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June 28, 1984

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



Dear Mr. Deaver:

Thomas Jefferson, 199 years ago, made a suggestion that deserves YOUR consideration. It may show us how to BALANCE THE FEDERAL BUDGET while reducing unemployment and abolishing our present unfair, confiscatory tax laws. Read the enclosed statement.

Sincerely,



Paul C. Fisher
President and Owner of
The Fisher Pen Company

Enclosure

Statement By Paul C. Fisher For The United States Treasury Department Tax Reform Study Public Hearings June 26, 1984

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Thank you for allowing me to present my views on tax reform. I wish to add my views to those of countless others who feel that our present tax laws are unfair, discriminatory, too complicated, counterproductive and destructive to the welfare of the American People.

I am one of those who believes that our Federal Government should put its financial house in order by balancing its budget and reducing its debts.

However, I am more concerned about what our unfair tax laws are doing to our civilization and the American People. We have created an economy where the big rewards go largely to those who speculate and collect interest while those who produce beneficial goods are often insufficiently rewarded. We are teaching our people not to work by penalizing those who work with confiscatory payroll and income taxes and rewarding those who don't work with welfare and other benefits.

People are important. They are more important than organizations; because organizations, even the best of them (churches, schools, hospitals, charities, corporations, foundations — even governments) have no value unless they help people. Our Government's first responsibility is to promote the general welfare of we Americans. All of our laws (including our tax laws) should be designed to help us — not hurt us.

Our present tax laws discriminate against individuals in favor of organizations:

1. Gifts through an organized charity are a deductible expense, but the finest charity in the world is that between one human being and another — yet such charity is not deductible. That is unfair!

2. Even a regular tax-paying corporation doesn't pay a tax on its income until it makes a profit. An American Citizen may work hard to earn \$100 a week. There's no profit in that \$100 — he can't live on it. Yet, the taxes on that little \$100 paycheck (including the employer's share) total \$24.20 or more. That, too, is unfair!

Payroll taxes discourage both those who work and those who hire and create jobs. Payroll taxes are the major cause of our most serious social problem — unemployment.

Payroll, personal income and gift taxes are the most unfair of all taxes, because they discriminate against people and penalize those who produce and those who give.

The most important, the most sacred thing in the world is a human being. No human being should ever be taxed at a higher rate than we tax the best of organizations. All tax favoritism to organizations should be abolished.

With a little imagination, a new type of tax and a lot of common sense, we can eliminate all payroll, income and even gift and inheritance taxes and still balance the Federal Budget. But, it will require a Constitutional Amendment to allow us to tax, on a graduated basis, all property owned by organizations or people, in place of the graduated income tax. Such a tax would remove much of the tax burden from most of those who produce beneficial goods, while encouraging people and organizations not to hoard or pyramid their financial power. The tax rates need not be confiscatory: They can be far lower than our income tax rates because taxable assets are more than seven times greater (\$22 trillion) than the total of all taxable incomes (\$3 trillion).

Such a graduated tax on assets could simplify our tax laws and greatly reduce the cost of collecting taxes by abolishing all payroll, income, gift and inheritance taxes and by exempting everyone with less than \$100,000 in assets from the tax on assets.

The task of evaluating assets could be kept simple by a few variations from normal accounting practice: Cash, deposits, bonds, notes and accounts receivable can all be at face value. Equities in stocks, partnerships and joint ventures can be valued at their net book value. Each other asset, owned by the taxpayer, can be set and maintained at its cost or value at the time it was acquired, thereby eliminating much of the need for assessors.

We should consider rates similar to the following:

After exempting the first \$100,000 in assets, tax the next \$900,000 (with no credit for liabilities) at the rate of 2% per year.
Tax the next \$ 9,000,000 at 3%.
Tax the next \$ 90,000,000 at 4%.
Tax the next \$900,000,000 at 5%.
Tax all assets over \$1,000,000,000 at 6% per year.

Since most wisely invested assets now earn more than 10% per year and since all who own assets need their ownership protected by our Government and its laws, such taxes are a reasonable charge for that protection. Almost all individuals, particularly those who are efficient and productive, would do better under such a tax policy. Our huge banks and other conglomerates would find it financially desirable to split up into much smaller units in order to avoid the higher tax rates which would apply to those monopolistic organizations with too much financial power.

To help keep American capital from fleeing to foreign lands, all individuals and organizations with more than \$10 million in foreign assets should be taxed at the maximum rate on all assets they own or control within the United States.

It is imperative that the Federal Budget be balanced, but it is even more important that we maintain a healthy balance of payments position. The American People cannot afford to be deeply in debt to foreign bankers and investors. Free trade is a noble ideal, but reality tells us that no nation, that considers its economic stability and independence important, can long afford to run a balance of payments deficit over long periods of time. Some practical method must be found to restore and maintain a healthy balance of payments. Reasonable import duties can raise additional revenue, help equalize the lower labor costs which exist in some foreign countries and perhaps help restore a favorable balance of payments.

Such basic, practical changes in our tax laws would put over \$600 billion extra into the hands of those who need and deserve it most. It would create at least ten million new jobs by stimulating the economy and by making it easier to hire more people. Our young people would find it much easier to get ahead and most of those who are now successful would find it easier to be even more successful. It would create new opportunities for many millions while helping to create the greatest productive prosperity this nation or any nation has ever known. The future of the American People is at stake. We have an opportunity to provide a new birth of freedom, to recall the ideals and visions of our forefathers and to restore the American dream.

Such a graduated tax on property is not a new idea. It was suggested by Thomas Jefferson in a letter to James Madison, written in 1785. I quote:

"The property of this country is absolutely concentrated in a very few hands, having revenues of from half a million of guineas a year downwards. These employ the flower of the country as servants, some of them having as many as 200 domestics, not laboring. They employ also a great number of manufacturers and tradesmen, and lastly the class of laboring husbandmen. But after all these comes the most numerous of all classes, that is, the poor who cannot find work. I asked myself what could be the reason so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work, in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands? These lands are undisturbed only for the sake of game. It should seem then that it must be because of the enormous wealth of the proprietors which places them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting these lands to be labored. I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable, but the consequences of this enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind, legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore to all the children, or to all the brothers and sisters, or other relations in equal degree, is a politic measure and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise."

These are words of wisdom written by Thomas Jefferson nearly two hundred years ago. In some ways our Country and its economy are now very different from what they were then, but the basic truths still apply. After 200 years, Jefferson's suggestion may be the idea whose time has come.

Thank you for listening.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM: JAMES S. ROSEBUSH

SUBJECT: A JOKE

file

This ridiculous quote (which of course is a lie) is Sonny Adler's way of stinging you and me because Sheila Tate refuses to put her in the State Dinner pools. She is taking a page from the Trudy syndrome.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH *Dossier*

When asked why Reagan image maker Mike Deaver hasn't responded to a communication: "Michael Deaver has the reputation of never returning phone calls and never answering letters," says James Rosebush, the first lady's chief of staff.

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July 10, 1984

file

Hon. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mike:

Many thanks for getting back to me so quickly on the phone. That meant a great deal to me, as did your willingness to let me list you as one of my references as I shoot for the President's slot at the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

The application is in and the waiting has begun. I'll let you know how it all comes out.

Hope you can get a little breather in what I know is a more-than-usually hectic time.

Again, please know how grateful I am to you.

Sincerely,



David Newhall, III



NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

1412 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

202-797-6800

July 9, 1984

Mike:

Very bad timing on the Burford
appointment, as you know.

But even more unfortunate was letting
her go public and appear on all of the
network shows dismissing conservationists
as "demagogues", and saying she would
run EPA, given a second chance, much
the same way.

This gives the more radical environmental
organizations another Watt to kick around,
and raise money with. And it makes it
doubly difficult for outfits like NWF
to maintain an open dialogue with the
administration.

7/12

noted
CP

-he has
asked
about
another
meeting with
the President

return

07
7/14

Max Hugel Enterprises, Inc.
1730 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 1125
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 429-1984 Telex 90-4175

July 9, 1984

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12958, Sec. 1.3(a)

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C.

By NARA LCDD Date 4/25/11

Dear Mike:

Thanks very much for your letter dated June 29. I would like to talk with Schuyler Baab as soon as he gets in touch with me.

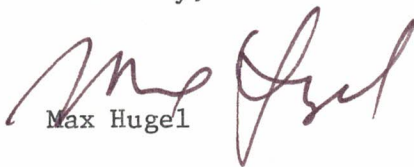
Mike, I know we share the same dedication to making sure President Reagan gets re-elected in 1984. This country could not survive four years of Mondale and, therefore, as usual I will do anything anyone asks me to do to make this happen. Although it does not look like it right now, this is going to be one tough election, and it is really ours to lose. Our biggest problem could be apathy and complacency and I know throughout the country there are hundreds of thousands of loyal Reagan people that would do anything to make sure President Reagan is re-elected.

The way we used them effectively last time was by putting together the various voter groups throughout the country, and this structure worked very effectively. Even though the President has been appearing with all the right groups, thanks to your efforts, Mike, it is extremely important that the organizational structure be set up so that the recognized and respected peers of each voter group is sending a message to their groups throughout the country stating that they are for President Reagan. This people-to-people communication structure is essential to make certain that they are the ones that are saying that the promises we made in 1980 were kept to these various groups, and to a great part they were.

At any rate, as you and I know, if every area is covered we can win, and win big. And, in this regard, I will do whatever I can to make sure that we cover all areas as far as organization and distribution of information is concerned, and I will be glad to work with anyone because I think this is highly essential for the ultimate success of this campaign.

Best personal regards,

Sincerely,


Max Hugel

cc: Mr. Lee Atwater

July 12, 1984

Dear Mr. Smith:

Your recent invitation for the President to attend the Eighth Annual Arthur Smith King Mackerel Tournament, October 10-13, 1984 in South Carolina has been forwarded to me by Peter Hannaford.

Your father's tournament enjoys a national reputation and we appreciate your extending this opportunity to the President. I hope that you will understand that we are unable to make a commitment for October this far in advance. However, we will certainly keep these dates in mind as his schedule is planned and will be back in touch with you closer to the time about the possibility of his participation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.
Director, Presidential
Appointments and Scheduling

Mr. Clay Smith
Arthur Smith Enterprises
Post Office Box 13129
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

FJR:JAJ

bcc: Letterhead copy to Peter Hannaford

✓ ~~Michael K. Deaver~~

✓ Ann Brock

Mary Rawlins with incoming for October pending

COPY



United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

File

JUL 2 1984

Mr. Berger C. Benson
Trustee, Mzuri Wildlife Foundation
P.O. Box 5425
San Mateo, California 94402

Dear Mr. Benson:

Allow me to thank you for your invitation, by way of Bill Sittman, to be the guest speaker at the Mzuri Wildlife Foundation's fundraising event in San Francisco on February 8 of next year.

Although I appreciate your offer to participate in the evening's events, it is unlikely that I will be able to be with you. However, your invitation will be held for a final decision at a later date.

Sincerely,

Bill Clark

William Clark

cc: William Sittman ✓
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C.

COPY

COPY

Recd
6/4/84

Mzuri Wildlife Foundation

...SPORTSMEN FOR CONSERVATION

— A Tax-Exempt Foundation —

May 31, 1984

Mailing Address

41 E. TAYLOR
RENO, NV 89501
702/323-0846

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*Foundation Coordinator,
Public Relations
Drumbeat Ed./Pub.*

BOB DILL

Mr. William F. Sittmann
Special Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bill:

As per your request I am sending along information pertaining to the Mzuri Wildlife Foundation and the type of conservation projects we associate ourselves with in order to give Secretary Clark a bit of background relative to our endeavors.

As you are aware we are soliciting Bill's services as our guest speaker the evening of February 8th, 1985, at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco. This will be a black tie fund raising event for wildlife conservation projects attended by three hundred of the top wildlife people in our part of the country, and will definitely provide the proper forum for the Secretary's remarks.

We would also like to extend an invitation to have Mrs. Clark join us and of course the Foundation will be covering all expenses involved including first class air fares, a suite at the hotel, etc.

Thanks in advance for your invaluable assistance. We appreciate it very much and look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,



Berger C. Benson

*Deceased

— FORMERLY THE MZURI SAFARI FOUNDATION —

COPY

CITIZENS FOR AMERICA

Lew Lehrman
Chairman
Jaquelin H. Hume
Founder
Richard M. DeVos
Co-Chairman
Chairman, Finance Committee
Marc L. Holtzman
Executive Director

file

July 16, 1984

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H. J. Haynes
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Robert W. Wilson
T. A. Wilson
Emily Woodruff

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

Just a note to thank you for taking the time to join us on Wednesday. Your participation in our program was an honor to us all. I hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,



Lew Lehrman
Chairman

LEL/jp

MEMORANDUM FOR BILL SITTMANN

RE: Hernan Padilla

DATE: July 4, 1984

Thanks for your note on Hernan Padilla. I have asked Margaret Hance, our Co-Chairman and head of the Voter Groups to contact him.

We will get back to you on the outcome of their conversation.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Date 6/21/84

File

*Let's speak
w/ Spanish
on Tues
of*

TO: MIKE DEEVER AND JIM BAKER

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT

I met yesterday with Hernan Padilla, the new head of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. He is willing to help the President's reelection effort in any way possible. He is willing to set up useful meetings anywhere in the country and have them sponsored by the U.S. Conference of Mayors. He is also willing to speak on behalf of the President in Hispanic areas.

Hernan is locked in a battle for Governor and the polls show him third place with three candidates in the running. He is, however, confident that he will come back.

He is a good man to have on a highly visible delegation.

Cory Bush

Mr Michael Deven
Presidential Advisor.

Blairfield

N.J.

SAT. JULY 14TH 84

Dear Mr Deven,

The President confronted
with the V.P. Appointment of
Rep. G. Ferraro unfortunately found
a bad note in mentioning Margaret
Thatcher - This woman is increasingly
irritating her constituents and is
distasteful to your Irish-American
constituents - She has done nothing
to alleviate conditions in Northern
Ireland; Please advise Pres.
Reagan NOT to use Thatcher as
an example of woman's success.

Advise the President to accept
Ferraro's presence gracefully
but be gentlemanly hand hitting
at the Mondale ticket. Assign
Catholic women such as Nellie Gray
or Phyllis Schlafly to answer Ferraro's
claim that she does not want to
"impose the Tenets of Her Religion on
others by opposing abortion".

Yours, John V. Kelly

P.S.
over

P.S. We urge that asylum be
granted to Michael O'Rourke
and Brian Devenny of Taree, N.S.
- Both former residents of Northern
Ireland.

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

file

Lee Atwater
Deputy Campaign Director

July 10, 1984

Dear Ms. Dutton:

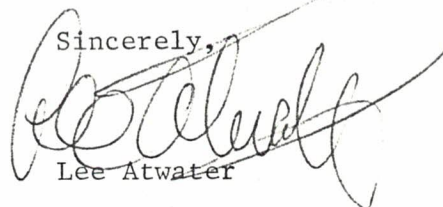
Mike Deaver recently shared with me your letter of July 1 concerning the formation of American Association of Women Voters.

I am most pleased to learn of the interest of a non-profit educational organization in setting the record straight on President Reagan's accomplishments on behalf of American Women.

As I am sure you are aware, your non-profit independent organization cannot, under the law, in any way coordinate its activities with those of Reagan-Bush '84. However, in view of your interest in the issues, the campaign is happy to provide the enclosed information on President Reagan's record in office, which I hope your organization will find useful.

We wish you the very best in your educational crusade to fairly present the President's position.

Sincerely,



Lee Atwater

cc: Michael K. Deaver

Enclosures

Ms. Leslie C. Dutton
Executive Director
American Association of Women Voters
2210 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 174
Santa Monica, California 90403

440 First Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 383-1984
Paid for by Reagan-Bush '84: Paul Laxalt, Chairman; Angela M. Buchanan Jackson, Treasurer

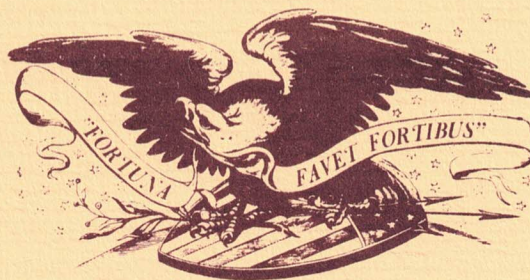
American Association of Women Voters

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON, D.C.

LOS ANGELES

LESLIE C. DUTTON
Executive Director



2210 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 174
Santa Monica, California 90403
(213) 395-0244

July 1, 1984

Mr. Michael Keith Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike,

Since forming the AAWV we have not had any response from our friends in the Republican Party or the Reagan-Bush campaign. Nor have they offered any suggestions on how our new organization could be of help this election year in the debate of national issues.

As a matter of fact, the silence from Washington is almost deafening. Yet, as you can see by the attached newspaper articles, the opposition to the Reagan Administration, on just five consecutive days, bombarded the print media as well as radio and T.V. with a consistent attack on the President's programs and position on issues.

What is offered by the GOP in retaliation to the radical's attack? . . . abstinence from the debate. The Republicans form an elitist committee of wealthy, prominent women to serve on the speakers platform (May 15, 1984 Roseville Evening News) . . . but to whom will they speak? . . . to more wealthy and prominent women?

Our political process is being destroyed by the default of the Republican Party. Only the radical side of issues are being heard. Republicans are letting American women down by not representing the other side. Millions of women detest radical women's organizations. American mothers and working women are concerned about the morals of our country as well as national security and economic prosperity. Why then is the Republican Party ignoring them and leaving the debate open for only radical participation?

Richard Viguerie was quoted in the attached article (Saturday, June 30, 1984 Daily News) "Reagan's political strength is in his ability to identify himself with middle America". "You have got a man who looks like a million dollars in a pair of blue jeans sitting on a horse" he said, "and his advisor's have him coming across as a candidate of Wall Street and big business and the rich and that is not Ronald Reagan". We agree.

Enclosed is a copy of the first AAWV newsletter, describing our program. We are building our organization, forming chapters in various states and

Page two
July 1, 1984

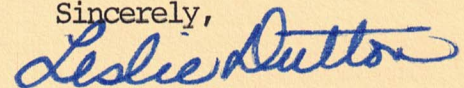
cities. The AAWV fully intends to be an active participant in the debate on national issues, with or without, the help of the Republican Party.

As you will note in the L.A. Times articles attached (June 28, 1984) the GOP and the President are vigorously supporting "Citizens for America" (CFA) which is comprised of more wealthy Republicans as shown in the photos and mentioned in the body of the article. Sonia Landau, Chairman of the Women for Reagan-Bush talks about the Reagan record in terms of more silver foxes for women (L.A. Times, June 29, 1984)

A CFA fundraiser planned for July 11 urges Americans to pay \$5,000 to have their picture taken with President Reagan at the White House. What about our members? They might not have the \$5,000 but they certainly could consider \$100 or \$50. to have their picture taken with the President at the Santa Barbara Ranch. And better yet, our members would be willing to work, in the communities, organizing and speaking out on the President's side of the issues.

It is ironic, that the AAWV, an educational, non-profit organization which is dedicated to bringing more mainstream American women into the political arena would find itself in the unenviable position of fighting our own standard bearers because they are afraid or unwilling to fight the radicals on the issues.

Sincerely,



Leslie C. Dutton
Executive Director and
President

enc: (9)

RECENT MEDIA COVERAGE: WOMEN AGAINST REAGAN

REPUBLICANS COUNTER WITH RICH & FAMOUS SPEAKERS
WHO PROMISE PROSPERITY, SILVER FOX FURS AND
\$500 A PLATE GRASS ROOTS DINNERS

1. Wednesday, June 27, 1984 L.A. TIMES

Helen Caldicott, Anti-nuclear activist quoted "I describe the Reagan Administration and the main players in that Administration who are very frightening--who are people who actually hate" . . . "they are not the right people to be running the world right now."

2. Thursday, June 28, 1984 L.A. TIMES

GOP "grass roots lobby" holds \$500 a plate fundraiser, attended by Corporate giants and prominent society and conservative leaders.

3. Friday, June 29, 1984 L.A. TIMES

Judy Goldsmith, President of NOW cites Women for Reagan-Bush chairman Sonia Landau's observation on the Reagan record . . . "more husbands can afford to give their wives silver fox furs now." (with the improved economy)

4. Saturday, June 30, 1984 DAILY NEWS

Conservative Richard Viguerie blasts Reagan-Bush campaign tactics saying "Republicans look like they were born in a three-piece suit. Democrats are fighters by nature:

5. Sunday, July 1, 1984 L.A. TIMES

Wall Street and the "big Banks" have too much influence in the Reagan Administration Richard Viguerie

6. May 1984 Roseville California Evening News

Elite group of wealthy, powerful women organized to defend Reagan record to American women. Kathryn Wriston, wife of Citicorp Chairman to tell about "the land of opportunity"

7. Sunday, July 1 1984 L.A. TIMES

"WOMEN LEAVING THE GOP" Political columnist Alan Baron says women are leaving the GOP because they "are inclined to place a priority on peace and social stability more than men and are much less willing to risk war"

8. Thursday, May 10 1984

Eight million more voting women than men this year. Women's groups charge that fewer female votes will be cast for Reagan due to social services cuts and his other policies affecting women.

9. April 1, 1984 DAILY NEWS

Angela Davis receives standing ovation for anti-Reagan remarks before female law students.



IRIS SCHNEIDER / Los Angeles Times

Dr. Helen Caldicott wrote "Missile Envy" about the arms race.

Anti-Nuclear Activist

Dr. Caldicott Diagnoses a Case of 'Missile Envy'

By ELIZABETH MEHREN, Times Staff Writer

It is as if the world were a child, as if that child had leukemia.

"Imagine if that were your child," Dr. Helen Caldicott said. "You would overturn every stone to make sure that child lived."

If this did not happen, if, for example, the parents of that grievously ill child received word of their child's ailment with no emotion at all, "I would get them a psychiatrist."

Emotional Issue

Said Caldicott, an Australian pediatrician turned worldwide anti-nuclear activist: "This is a very emotional issue, and the emotions are legitimate. To be unemotional about the end of the world is sick."

And then the physician offered a further diagnosis. In this nuclear age, she said, "we have to redefine courage. For us, an attractive man is a man who's had the courage to get in touch with his feelings and admit he's made a mistake. A weak man, an unattractive man, is a man who never admits he's made a mistake, never shows any feelings, who

hides behind a defense system and who builds missiles.

"Such a man," Caldicott said, "has a case of acute missile envy. Such a patient is (Defense Secretary) Caspar Weinberger or (Secretary of State) George Shultz."

"Missile Envy" is Caldicott's newest nuclear turn of phrase, the title of her most recent book (Morrow: \$15.95) on what she calls "the ultimate issue, the only issue": nuclear war and the arms race. It's a psychopolitical notion, an obvious play on Freud's familiar idea of penis envy.

In a room lined with photographs of Hollywood stars, Caldicott, the "mother of the nuclear freeze movement," as Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), among others, has called her, sank into a soft flowered couch, her knees folded comfortably beneath her. "I mean," she said, "it's all phallic."

For as Caldicott describes it, missile envy translates roughly to games—very, very deadly games—power men play. "Yeah," Caldicott said. "White, rich, old men. They go to war with each

other across the negotiating table. How dare they do that?"

Caldicott was ensconced in the office of a Hollywood public rela-

tions firm, a place more accustomed to dealing with glamour than what Caldicott is prone to calling "the global gas oven." With all that fast-lane movie-star clientele, Caldicott serves as the firm's "mascot," one staffer said; "our conscience," said another. Indeed, in her pearls and pale pink knit suit, the 44-year-old mother of three looked rather like a refugee from the PTA.

It's a look that works, for Caldicott has taken her anti-nuclear road show around the globe, from the Soviet Union to rural America. In the Midwest, she has taken on civic groups, social groups, business groups, the Rotary Club, Kiwanis Club, Lions Club. "It's mother's milk and apple pie," she said, explaining why she generally earns a positive reception, even from such ostensibly conservative audiences.

"But what worries me," Caldicott said, "is that people don't know too much. You know when I ask an audience those who know the difference between a strategic and a tactical nuclear weapon, only a couple of hands will go up and

The President was 'not receptive at all to what I had to say.... Often he seemed not to hear me.'

CALDICOTT: Anti-Nuclear Activist

that's in a self-selected audience."

At the White House, Caldicott said she encountered a similar lack of understanding of the extent of the nuclear threat. "I was shocked by this interview," Caldicott wrote of the one-on-one meeting with President Reagan that had been arranged by his daughter, actress Patti Davis. "He is not a man of great intelligence, and he lacked both empathy and a deep understanding of the complex subject of nuclear weapons."

History of Arms Race

Davis and Caldicott prayed together before that 75-minute meeting with the President in December, 1982. "Clinically," Caldicott says now, "the interview was very alarming." The President was "not receptive at all to what I had to say," she wrote. "In fact, often he seemed not to hear me." When she left, "I felt a great sense of despair," saddened that she had been unable to "convince him to be like Nixon and go see (then-Soviet President Yuri) Andropov and make friends with him." Reagan, said Caldicott, "is the only President never to have met with a Soviet leader in the Nuclear Age."

In a section called "Prognosis: How Long Will the Earth Survive?," Caldicott elaborates extensively on that highly unusual meeting with the leader of the free world. She examines the history of the Cold War, and compares the Soviet and U.S. arms buildups. She talks about Central America, about "the Star Wars stuff," about "what drives the arms race—and it's money." And, said Caldicott, "I describe the Reagan Administration and the main players in that Administration, who are very frightening—who are people who actually hate."

"Now there may be reasons for them to hate," she went on, "and I'm not going to condemn them because they grew up in unfriendly families, or whatever, but they're not the right people to be running the world right now."

One more thing: Caldicott takes no issue with these people because they are nominally conservative. In fact, on this issue, the issue of nuclear weapons, "we're conservatives." All those others, the ones who wear the conservative label, are "inappropriately named." The people "who believe in winnable limited nuclear war," Caldicott said, "they're the radicals."

As for partisan politics, "This is really a Republican issue," she said, "because nuclear war will be bad for business. All the money's going to be vaporized."

And so in Caldicott's topsy-turvy, through-the-looking-glass political world, the conservatives would be the radicals, Republicans would favor nuclear non-proliferation and women would run the world.

Women's role, she said, "is key. Women won the vote 60 years ago, and we've done nothing with it. We begged the men to give us equal rights. What we've got to do now is say, 'OK guys, stand aside, we're taking over. You're about to kill our children and blow up the world.'"

Out of Control

True, Caldicott conceded, women have never been entirely silent on the question of nuclear war. There has been, for example, ongoing pressure and activity from groups such as Another Mother for Peace. But, Caldicott said, "things are much more out of control than they were then."

Founder of both the Physicians for Social Responsibility and, more recently, the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Caldicott said, however, that she is not about to nominate herself to lead those women. "I don't care who's the leader," Caldicott said. "But I want to empower them."

On the speaking circuit, she said, "when I give a talk about nuclear war, you can see the women sitting there, and you can see how they feel inadequate. And as they hear how threatened their

children are, they rise up in their chairs and assume tremendous power." Afterward, "the men will come up to me and they'll say something like 'Look, you weren't right, there are only 563 Cruise missiles in Europe, and you said there were 564.' And the women will say, 'That's the sort of thinking that's going to kill us all.'"

"The women have a global perspective. They understand it intuitively. Yet so often I'll say, 'OK, so why don't you run for Congress.' And they'll say, 'Who? Me?' They tend to still lack the confidence, and we've got to get it. We've got to mobilize the instinct that a woman has to protect her children, like a lioness protecting her cubs."

Gender and Politics

The power is in the vote, she contends, in replacing non-responsive legislators with new, enlightened congresspeople and senators. "You know 7 to 9 million more women are going to vote this year than men," she said. "The gender gap is closing." Then, Caldicott fumed: "We have to run for Congress now! Why aren't half the people in Congress women, or 52%, to be precise? And the Senate? Why are there only two women senators? And all those silly men?"

In a fantasy scenario, women might seize control of the nuclear arms negotiating process. But Caldicott insists this is no fantasy: "This is going to be real. It's not a fantasy, it's a goal."

"We're good at conflict resolution, we're good at getting to know each other, we're good at compromising, we're good at capitulating, moving toward each other, finding a way to make friends. We can always do that. We can sit down and talk about things if we're upset."

"You know, in a marriage if two people aren't talking for three days, it's usually the woman that goes up and breaks the ice. In marriage guidance centers, it's almost uniformly the women who seek help."

"Well, we've got to take over," Caldicott said. "Because the men, they're going to blow up the world."

Still, Caldicott has herself been far from unsuccessful in mobilizing many of those same members of the male persuasion. Four years ago, when she started Physicians for Social Responsibility, "I'd go and do grand rounds at the hospital, and then I'd talk to the (mostly male) doctors as colleagues, and give them a very clinical, very factual, very unemotional lecture. Bang! Bang! Bang! Data! Data! Data! I mean, you'd bore an audience silly giving the talk that I give to doctors. They'd all go to sleep. But I found out early on that if I did show emotion to doctors, they'd get up and walk out and slam the door. They're very good people, but they can't take emotion."

"You know as physicians," Caldicott said, "we deal with life and death every day. So it's very easy for them to understand that this is a medical issue. They come in sort of sideways and say, 'I don't want to hear politics,' and so I'll give them my lecture, and at the end they'll say 'My God, this is medical.'" Physicians for Social Responsibility, role model for such spinoff groups as Accountants, High Technologists, Nurses,

Social Workers (and others) for Social Responsibility, now numbers 23,000.

For her part, Caldicott said, "being a physician, I worship the life process. For me, that's God. And you see, being a physician, I deal with children who die, with life and death. It becomes very real."

"I'm like a child. Children have no capacity to deny unpleasant reality. That's why most of them are having nuclear nightmares at the moment."

Citizens for America Gathering Support

**Grand Old Party Party
Raises Funds for Group
Dedicated to Reagan Ideas**

By MARYLOUISE OATES,
Times Staff Writer

The Kitchen Cabinet that brought Ronald Reagan to office in California and then to the White House made it clear Tuesday night that the Citizens for America is the next step in "the Reagan Revolution."

Power-plus flooded the ballroom of the Beverly Wilshire Hotel, as the longtime Reagan conservative coterie gathered, and white-haired but still dedicated Republicans worked the tables at the \$500-a-head dinner that grossed more than \$325,000 for the 11-month-old organization.

Announced Last August

The idea for the CFA—"the President's grass-roots lobby for policies of economic growth and a strong national defense"—came from Jaquelin Hume, the San Francisco entrepreneur and longtime Reagan adviser who took it to the President. Reagan then called another vintage confidant, Holmes Tuttle, a heavy political contributor. The formation of the group was announced last August at the White House.

Add to those original CFA members the political punch of other heavy givers introduced at the dinner as founders—Mrs. Robert Anderson from Rockwell International, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Del Mar



MIKE RYNEARSON

At the Citizens for America dinner were longtime Republican activist Holmes Tuttle with U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick.

of Del Mar Avionics, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Hartley of Union Oil, Mr. and Mrs. Earle Jorgensen, and Rod Rood of Arco. Introduced by CFA Vice President Carol Hallett, the founders—who have given at least \$25,000 to CFA to earn that title—were identified by name and their business affiliations.

CFA President Lew Lehrman described the group as a "national, nonprofit civic league," whose members will lobby with legislators,

a group "committed only to carrying out the President's programs and policies." Lehrman said the organization was not political, however, and therefore could lobby without being subject to federal-spending limitations for election contributions. There is no danger of losing their nonprofit status, Lehrman said, especially because Democrats, Republicans and Independents all support Reagan and are part of this "public-policy organization."

Despite the number of Republicans at the dinner, Lehrman insisted that many Democrats, perhaps one-third at the district level, perhaps one-half, were members of CFA.

Volunteer Vice President Carol Hallett, who is currently an assistant to Interior Secretary William Clark, said the group was identical in structure to the League of Women Voters. (Unlike the League, however, the CFA was announced by an incumbent President, and is designated as putting through his specific legislative package.)

Please see GRAND, Page 6



Jim Wharton, left, Giney Milner, Erlenne Sprague and Dr. Norman Sprague were

among the guests at \$500-a-plate dinner at Beverly Wilshire for Citizens for America.

MIKE RYNearson

GRAND OLD PARTY

Continued from Page 1

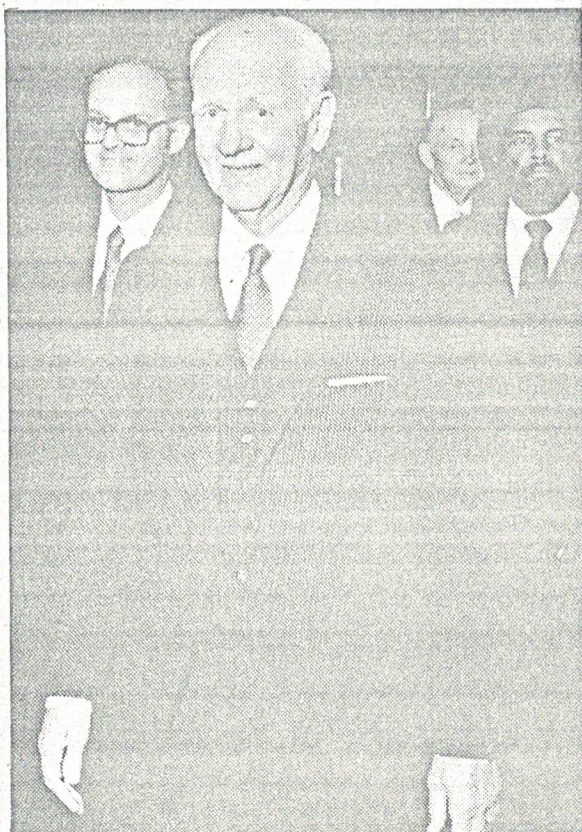
CFA volunteer committees have been organized in congressional districts (already in 211 districts out of 435 nationwide, 33 out of 45 in California, according to CFA literature). The CFA wants its members to get the President's message out in local media. As it was explained by Hallett, members go to meetings and get regular mailings so that by writing letters, calling in to radio talk shows, etc., they can counteract what they see as a liberal bias in the press.

The benefit for the announced nonpartisan organization was a conservative love-feast, with language both religious and emotional. Tuttle was described as the "good shepherd," as a "good angel." He, in turn, talked about the "crusade that launched Ronald Reagan," while at the head table, and at tables nearby, were many of those who, after the defeat of conservative Barry Goldwater in 1964, met at the California Club, rallied around and planned the successful rise of Ronald Reagan.

In Reagan, Tuttle and his companions saw a way to "stop this road down to socialism or to big government, whatever you wanted to call it," Tuttle said. "Most of us know how close we came in Miami in 1968," he said, referring to the convention that nominated Richard Nixon and not Reagan, "but we never gave up." So many of the friends gathered at the dinner "carried this torch, this crusade," he said.

Tuttle and others credited the ruddy-faced Hume—whom he described as "one of the most dedicated conservatives in history"—as the creator of the CFA,

Please see CONSERVATIVE, Page 7



Jack Hume, considered to be CFA's creator, is shown at group's Beverly Wilshire fund-raiser.

CONSERVATIVE GROUP: Citizens for America

Continued from Page 6

what Tuttle said the President called his "secret weapon."

"The CFA is not going to last [only] until the November elections," Tuttle added. "It's going to go on."

U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, who Hallett said had made at least five appearances for the CFA recently, addressed the dinner on foreign policy. Although much of her speech was familiar, the audience greeted many of her lines with thunderous applause. She said the foreign policy "consensus is broad enough to support a bipartisan foreign policy," then went on to discuss U.S.-Soviet relations, the problems of appeasement, and to criticize what she called the "charter members in the Blame-America-First Club."

Lehrman, hoarse from jetting around the country on speaking engagements for CFA, said he had not known who Jack Hume was when a telephone call came through to him last year. He refused the call. Then calls came from Colorado businessman Joseph Coors and White House Chief of Staff Ed Meese, saying "you don't have to do what Jack Hume wants you to do, but take that phone call." Before long, there was a call from the President, who said, "Congratulations. Ed Meese, Jack Hume and I are really thrilled that you decided to become the president of our national civic league."

The election of Ronald Reagan is seen by Lehrman as a beginning. "It was called the Reagan Revolution and it will take a generation to complete," he said. "[It's] necessary for a total victory, a victory for the American way of life."

There has been speculation that in addition to promoting the President's policies, the CFA is also a launching pad for Lehrman, an entrepreneur who spent more than \$9 million in an unsuccessful campaign for governor in New York in 1982. A few well-placed local Republicans, who asked not to be named, said their support for the CFA in no way implied any support for a Lehrman candidacy.

Support of the CFA means support of the Reagan legislative package, it was made clear. Hallett said that in the last month, CFA district chairs received packets of background information on the "enterprise job zones," and that a packet on Central America was being prepared. She stressed that the CFA had interest only in two areas—foreign policy and economic issues.

"When a packet comes out it really includes complete background on the issue, really extensive, on a particular bill, status and reasons the bill is important to be passed," Hallett said. There is background, history, a

suggested letter to the editor, the information a committee chair could use to "take it from there. Go on to a talk show. Even 'Q and A' cards with anticipated questions. It's suggested in every case that this is strictly background."

CFA's long-term goal is to be a major national organization within five years. It will take five years for a civic league such as this to really become recognized, Hallett said.

Highly recognizable faces at the dinner were longtime Reagan familiars Erlenne and Norman Sprague, Armand and Harriet Deutsch, Margaret Brock, Betsy

Bloomington with Ted Graber (she laughingly refused to stop for a photographer—"I hate to be photographed"), Giney Milner with Jim Wharton, Lorena Nidorf and Bill Frye, Natalie and Gwynn Robinson, Virginia Tuttle, Tuck and Chardee Trainer. And, in the audience, were Supervisor Mike Antonovich, Florence and Bones Hamilton, Joe and Suzanne (she's been back to the White House for a CFA meeting) Marx, L.A. Sheriff Sherman Block, the Rev. Maurice Chase, state Sen. William Campbell.

And, not usual among such an upper-crust crowd or at such a big-ticket event—apparently ensuring that as much profit as possible went to the CFA—the meal served for \$500 was low-cost chicken and the tables were minus flowers.



Lew Lehrman



Associated Press

Judy Goldsmith, NOW president at '83 press conference.

NOW Says a Woman's Place Is on Ticket

Nation's Largest Feminist Organization Seeks Reagan's Defeat

By BEVERLY BEYETTE, Times Staff Writer

MIAMI BEACH—Only weeks before the Democratic and Republican national conventions, the National Organization for Women is convening here with its own political agenda: To place a woman on the Democratic ticket, to revitalize the drive for passage of the equal rights amendment and, at the top of the list, to block the reelection of President Reagan.

When NOW, with 250,000 members—the nation's largest feminist organization—adjourns its convention on Sunday, the message it

hopes to send forth is, in the words of President Judy Goldsmith, "its determination to turn the power of the women's vote and women's increased political participation into a new direction for this country, a new agenda, equality for women."

Walter F. Mondale, who has already received the first presidential endorsement by NOW in its 17-year history, is scheduled to speak before the 1,200 delegates during the opening plenary session Friday morning at the Fontainebleau Hilton.

Mondale, who with other leading

Democratic contenders courted the endorsement at NOW's last national convention, in October in Washington, stated then, and has since said repeatedly, that he will consider a woman as a running mate. To date, one woman, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, is among those he has talked to about the No. 2 spot.

It is "not likely," Goldsmith said, that NOW, which a year ago initiated the call for a woman vice president, will endorse a specific

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NOW CONVENTION: Pushing for a Woman VP

Continued from Page 1

woman. But, she emphasized, "Our conviction that a woman vice presidential nominee gives us the strongest likelihood of a winning ticket is still valid." Several women who have been prominently mentioned as possible candidates—Rep. Geraldine Ferraro of New York and Rep. Patricia Schroeder of Colorado—will be among the speakers at this convention.

Although the vice presidency is a major issue with feminists, this will not be a one-issue convention. One workshop, led by Goldsmith, is focusing on "Beating Reagan in '84." Goldsmith said in a pre-convention interview that NOW's strategy will include "a comprehensive program of informing the public, and women in particular, about the specific impact on their lives of his policies and programs and budgets because people do not always correlate deterioration in their private lives with a policy made in the White House.

"There are still people who think he's for the ERA which, of course, he isn't. He strongly opposes it. Some people are not aware he supports a complete ban on abortion."

Specifically, Goldsmith said, NOW will be sending out its women's "truth squads" whose motto is "Women's Rights—Reagan's Wrongs." She explained, "We're talking about a highly visible public presence, picketing actions, wherever Ronald Reagan or any of his major surrogates appears, and distribution of fliers, which are a distillation of the entire catalogue of the Reagan record on women, which is vast and negative."

Goldsmith said NOW intends to "focus on President Reagan's complete lack of touch with the realities of the American woman. For example, Sonia Landau, who is chairman—*chairman*—of Women for Reagan-Bush, made a statement recently that women need to understand that things are better, that women are now getting silver fox furs that their husbands couldn't afford five years ago. This at a time when two-thirds of women who are employed are making less than \$10,000 a year.

"Silver fox furs are not the problems most of us deal with."

Goldsmith, in her keynote address to the convention on Saturday—two years to the day since the first ERA amendment failed to garner enough support to meet the deadline for passage—will talk about "what that event meant in terms of our political maturation and the understanding of what we could do with the gender gap, what we have accomplished in the two years since and what we can, and intend, to accomplish."

Strategies for passage of a reintroduced ERA will be one of the convention topics. The basic strategy, said Goldsmith, will be "to keep the focus on the federal ERA because it is the only one that will comprehensively

provide legal protections for all women, regardless of what state they live in. The ERA remains the fundamental bottom line, the constitutional protection."

With President Reagan in office, Goldsmith said, "It is going to be profoundly difficult to move (the ERA) through Congress with any hope of success."

Resolutions that are expected to be voted on at this convention will include one demanding more support for women running for office. "They're disadvantaged in numerous ways," said Goldsmith, "not the least of which is their great difficulty in getting money. We're talking about a comprehensive strategy to give more support to

women ourselves and to ask for it from our allies and the party structures."

Another important issue will be that of reproductive rights and, Goldsmith said, the focus is likely to be on what she describes as "the right wing holding all progressive issues hostage to the abortion issue by attaching anti-abortion amendments to virtually every piece of progressive legislation that goes through Congress or the states."

Another facet of this, Goldsmith said, is "the issue of terrorism at abortion clinics. Just recently another clinic was bombed. There have been seven or eight bombings this year and there has been consistent psychological harassment of women going into the clinics as well as of people working there. We have called on the Justice Department to investigate, but they claim an inability to do anything about it."

Other topics to be discussed at general sessions and workshops include pay equity for women, economic issues affecting older women, child-support enforcement, sex discrimination in insurance, sex discrimination in the military, pornography, the gender gap and taking advantage of women's edge in voter registration.

As for the most attention-getting issue, that of a woman on the Democratic ticket in November, Goldsmith said she had conferred with Mondale in Minnesota on Saturday in an "extremely positive" session. Said Goldsmith: "Mr. Mondale understands the depths of public support for a woman on the ticket." (This support, she noted, is "particularly strong in the West.")

Not Dealing in Optimism

Does this mean she is optimistic that it will happen? "We don't deal in optimism," she said. "We have come to understand the political structure too well to be optimistic about anything. We are, however, determined. In the absence of any compelling data to show us that a standard two-man ticket would provide a winning margin in November, we see no reason to not have a woman on the ticket. We think the evidence is overwhelming that says a woman on the ticket gives us the strongest likelihood of a winning ticket."

At its last national conference, NOW passed a resolution stating that it "will not accept a false geographic or ideological balancing of the ticket with a vice presidential candidate whose views diminish or negate the commitment to women's rights of the presidential candidate."

Asked if Democratic Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, with whom Mondale has conferred about the No. 2 spot on the ticket, would fall into the above category, Goldsmith did not hesitate to say, "Yes."

She added: "One of the realities of the gender gap is that it exists nationwide and it therefore completely blows out of the water the concept of geographic balancing. While someone might bring (the ticket) a state or a part of the country, the gender gap brings the entire country. Eight million more women than men are expected to vote in November. This is a powerful political reality."

Would Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado on a Mondale-headed ticket be acceptable to NOW? "Acceptable is not going to beat Ronald Reagan," replied Goldsmith.

But, responding to a newspaper report this week of a Mondale staff memorandum urging selection of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley as the strongest running mate, Goldsmith said: "That's a slightly different consideration. I feel very positively about Mayor Bradley. I think that's a more positive option. For one thing, it sends a message that there is some degree of sensitivity to the people who have not fit the white male mold of leadership in this country."

Please see **TICKET**, Page 7

Southern California report

Shift in GOP campaigning urged

Reagan could lose race with defensive tactics, Virginian warns

By ROBERT BALLENGER

Daily News Staff Writer

President Reagan could lose the November election if he follows the traditional Republican campaign strategy, a prominent conservative said Friday.

Richard Viguerie, who pioneered mass mailing fund-raising appeals for conservative candidates, said the November election is Reagan's to win — or lose.

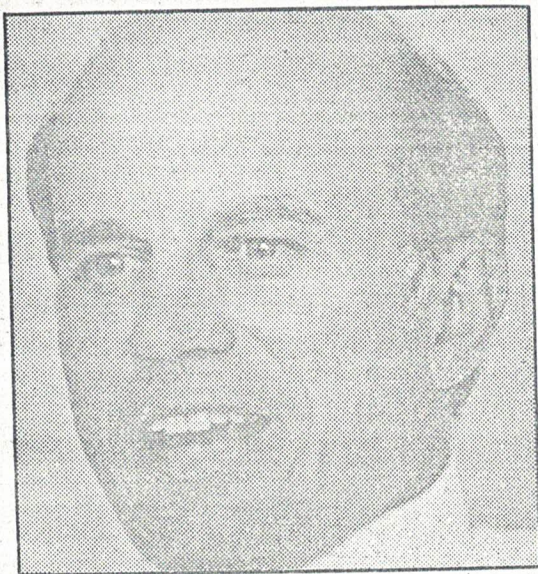
Reagan, who now enjoys a commanding lead in the public opinion polls, could be defeated in November if he lets his advisers run a traditional GOP campaign, he said.

"Republican politicians usually sit on a lead," Viguerie noted. "They are very cautious people by nature politically and in terms of the way they campaign, they are very conservative by nature."

And, in a dry, slightly Southern drawl common around his Virginia home, he quipped, "Republicans look like they were born in a three-piece suit. Democrats are fighters by nature."

Those contrasting styles could hurt Reagan, if the president lets it, Viguerie said, adding:

"If they run a protect-the-lead, defensive campaign, if Walter Mondale takes Gary Hart as his vice president, then it's



RICHARD VIGUERIE
Cautions GOP strategists

going to be a tough, tough, close campaign."

Despite a mutual loyalty to conservative political ideals, Viguerie does not always support Reagan.

During a Universal City interview, the conservative leader criticized what he called inconsistencies in Reagan.



Candidate Reagan, he said, campaigned against bailing out large banks who overextended themselves by making questionable loans. President Reagan had supported the bailouts, Viguerie said.

Candidate Reagan promised a balanced federal budget by 1983 or 1984, at the latest. Instead, the federal deficits have grown steadily larger, Viguerie noted.

"As disappointed as I have been with Ronald Reagan, Walter Mondale would increase taxes more than Ronald Reagan," the conservative said. "I'm strongly supporting Ronald Reagan for re-election because, in my view, the alternative would be unthinkable, it would be a disaster for America."

"Reagan's political strength is his ability to identify himself with Middle America," Viguerie said.

"You've got a man who looks like a million dollars in a pair of blue jeans sitting on a horse," he said. "And his advisers have him coming across as the candidate of Wall Street and big business and rich, and that's not Ronald Reagan."

New Right Leader Assails President**'Post-Reagan Era' to Start Nov. 7, Conservative Says**By KEITH LOVE, *Times Political Writer*

Although President Reagan would like to believe that the "post-Reagan era" is four years away, it actually will start the day after the November election, one of the leaders of the so-called New Right says.

"The post-Reagan era begins on Nov. 7, even if Reagan is reelected," said Richard Viguerie, publisher of *Conservative Digest* magazine and founder of a direct-mail firm used by many conservative politicians.

"Reagan will be even more of a lame duck than usual because he doesn't get that involved in what is going on. Let me tell you, there will be a lot of meetings the day after the election."

Viguerie, who was in Los Angeles over the weekend to address a tax-revolt group, said in a luncheon interview that, for the first time in 40 years, conservatives do not know who their next candidate for President will be.

"We always knew, whether it was Taft or Nixon or Goldwater or Reagan, but now we don't. We aren't even sure if that candidate will come out of the Republican Party. If Reagan is reelected and it's business as usual, then we may start our own party. The Republican Establishment comes to office on the backs of conservatives, who

supply the money and campaign workers, but then they slam the White House door in our faces."

Although he does not say it with much passion, Viguerie contends that he is unhappy with Reagan because the President allows U.S. companies to trade with the Soviet Union and because Reagan has not come out as strongly for school prayer and against abortion as the New Right would like.

No 'Confrontation'

"He ran as a conservative but he is not a conservative President," Viguerie said. "I don't know what happened. Ronald Reagan could have been our greatest President. I think getting shot threw him off-stride. . . . He had the opportunity in his first six months to go to the American people and declare an economic Dunkirk, to tell them that major sacrifices were needed. . . . But he doesn't like confrontation. That's not his style."

Wall Street and the "big banks" have too much influence in the Reagan Administration, Viguerie says, so it is "business as usual"—major budget cuts are not carried out and taxes are reduced, only to be raised again.

Viguerie's 1983 book, "The Establishment vs. the People," blames



ANDREW INNERARITY / Los Angeles Times

Richard Viguerie

U.S. domestic and foreign policy problems on the domination of the government by Republicans and Democrats who have lost touch with the common man. "There is no difference between the two major parties," Viguerie said. "The only difference is in the rhetoric. . . ."

Viguerie, a 50-year-old Texan and self-described "conservative populist," said, "Until recently, conservatives have been poor at communicating their message. For instance, we would say that criminals should be put under the jail, leading people to say we lacked compassion. What we should have done was emphasize our compassion for the victims of these criminals."

The key to the rise of the New Right has been the use of direct mail to build a network of conservatives who vote, write angry letters to politicians and get out their check-books for conservative causes.

Sunday, July 1, 1984

Women Are Leaving the GOP, but Not Because Their Values Have Changed

By Alan Baron

WASHINGTON

Last week, Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. predicted that the Democratic nominee for vice president would be either Sen. Gary Hart or "a woman."

O'Neill's blunt language demonstrates once again that politicians see women in a different light than other groups: The Speaker, a good liberal who believes in affirmative action, would never say the choice was narrowed to Hart and "a Jew" or "a Catholic." Despite O'Neill's good intentions and liberal credentials, Jewish and Catholic potential candidates, as well as religious organizations, would be offended and embarrassed by such remarks. By contrast, women's organizations and women who are potential candidates applauded the Speaker's remarks and are engaged in a major campaign to pressure Walter F. Mondale to select a woman as his running mate.

The campaign could well subvert the best interests of the women's movement, as well as those of the candidates it supports.

The basic reason is that, while the vast majority of Americans do not believe a

woman should be denied the vice presidency or, for that matter, the presidency, because of her gender, neither do they believe she should be elected to such positions because of her gender.

Mondale's vice-presidential selection provides him with his single most important opportunity to demonstrate the two qualities people are looking for most in 1984: courage (independence from political power brokers and special-interest groups) and vision (identification with the future). The choice of a woman could convey those qualities, but not if the candidate simply seemed to be pandering.

That's been demonstrated by, of all people, Ronald Reagan. If the appointment of women to high positions is a valid standard for judging candidates' commitments to women's rights, the current White House passes its predecessors, with the list including the first female supreme court justice and ambassador to the United Nations, and two key Cabinet posts.

But none of these appointments narrowed the growing "gender gap" in American politics. Polls show the President running 10% poorer among women than among men. If that is true, on Election Day, it will reflect a dramatic shift in women's politics, since women have consistently voted more Republican than have men for most of this century.

That is conveyed by a comparison between the last year women could not vote and the first year they could. In both years (1916 and 1920), the Democrats drew 9.1 million votes; the Republican vote surged from 8.5 million to more than 16 million. At least 75% of the women voted Republican. Women have voted for more Republicans than have men in every presidential election since then, except two: 1964 (Lyndon B. Johnson versus Barry Goldwater) and 1980.

Women's move away from Republicanism and toward the Democrats has little to do with partisan ideology or even women's-rights issues. Rather, it has to do with basic differences between the values of male and female Americans: Women are much more inclined to place a priority on peace and social stability than men, and are much less willing to risk war and social instability.

That was the case when women won the right to vote nearly 65 years ago, and it's the case today.

In their first election, women rallied behind Republican Warren G. Harding, running on a platform pledging "a return

to normalcy," something women wanted very much. Despite his liberalism, it is Mondale who is perceived by women as the no-risk "return to normalcy" candidate this year.

A review of the Gallup polls over the past 50 years also indicates that the "gender gap" has changed far less than the labels used to describe it. The greatest gaps have been in two areas.

First, foreign policy: Women were more opposed than men to World War I (under Democrat Woodrow Wilson), to World War II (under Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt), to Korea (under Democrat Harry S. Truman), to Vietnam (under Democrat Johnson)—and now to Central

America (under Republican Reagan).

When they opposed entry into World War II, they were aligned with right-wing Republicans; now that they oppose intervention in Central America, their allies are left-wing Democrats.

The second issue is one of social control, with women much more likely than men to support Prohibition and gun control. On the first, of course, they were aligned with the Republican right; on the second, with the Democratic left. But again, the real issue did not change: Women in far greater numbers than men believe that alcohol and guns produce drunkenness and violence, which make society less stable.

Alan Baron is publisher of the Baron Report, a national political newsletter.

Women gather to push Reagan

By SANDRA SALMANS

New York Times

NEW YORK — What is good for the economy is good for women is the message that will be carried across the country by the National Women's Coalition, a group of some 70 business and professional women assembled by the Republican National Committee to persuade women to vote for President Reagan.

The coalition, which has regional branches in California, Texas, Georgia and Illinois, made its New York debut recently with a series of press interviews at the New York Hilton Hotel. Betty Heitman, co-chairman of the committee and chairman of the coalition, said coalition members would soon be crisscrossing the country to speak on the president's behalf at colleges and before professional groups.

One coalition member, Susan G. Fisher, a banker, expressed a typical view which she said that although Reagan might not be the ideal candidate with regard to women's issues, the current economic recovery overrode such concerns.

Fisher, a senior vice president of the Marine Midland Bank, said that she "completely disagrees" with Reagan on abortion.

"I think most of the women in the group wouldn't agree with him, but the issue didn't come up," she said. Referring to abortion and the proposed federal equal rights amendment to the Constitution, she said: "Sure, they're fundamental issues. But there's no more important issue than the economy."

The coalition is one of several efforts by the Republican Party to deal with a disparity that has emerged as one of Reagan's most vulnerable areas. A New York Times-CBS News Poll last month found that 60 percent of men, but only 47 percent of women, said they approved of the way Reagan was handling his job. There was a similar disparity when men and women were asked how Reagan was handling the economy.

In the area of foreign policy, 48 percent of the men said that Reagan was doing a good job, compared with 39 percent of the women.

Most of the members of the coalition are businesswomen, with a sprinkling of women from the universities, the arts and sports. A few previously held elective or appointed office, including Carla Anderson Hills, a lawyer who served in the Ford Cabinet, and Anne Armstrong, a Cabinet-level special assistant to President Nixon for women's issues. Armstrong was also ambassador to Britain in the Nixon and Ford administrations.

The coalition's 13 members from the Northeast region include Fisher, Elizabeth Bailey, dean of the Graduate School of Industrial Administration at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh; Paula Hughes, a director of Thomson McKinnon Securities, a New York brokerage concern; Mayor Joan Shapiro of Newburgh, N.Y.; Mary Singletary, executive director of Planned Parenthood in Essex County, N.J., and president of the National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and Kathryn Wriston, a lawyer who is married to Walter Wriston, chairman of Citibank.

Some members have already been speaking out for Reagan. Fisher was paired with Bella Abzug, the former New York Democratic Representative, in a local radio program. Hughes was paired with Betty Friedan, the feminist author, on a recent CBS program.

"All these women are very busy," Heitman said. "Many are self-made and have very demanding careers."

In person or in telephone interviews, coalition members conceded that they disagreed with Reagan on a number of women's issues. But they agreed that the state of the economy overrode these concerns: inflation and interest rates are down, employment and new jobs are up, and there are more opportunities for everyone, including women.

"Most of us feel this country has been a land of opportunity," Bailey said. "We have an upbeat view about what's available to women, and that's shared by the Republican Party."

"I don't support everything the president is doing — you can understand that from the work I do," Singletary said.

Daily News

Thursday, May 10, 1984

Women of voting age are now outnumbering men by 8 million

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Women of voting age outnumber men by 8 million and are a majority in all but four states — Alaska, Hawaii, Texas and Wyoming — the Census Bureau said Wednesday.

The figures are of special interest this year because of a perceived "gender gap" between men and women voters. Some women's groups have charged that President Reagan's cuts in social services and his other policies affecting women will mean fewer female votes for him this November.

Polls also indicate that men are more likely than women to favor Reagan and that women are more likely to support Democrats.

Census figures show women represent just over 52 percent of

the voting-age population and that their proportion increases among older groups. Men hold a majority, 50.5 percent, among those 18 to 24, but women have a slight edge in the 25-44 age group, predominate with 52 percent in the 45-64 age group and represent a hefty 60 percent among those over 65.

Overall, the voting-age population is expected to reach 174 million by November, an increase of nearly 10 million since the last presidential election, the bureau said.

Most of the increase is among people in the 25-44 age group, "which experienced a dramatic increase of 9.5 million," and now comprises 42 percent of potential voters.

In addition, the over-65 population grew more than 10 per-

cent and includes 16.2 percent of the people eligible to vote.

But there are fewer 18-24 year olds this year than in 1982.

"For the first time, the number of young adults is beginning to decline as the baby boom generation ages," the bureau said. "The group is estimated to lose nearly 1 million between the 1982 and 1984 elections, decreasing to 29 million and lowering its share of the voting-age population to 17 percent."

The number of potential black voters has increased by 2 million since 1980 for a total of 19 million or 11 percent of the national electorate. While blacks traditionally have had a lower voting rate than whites, Jesse L. Jackson's candidacy this year has sparked new interest that may

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Women of voting age outnumber men

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bring more blacks to the polls in November.

The bureau noted that the proportion of people who vote has decreased steadily since 1960 even though the actual number

of voters has increased because of population growth.

"Over 86 million persons or 52.6 percent voted for president in 1980," the bureau said, "and if the same proportion votes in 1984, nearly 92 million votes will

be cast."

Minnesota, the home state of Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale, is the only state that had a voter turnout of 70 percent or more in both 1976 and 1980.

4-1-84

Angela Davis blasts Reagan and white feminists in address

By LESLIE WEINFELD

Daily News Staff Writer

Angela Davis lashed out at the Reagan administration and did not exactly spare middle-class white feminists in a keynote address to the 15th National Conference on Women and the Law Saturday.

Davis' speech covered a wide range of issues, but the overall theme was the status of poor, working-class and minority-race women in both the women's movement and society in general.

While reserving her most stringent criticism for Reagan's policies and their impact on the above-mentioned groups, Davis reminded the audience of the potential for racism and elitism among women who are not poor or racially oppressed.

"It is possible for women to win victories and leave the masses behind. Many women are struggling, struggling like hell to get into those board rooms and join in the equality of those responsible for oppression in our society," she said to a murmur of assent throughout the audience.

Reaction to Davis' speech generally was enthusiastic, although some in the mainly white audience of approximately 800 women lawyers and law students stiffened at the comments directed at them.

Davis, professor of women's



ANGELA DAVIS

Received standing ovation

studies at California State University, San Francisco and the Communist Party's vice presidential candidate, received a standing ovation both before and after her address, and was surrounded by supporters afterward.

Davis cited Supreme Court Judge Sandra Day O'Connor's opposition to abortion rights as an example of how women can utilize their success to worsen the predicament of "masses" of working women.

Instead, Davis called on women to take a larger view, and

purge the movement of race and class bias.

"If women at the very bottom win victories for themselves, there is no way for them to move up without pushing the whole structure upward," she said.

Davis was interrupted by applause at several points during the speech, usually after lambasting Reagan.

"It is important that we recognize Ronald Reagan is in office now because there are very powerful forces in our society who needed a figurehead such as Reagan has become to bring about their agenda," she said.

It is this complex that benefits a great deal from sexism and racism in terms of concrete profits, which should be challenged militantly, Davis said.

Instead of the super-profits the Reagan administration supports, the money should be directed to human and social services that would improve the quality of life and make it easier for women to work, Davis said.

"The further redistribution of wealth in this society to the detriment of those already the poorest, to the benefit of those already the richest — that's what Reaganomics is all about," Davis said.

"The need is greater than ever before to build a multiracial women's movement. The potential has been there throughout but it was never fulfilled.