

# FOIA MARKER

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**Subseries:**

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**OA/ID Number:** 553  
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**Folder Title:**  
Daily Briefing 1/25/93

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                 | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. memo                | Torkel Patterson to Wendy Gray, et al.; RE: Team Spirit Announcement (1 page) | 01/25/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
Chief of Staff  
George Stephanopoulos  
OA/Box Number: 553

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

Daily Briefing 1/25/93

2011-0582-F  
db4259

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

(H)

Please file  
under daily

briefing

1/25/93

\_\_\_\_ (GS)

To: George Stephanopoulos (cc: Bob Rubin)  
Fr: Gene Sperling  
Re: Q&A on Energy Tax  
Dt: January 25, 1993

Q: Yesterday, Secretary Bentsen stated that it was likely that the President would raise energy taxes. Can you confirm for us that the President will be raising energy taxes and could you give us a more detailed description of what they will be?

A: What Secretary Bentsen said was that "some tough choices will have to be made that haven't been faced up to" and that therefore a lot of deficit options will have to be on the table.

Secretary Bentsen then stated the reasons why a broad based energy tax should be "one of those [options] that is on the table." He stated that the positive aspects that make it a worthy option to be on the table are that it has strong revenue raising and environmental protection potential.

So Secretary Bentsen only stated that it deserved to be on the table -- he did not suggest whether or not President Clinton would in fact propose it. Any reports that suggest more are simply not accurate.

Q: But, why should it be on the table? Didn't President Clinton make clear in his third debate that he would not raise taxes on the middle class?

A: President Clinton's fundamental promise on taxes during the campaign was that he would promote tax fairness. He is just as committed to that principle as ever.

He did state in the campaign that his intentions were not to raise taxes on the middle class to pay for the programs he had proposed. But he also made crystal clear during the campaign that a President always had to maintain flexibility to deal with new and changing circumstances, and that he was not going to doom our economic policy with "read my lips" pledges.

Obviously a major areas where a changed circumstance could affect things is an increase in the deficit. While some people have noted that there was some indication during July and August that the deficit was rising, the Bush OMB itself showed that the deficit increased at least \$70 billion beyond what they were predicting near August.

Because the President is committed to keeping his fundamental pledge to increase investment and decrease the deficit, he has to look at some tougher options, and an

energy tax is one that is being looked at, but there have certainly been no final decisions.

Q: But isn't the problem that it is not only on the middle class, but that it is regressive. And doesn't raising energy taxes make tax system more regressive not more fair?

A: Some energy taxes -- in isolation -- could fail to increase progressivity. But what you will see is that the President will present an overall package that will make our tax system more progressive and more fair.

So I am not saying what specific options -- if any -- we will choose beyond what was stated in the campaign, but what I can tell you is that his overall package will make our tax system more progressive -- not less.

Q: Isn't this another example of the President backing away on Presidential campaign promises?

A: The President had three very fundamental pledges during the campaign on economic policy. One, was a dramatic increase in public investment and job creation through a bold Putting People First investment package; two, he was going to spur job creating private investment through deficit reduction and intelligent investment incentives, and three, he was going to make our tax system more fair and more progressive. Every single action he has taken has been completely dedicated to meeting those three fundamental pledges.

Investment + Growth + Jobs

Deficit Reduction

Fair

## PRESS POINTS FOR THE CLINTON-YELTSIN CALL

-THE PRESIDENT AND RUSSIAN PRESIDENT YELTSIN SPOKE BY PHONE TODAY FOR THIRTY MINUTES.

-THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED HIS INTEREST IN A CLOSE AND SUPPORTIVE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH RUSSIA, AND IN A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN.

-THE TWO LEADERS DISCUSSED A RANGE OF ECONOMIC, FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY ISSUES.

-THE PRESIDENT AFFIRMED U.S. SUPPORT FOR RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY AND REFORM.

-THEY DISCUSSED THEIR MUTUAL DESIRE FOR AN EARLY MEETING BUT DID NOT SET A DATE OR PLACE FOR ONE.

-THEY AGREED THAT SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV SHOULD MEET FIRST TO PREPARE AN AGENDA TO ADVANCE THE U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP.

Dialogue is not the  
issue;

Compliance is the issue

Ending discrimination

Good order & discipline

HRG: Rural Health Committee /  
79-80

Educational Standards  
83-84

Southern Regional  
Task  
Institutional  
84-85

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

25-Jan-1993 07:48 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Brenda I. Hilliard  
Cathy Millison

( HILLIARD )  
( MILLISON )

FROM: Kathy Leahy  
(LEAHY)

SUBJECT: Rabin Press Guidance

PRESS GUIDANCE ON RABIN PHONE CALL JANUARY 23

Q: Did the President speak to Israeli Prime Minister Rabin over the weekend? What did they discuss?

A: The President spoke with Prime Minister Rabin on Saturday and expressed appreciation for the Prime Minister's letter congratulating the President upon his inauguration. The two leaders agreed that they would work together closely. They also discussed the need to advance the Middle East peace process which they agreed is a shared interest and priority.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

25-Jan-1993 08:42 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Katherine M. Mathis  
(MATHIS)

SUBJECT: Press guidance

January 25, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: JENONNE WALKER  
FROM: JANE E. HOLL  
SUBJECT: Contingency Press Guidance

The following guidance has been coordinated with the State Department:

Macedonia (IF RAISED)

- That application is currently pending before the UN Security Council.
- We are examining the issue and we are consulting with other members of the Security Council.
- We have not taken a final decision.

Renewed Hostilities Between Croatia and Serbia (IF RAISED)

- We have been following events very closely and joined in the Security Council condemnation of the renewed hostilities.
- I refer you to the State Department for details regarding the current situation on the ground.

Administration Policy Review of the Situation in Bosnia: Former Yugoslavia (IF RAISED)

- As you might expect we are reviewing policy on all the major foreign policy issues, that's all I have to say on this at this time.

(NSC MEETINGS IF RAISED)

- I do not want to comment on the timing or nature of Presidential meetings.

Concurrence by: Doug Davidson

Distribution:

|                         |              |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| FOR: Wendy E. Gray      | ( GRAY )     |
| FOR: Brenda I. Hilliard | ( HILLIARD ) |
| FOR: Cathy Millison     | ( MILLISON ) |
| FOR: Mary C. Emery      | ( EMERY )    |
| FOR: Allison M. Wright  | ( WRIGHT )   |
| CC: Records             | ( RECORDS )  |

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

25-Jan-1993 09:23 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Brenda I. Hilliard  
Cathy Millison

( HILLIARD )  
( MILLISON )

FROM: Edmund J. Hull  
(HULL)

SUBJECT: Press Guidance: U.S.-PLO dialogue

Pls. pass to Nancy following press guidance on U.S.-PLO dialogue. Attached has been approved by Martin and is consistent with guidance being used by State.

Q. What is the status of the U.S.-PLO dialogue? Are we considering resuming it in light of the Israeli Knesset decision to de-criminalize contacts between Israelis and the PLO?

A. We regard the Israeli Knesset vote as an internal Israeli matter. There has been no change in U.S. policy regarding the suspension of the U.S. dialogue with the PLO.

(If asked about the details of that policy or U.S. conditions for resuming the dialogue, refer the questions to State.)

CC: Records  
CC: Bruce O. Riedel

( RECORDS )  
( RIEDEL )

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

25-Jan-1993 09:23 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

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CC: Records  
CC: Bruce O. Riedel

( RECORDS )  
( RIEDEL )

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

25-Jan-1993 10:15 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Brenda I. Hilliard  
Cathy Millison

( HILLIARD )  
( MILLISON )

FROM: Edmund J. Hull  
(HULL)

SUBJECT: Press Guidance: UNSC Vote on Deportees

Pls. pass the following to Nancy Soderberg. Martin has cleared in substance and it is consistent with State guidance.

Q. Have we assured Israel that we will veto a sanctions resolution in the UN on the Palestinian deportees?

A. There is no resolution pending in the UN security council, ~~and we do not believe further UN security action at this time would be helpful. The question of how the U.S. would vote is purely hypothetical, and we would not comment on a hypothetical question.~~

CC: Records

( RECORDS )

*and it is premature for me  
to comment.*

The President said the legislation will be based on the following principles:

- o To slow the growth of national health care spending.
- o To provide universal access to high quality care for all Americans.
- o To ensure consumer choice.
- o To maintain a private, competitive health care system.
- o To cut the health care bureaucracy.

While her husband was Governor of Arkansas, Mrs. Clinton chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, which in 1984 created public school accreditation standards that have since become a model for national reform. In 1984-1985, Mrs. Clinton served as her husband's designee on the Southern Regional Taskforce on Infant Mortality. She served as the chair of the Arkansas Rural Health Committee in 1979-1980, and has served on the board of the Arkansas Children's Hospital, where she helped establish the state's first neo-natal unit. In addition, Mrs. Clinton introduced a pioneering program that trained parents to work with their children in pre-school preparedness and literacy through Arkansas' Home Instruction Program (HIPPY).

Those interested in submitting ideas should write to:

President's Health Care Taskforce  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

###

# MEMORANDUM

TO: George Stephanopoulos  
CC: Boorstin, Dreyer, Eller, Emanuel, Myers, Seidman, Waldman  
FR: Jonathan Prince  
RE: Inaugural Gala  
DT: January 25, 1993

---

There are three central issues:

- 1 Did CBS get an inside deal or give a sweetheart deal to broadcast the Gala?
- 2 Did advertisers pay inflated prices in an attempt to buy favor?
- 3 Did the inaugural make a profit, and what happens to it?

## Inside/Sweetheart Deal

There are two sides to this sword: on the one hand, did CBS (because of Harry and Linda) get the contract even though NBC offered a lower bid? On the other, did a corporation from a regulated industry provide a sweetheart deal to curry favor?

You need to demonstrate that PIC paid a commercially reasonable price for the time and, simultaneously, got the best deal they could.

## Inside Deal

There was a bidding process open to all three commercial networks.

- \* Negotiations were conducted by outside counsel, Howard Begle, who did the same thing four years ago for Bush. BEGLE IS CONSIDERED TO BE A LOOSE CANNON.

Bob Wright of NBC charges that NBC offered a lower price. THIS IS TRUE. However, NBC's offer was for airtime only. You should stress that CBS offered a complete package including:

- \* all of the logistical and technical support necessary to broadcast the gala (trucks, tapes, cables, satellite uplinks, and so on). The cash value of this is in excess of \$100,000. Try and avoid getting into a discussion of this value, however, because while it solves the competitive bid problem it worsens the sweetheart deal problem.

- \* CBS did the Bush gala four years ago. Thus, PIC was getting the benefit of their experience as well.

Christine Varney and Jay Kriegel (the CBS senior vice president) say that Harry and Linda had no contact with CBS about the bidding process or negotiations. RAHM AND I STRONGLY AGREE THAT YOU CAN'T SAY THIS WITH CREDIBILITY EVEN THOUGH IT'S TRUE.

## Sweetheart Deal

PIC paid \$875,000 for the two hours. THIS IS LOWER THAN THE USUAL RATE. Special factors:

- \* Tuesday night is a weak night for CBS. They run a movie from 9 - 11. Thus, the Gala was a perfect fit: same amount of time, same requirements for specialized promotion.

- \* CBS usually has a rating share of low 20's on Tuesday nights. Barbra Streisand alone virtually guaranteed at least a 32/33. CBS projected at least a 30. It did a 34 share, and guaranteed that CBS would win the week.
- \* CBS promoted its regular schedule during the broadcast; there is an obvious resulting benefit in a larger share viewing those promotions.
- \* The decision to pursue the broadcast was made by the senior management of CBS Entertainment in Los Angeles because of its entertainment value.

#### Advertiser Price Inflation

This is easy; by any commercial standard, the advertisers paid a reasonable price for the time.

- \* Each :30 spot was about \$250,000.
- \* The Gala's total share was 34%; the last half-hour was 41%.
- \* This is comparable to a World Series game. In fact, among baby boomers (adults 35-54) it was the season's second highest rated show, surpassed only by the sixth game of the World Series.
- \* Prices for any similar show would probably have been higher; the difference is that other shows would have required a ratings guarantee and an agreement to make-good.
- \* The advertisers were:  
American Express  
Columbia Pictures/Tri-Star  
Anheuser-Busch  
Federal Express  
Samsonite  
Ford  
John Hancock  
Pepsi

As far as Tri-Star's decision to promote "Sleepless in Seattle" is concerned, that's an internal decision made by the marketing people at Tri-Star and there's no reason to second-guess them. They have plenty of movies to promote...

#### Profit

The straight answer here is we don't know yet: the accountants aren't done, bills are still coming in and being paid.

- \* In the past, all loans have been paid back by mid-March. We are absolutely confident that we will pay back all loans and we expect to meet the same approximate schedule.
- \* If there is a profit, the President (according to Rahm) has indicated he wants money to go into the Treasury to payback any expenses that were borne by the taxpayers: those would essentially be monies spent for the armed forces and for additional services by the DC police. As an aside, Rahm says that armed forces expenses were less than 1989 because of efficient management.
- \* If there is money left over after Treasury repayments, the President will decide what to do with it; he'll make that decision if and when there is a need to.

# MEMORANDUM

TO: George Stephanopoulos, White House Communications Director  
FR: Carter Wilkie, White House Communications Research  
RE: the role of the First Lady, historical precedents  
DT: January 24, 1993

I would stress the following points:

1. According to historians, the First Ladies with the most active social consciences are ranked the highest. (See attached survey results).
2. ~~Lady Bird Johnson~~ (the third-highest-ranked by historians) was one of the most active and influential first ladies. She formed public, political campaigns on behalf of a few targetted policies that put people first. ~~(Once researched further, her role as Head Start's earliest champion should be stressed heavily.)~~
3. Eleanor Roosevelt was a visionary who broke new ground and achieved more than any other First Lady ever -- both in terms of substantive policy achievements and political benefits for her husband's administration.

I would prepare for the following criticism:

1. Active first ladies are controversial. Rebuttal: even Eleanor Roosevelt (the top ranked First Lady) was controversial until her husband's death, after which she became more popular and took more prominent public posts. But Lady Bird Johnson was one of the most active, politically influential and best loved first ladies ever.
2. Rosalynn Carter had a more publicly acknowledged role than any First Lady in memory and Carter was criticized for it. Rebuttal: Mrs. Carter stood for good causes and rightfully stands among the top five First Ladies in historical ranking. Furthermore, historians have shown that Jackie Kennedy and Lady Bird Johnson took just as great an interest in political affairs, if not as great a public role in policy development. (Note: Mrs. Carter's influence was not unique: Edith Wilson, Nellie Taft, Sarah Polk and Abigail Adams may actually have been just as influential, if not more; all, however, were First Ladies for one term only.)
3. After Woodrow Wilson's illness, his second wife, Edith, ran the country as an unelected president. Rebuttal: while Edith was strong-willed, Wilson's Vice President, a former Governor of Indiana, was unwilling to assume

the duties of the Presidency, and there was little historical precedent for the transfer of authority during a medical emergency. Recent precedents and modern communications make that scenario obsolete.

Attached is a synopsis of public, political roles played by first ladies.

## Historians' Ranking of First Ladies

In 1982 Thomas Kelly and Douglas Lonnstrom of the Siena Research Institute, Loudonville, New York, conducted a poll of history professors to rank the first ladies. The poll included White House hostesses but did

not include presidents' wives who did not live in the White House. Because the poll was taken early in the Reagan administration, it may not reflect accurately Nancy Reagan's later rating.

| Ranking                      | Score | Ranking                | Score |
|------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| 1 Eleanor Roosevelt          | 93.3  | 23 Anna Harrison       | 60.1  |
| 2 Abigail Adams              | 84.6  | 24 Elizabeth Monroe    | 60.1  |
| 3 Lady Bird Johnson          | 77.5  | 25 Mary Arthur McElroy | 60.1  |
| 4 Dolley Madison             | 75.4  | 26 Emily Donelson      | 60.0  |
| 5 Rosalynn Carter            | 73.8  | 27 Julia Tyler         | 59.9  |
| 6 Betty Ford                 | 73.4  | 28 Abigail Fillmore    | 59.8  |
| 7 Edith Wilson               | 71.8  | 29 Harriet Lane        | 59.8  |
| 8 Jacqueline Kennedy         | 69.5  | 30 Lucretia Garfield   | 59.8  |
| 9 Martha Washington          | 67.5  | 31 Mamie Eisenhower    | 59.7  |
| 10 Edith Roosevelt           | 65.4  | 32 Martha Patterson    | 59.6  |
| 11 Lou Hoover                | 63.5  | 33 Margaret Taylor     | 59.4  |
| 12 Lucy Hayes                | 63.1  | 34 Caroline Harrison   | 59.4  |
| 13 Frances Cleveland         | 62.3  | 35 Letitia Tyler       | 59.3  |
| 14 Louisa Adams              | 62.0  | 36 Angelica Van Buren  | 59.3  |
| 15 Bess Truman               | 61.7  | 37 Pat Nixon           | 58.5  |
| 16 Ellen Wilson              | 61.5  | 38 Jane Pierce         | 57.6  |
| 17 Grace Coolidge            | 61.3  | 39 Nancy Reagan        | 57.4  |
| 18 Martha Jefferson Randolph | 61.0  | 40 Ida McKinley        | 57.0  |
| 19 Helen Taft                | 61.0  | 41 Florence Harding    | 55.8  |
| 20 Julia Grant               | 60.7  | 42 Mary Lincoln        | 52.9  |
| 21 Eliza Johnson             | 60.7  |                        |       |
| 22 Sarah Polk                | 60.5  |                        |       |

Source: Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 385-386.

freed their slaves and moved to Philadelphia. There, in 1789, Dolley met a young Quaker lawyer, John Todd, whom she married a year later. They had been married for three years when a yellow fever epidemic struck Philadelphia and claimed Dolley's husband and younger son.

Shortly after Todd's death Dolley met James Madison and within a year married him. For the indiscretion of marrying outside her faith, she was expelled from the Friends, but this only seemed to allow her true self to shine through. She discarded her plain grey Quaker garments for bright clothing and elegant turbans. Dolley loved entertaining and delighted in giving large, formal dinner parties. In fact, she was greatly admired as a hostess, particularly because of her memory for names and her remarkable ability to put everyone at ease. In this, she was a particular asset to Madison's political career, for he was generally withdrawn and cool around crowds.

With Dolley as first lady the White House became a festive place. Although she occasionally had served as hostess for the widowed Thomas Jefferson, Dolley came into her own when Madison was elected president in 1808. Her weekly receptions were always lively. And she paid all the expected social calls, knowing that this would help her husband. So popular was Dolley that even her habit of taking snuff—considered very unladylike—was overlooked.

Although Dolley greatly loved social life and company, she was not one-dimensional. As a Quaker, she was a well-

educated woman for her time, and her managerial skills were good as well. But she downplayed her intelligence and strong will to help her husband. During the War of 1812 when the British threatened Washington, she displayed her courage by staying behind in the White House to supervise the removal of documents. She remained there until the last possible moment, taking the portrait of George Washington as her last act before leaving the White House.

When Madison's term expired in 1817 he and Dolley retired to their Virginia estate, Montpelier. Life was not easy in retirement; Dolley still entertained, but financial woes plagued them, aggravated by the wastefulness of her son, John Payne. After Madison died in 1836 Dolley was reduced to near poverty and had to sell first his well-known papers on the Constitutional Convention and then Montpelier to pay her debts. Finally, she returned to Washington, where she spent the rest of her life. She remained the center of Washington society, admired by every president through James K. Polk. She was even granted a lifetime seat on the floor of the House of Representatives. She died in 1849 and was buried in Washington but later was reinterred beside Madison at Montpelier.

from Daniel C. Diller + Stephen L. Robertson,  
The Presidents, First Ladies and Vice Presidents:

White House  
Biographies  
1789-1989

D.C. Caroli Concessionary Rank: 16

## **Campaigns to build public support for a public political cause:**

Julia Tyler: annexation of Texas.

Ellen Wilson (Wilson's first wife): quality of life in black urban neighborhoods.

Eleanor Roosevelt: union laborers, rural poor, civil rights activists, women who left homes during the day to work in war effort, young people, blacks.

Jackie Kennedy: historic preservation, the arts.

Lady Bird Johnson: childhood education, civil rights, environmental quality of life (i.e., public parks, scenic highways).

Pat Nixon: volunteerism.

Betty Ford: women's rights, the arts, mentally retarded, physically handicapped.

Rosalynn Carter: mental health; improving urban ghettos; childhood immunization; counseling and esteem building for urban youth; elderly; ERA; civil rights.

Nancy Reagan: fighting drug abuse.

Barbara Bush: literacy, efforts to combat Leukemia, volunteerism.

## **Participation on or with commissions:**

Ellen Wilson (first wife): Honorary Chairman of the Women's Department of the National Civic Federation, a committee of fifty that invited members of Congress, spouses and cabinet members to attend functions in order to press housing issues.

Eleanor Roosevelt: resigned as co-chair of Office of Civil Defense, which was mismanaged during the war by Mayor LaGuardia; Eleanor's appointments were criticized; she regretted the experience, and called it a mistake due to conflict with husband in the presidency.

Jackie Kennedy: headed White House restoration project along with the drive for the National Cultural Arts Center (the Kennedy Center).

~~Lady Bird Johnson: publicized early childhood education as first chair of Head Start (her actual role needs to be checked further);~~ formed First Lady's Committee for A More Beautiful

Capital chaired by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall; helped organize conference on National Beauty; appeared before the Presidential Task Force on Poverty.

Rosalynn Carter: due to Kennedy nepotism law, she served as "Honorary Chair" of President's Commission on Mental Health -- in reality, she served as top policy formulator and adviser, gathered specialists and professionals, held hearings, set up task forces, headed staff of 450 volunteers, held conferences in White House, prepared recommendations for the President on changing federal policies; assembled task force on federal programs for elderly; presided over White House Conference on Aging.

#### **Action on shaping legislation:**

Mary Todd Lincoln: fought with Congress on appropriations for White House furnishings.

Ellen Wilson: openly pushed for legislation to improve black urban neighborhoods after a personal tour of DC slums.

Eleanor Roosevelt: prodded FDR to pass federal day care centers for women employed in war effort; voiced support for anti-lynching law which FDR did not publicly support; called for integration of armed forces; worked on relief efforts for rural poor; helped build support for labor movement.

Jackie Kennedy: kept quiet tabs on legislators and their support for JFK's programs; lobbied Congressional spouses on JFK's behalf.

Lady Bird Johnson: ~~major personal lobbying on behalf of Highway Beautification Act of 1965; kept tabs on legislators and their support for LBJ's programs; lobbied Congressional spouses on LBJ's behalf.~~

Betty Ford: lobbied at state levels on behalf of ERA.

Rosalynn Carter: lobbied on behalf of Mental Health Systems Act; went to Chairman of House Committee on Urban Affairs on help for urban neighborhoods; testified for more funding for federal "Cities in Schools," a school based clinic program; lobbied for Age Discrimination Act, Older Americans Act, Rural Clinics Act, reform of Social Security, and hospital cost containment.

### **Consulting with Cabinet members or federal bureaucracy:**

**Sarah Polk:** shunned social duties to be her husband's closest political adviser and day to day assistant.

**Helen Taft:** shunned social duties to be an influential, private counselor to her husband.

**Ellen Wilson (1913-1914):** intervened with federal agencies and White House advisers to improve working conditions, won an ally on housing issues in Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan.

**Edith Wilson (1915-1919):** quietly served as acting president and later as a top personal aide for her husband after October 1919.

**Eleanor Roosevelt:** played major role in appointment of first female cabinet member, Frances Perkins; consulted with Ickes at Interior for relief to people in Appalachia; got Mary McLeod Bethune named to National Youth Administration.

**Jackie Kennedy:** active in attempts to move arts coordinator to cabinet level (enacted under LBJ).

**Lady Bird Johnson:** enlisted Interior Secretary Udall's efforts to improve environmental quality of life and improve government planning in the age of federal highway projects and urban renewal; consulted with U.S. Conference of Mayors on lobbying Congress; worked with private sector and labor unions on targetted issues.

**Rosalynn Carter:** personally consulted Attorney General and Pentagon on more appointments of women; met with HUD and HEW Secretaries on policy; worked with representatives of departments on Project Propinquity at OEOB (an urban youth program).

**Betty Ford:** worked for more women in government and female appointments to supreme court.

**Nancy Reagan:** consulted privately with top advisers.

### **Participation at briefings and policy meetings:**

**Sarah Polk:** conducted daily briefings for her husband.

**Ellen Wilson:** Secretary McAdoo (Wilson's son-in-law) called her "the soundest and most influential [adviser] of them all."

**Jackie Kennedy:** JFK shared news with her during Cuban Missile Crisis.

Lady Bird Johnson: sat in on briefings on racial issues, Vietnam, diplomacy, the economy, and some briefings by Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Rosalynn Carter: shaped health policy, attended some NSC and cabinet meetings; sat in on Camp David peace accords.

#### **Political communications:**

Julia Tyler: had active press strategy as a traditional First Lady.

Nellie Taft: first to ride with husband to White House after inauguration.

Ellen Wilson: read and edited WW's speeches; toured DC slums in effort to publicize their cause.

Florence Harding: had active press strategy as a traditional First Lady.

Eleanor Roosevelt: travelled 40,000 mi. in 1933 and travelled 200 days annually on average; served as FDR's eyes and ears on the pulse of American society; wrote daily newspaper column, often used as a trial balloon for future FDR policies; conducted press interviews with female journalists to force media to employ more women; for the most part she stayed out of Washington intrigue and developed support for the New Deal around the country; cultivated a network of liberal constituencies loyal to the administration (i.e., miners, blacks, civil rights activists) and served as their voice at the White House and in the public eye when FDR had to maintain distance from their causes.

Jackie Kennedy: edited speeches for JFK.

Lady Bird Johnson: wrote and edited speeches for LBJ; travelled 200,000 miles on LBJ's behalf; toured the South on behalf of civil rights; first to hold bible at husband's inauguration.

Rosalynn Carter: in first two years as First Lady, she granted 154 interviews, sat in on 641 briefings, and visited 36 foreign countries; edited speeches for JEC; attended campaign strategy sessions; served as political surrogate.

Barbara Bush: active political surrogate on husband's behalf.