Federal Budget

The Honorable W. Henson Moore (R-LA)
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Stephen E. Bell
Staff Director, Majority Staff
The Senate Budget Committee
U.S. Senate

11:15 A.M. - Noon

Personal Business Break

Noon - 1:00 P.M.
Renoir II

Luncheon

The Honorable Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman, Republican National Committee

The Honorable Manuel H. Johnson, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy
Department of Treasury

1:00 - 2:30 P.M.
Renoir I

Briefing: Social Programs

The Honorable Dorcas Hardy
Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services
Department of Health and Human Services

Carolyn Ketchel
Assistant Counsel, Minority Staff
Ways and Means Committee
U.S. House of Representatives

Charles Murray
Senior Fellow
Manhattan Institute for Policy Research

2:30 - 3:30 P.M.
Renoir I

Briefing: Equal Opportunity

The Honorable Cathie Shattuck
Vice Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

The Honorable Lynn Martin (R-IL)
Member, U.S House of Representatives

3:30 - 4:00 P.M.

Personal Business Break

4:00 - 5:00 P.M.
Renoir I

Briefing: Defense Issues

The Honorable Lawrence J. Korb
Assistant Secretary for Manpower,
Installations and Logistics
Department of Defense

5:00 - 6:00 P.M.
Renoir I

Press Relations/Speech Overview

J. Bruce Hildebrand
Special Assistant to the Co-Chairman
Republican National Committee

Peggy Stanton
President, Creative Solutions

6:30 P.M.
Degas

Cocktails

7:00 P.M.
Degas

Dinner and Discussion

Evening

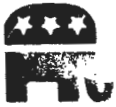
Review of Sample Speeches (on your own)

3:00 - 3:30 P.M.	Personal Business Break
3:30 - 5:30 P.M.	Speech Practice Groups Resume (same groups and parlor locations)
5:30 - 6:30 P.M. Renoir I	Press Conference Briefing
6:30 P.M. Degas	Cocktails
7:00 P.M. Degas	Dinner and Discussion
Evening	Additional Press and Speech Practice Available if Desired

Thursday, February 23

8:00 - 9:00 A.M. Degas	Breakfast and Discussion
9:00 - 9:30 A.M.	Personal Business Break
9:30 A.M. Ballroom C	Report to Ballroom C Press Photographer Availability
10:00 A.M. Ballroom C	Press Conference

Attachment D



Republican National Committee

Office of the Co-Chairman
Betty Heitman

March 19, 1984

Dear :

It is my distinct pleasure to invite you to attend a special briefing on human resources on April 24 and 25 , 1984, in Washington, D.C. This briefing is designed to provide selected women executives access to government officials in both the executive and legislative branches on a non-partisan basis and is being offered to only twenty women from various corporations in the United States.

As you can see from the attached agenda, this briefing is designed to include meetings with Senate and House of Representative Labor Committee members and their staffs; Secretary of Labor, Raymond J. Donovan; Janet Norwood, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; Cathie A. Shattuck, Vice Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Dr. Lenora Cole Alexander, Director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor; Susan R. Meisinger, Deputy Undersecretary for Employment Standards, Department of Labor; and Mary Jo Jacobi, Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, The White House.

You will also have the opportunity to meet and talk with female members of Congress and other women government executives. You will receive written materials which should prove useful in your work in the human resources area and, of course, you will be encouraged to ask questions at the various sessions and to continue to use the personal contacts you will make at the briefings when you return to your company.

If you are able to attend this briefing, please call my office by April 9, then complete and mail the attached form. Due to the limited number of invitees, we are unable to accept additional persons or substitutes. If you have other women you would like to recommend for future possible briefings, please feel free to send me their names, titles, addresses and telephone numbers. My office will keep you up to date on all additional information you may need.

Please, if you have any questions don't hesitate to call me or my assistant Maggie P. Trujillo at (202) 863-8780. I look forward to meeting you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Betty Heitman

BH/mpt
Enclosure

EXECUTIVE WOMEN'S BRIEFINGS

March 19 and 20, 1984

Monday, March 19

7:00 - 8:30 PM Reception hosted by The Honorable Betty Heitman. Other invitees include Members of Congress and government executives.

Place: The George Town Club
1530 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Tuesday, March 20

8:00 - 10:00 AM Capitol Hill Breakfast with Members of Congress.

Place: The Capitol Hill Club
300 1st Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

10:00 - 10:15 AM Transit to Department of Labor. (Transportation will be provided.)

10:15 AM - Noon Briefing from Executive Branch

Place: Department of Labor
Room S2508

The Honorable Janet Norwood
Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics
Department of Labor

The Honorable Lenora Cole Alexander
Director, Women's Bureau
Department of Labor

Noon - 12:10 PM Break

12:10 - 12:20 PM Photo Session with the Secretary of Labor,
The Honorable Raymond J. Donovan

12:20 - 1:30 PM **Luncheon Briefing**

The Honorable Raymond J. Donovan
Secretary of Labor

Introduced by The Honorable Betty Heitman
Co-Chairman, Republican National Committee

1:30 - 1:45 PM **Break (with phone availability)**

1:45 - 3:30 PM **Briefing from Executive Branch (continued)**

The Honorable Cathie A. Shattuck
Vice Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

The Honorable Mary Jo Jacobi
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House

The Honorable Susan R. Meisinger
Deputy Undersecretary for Employment Standards
Department of Labor

3:30 - 3:45 PM **Transit to Capitol Hill. (Transportation will be provided.)**

3:45 - 4:45 PM **Meeting with staff members of Senate and House Labor Committees.**

Place: Dirksen Senate Office Building
Conference Room 438

Senate Staff Members:

Bruce C. Navarro, Assistant Counsel
Subcommittee on Labor

Kevin S. McGuinness, Counsel
Committee on Labor and Human Resources

Kristine Iverson, Professional Staff Member
Committee on Labor and Human Resources

James M. Stephens, Counsel
Committee on Labor and Human Resources

Richard C. Lawson, Co-Counsel
Subcommittee on Labor

House Committee Members:

**Bruce C. Wood, Counsel for Labor
Committee on Education and Labor**

**Dorothy L. Strunk, Senior Legislative Associate
Committee on Education and Labor**

**Edith C. Baum, Counsel and Staff Director
Committee on Education and Labor**

**4:45 - 5:00 P.M. Transit back to Department of Labor. (Transportation
will be provided.)**

5:00 - 6:00 PM Cocktails hosted by The Honorable Betty Heitman.

**Place: The Secretary's Dining Room
Department of Labor**

6:00 P.M. Program ends

EXECUTIVE WOMEN'S BRIEFINGS
FEBRUARY 27 AND 28, 1984
Attendees

Ms. Kathleen S. Alexander
Vice President
Personnel Services
[REDACTED] on
1 Marriott Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20058

Ms. Iris G. Ball
Manager, EO Services
Dart and Kraft, Inc.
2211 Sanders Road
Labor Relations Dept. St. 717
Northbrook, Illinois 60062

Ms. Brenda McChriston Brooks
Director, Human Resources and EO
National Association of Manufacturers
1776 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Ms. Amelie R. Davis
Manager, Employee and
Community Relations
[REDACTED] on
Electronics Division
2301 W. 120th Street
Hawthorne, California 90250

Ms. Antoinette R. Freeman
Attorney at Law
[REDACTED]
1 Franklin Plaza
P.O. Box 7929
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101

Ms. Sonia P. Fuentes
Director, Compliance Management
TRW, Inc.
23555 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44117

Ms. Susan B. Garelli
Director of Staffing and Management
██████████
711 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Ms. Virginia Glenn
Manager, Corporate Equal
Employment Opportunity
The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.
1144 East Market Street
Akron, Ohio 44316

Ms. Hazel A. Grandchamp
Senior Vice President
Home Savings Assoc. of America
3731 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90010

Ms. June N. Hendershot
First Vice President
Great American Federal
Savings and Loan Association
600 B Street
San Diego, California 92183

Ms. Sandra D. Herriott
EEO/Employee Relations Specialist
Blue Cross, Blue Shield Assn.
676 North St. Clair Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Miss Irmgard Kramer
Vice President
██████████ A.
1 Chase Manhattan Plaza
New York, New York 10015

Ms. Marilyn Maledon, Esquire
Assistant General Counsel
Rockwell International Corporation
600 Grant Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Ms. Joyce E. Margulies, Esquire
Legal Department
International Paper Company
International Paper Plaza
77 West 45th Street
New York, New York 10036

Ms. Mary T. Matthies
Attorney at Law
Matthies Law Firm
1726 W. Virgin
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74124

Ms. Betty L. McCormick
Director, Equal Opportunity and
Affirmative Action Programs
IBM Corporation
Old Orchard Road
Armonk, New York 10504

Ms. Lydia L. Pizel
Manager, EEO Affairs
Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing
Company
3M Center Building, 224-5W-19
St. Paul, Minnesota 55144

Ms. Roberta Romberg
Vice President, Personnel Administration
NBC
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 1616
New York, New York 10020

Ms. Pam Somers
Washington, D.C. Bureau Chief
La Cooperative
3 East Irving Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

Ms. Cheryl A. Tritt, Esquire
Executive Assistant to the Chairman
of the Board
One Stamford Forum
Stamford, Connecticut 06904

Ms. Patricia A. Williams
Director
Equal Opportunity Services
Castro
50 California Street
San Francisco, California 94111

EXECUTIVE WOMEN'S BRIEFINGS
MARCH 19 AND 20, 1984
Attendees

Ms. Susan W. Allen
General Staff Manager - EEO
Central Corporation
5725 East River Road
Chicago, Illinois 60631.

Ms. Theresa Bailey, Esquire
Assistant General Counsel
Assistant Secretary
Onan Corporation
1400 - 73rd Ave., N.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55432

Ms. Edna Brazaitis, Esquire
~~The Pillsbury Company~~
Minneapolis
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Ms. Carolyn N. Chave, Esq.
Assistant Vice President
The Bank of Tokyo
100 Broadway
New York, New York 10005

Ms. Maureen O. Chelius, Esq.
Senior Counsel
Schering-Plough Corporation
2000 Galloping Hill Road
Kenilworth, New Jersey 07033

Ms. Emily S. Crandall, Esq.
Associate General Counsel
~~Guardian Life Insurance Company~~
201 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10003

Ms. Jane Dennison
Worldwide Personnel and
Regulatory Affairs
~~The Coca-Cola Company~~
P.O. Drawer 1734
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Ms. Fabianne Gershon
Vice President
Morgan Stanley Corporation
1251 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10020

Ms. M. Jane Huerter
Vice President and Area Director
of Personnel
Mutual of Omaha Insurance Company
Mutual of Omaha Plaza
Omaha, Nebraska 68175

Ms. Grace Anna Jones
Senior Personnel Relations Administrator
Dresser Industries, Inc.
P.O. Box 718
Dallas, Texas 75221

Ms. Nina Kenny
[REDACTED]
5 Penn Center
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19181

Ms. Francesca La Monica
Director, Employee Relations
and Equal Opportunity
Aetna Life and Casualty
151 Farmington Avenue, CC313
Hartford, Connecticut 06156

Ms. Georganne R. MacNab
Corporate Director
Human Resource Development
Development MDC
[REDACTED]
P.O. Box 516
St. Louis, Missouri 63166

Ms. Elizabeth Prendergast
J. Henry Schroder Bank and
Trust Company
One State Street
New York, New York 10015

Ms. Jolene Shellman, Esq.
Staff Attorney
~~ABC Smith Corporation~~
P.O. Box 584
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Ms. Melinda M. Sweet, Esquire
Labor Counsel
Macmillan, Inc.
866 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Ms. Susan Tannenbaum, Esquire
Director
Employee Relations and Counsel
~~ABC Smith Corporation~~
P.O. Box 453
Sunnydale, California 94086

INVITEES - April 24-25, 1984 Briefing

Ms. Jan Britt
Director, Employee Relations
Gould, Inc.
10 Gould Center
Rolling Meadows, Illinois 60008
Ms. Britt

Mrs. Bobbie Brown
Assistant Vice President and Manager
Crocker National Bank
585 Market Street, Department 17
San Francisco, California 94105
Ms. Brown

Ms. Dottie Cook
Director, Employee Relations
Giant Food, Inc.
P.O. Box 1804
Washington, D.C. 20013
Ms. Cook

Ms. Eileen DeCoursey
Vice President
Employee Relations
Manville Corporation
P.O. Box 5108
Ken-Caryl Ranch
Denver, Colorado 80217
Ms. DeCoursey

Ms. Diane Durgin, Esquire
Assistant General Counsel
Georgia Pacific
133 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Ms. Durgin

Ms. Pat Dyer
Program Manager, Selection and Testing
Old Orchard Road
Armonk, New York 10504
Ms. Dyer

Ms. Toni Fay
Director, Corporate Affirmative Action
and Community Relations

[REDACTED]
1271 Ave. of the Americas
New York, New York 10020
Ms. Fay

Dr. Joan Haworth

3065 Fermanagh Drive
Tallahassee, Florida 32308
Dr. Haworth

Ms. Marilyn Heuss
Director, Executive Placement

[REDACTED]
10th and F Streets, NW
Washington, D.C. 22010
Ms. Heuss

Ms. Judy Hutchinson
Sun Company, Inc.
100 Matsonford Road
Radnor, Pennsylvania 19087
Ms. Hutchinson

Ms. Renee Hyer
Vice President - International
Bank of America
Box 37000
International Compensation Unit 3603
San Francisco, California 94137
Ms. Hyer

Ms. Sylvia F. Landa
Area Personnel Manager
[REDACTED] a
200 West Ocean Blvd.
Long Beach, California 90801
Ms. Landa

Ms. Christine Kramer
Group Manager, EEO/AA

[REDACTED]
200 Smith Street
Waltham, Mass. 02154
Ms. Kramer

Ms. Ann G. Lutterbeck
Assistant Vice President
CNA Insurance
CNA Plaza - 42 South
Chicago, Illinois 60685
Ms. Lutterbeck

Ms. Marion K. McDonald
Manager, Personnel Administration
Foremost-McKesson
Drug and Health Care Group
One Post Street
San Francisco, California 94104
Ms. McDonald

Ms. Mary C. Plunkett
Manager, Corporate Compliance Affairs
Olin Corporation
P.O. Box 1355
Stamford, Connecticut 06904
Ms. Plunkett

Ms. Kathy B Probelski
Manager, EO Programming
[REDACTED]
777 Nicollet Mall, #906
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402
Ms. Probelski

Ms. Jackie Quigley
Regional Personnel Manager
[REDACTED]
2001 Bryan Tower
Dallas, Texas 75201
Ms. Quigley

Ms. Yvonne G. Shaw
Consultant

O. [REDACTED] CONSULTANTS, INC.
Rockefeller Center
1211 Ave. of the Americas
New York, New York 10036
Ms. Shaw

Ms. Linda I. Workman
Manager, Personnel Policy and
Technical Support

[REDACTED]
Del. Sta. Y6-591, P.O. Box 500
Beaverton, Oregon 97077
Ms. Workman

Ms. Kathleen L. Robinson-Schwappach
Senior Vice President
State Savings and Loan Assn.
343 East Main Street
Stockton, California 95201
Ms. Robinson-Schwappach

Ms. Diane Frank
Senior Vice President
1st Interstate Bank of California
707 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90017
Ms. Frank

Ms. Vera May Walsh
Vice President, Personnel Director
[REDACTED]
800 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90017
Ms. Walsh

Ms. Peggy Taylor
Vice President
Organization Planning and Development
Bank of California
400 California Street
10th Floor
San Francisco, California 94104
Ms. Taylor

Ms. Margaret Martin, Esquire
California First Bank
Legal and Government Relations
350 California Street
San Francisco, California 94101-1476
Ms. Martin

Ms. Katherine McBroom-Redwine, Esquire
Wisconsin Gas Company
Law Department
626 E. Wisconsin Ave.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
Ms. McBroom-Redwine

Ms. Lorraine Charney
Vice President of Corporate Programs
Ryder System, Inc.
3600 N.W. 82nd Avenue
Miami, Florida 33166
Ms. Charney

Ms. Linda H. Brooke
Vice President
~~Chemical Bank~~
380 Madison Ave.
Room 1209
New York, New York 10017
Ms. Brooke

Ms. Nancy Breseke
Vice President
Personal Banking Dept.
~~First National Bank of Chicago~~
Chicago, Illinois 60670
Ms. Breseke

Ms. Amanda Fox
Vice President, HR and Administration
Blue Cross, Blue Shield Assn.
676 North St. Clair Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611
Ms. Fox

Ms. Jeramy Lanigan
President
Book Division
~~Time Mirror Magazine, Inc.~~
380 Madison Ave.
New York, New York 10017
Ms. Lanigan

Ms. Barbara Neilson
Equal Employment Advisory Council
1015-15th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
Ms. Neilson

Ms. Jacqueline M. Peacock
Second Vice President
Continental Illinois Bank and Trust
231 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60693
Ms. Peacock

Ms. Libby Sartain
Personnel Manager
~~Registration Equipment, Inc.~~
P.O. Box 222307
Dallas, Texas 75222
Ms. Sartain

Ms. Vicki B. Spry
Corporate Manager, Equal Employment
McKesson Corp.
One Post Street, 14th Floor
San Francisco, California 94104
Ms. Spry

Ms. Mary Winterele
Corporate Director, Equal Opportunity
Affairs
Bristol-Myers Company
345 Park Ave.
New York, New York 10154
Ms. Winterele

Ms. Lydia R. Patterson
Vice President
Bankers Trust Co.
16 Wall Street
18th Floor
New York, New York 10015
Ms. Patterson

Ms. Gayle Schmitz
Manager, EEO/AA
AMAX, Inc.
P.O. Box 1700
Greenwich, Connecticut 06836
Ms. Schmitz

THREEMASK

March 26, 1984

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jim Pinkerton
FROM: Joe Casper
RE: Democratic Delegate Totals

Attached is a state-by-state breakdown of the delegate totals for each candidate by state. Also included are "superdelegates" (party leaders, Congressmen and Senators) from states that have not yet held primaries or caucuses.

Associated Press is the source of our state totals. As the chart below shows, AP's figures differ from UPI's, which are those generally used by the Washington Post. Also note that these numbers are constantly changing.

Current totals are:

AP --	Mondale	657	UPI --	Mondale	674
	Hart	384		Hart	393
	Jackson	61		Jackson	85
	Uncommitted	379		Uncommitted	306
	or Other			or Other	

Needed to nominate.....1967

Total delegates at convention.....3933

AP says 1481 delegates have been selected, with 2452

remaining to be chosen by the state.

ASSOCIATED PRESS Tabulation of Democratic Delegates
(complete as of March 25, 1984)

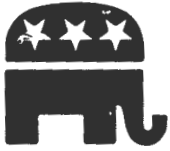
		Total Delegates for State	Jackson	Hart	Mondale	Other/ Uncommitted/ Undecided
Feb 20	Iowa caucuses	58	0	2	50	6
Feb 28	New Hampshire primary	22	0	9	9	4
Mar 4	Maine caucuses	27	0	10	10	7
Mar 10	Wyoming caucus	15	0	8	4	3
Mar 13	Alabama primary	62	9	12	26	15
	American Samoa caucus	6	0	0	6	0
	Dems. Abroad primary	5	0	0	0	5
	Florida primary	143	1	54	63	16
	Georgia primary	84	17	28	24	15
	Hawaii caucuses	27	0	0	6	21
	Massachusetts primary	116	0	52	41	23
	Nevada caucuses	20	0	8	6	6
	Oklahoma caucuses	53	0	20	20	13
	Rhode Island primary	27	0	12	12	3
	Washington caucuses	70	0	23	21	26
Mar 14	Delaware caucuses	18	0	4	9	5
Mar 15	Alaska caucuses	14	0	5	3	6
Mar 14-28	North Dakota caucuses	18				
Mar 17	Arkansas caucuses	42	6	9	21	6
	Kentucky caucuses	63				
	Lat. Amer. Dems. caucuses	5	0	0	0	5
	Michigan caucuses	155	10	49	84	12
	Mississippi caucuses	43				
	So. Carolina caucuses	48	12	2	0	33
Mar 18	Puerto Rico primary	53	0	0	49	4
Mar 20	Illinois primary	194	0	40	99	55
	Minnesota caucuses	86	0	0	3	83
Mar 24	Kansas caucuses	37	0	16	20	1
Mar 25	Montana caucuses	25	0	11	8	6
Superdelegates already chosen			6	12	63	

TOTALS

61 384 657 379

* North Dakota, Kentucky and Mississippi have held or begun their delegate caucuses, but have not announced results. Their total of 124 delegates are not included among the 1481 delegates listed as chosen.

NOTE: No figures are yet available for the Virginia caucuses held this weekend.



2014 2 6 0000

Republican
National
Committee

M. J. Jameson
~~Deputy to the~~
~~Director of Communications~~

To: MT,

Date: 3/22/84

Please see the
attached information maureen
promised mr. Baker. Could you
be sure he gets it?

— Thanks

mj

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3/29/84

MEMORANDUM TO: DICK WIRTHLIN
DICK DARMAN

FROM: JAMES A. BAKER, III

The attached represents Maureen Reagan's ideas
on platform issues of concern to women.

JAB

Rough Outline for Platform
Issues of Particular Concerns to Women

- 1.) ERA Statement - Addressing Issue and Leaving Room for Disagreement
- 2.) Pay Equity - White House Task Force or Commission Study on Pay Equity in the Federal Government
- 3.) Domestic Violence - When is Report Due?
- 4.) Women's Business Ownership - Existing Program - Next Logical Step
- 5.) Welfare - Stress Job Training and Placement
- 6.) Women's Participation in Government - Appointments - Commitment to more
- 7.) Women in the Military - Veterans Programs
- 8.) Missing Children - Address Legislation - Next Logical Steps
- 9.) Dependent Care - Children - Latchkey - Seniors
Private Sector Initiatives and Programs Outlined
By Department of Labor. Point out Programs in
Departments and Agencies - U.S. Senate Stress
Industry Support & Community Projects
- 10.) Additional Areas of Pending and Proposed Legislation
- 11.) Volunteerism

COMPARABLE WORTH

- The "comparable worth" theory is, essentially, that each job has an intrinsic value or worth and wages should be distributed accordingly. Marketplace determination of wages should be ignored. For example, a secretarial position "shown" to be worth as much to a company as a truck driver's job should be compensated at the same rate.
 - The theory rests on the assumption that:
 - Wage differences stem from external factors such as sexism, over which women have no control.
 - That it is possible for government to promulgate an objective standard of worth for each job.
 - That enforcing this standard would eliminate the aggregate wage differences between men and women.
- Women earn less, on average, than men largely because of choices women themselves make.
 - It is true that in the aggregate, an employed female earns 59 cents, on average, for every dollar earned by an employed male (down from 63 cents in 1958).
 - Even feminists agree that equal pay for equal work is well protected by law and is no longer a major problem.
 - Women have typically chosen fields which command lower salaries in the marketplace, such as the humanities, social sciences and education.
 - Women have tended to make careers secondary to their families, frequently moving in and out of the labor force as they bear and raise children, thus losing the experience and seniority associated with higher pay. For the same reason, many have chosen lower-paying jobs which allow greater flexibility or part-time status.
- Comparable worth cannot be established
 - There is no real way to determine a job's "worth" other than through the marketplace.
- A federally administered "comparable worth" standard would be unworkable and would generate harmful consequences if imposed.
 - Such a federal intrusion into the economy would make the ill-fated attempt at wage and price controls in the 1970's seem like a minor annoyance.

- Employers would find themselves in endless litigation unless they indiscriminately raised all women's wages to the mandated level regardless of the marketplace value of the job or skill.
- Women could actually end up with fewer jobs. Employers faced with having to greatly raise secretaries' pay would simply choose to make do with fewer secretaries, for example.
- Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit, perhaps, summed it up best by saying, "If a painter earns more than a secretary, then let more women be painters."

● Conclusion

- Government should help ensure equal opportunities so that men and women alike have the freedom to choose their own priorities.
- What proponents of "comparable pay" are saying, basically, is that government should ensure equal pay regardless of equal work and work history.
- The Administration has not taken an official position on the issue of "comparable pay," but the concept runs counter to the established Administration philosophy which holds that it is the responsibility of the federal government to help ensure equal opportunity, as mentioned, and not to be responsible for equal results.

PLANNING RE HART

#1

I. INTRODUCTION: DON'T UNDERESTIMATE THE HART PHENOMENON

It will, of course, be possible to attack Hart for his pattern of deceitfulness and phoniness in the pursuit of personal political advancement (age change, name change, Kennedy imitation, etc.). It will also be possible to try to pin him with his liberal voting record, his "McGovernism," and his being, as some say, a "hippie with short hair." BUT ...

Though obviously different in many ways, Ronald Reagan and Gary Hart have many similarities (a point developed further below). Among their similarities is this one: They both seem vulnerable and are both easily underestimated.

This is widely accepted now with regard to the President. If it is not taken fully into account with respect to Hart, Hart will continue to surprise -- as he did in 1972, as he did when he ran for the Senate, as he has again in 1984.

The purpose of this memo is to help assure that Hart is not underestimated. It is being written before the results of "Super-Tuesday" are in. If Hart wins big, the memo will be of obvious relevance. But even if he does not, the Hart phenomenon can usefully be taken as a stimulus toward more creative thinking.

II. STYLE: HART IS NOT ONLY MORE LIKE KENNEDY THAN MONDALE, HE IS ALSO, IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, MORE LIKE REAGAN

Consider the following:

- Appearance of youthful vigor. Notwithstanding his age, the President seems youthful relative to most candidates -- or at least youthful enough to neutralize the age issue. But Hart is the personification of youthfulness. Against him, a strategy must be developed to deal with the inescapable age issue.
- Generational appeal. Against most candidates, the President runs surprisingly strongly among younger voters -- and less well among the aged. But so does Hart. He not only has a special generational appeal to those he refers to as having gained political consciousness in the Kennedy and post-Kennedy era. He is also moving to build up his strength with the aged -- where the President already appears vulnerable. The issue of generational appeal is broader than the issue of youthful appearance. Against Hart, it demands special strategic attention.
- T.V. appeal. The President is suited for television as no candidate has been since Kennedy. Most candidates lack the t.v. voice modulation and "the face." But Hart has these. Like the President, he is better on television than he is on the stump -- and more than smart enough to take full advantage of this.

#1

- Populist appeal. The President has this far more than Republicans ordinarily do. But Hart has some of it too. He casts himself as out of the West and the prairie -- and in many respects anti-establishment.
- Ability to play against "big-labor" and "special interests." The President enjoys an advantage here relative to conventional Democrats. But Hart is not a conventional Democrat. He has consciously taken advantage of the fact that he is not the candidate of big labor, and he goes out of his way to pretend he is not a candidate of special interests. He knows what he is doing here -- and has a clear eye on the general election.
- "Leadership" appeal. This is a presumed advantage of the President against any non-incumbent. Hart's youth, lack of demonstrated Congressional effectiveness, and lack of management experience would seem to put him at a further disadvantage here. But, he has taken pains to redefine the "leadership" issue on terms favorable to him -- by converting it into the generational issue. He says, in effect, that a Reagan-Hart choice would not be an issue of demonstrated effectiveness; rather, he frames it as a choice between the out-dated leadership of a "nostalgic" past and the leadership of America's future. Since leadership has been deemed central to the President's appeal, a strategy for dealing with the Hart twist on this must be developed.

III. SUBSTANCE: IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO THINK THAT HART WILL EASILY BE MADE EITHER A MCGOVERN OR A TRADITIONAL LIBERAL

He is thoroughly aware of the political vulnerability of both. And he has carefully fashioned positions which avoid the pitfalls of both. (Note: If anyone doubts this, or thinks Hart has not yet developed his "new ideas" in detail, he or she should read Hart's 1983 book, A New Democracy.)

Consider the following:

- Ability to play off the public's distaste for old liberalism and recent Carterism. The President took full advantage of this in 1980, has been doing so since, and could still do so effectively against a Mondale. But Hart has been campaigning on the President's ground here -- against Humphrey-Carter-Mondale, and against "the failed policies of [both the Republican and the Democratic] past."

- Ability to campaign against governmental waste and inefficiency. This has been a hallmark of the President's -- in relation to which most Democrats are vulnerable. But, Hart has made it a hallmark of his, too. Further, Hart has made defense a major target, and has established himself as a credible advocate of a strong but more efficient, more modern defense. #1

NOTE: Hart can elaborate in detail the argument that our defense force structure is out-dated -- the victim of thinking that is still fighting World War II; a "Maginot line" syndrome he calls it.

Consider, also, that Hart is both genuinely and artfully in the "neo" world that not only is different from old-style liberals, but also overlaps with some Reagan themes:

- He quotes people the President cites: Winston Churchill, FDR, JFK, George Stigler, Adam Smith ...
- He attacks the "declining effectiveness of past policies."
- He challenges America to "recreate its revolutionary and pioneering spirit."
- While he talks of "new ideas" and the future, he says strategies must be "rooted in our basic values" -- that we must devise "new solutions to sustain old principles."
- He emphasizes the importance of stimulating a "vigorous economy" to close the budget/deficit gap -- and the essentiality of "investment to stimulate growth."
- He favors tax simplification for all the reasons the President has stated -- and goes on to outline two alternative approaches: a flatter tax (as in Bradley-Gephardt) or a consumption-based tax (as favored by the Treasury Department). He relabels these alternatives a "fair tax" and a "savings-incentive tax."
- He favors "rewarding risk."
- He favors investment in retraining (as the President does) -- and proposes tax and savings incentives for such investment.
- He favors "restructuring entitlements" (the same phrase as the Administration uses) without saying how (the same tactical duck).
- He favors "building the bridge from school to jobs" (as the President does) -- and embraces such things as the Delaware plan that the Administration has also looked favorably upon.
- He says compassion is solving problems.

#1

- He also publicly favors some things the President has been tempted to affirm but has not yet fully affirmed: decreasing the independence of the Fed and targeting interest rates rather than money supply (as is also the general objective of the Kemp crowd); providing greater incentives for employee stock ownership; and introducing capital budgeting at the federal level.

NOTE: Notwithstanding these areas of overlap, Hart attacks the President for:

- outdated foreign and defense strategies;
- the resurrection of "class conflict in this society for the first time in fifty years," and
- foundering on the "dangerous reef of irrelevance."

FURTHER NOTE: In his book's 177 pages of pure policy prescription, Hart is consistently specific -- yet consistently careful to minimize his vulnerabilities. Only a few targets are offered -- and even these may help him more than they would help an opponent:

- "TIP" -- a tax-based incomes policy ("to encourage, but not require, wage and price restraint").
- "Industrial Modernization and Growth Agreements" -- to "set precise directions and year-by-year targets" (but note: the agreements would be voluntarily negotiated; and the related "Council on Emerging Issues" would have "no authority to implement policy").
- A "stiff inheritance tax" ("to prevent the transfer of large amounts of accumulated wealth at death" -- p. 43). Note: this is linked to a "savings incentive tax" system that would allow large annual standard income tax deductions "of \$10,000 to \$15,000."
- "Equal pay for work of comparable worth" (p. 110).

IV. PRESS RELATIONS: HERE, TOO, HART HAS SOME THINGS GOING FOR HIM

He is now the beneficiary of his being a media "phenom." And the tendency is to think that this must be ephemeral.

Ultimately, of course, it will pass. But there is reason to question whether -- if Hart is the nominee -- it will pass before November:

- Though the press do not dislike the President personally, by and large they dislike his policies and dislike his being President. # f
- Hart is closer to the press in ideology, in age, in life-style; and he does, indeed, have some Kennedyesque qualities that not only make him good copy, but also make him personally appealing to the press.
- Hart takes full advantage of his natural attractiveness to the media and his substantive command of policy issues -- not only with his public performances, but also with private relationships. He has cultivated selected members of the press. And he puts personal time into his private press relations: At the end of a long day, for example, he may get on the phone to friends in the press; or he may have a long late-night drink and conversation -- alone -- with a small group of reporters.

V. WHAT TO DO -- (for discussion only)

Among other things:

- In general,
 - (1) Stay cool and calculating -- neither cocky at the prospect of a run again a "McGovernite" nor panicky at the prospect of a "generational revolution."
- On the negative side,
 - (2) Try -- but don't count on -- pinning the McGovernite stuff on Hart.
 - (3) Play on his apparent deceitfulness or phoniness or contrivedness -- not by focusing on the likes of his age change per se, but by suggesting that such things are symptoms of a deeper fault: He's an imitation JFK, not the real thing. Ask "What then is the real Gary Hart?" "A McGovernite?" "An opportunist?" "A central planner in disguise?" (His "generation" likes "authenticity.")
 - (4) Suggest his ineffectiveness: He emphasizes his "principled pragmatism" -- but what, outside of getting himself elected, has he really gotten done? Again, don't stop there. Suggest a deeper problem: he's really a loner. NOTE: The "loner" idea can suggest he has some Carter in him. No one likes that! It would be a mistake to pin the suggested ineffectiveness on things like "youth" on "inexperience" -- that would only alienate the generation for which he speaks.

1

- (5) Go easy on his private life -- it's part of his modernism, and going at it clumsily will backfire.

- On the positive side,

- (6) Bridge the generation gap. Don't try to beat Hart at youthfulness. Rather, try to seem like a relatively youthful member of the older generation who can help bring the generations closer together. Show understanding for the divisions within the Vietnam generation, as well as between that generation and those before -- and try to lead a process of healing. Do so mainly through thoughtful, sensitive speeches on the subject, and symbolic communication.

- (7) Demonstrate the contrast with Hart's ineffectiveness (noted above) by being visibly effective. This means:

- re the economy: get an agreed deficit-reduction downpayment enacted;

- re foreign policy: get a meeting with Chernenko that agrees on a timetable for further bi-lateral progress.

- (8) Continue to be associated with "new ideas" -- beyond those with which the President is already associated. For example:

- the new Kemp package (especially the "flat" tax);
- Pacific Basin initiatives;
- North American Accord initiatives;
- other?

- (9) Do what has been talked about for two years but still hasn't fully been done -- develop and implement plans for:

- older Americans; and
- blue collar workers.

NOTE: Hart doesn't yet have these constituent groups either. But he can't be expected to delay.

- With a view toward neutralizing the special personal appeal Hart has with the press,

1

(10) Use some of the thoughtful members of the President's crowd in small Hart-style soirees (without the President).

- With a view toward further analysis and strategy development,

(11) Develop and review Reagan-Hart personality and issue data with special attention to:

- regional differences; and
- likely key determinants for undecided/soft swing groups identified:
 - for key swing regions;
 - within large "generational" cohorts; and
 - within the "blue collar" population.

#

#

#

#

A PROBLEM

(the solution to which requires more than the normal creativity of little-old-Republican-party-workers-in-top-siders, more than the normal imagination of established Republican leaders, and more than the normal activity of "hard right" activists)

The following suggest the need for a bit of systematic, creative thinking:

- (1) Kennedy style. Against Mondale, the President has it. Against Hart ...
- (2) Appearance of youthful vigor. Notwithstanding his age, the President comes out better here than against Mondale. Against Hart ...
- (3) Ability to play off public's distaste for Carter and Carterism. Against Mondale, the President could do it again and again -- credibly. Against Hart ... (Hart is already doing it against Mondale)
- (4) Association with "new ideas." Against Mondale, the President comes out fine -- because RR has advanced some bold ideas, and because Mondale is so thoroughly wrapped in the Humphrey-Democrat ideas of the past. Against Hart ...
- (5) Generational appeal. The President has a bit of a problem with the older generation. Against Mondale, his strength is greatest among the younger voters. Against Hart ...
- (6) T.V. appeal. Mondale has the old politician's style -- OK for the stump, but bad for t.v. The President has the more modern, modulated style that is especially well suited for television. So does Hart ...
- (7) Ability to play against the role of big-labor and "special interests." Against Mondale, the President has it. Against Hart ... (Hart is already playing this to the hilt against Mondale)
- (8) Evangelical appeal. Against Mondale, the President has it and Mondale clearly does not. Against Hart ... (Note: Hart's modernism may be a bit of a problem for him here -- but don't forget he went to an evangelical-fundamentalist college, has a graduate degree in divinity, and has a messianic quality about him, which he is not reluctant to take full advantage of.)
- (9) Populist appeal. Against Mondale, the President has it. Against Hart ... (Note: Hart comes out of the "Kansas prairie" and "the West" ...)
- (10) Appeal on the issue of government waste/efficiency. Mondale (Humphrey) is a perfect target. Hart ... (Note: As a leading "neo-liberal," Hart has been a consistent advocate of more efficiency -- especially in DoD.)
- (11) "Leadership." Against Mondale ("Wimp the Second"), the President has it. Against Hart ... (Note: Hart has said that a Reagan-Mondale contest is a choice between the leadership of two competing, out-dated pasts. He describes a Reagan-Hart contest as a choice between the passing leadership of nostalgia and the leadership of America's future.)
- (12) Other such.