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CBS Inc., 1800 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 457-4321

Dear Friends:

December 13, 1982

I thought you would be interested in knowing that the air time for the CBS Television Network broadcast of "The Kennedy Center Honors" will be Christmas night, Saturday, December 25, 1982, from 8:00 to 10:00 PM, Eastern Standard Time.

In Washington, it will be shown at that time on WDVM-TV, Channel 9. In other cities where you may be for the holidays, check your local broadcast listings.

CBS is privileged to present this marvelous performance, and the tributes to the distinguished 1982 Kennedy Center honorees, to the entire nation, and we hope you have an opportunity to watch the edited broadcast.

With best wishes for the holidays, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Donald D. Wear, Jr.
Vice President, Washington Affairs

Enclosure

People weekly

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, ROCKEFELLER CENTER, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020 • (212) JU 6-1212

Publisher

December 10, 1982

Thanks

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Sir:

It is a pleasure to inform you that you will receive our magazine each week in 1983 with my compliments.

PEOPLE was, once again, named a finalist for the National Magazine Awards, this year both for Reporting and General Excellence. And, as a newsmaker in its own right, PEOPLE is mentioned by journalists in all media more often than any other weekly magazine today.

I hope that you, like the more than 19 million Americans of voting age who read PEOPLE every week, find it enjoyable and informative.

With best wishes in the year ahead.

Cordially,

Richard J. Durrell

Richard J. Durrell

NEWHOUSE NEWS SERVICE

SUITE 1320, 1750 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 383-7800

THE ANN ARBOR NEWS THE BAY CITY TIMES THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS THE FLINT JOURNAL THE GRAND RAPIDS PRESS
THE EVENING NEWS, HARRISBURG THE PATRIOT, HARRISBURG THE HUNTSVILLE TIMES THE JACKSON CITIZEN PATRIOT
STATEN ISLAND ADVANCE OREGON JOURNAL THE TIMES-PICAYUNE, NEW ORLEANS THE POST-STANDARD, SYRACUSE
THE MOBILE PRESS THE OREGONIAN THE SAGINAW NEWS THE KALAMAZOO GAZETTE THE MUSKEGON CHRONICLE
NEW ORLEANS STATES-ITEM SYRACUSE HERALD-JOURNAL MISSISSIPPI PRESS, PASCAGOULA THE JERSEY JOURNAL
ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT SPRINGFIELD DAILY NEWS THE SPRINGFIELD UNION SPRINGFIELD SUNDAY REPUBLICAN
THE STAR-LEDGER, NEWARK THE MOBILE REGISTER

December 3, 1982

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



Dear Mike:

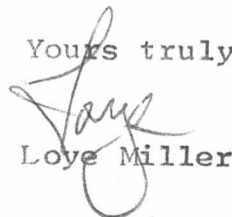
I'm beginning to work on a major year-end piece on the second year of the Reagan presidency, and I very much hope I can have a session with you on that subject.

Could we have lunch, or otherwise may I come talk for 30 minutes when your schedule allows?

We're doing out summary piece earlier than most publications. If you can do it, I need to see you by Dec. 14, if at all possible.

Thanks.

Yours truly,



Loyal Miller

People weekly

Hold for Ryan

TIME INC., M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4300

November 12, 1982

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House

Dear Mike:

Larry Speakes just called me and told me that our year-end request for George Plimpton to write about a day in the life of President Reagan has been turned down.

Please never say never. Let us re-negotiate.

Would it be possible for George to interview the President for an hour?

Baring that, would the White House consider a request for a half an hour interview with the President and our managing editor, Patrica Ryan?

We have six pages on the mock-up that are slugged "Reagan" and throughout this past week our photo editors have been going through the White House photo books choosing pictures to accompany the text.

As I've mentioned before, leading the double issue with the First Family has become a tradition. Please help it continue.

Larry has told me to abandon all hope, but I am re-submitting a request in this form to him.

I hope you will reconsider and we can work something out. Please call me.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Garry Clifford
Garry Clifford
Bureau Chief/People

(Still Some Secretaries)

People

weekly

M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

Garry Clifford

Dear Mike:

I hate to bring you into this again--it is the third year I've done it, But the assault from New York has begun.

As you are aware, we have had a request into the Press office since October for a proposal that George Plimpton cover a day in the life of President Reagan for our year-end issue.

If you can have a tradition in 8 years of existence, then this is our tradition. The magazine stays on the stands for 2 weeks and is read by 43 million readers. We always lead with an interview or story of the President or First Lady.

Please help keep the tradition alive by allowing Plimpton to write about a day in the life of the First Family. Details are in the enclosed xerox letter. The latest we can possibly do it is in the first week of December.

People weekly

M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

Garry Clifford

Having raised three wild boys,
I can't get Blair out of my mind. I
pray everything goes well. I know how
upset you and Carolyn must be.

Sorry to hassle you at this time,
but the editors in New York are beginning
to get nervous.

Thanks for your help.

Regards,

Garry

People weekly

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, ROCKEFELLER CENTER, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020 • (212) JU 6-1212
Managing Editor

October 7, 1982

Larry M. Speakes
Deputy Press Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Speakes,

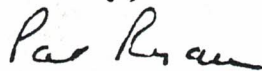
I was pleased to learn of your interest in our proposal for a major story in PEOPLE's year-end double issue that would focus on a day in the life of the President and Mrs. Reagan.

As you probably know, our year-end issue has traditionally opened with an interview with the President, a tradition honored in the past two years by Mr. Reagan. The story I have in mind for this year would focus on Mr. Reagan again, but be cast in a slightly different way. We have enlisted George Plimpton to write for PEOPLE a narrative account of a day spent with the Reagans, to include business meetings and personal moments to the fullest extent possible. Our feeling is that such a story would contribute greatly to an understanding of the human side of the Oval Office for PEOPLE's audience of 43 million readers. The day chosen will, of course, be at your discretion but I hope that we might be able to arrange a date sometime in the last three weeks of November, and no later than the first week of December. Plimpton has numerous commitments and we, of course, face a deadline.

Incidentally, when I discussed this idea with George, he told me that many years ago John Kennedy had once promised him he could run the country for one day, and this is probably as close as George will ever get.

I will be eager to hear from you, either directly or through our Washington bureau, and before a date is irrevocably set, we will arrange for George to contact you to make certain he has no scheduling conflicts that cannot be resolved.

Sincerely,



Patricia Ryan

cc: George Plimpton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1982

*don't like the
idea.*

Mike:

How does this strike you?



Larry
Larry

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 19, 1982

Dear Ms. Ryan:

Thanks so much for your request for George Plimpton to interview the President. We will put it among those requests for year-end interviews and, when we develop the President's schedule, we will be back in contact with you.

Sincerely,



Larry Speakes
Deputy Press Secretary
to the President

Ms. Patricia Ryan
PEOPLE
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020

People weekly

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, ROCKEFELLER CENTER, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020 • (212) JU 6-1212

Managing Editor

October 14, 1982

Larry M. Speakes
Deputy Press Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C.


Dear Mr. Speakes,

I was pleased to learn of your interest in our proposal for a major story in PEOPLE's year-end double issue that would focus on a day in the life of the President and Mrs. Reagan.

As you probably know, our year-end issue has traditionally opened with an interview with the President, a tradition honored in the past two years by Mr. Reagan. The story I have in mind for this year would focus on Mr. Reagan again, but be cast in a slightly different way. We have enlisted George Plimpton to write for PEOPLE a narrative account of a day spent with the Reagans, to include business meetings and personal moments to the fullest extent possible. Our feeling is that such a story would contribute greatly to an understanding of the human side of the Oval Office for PEOPLE's audience of 43 million readers. The day chosen will, of course, be at your discretion but I hope that we might be able to arrange a date sometime in the last three weeks of November, and no later than the first week of December. Plimpton has numerous commitments and we, of course, face a deadline.

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Sincerely,



Patricia Ryan

cc: George Plimpton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

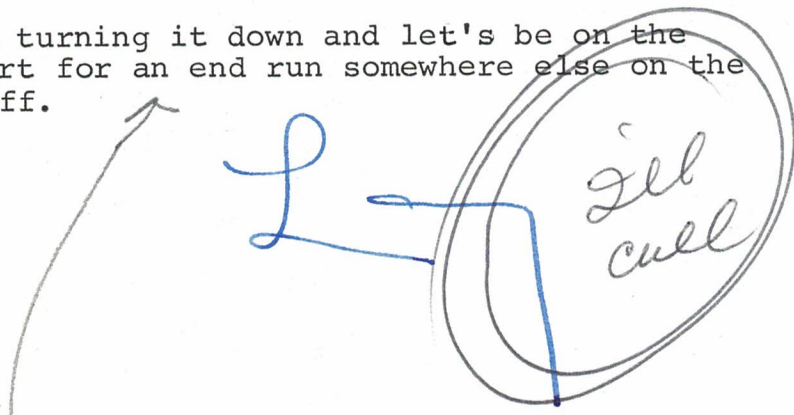
November 10, 1982

~~212 957 9371~~
~~888 1064~~

Mike --

In regard to the People/George Plimpton year-end interview, I agree with your assessment that it's not one we should choose to do. As I recall, the President and First Lady didn't think much of last year's effort.

I'm turning it down and let's be on the alert for an end run somewhere else on the staff.



Its already been run.
See attached memo from Gary.
He called speaker. She says he told her "no" today - that's why the memo.

People^{weekly}

TIME INC., M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4300

November 3, 1982

Dear Mike:

Congratulations to you on last night. The outcome was much better than any of the gloom and doom pollesters predicted. You must feel great!

I am enclosing tickets for you and Carolyn to travel to New York for the Editorial luncheon at the Time Life Bldg. on Wednesday, Nov. 10th. The lunch--on the 43rd floor--will be hosted by Patricia Ryan, our new Managing Editor, and Hal Wingo, our Assistant Managing Editor for News. There will be about 10 other Senior Editors there as well, including myself and another Washington correspondent.

Everything is off the record. I assume the questions will be about President and Mrs. Reagan, his future, her feelings, your thoughts on the election and how the administration will function for the next two years. Basically, the editors who are staunch New Yorkers, just want to be a bit more educated about Washington, the White House and upcoming issues.

Since you plan to take the 8 a.m. shuttle, I'll plan to be on it as well. We'll be met in New York by Michael Ryan, an editor, who promises me a limo. We'll drop you off at the Ritz and come back and pick you up in time for the 12:30 luncheon. The lunch is scheduled for two hours. The driver will drop you off at your next appointment and you'll be free of People Magazine, for at least the next two weeks.

Oh yes, one thing I'm sure Pat Ryan is going to ask you about is our request to have George Plimpton do a story on the President's day for our year-end issue.

That[?]-- and the fact that I'm very grateful that

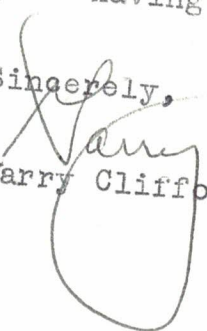
People weekly

TIME INC., M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4300

you are coming--- are about all I do know. At any
rate, I think it should be enjoyable and thank you.

Excuse the typos, our secretary is having a baby
today. Looking forward to Wednesday.

Sincerely,


Garry Clifford

People weekly

Do!
Cats
Pen James

TIME INC., M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4300

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House

August 12, 1982

Dear Mike:

Our Managing Editor, Patricia Ryan, and the other New York editors are so pleased that you have accepted the invitation to come and be grilled in New York.

As promised, I'll get back to Shirley Moore after Labor Day, but Pat is wondering if you might be free to come either on the 23rd or 30th of September. Thursday are always down days for us, With the congressional elections beginning to heat up, I don't know how they are for you.

Thanks for accepting and I'll be in touch to work something out.

*who pay?
Cats?
Date?*

Sincerely,

garry clifford
garry clifford

People

weekly

M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006


Garry Clifford

Dear Mike:

Enclosed are three of Stan's pictures-----more should be trickling back in the next few weeks. I'll forward them.

Shirley tells me that you and she are trying to work out dates for a New York Editorial luncheon visit. Thank you. As mentioned any Wednesday or Thursday in late Sept. or Oct. would be great.

I'll be back in touch.

Best,

garry clifford

People weekly

TIME INC., M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4300

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House

August 12, 1982

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Thanks for accepting and I'll be in touch to work something out.

Sincerely,

Garry Clifford
garry clifford

Oct. 1-2 is possible. or → need another date Oct. 21 is that too late.

as possible

People weekly

TIME INC., M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4300

Called
8-9-82
SM

*Dirky
lets do.*

August 2, 1982

Dear Mike:

Patricia Ryan, our new managing editor, has asked me to extend an invitation to you to come to New York for an editorial luncheon with our People Magazine Editors. The luncheons, in the Time-Life Building, are a new innovation at People, and will be run along the same lines of the Time Editorial luncheons, which you, and other members of the White House staff have attended.

Only difference is---you are her first choice out of Washington. Basically everything is off the record, and editors will just ask you questions about the President and Mrs. Reagan, the White House, and of course the upcoming campaign. I'll buy the tickets and accompany you up if you can make it. We would like to do it anytime--preferably on a Wednesday--from the middle of September onwards. I know the campaign is going to make you very busy, but I would appreciate it if you would consider it. (If that doesn't work, how about considering letting me set up a luncheon in the Corporate Suite at the Hay Adams and they

People weekly

TIME INC., M.P.A. BLDG., 888 16TH ST., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4300

can come down here to meet you).?

Having just written about your 50 invitations a week, I'm reluctant to add to the group, but the Editors are anxious to hear from you and I hope we can work it out. I'll call Shirley next week.

Incidentally, I received a lovely note from Carolyn. That's unusual in Washington. Obviously she has a ways to go before she becomes a native!

Sincerely,


Garry Clifford

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M.M.
Nov. 8, 1982

Dear Mike:

I did not write that portion of the Times story today referring to Ed Meese, not did I know it was going to appear.

I have demanded that my name be removed from any story that contains reports of which I was not the author.

Sincerely,

Jimmy O'Leary

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

888 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

EDITORIAL OFFICES

202-293-4300

file

Nov. 10, 1982

Mike Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Mike,

Now's our chance to do the President Reagan version of the "Sadat in front of the Pyramid's" photograph.

I'm sure you'll recall my request two years ago to do a picture of the President up near the Iwo Jima Memorial with Washington in the background (the Lincoln Memorial, the Washington Monument, and the Capitol stacked up in a row over his shoulder).

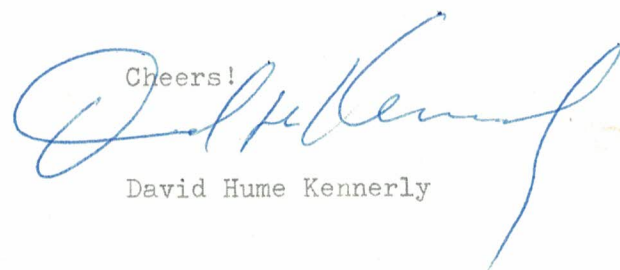
TIME wants to do the picture now, if possible, for a cover story they're planning to close Nov. 26.

Weather is going to be a factor--it has to be a sunny day, and the picture should be taken around 4 p.m. My suggestion is we try it either Sunday Nov. 14 or as a back-up date Sunday Nov. 21.

The President shouldn't have to be on location more than fifteen minutes, and it's an area that can be strictly controlled.

If ever there was an opportunity to show the President's feet planted firmly in Washington D.C. soil, this is it.

Cheers!



David Hume Kennerly

cc: Mark Weinberg

P.S. This is for the cover...

Althe Deaver

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1982

to ¹¹⁻¹³
Marty Feldstein
who is this guy?
Can we use him?
nutre

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS. REAGAN
FROM: MUFFIE BRANDON *Muffie Brandon*
SUBJECT: SUPPORTIVE ECONOMIST ON CBS MORNING NEWS

This morning I happened to watch a distinguished economist named Charles Reeder being interview by Mary Ellen Quinn and Diane Sawyer. He was very strongly supportive of the President's economic philosophy and program, and said that he felt the economy was indeed showing strong signs of recovery and I thought that you and the President might like to know about this and if the President missed seeing this interview it might be something he or one of his staff might like to view. It was really an outstanding endorsement from a very respected man.

I saw this too - he was
good & supportive - do you
know him?

JAB
cc: D Gergen
E Rollins
D Fischer
M. GOODE
W. NEWKEL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 15, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR Michael K. Deaver

SUBJECT: October 14th Teleconferencing Session

During the teleconferencing session on October 14th at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce studios the following occurred:

1. The President's rehearsal was carried on the monitors in the press area for a few minutes until turned off by Mark Weinberg.
2. The teleprompter was not under the control of WHCA and the operator had to be instructed to rewind the script a few minutes before air time.
3. The President was not fully briefed so he would know when there would be breaks in the live coverage so he could refer to his notes or take a drink of water.
4. The volume on the speakers needed to be adjusted/adjustable so the President could hear the questions at all times.
5. The cards were redone at the last minute which caused them to be unclear. The President mistook the cards reference to the questioner to be a reference to the candidate conducting the fundraiser.

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN
SPEAKING:

Ronald
This is President Reagan *with* and ~~I~~ have a
a message for the people of the Fifth
District about their Congressman Del Latta.

When I assumed office in January
1981, your government was overspending,
overtaxing, and over regulating. We
have made real progress since then in all
three areas thanks to leaders in the
Congress like Del Latta. For example,
when our tax reduction package is fully
implemented on July 1st of next year,
every person's income taxes will have
been decreased by 25 percent. This
tremendous income tax reduction would
not have been possible *if* ~~had~~ your Congress-
man, Del Latta, *hadn't* ~~not~~ *lead* the successful
fight in the House last year and again
this year to reduce unnecessary govern-
ment spending. Fewer taxes mean ~~more~~ more
dollars for you to spend as you see fit,
thereby creating permanent jobs for all
Americans. The country needs more
Congressmen like Del Latta and I *want* ~~am~~ sure
to you ~~will~~ re-elect him.
on

:60 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

I'd like to speak to the people of New
Hampshire ^{about} ~~on~~ two issues facing their state,
two issues I know something about:
government spending and taxes.

There are those who say that state
governments can't balance their budgets.
And there are those who say that higher
taxes are inevitable.

Let doesn't have to be that way.
^ But the current Governor of New
Hampshire hasn't learned ^{that} those lessons
yet. And unless New Hampshire changes
governors, a state income tax -- or a
sales tax -- is as inevitable as New
England's trees changing colors this fall.

That's why New Hampshire needs John
Sununu as Governor -- to solve the state's
fiscal problems without raising taxes.

I know John Sununu. I respect him.
He'll be a Governor New Hampshire can be
proud of.

Alaska -- Tom Fink for Governor

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

Tom Fink shares my own faith in
the law of supply and demand. --
And Alaska can supply a lot of
what our nation is demanding.
For example: getting the natural
gas pipeline underway from the
North Slope was the first thing
he mentioned in our talk in the
Oval Office.

Fairbanks needs ^{the pipeline} it, Alaska
needs it, and our country needs
it. If I lived in Alaska, I'd
be voting for Tom Fink for
Governor.

BROWN FOR GOVERNOR
TV-30
"REAGAN"

VIDEO

RR in Oval Office,
sitting at desk,
talking head.

Super (remove after
several seconds):
President Ronald Reagan

Logo with disclaimer.

AUDIO

RR: You have an opportunity to elect
a strong leader as Governor of
Ohio this year.

Clarence Brown is one of the
most effective leaders in
Congress. He's good at
building coalitions that cut
across party lines. He's good
at making tough decisions.

Clarence Brown has a proven
record of accomplishment for
Ohio. His work has created or
saved thousands of jobs in your
state.

I hope you'll vote for Clarence
Brown. Because there's no doubt
what he'll do for Ohio.

South Carolina -- Hartnett for Congress

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

Those of you who live in the low-
country of South Carolina have a
special reason to be proud. Your
Congressman--Tommy Hartnett--has
become a leader in the fight for
conservative government in Washington.
I know I don't have to tell you what
a fine fellow Tommy Hartnett is.
You know that as well as I do. But
I would like to say this: On the
first Tuesday of November, you'll
be serving your country well by
casting your vote for the re-election
of your Congressman, Tommy Hartnett.

Thank you.

sound ,

Montana -- Knorr for U.S. Senate

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

I need North Dakota's help on
election day. Your vote can have
an important role in ^{our} ~~my~~ economic
recovery program. We can't go back
to the ^{Bankrupt} policies of ^{the past} ~~bankruptcy~~. That's
why I'm asking you to vote for Gene
Knorr. Gene is a fourth-generation
North Dakotan, and he knows better
than anyone the problems facing
farmers and small businessmen today.
Gene and I have worked together in
Washington. He's a good Republican.
He's a ^{fine} good, fourth-generation North
Dakotan. He'll make an outstanding
Senator. And North Dakota needs
just that.

Missouri -- Congressman Wendell Bailey

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

I want to talk with you about
Congressman Wendell Bailey. Wendell
and I have differed on various pro-
grams but we both agree on the direc-
tion and course this nation must ^{follow} go.
From the people, a leader has emerged.
Wendell Bailey is giving the 4th
District ~~the~~ decisive leadership to
overcome the problems facing our
country and the resolve to move with
confidence into the future. Wendell
is in touch with the realities of
Main Street and the people. I urge
you to keep a strong voice from the
4th District in the U.S. Congress ^{by}
~~and vote~~ ^{ing} for Wendell Bailey.

Wyoming -- Warren Morton for Governor

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

I'd like to speak to you ^{on} ~~A~~ behalf of
an exceptional Wyoming leader, Warren
Morton. Warren has the management skill
and the new ideas a growing, building
state like Wyoming needs. I was
governor of a western state for two
terms myself, and I know the critical
challenge you face on water development.
Warren Morton is the kind of fresh,
tough leader who can step in and get
the job done.

Governments, and governors, wear
out. That's what makes new leaders,
with new energy, so vital. I hope
you'll join me in supporting Warren
Morton.

Alabama -- Emory Folmar for Governor

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

On November 2nd, Alabama will choose a new governor. I don't involve myself in every political race, but I want the people of Alabama to know that I have worked with Emory Folmar and my door is always open to him. Emory is an honest, fair-minded and dedicated man. He's a worker who can get things done in Alabama. . .and in Washington.

He will be the strong, active leader Alabama needs in the 80's.

Your vote for Folmar will help get Alabama working.

Idaho -- Batt for Governor

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

Many of my Idaho friends have heard of "New Federalism". That's just another name for returning a number of government programs ^{and resources} to the people of Idaho. . . where I know you'll do a much better job handling them than the federal government. That's why I need Phil Batt elected Governor of Idaho. He's enthusiastic about helping me return control to the states. . . where it really belongs. With Phil's brand of leadership we really can get Idaho working again. On November 2nd go to Batt for Idaho.

Thank you.

New Mexico -- John Irick for Governor

:30 TV

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKING
ON CAMERA.

New Mexicans have a very important
decision to make November 2nd.

The people will elect a new
Governor. John Irick is a man
I trust. . . a man I count on.
John Irick has the honesty, the
experience, and the willingness
to work hard to bring ^{New Mexico} ~~this state~~
exciting new opportunity.

This November, vote for
a man I know as a friend, who'll
be a Governor we can trust!

Vote for John Irick.

Thank you.

10/8/78
ROBIN BEARD
U.S. SENATE
TENNESSEE

Television Script

PRESIDENT REAGAN:

The voters of Tennessee have a very important choice to make when you decide who will represent you in the U.S. Senate for the next 6 years.

Robin Beard has spent 10 years in the Congress fighting for the kind of fiscal responsibility this government of ours has to have. He's a man you and I can count on to fight for a balanced budget, lower government spending, and to reduce inflation.

Robin has proven he'll stand up for what he believes. As a matter of fact, he's proven it to me a couple of times recently.

I hope you'll send Robin Beard to the Senate on November 2. It will help me, it will help Tennessee and it will help our country.

* * *

Laurence I. Barrett

Sept 27

TIME

file

Dear Michael,

Now that 147 phone messages have failed to arouse a response, I resort to the written word. If RR ever returned your glasses, perhaps you will read it.

Shirley tells me that you are boycotting me until some hallowed time when you have resolved the requests pending from prehistoric conversations. I can well understand why you would feel guilty about leaving me dangling on those important items. In fact I am suffering rapid weight loss, sudden graying of my famous chestnut mop and other symptoms of atrophy as a result of your dereliction of duty to OUR literary cause.

However, since I last saw you on AUGUST 17th, other questions have arisen, some involving you personally. I must speak to you about them regardless of where we stand on other matters. I am also at the point where I need a firm fix on a couple of "arrangement" questions. I have roughly two months left before I do the final polishing of this epic. Before then I must still do eight chapters from scratch. For you to bug out on me now (not to mention Bill's being gone AWOL) is something of a disaster. I was going to call it "Mike & Ronnie," but I'm seriously reconsidering that.

I think Shirley has my phone number.

Lang

TIME

888 16th Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C.

20006

CBS NEWS

A Division of CBS Inc.
Television City
7800 Beverly Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90036
(213) 852-2202

file

Dear Mike:

You are about as kind a man as there ever was. Croft and Angela were in awe. Judy and I were deeply honored. And along with wonderful, cynical Plante, we are all extremely grateful. Very simply, thank you a great deal for that lunch right there and for the tour of those hallowed quarters that followed. Shirley Moore was as kind as you. Please extend our appreciation.

You never know about teenagers, but I suspect that experience was as moving for them as my visit to those very places was in the Truman years when I was their age. A friend of my father's, Matt Connely, held a position about equal to yours and similiary invited a then young and a then middle aged Drinkwater by. I know, looking back, that afternoon in the inner White House was of profound influence on me. I took every course in government from then through graduate school. And, as you know, politics and public policy have been my prime interests in the news business for the past twenty-five years. This little reflection on the parallel of you and Matt and Drinkwaters should stop right there. (He ended up in jail. Something having to do with giving away more than jelly beans at the White House!)

Again, thank you.

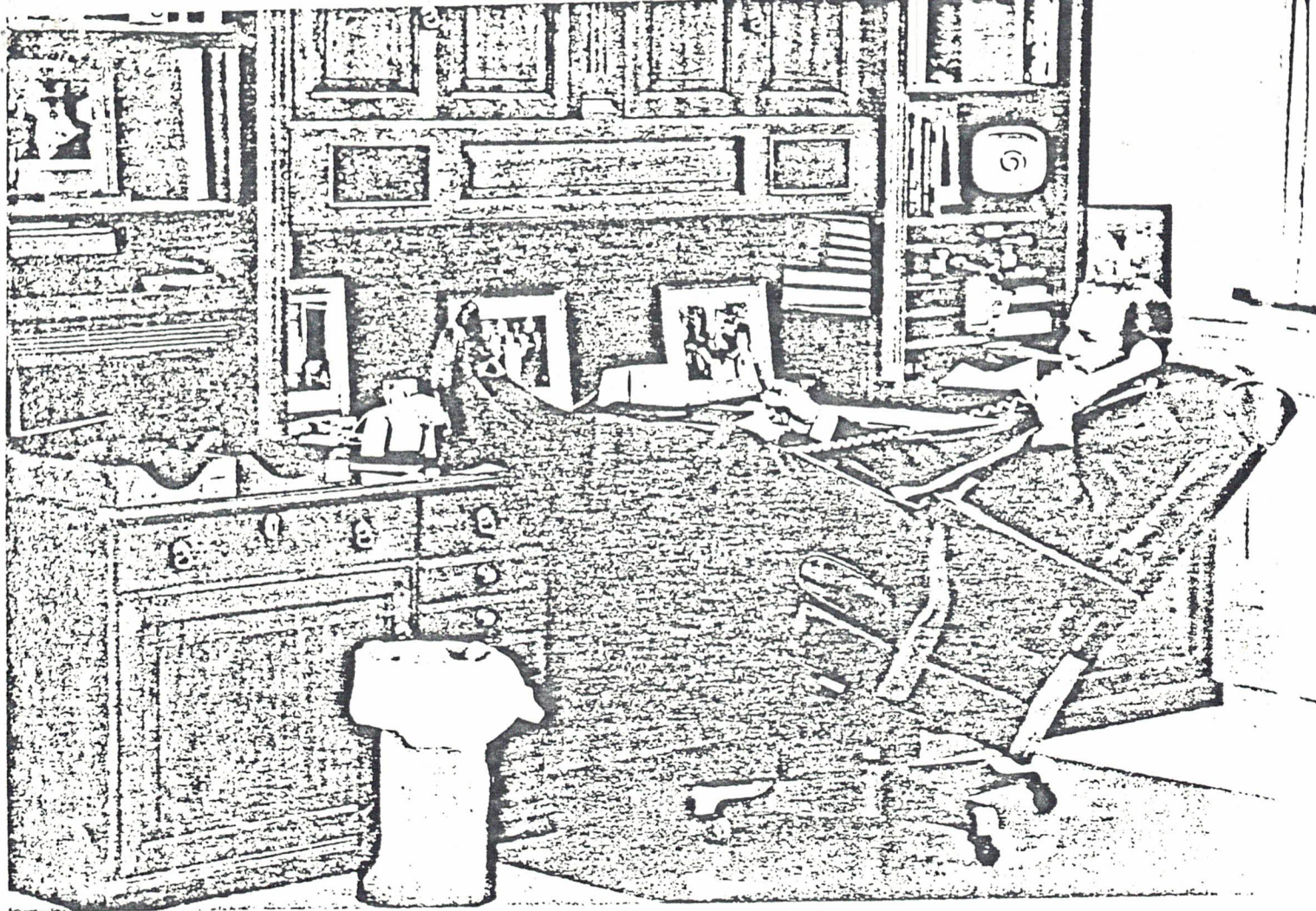
Regards,

Terry
Terry Drinkwater
Correspondent

cc: Bill Plante
Terrell C. Drinkwater

Mr. Mike Deaver
Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

September 23, 1982



THE RISE OF JIM BAKER

The Classic Washington Story
of Shrewdness and Diplomacy

By Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover

In a political system that gives its citizens the opportunity to throw the rascals out at regular intervals, and in which some are irregularly eased out as well, the game of who's up and who's down is always being played. A year ago, White House counselor Edwin Meese was definitely up. He was called, in an excess that seems ludicrous now, "the Deputy President."

This year, according to most of the game-players, Meese is definitely down—undermined by personal foibles and structural adjustments in the much-ballyhooed Meese-Deaver-Baker *troika*, which since the transfer of William Clark from the State Department to the White House has become a *chenverka* (our thanks to Tass's Washington bureau).

With Meese down, but not out, the

consensus now is that the up man is James A. Baker III, the 52-year-old lawyer from Houston and the manager of the losing presidential campaigns of Gerald R. Ford and George Bush. Only twenty months ago, Baker was seen by many as the least likely to survive in the tight inner circle of California Reaganites. But now the reigning cliché of Washington is that Jim Baker has become the first among equals around Ronald Reagan. Baker, a man who practices diplomacy as if it were a religion, prefers to acknowledge only that "I believe I'm an equal among equals, and that wasn't the case, I don't think, when we started out."

For one thing, the personal chemistry between Reagan and Meese, and between Reagan and Michael Deaver, wasn't there for Baker at the outset. He

was given his job largely on the recommendation of Deaver, California political consultant Stuart Spencer, and Nancy Reagan. All three had come to respect and like Baker for his post-convention role in the 1980 campaign, culminating as Reagan negotiator for the debate with Jimmy Carter that helped cement Reagan's credibility as a presidential candidate. By demonstrating his ability and, of equal importance, his fealty to the man he twice tried to beat out of the Republican nomination, Baker managed to win a place with Reagan—despite a drumbeat of protests from the anti-Bush paranoiacs of the New Right who saw, and still see, him as a middle-road Mata Hari.

"I hope what I've done," Baker says, "is do a good job for the President in

the areas he's entrusted to my charge, and convince him and others of my loyalty to him. I don't think he questions that, notwithstanding some of the stuff Viguerie and Lofton tend to put out." (The July issue of *Conservative Digest*, published by direct-mail expert Richard Viguerie and edited by right-wing polemicist John Lofton, was a broadside against both Reagan and Baker and in effect charged that Baker was running the administration. Included was a copy of the letter to Reaganites around the country from Clymer Wright, Reagan's 1980 campaign finance chairman in Texas, demanding Baker's resignation—a demand Reagan conspicuously dismissed in a direct reply to Wright.)

Baker's standing with the Californians enjoyed a boost in March 1981 after the assassination attempt against the President, wherein the *troika* moved adroitly to demonstrate that the reins of government remained effectively in Reagan's hands. On Baker's recommendation, the *troika* and the Cabinet agreed that the 25th Amendment providing for the Vice President to take over as acting President not be invoked, demonstrating to the Californians that, among other things, Jim Baker was not trying to paddle George Bush's canoe. Baker, Meese, and Deaver made a point of going together to the hospital every morning the President remained there—and being televised to America doing so—to show that his team was on the job. Baker says now: "We've taken a situation nobody thought would work, frankly, and we've made it work."

Now it is probably fair to say of Baker's modest assessment of his equality that, with apologies to George Orwell, all the

animals are equal, but some are more equal than others. Administration insiders argue that in specific areas Deaver and Clark carry more weight than does Baker—Deaver on matters concerning the personal involvement of the Reagans, and Clark on national security—but that Meese hardly ever does on anything and that Baker exerts the most across-the-board influence. At the same time, these insiders say that the who's-

Baker managed to win a place with Reagan despite a drumbeat of protests from the anti-Bush paranoiacs of the New Right.

up-who's-down game, and the way the Washington news media plays on it, oversimplifies the power equation in the Reagan White House. "All the Baker stuff is in part a reaction to a long-overdue correction of the press saying Meese was something he never was—Deputy President," one staffer observes. "And now the press is beginning to over-correct in the other direction."

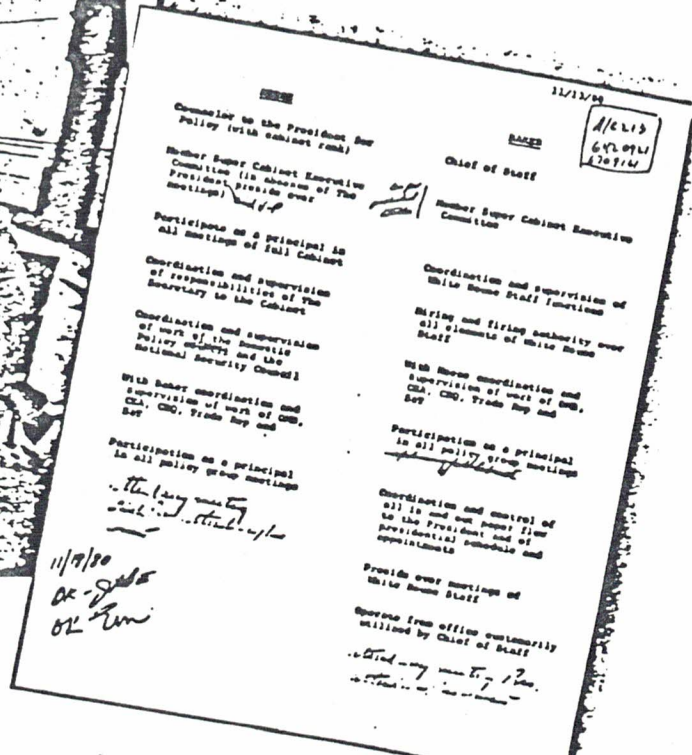
It is also prudent to keep in mind that being up is not an unmitigated boon and that expressions of modesty by Baker and his supporters have in them elements of self-preservation. Former Reagan campaign manager John Sears, who was riding high in the press before his sudden 1980 fall from grace, says of Baker's

current up status: "Anytime you're getting any good publicity in this business, you're getting some bad." And a White House colleague of Baker's puts it another way: "His competence and ability are getting to the point where they're creating problems for him. When you overshadow others and start getting good ink, it can be trouble. When Baker gets a good story and Meese gets a bad one, Baker gets blamed for both." When Baker was listed earlier this year among the ten most important Americans in a *US News & World Report* poll, this insider says, "Baker cringed." (Baker was ranked seventh, Meese fifth—a result that would be different today). Another White House source says: "It's almost an impossible situation. Because of the structure here, if Baker succeeds it's almost of necessity at his [Meese's] expense, and that's not good for Baker . . . to be called first among equals."

One insider talks of "the invisible hand" at work in the White House that inevitably takes a whack at whoever is up at the time. What happens is that lower-level aides who see the individual under whom they work getting a bad press start sniping at the one who seems to be benefiting most. That is what has occurred involving Meese and Baker. Also, several White House insiders say, the resentment of pure Reaganites on the staff that outsider Baker and people around him are even there, let alone perceived as being on the rise in influence, makes being labeled first among equals perilous. And by the same token, those aboard who did not have the early Reagan connections look down on the others as persons whose loyalty to Reagan, not their competence, is the key to their presence.



President Reagan meets in the Oval Office with his *troika* of key aides: Jim Baker, Mike Deaver, and Ed Meese. At right is the memo of understanding initialed by Baker and Meese setting out their authorities and responsibilities.



Specifically, the contrast between Baker and his staff and Meese and his staff in terms of sheer organization has been glaring, and often mentioned to Meese's detriment. "Jim tends to be action-oriented and pragmatic," one ranking staffer says. "Ed tends to be less action-oriented, less pragmatic, more conservative and ideological." And another puts it more bluntly: "Baker gets things done." Such talk is not helpful to Baker, who goes out of his way to praise Meese. "He's a joy to work with," Baker will tell you. "He's a very straight-shooting, honest, frank person who doesn't play games. If he tells you he's going to do something, he'll do it."

Baker also makes the point that the terms of the Meese-Baker working relationship were carefully worked out between them and committed to paper in a memorandum that both signed two weeks after Reagan's election, and that the memo's terms have been assiduously adhered to. It gave Meese Cabinet rank as counselor to the President for policy (now narrowed to domestic policy with the addition of Clark as national-security overseer with direct access to Reagan along with the original Big Three). Baker was to run the White House staff, including "coordination and control of all in-and-out paper flow to the President and of presidential schedule and appoint-

ments." In practice, paper flow goes through one of the two deputy chiefs of staff: Reagan's schedule and appointments go through Deaver, and the rest through Richard Darman, another New Right target as a former Elliot Richardson aide.

This allocation of functions seems fair enough, or did at the outset. But in implementation, Baker has emerged much the more equal animal. A critical reason has been the development of the White House—and Baker's office—as the nerve center of legislative strategy. Baker chairs the frequent meetings of the Legislative Strategy Group that has come to be the architect of the Reagan administration's greatest successes on Capitol Hill, with strong cooperation from the Republican leaders in Congress. Darman coordinates the group's work, and regular members are Meese, Deaver, congressional liaison chief Kenneth Duberstein, and Cabinet secretary Craig Fuller.

Cabinet members, and particularly Budget Director David Stockman and Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, also take part. All through 1981, Stockman, as a former member of the House and the resident budgetary wizard, was the most visible salesman of the economic recovery legislation that dominated the domestic agenda. But his in-

discretions in the *Atlantic Monthly* forced him to duck the limelight, and the public and congressional role fell increasingly to Baker, who by 1982 clearly spoke for the President. And because Baker's Legislative Strategy Group was taking a big bite into the domestic policy area, he was inevitably working Meese's side of the street as well as his own.

Under the memo agreement, Baker also controls the White House press operation (under former Bush aide David Gergen as director of communications and Larry Speakes as acting press secretary); intergovernmental relations—liaison with the governors and mayors (under Rich Williamson, one of the more efficient and effective conservative True Believers); the political-affairs office (under Ed Rollins, a Reaganite with a very limited mandate); the private-sector outreach operation (under Baker admirer Elizabeth Dole); and the Republican National Committee (with his agent, former Bush aide Rich Bond, installed as deputy chairman and de facto operating head for the thin-ice-skating chairman, Dick Richards). And on top of all this, Baker is the acknowledged chief political strategist of the administration. If he is not the first among equals now, nobody is.

It is not simply, either, that Baker's responsibilities turned out to be more important than those of the other kingpins. By nearly all testimony, Baker has outperformed the others. Among other things, he is the White House staff's most deft dealer with the news media. He developed solid relationships with many reporters during the Ford, Bush, and Reagan campaigns, and a mutual respect exists that Baker is not above exploiting through well-placed, well-timed leaks that serve the President's ends—and, on occasion, his own. But he knows when not to talk, too. During the "Gang of 17" negotiations on the budget earlier this year, Baker was the eyes and ears for the President in closed sessions with congressional leaders. He declared a moratorium on contacts with reporters to make sure he would be safe from suspicions on the Hill that he was leaking.

One other ingredient in Baker's success has been Reagan's own *modus operandi*—as a delegator of functions and responsibilities. Under such a President, who is himself new to the ways of Washington, the job of White House chief of staff is seen inside the mansion and outside as more powerful than it was under, say, Jimmy Carter, whose reputation for trying to do everything himself was well known; or even under Gerald Ford, whose legislative experience was extensive. For all the protestations, Ronald Reagan continues to bear the reputation of a man who seldom bothers to search out the fine print, who would much rather have

THE PERSONAL JIM BAKER



James A. Baker III was born in Houston on April 28, 1930. He grew up there, leaving in 1948 to attend Princeton University, from which he graduated in 1952. After college he served for two years as a lieutenant in the Marine Corps. Baker then entered the University of Texas law school and earned a JD degree with honors upon graduation in 1957. After law school, Baker joined the Houston law firm of Andrews & Kurth. He continued to practice law there until he left the firm in 1981 to become President Reagan's chief of staff. Baker's first wife, Mary, died of cancer in February 1970. He married Susan, his present wife, on August 6, 1973, bringing his four children and her three under the same roof. Three years ago, they had their eighth, Mary Bonner.

Although not an avid fan of spectator sports, Baker leads an active life. He still finds time for turkey shooting, fishing, and tennis. Baker's favorite foods include fresh vegetables, sushi, and, above all, wild game. He now lives in the Foxhall Road area in the District.

—ROBERT G. KESTER



Mike Deaver, Jim Baker, and Ed Meese continue to have breakfast every morning at 7:30 in Baker's office. National-security adviser Bill Clark could attend the breakfast but chooses not to.

someone else do his homework for him and then tell him which of the multiple-choice answers to check off.

Baker and the others around Reagan naturally balk at that reading of their boss, and Baker bends over backward to deny that he is anything more than an implementer of the President's desires. In the "Gang of 17" negotiations, Baker repeatedly informed the congressional leaders that he was participating strictly as a helpmate and that he had no authority to make any deal on behalf of Reagan. "He never hinted he could take a little more out of here or there," says Senate Finance Committee Chairman Bob Dole. "He wasn't selling any snake oil." Nevertheless, there is evidence that within the White House—and on occasion on Capitol Hill—Baker is a strong advocate for positions that are not yet the President's.

The prime example is in defense spending. Last year, Baker told White house reporters in California that the defense budget would have to be cut \$20 billion to \$30 billion over three years as

a way of paring the federal deficit. Baker says now he made a mistake going public on it, because the President ruled otherwise. He says he had just returned from vacation and was not aware that administration signals had been changed. Representative Dick Cheney of Wyoming, Ford's White House chief of staff and now chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, says: "That was one of the few cases where Jim made a mistake. Instead of being an honest broker, he became a public advocate of a position. But to my knowledge, he hasn't done it again."

Still, Baker continues to be recognized as an advocate of deeper defense cuts down the road, although he formally plays the good soldier and supports this and all other presidential decisions. "I know he's an advocate," says a ranking Republican leader in the Senate. "If he isn't, I've been wasting a lot of my time."

It is the fear of such advocacy that so worries the New Right. Viguerie is convinced that Jim Baker works overtime leaking material to the press that can make the case for deeper cuts in military spend-

ing, while ignoring the kind of advocacy the New Right would like to see from the chief of staff for the social issues they believe won for Reagan in 1980 and are the key to his reelection in 1984.

Viguerie asks: "Is he getting up in the morning thinking, 'What six things can I do to get the abortion amendment passed?' Or, 'What six things can I do to get prayer back in the schools?'" Viguerie admits that Reagan probably doesn't ask himself those questions either, but he argues that a man in Baker's position ought to be pressing them on the President. (Such policies are, however, in Meese's area of responsibility.)

Baker himself says of his role as advocate: "I don't think the President wants a bunch of yes-men around him. I think the President wants you to give him your best judgment on a particular issue, whether he agrees with it or not. I don't consider myself as one who has deeply held views on specific issues. I happen, for instance, to favor a strong defense. But, more than that, I favor making sure that the President's program works. And

Continued on page 184

therefore I feel free suggesting to the President that he might want to make a cut here or there, or that he might want to raise some revenue so that the overriding goal of success with the economy can be achieved. I see my role here as an implementer and making sure that we have something that works. I'm willing, for instance, to recommend to the President that he give up 15 percent up on the Hill in a particular area in order to get 85 percent." A case in point, he says, was Dole's \$98 billion tax-increase bill, which he helped persuade Reagan to accept on grounds that it was necessary to get further spending cuts through Congress—"to cut the deficit to make his economic program work." That one, predictably, sent supply-side True Believers up the wall as pure Reaganomics heresy.

In his letter to Clymer Wright defending Baker, Reagan wrote: "Clymer, I'm in charge and my people are helping to carry out the policies I set. No, we don't get everything we want, and, yes, we do have to compromise. But we have to see that the percentage we get is worth more than the compromise we have to accept. So far it has been. . . . There has not been one single instance of Jim Baker doing anything but what I settle on as our policy."

Whatever the limits of Baker's influence with Reagan, there is little dispute that he is in a position to speak for the President in many areas—and seldom is hesitant to do so, with a dispatch seldom seen in bureaucratic Washington. "He's one of the few men here," says Howard Baker, "with whom I can carry on a 30-second conversation." And Bob Dole says: "He's not assuming jurisdiction he doesn't have, but he can make decisions. You get an answer." Dole's wife, Elizabeth, who reports to Jim Baker in her White House outreach job, adds: "He doesn't massage something to death. He goes to the bottom line; he understands the politics, the dynamics. He makes a decision and moves on."

Baker's success in the Reagan hierarchy often is attributed to his Washington experience among a group that came here with very little of it. It is true that he was undersecretary of Commerce in the Ford administration, but that was hardly a front-rank post. And it is said he has broad political experience, but one political associate observes that Baker the patrician lawyer "doesn't know precincts, he's not street-smart." And he didn't dip his toe into national politics until he was recruited by his old Commerce boss, Rogers Morton, to be Ford's

convention delegate-counter—head-hunter in the trade—during the 1976 primaries and caucuses. The more plausible explanation for his rise is that there is a confidence and shrewdness about him unhampered by arrogance or self-deception, and tempered with a feel for the sensitivities of situations and people that is found in the best diplomats. Jim Baker is a man not afraid to reach high, but at the same time not likely to overreach himself. Among the Reaganites, he has managed to be tough and deferential at the same time—attributes associated with Reagan himself.

Yet the New Right types are not the only ones who can see that Baker is not perfect. As the chief political operative in the White House, he has had some major political boners laid at his feet. And while they may not have been directly his fault, he takes the heat. He acknowledges the mistakes but says they "slipped through the political catcher's mitt." He says the mechanism has been tightened to prevent recurrences.

The biggest blooper was the decision in early 1981 to unveil with little warning a scheme to reform Social Security by, among other things, trimming benefits of those who took early retirement. If there is one issue above all others on which Ronald Reagan is vulnerable, it is Social Security. In 20 years of campaigning, he has given America's elderly repeated shock treatments on the question, to the point that his very mention of the subject is a political negative. Baker and others in the White House knew that, but failed to shoot the proposal down. The explanation offered is that it came up through the Department of Health and Human Services and the Office of Management and Budget, and the political types at the White House were not plugged in until the eleventh hour. Also, the Legislative Strategy Group had just been created and was bypassed—a procedure, it is said now, that could never happen today.

The second big blooper was the decision, hatched in the Justice Department and not requiring direct presidential action, to lift the bar against tax-exempt status for Bob Jones University and other private schools that practice racial discrimination. That one, too, is said to have procedurally escaped the political screen. So did such horrendous decisions as the appointment of B. Sam Hart, the black radio evangelist from Philadelphia with a record of hostility toward civil-rights aims, to the Civil Rights Commission. And more recently there was the Labor Department bid to ease child-labor laws to permit teenagers in fast-food restaurants and other such jobs to work longer hours—at a time of sky-high

unemployment. The department soon backed off, but it was incredible that such a notion could be advanced in a congressional-election year with organized labor already up in arms.

These politically embarrassing episodes have led some to suggest that Baker has too much on his plate and that the White House badly needs a full-time political wise man to sit back and appraise the purely political ramifications of all administration actions. There was an attempt, in fact, to have Stuart Spencer take the job, but he declined. Baker's view is that the political operation has been shored up and that overall the political batting average has been good. Spencer comes in periodically to consult with Baker and others, and regular meetings are held with pollsters Richard Wirthlin, Bob Teeter, and Arthur Finkelshtein to help in avoiding political pitfalls. Baker even sits in on National Security Council meetings to provide a domestic political perspective to foreign-policy decisions.

In all, Jim Baker presents the picture of a man carrying a very heavy load, but not showing any great strains. Some around him worry that he may burn out, but he insists he is more relaxed now that he feels accepted by Reagan and the other Californians at the top. He has a particularly good and close relationship with his nearby neighbor, Deaver—an important element in his acceptance into the inner circle. In fact, one White House insider says: "Baker could not be effective without Deaver. The thing Baker lacked, a longtime relationship with Reagan, Deaver has. And Deaver knows that Baker acts in the President's best interest." Reportedly it was Deaver who first brought the Clymer Wright letter to Reagan's attention and urged a sharp response, which, when it was written, Deaver promptly passed out to the press.

With more than two years still to go in Reagan's term, speculation has already begun about Baker's future. He insists that it is his intention to "do whatever the President wants me to do"—including, specifically, staying on as chief of staff for two more years, or six if Reagan runs again and wins. He acknowledges he might like to run a department of his own, and he once told some reporters he wouldn't mind being CIA director. Most speculation, however, has centered on Defense and Justice, and one insider suggests that circumstances might compel a shake-up after the November congressional elections that could result in Baker replacing Caspar Weinberger at the Pentagon.

With the federal deficit going through the roof, this Reaganite says, the President is going to have to face political

realities after the elections and acquiesce sooner or later to much larger defense cuts. And if so, Weinberger will be a roadblock. "Cap may wind up being one of the biggest political liabilities in this administration," he says. "He's got his feet in cement on this one." And of the pressures being caused by Reagan's insistence on an accelerated military buildup at a time of a rising deficit, he adds: "It's like watching the pressure on the San Andreas Fault begin to crack up."

That pressure is being felt by everyone in the Reagan administration, James A. Baker III included. So, for all his insistence that he is at Ronald Reagan's service indefinitely, it could be over to the Pentagon or some other command post, or out, for him next year. As for the talk that he is looking for a stepping stone to elective office, Baker says his losing race for attorney general in Texas in 1978 was enough for him. "I don't think I'd ever want to do that again." But he adds: "I'd never rule it out." Nor does he intend to get out of politics altogether.

"Politics is too much fun," he says. "I've always thought when the time came I'd go back to Texas. But I'm sufficiently bitten by the political bug that I would want to keep my oar in some way."

Whatever Ronald Reagan decides to do, it is certain that Jim Baker will not have to read the help-wanted ads. Republican candidates, including his old friend Bush, will line up asking him to run their campaigns, in 1988 if not in 1984. And if he doesn't get a Cabinet post under Reagan in 1983 or later, then he might well under some Republican after Reagan. Finally, there is even the suggestion that he might have his eye on the Oval Office. "Ridiculous," Jim Baker says.

And so it goes in the Washington game of who's up and who's down. White House chiefs of staff as a group have seldom stayed up in politics after leaving: Jack Watson, Hamilton Jordan, Don Rumsfeld, Al Haig, Bob Haldeman—all candidates for the where-are-they-now columns. Only Cheney has gone on to a relatively modest political career on his own. "It's easy to lose sight of the fact that you're there as a hired gun," Cheney says of being the White House chief of staff. "But in the long run, if you want to do something, you have to go out and run, put your name on the ballot."

Jim Baker has been around politics long enough now to know the wisdom of Cheney's observation. So perhaps he is only being diplomatic when he minimizes talk of an elective future for himself. Not unexpected, after all, from a man who looks down from his lofty perch and calls himself, with a straight face, an equal among equals. □