

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection: CICCONI, JAMES: Files

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~~Office of Public Liaison Memos 1981-1983 (Dole, Elizabeth)~~
 File Folder: ~~OPL Memos [2 of 2]~~ ~~Memos-Office of Public Liaison~~ Date: 2/2/99
 box 9112 Box 5 [1981-1983 (Dole, Elizabeth)]

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	Elizabeth Dole to Edwin Meese, James Baker, et al Re: Hispanic outreach, 1p	6/17/82	P5, P6/P6 86
2. Memo	Dole to James Baker, Edwin Meese, et al, Re: 50 States Project, 1p	6/17/82	P5, P6/P6 86
3. Memo	Dole to Richard Darman Re: SOTU Draft, 2p	1/20/82	P5 open

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 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.

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

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder: OPL Memos [2 of 2]
box 9112

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foil memos

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Complaints Regarding Peace Corps

Because your office was copied by Gary Curran of American Life Lobby in his exchange with Loret Ruppe, Mrs. Ruppe has asked that I send you copies of the exchange of correspondence between Mr. Curran and her office.

Enclosure

Peace Corps

Washington, D.C. 20525

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Lore ~~Sum~~ler Ruppe
Director

DATE: July 27, 1982

RE: Curran Correspondence

In the wake of our meeting with conservative group representatives, attached is a letter from Gary Curran of the American Life Lobby, setting forth numerous fallacious assertions and asking eleven questions involving sensitive and substantial issues.

Attached is the reply from John Nicholson, my new Communications Director.

Also attached is a second letter from Curran, complaining of delay. Nicholson spoke with Curran by telephone, discussed the delay, but Curran insisted he was going to send a letter of complaint anyway.

Curran sent copies of his complaint letter to Baker, Meese and Clark. I am sending copies of this memorandum and attachments to those offices. Could you make sure, please, that our responses catch up with Mr. Curran's submittal in those offices? Thanks.

CC: Edwin Meese III
James A. Baker III
William P. Clark

AMERICAN LIFE LOBBY INC.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. BOX 490, STAFFORD, VA 22554
OFFICES: ROUTE #6, BOX 162-F, STAFFORD, VA 22554
(703) 659-4171 METRO DC 690-2049

GOVERNMENT LIAISON OFFICE: 6B LIBRARY COURT SE (CAPITOL HILL) WASHINGTON, DC 20003 • (202) 546-5550

TELEGRAM

July 27, 1982

Mrs. Lorel Miller Ruppe
Director
Peace Corps
806 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20525

The July 23, 1982 letter, which has yet to be delivered and which I personally picked up at your office last night, is totally unacceptable.

You invited me to the meeting on June 22 in your office to discuss the Peace Corps. You asked me to put my questions (which you did not answer at the meeting) in writing.

Do me the favor of a personal reply.

Better yet I request an appointment to discuss these questions in detail in person.

Sincerely,

Gary L. Curran
American Life Lobby
6 Library Court S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003



A.L.L. "... for God, for Life, for the Family, for the Nation"

AMERICAN LIFE LOBBY INC.

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June 24, 1982

Mrs. Loret Miller Ruppe
Director
Peace Corps
806 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20525

Dear Mrs. Ruppe:

Thank you for the opportunity to discuss the operation of the Peace Corps in the Reagan Administration.

Unfortunately from the presentations made yesterday I can discern no major change in the recruitment, training or policy of the Peace Corps from the way it operated under the direction of 60's radical Sam Brown. I would welcome information to the contrary.

Towards the end of the meeting I asked you several questions. You asked me to put them in writing, so here they are:

1. Of the 67 United Nations Volunteers (UNV) how many work for UN agencies whose head is a Soviet or other Communist country citizen?
2. Is the cost of these volunteers reflected in the U.S. contributions to these UN agencies?
3. How many UNV's work for UN health or population control agencies?
4. How many UNV's are involved in planning for or actually distributing the injectable abortifacient birth control drug Depo Provera which is banned from sale in the U.S. by the FDA? How many other Peace Corps volunteers dispense Depo Provera?
5. How do you justify Peace Corps involvement in this activity in light of the Young Amendment that bans use of Peace Corps funds for abortion?
6. What is the Peace Corps policy, if any, concerning dispensing to third world citizens drugs banned in the United States?
7. What is the Peace Corps policy, if any, concerning whether it is proper for volunteers to counsel that abortion is an acceptable method of birth control?

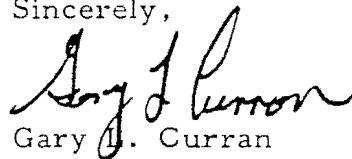


8. You indicated that notwithstanding the Young Amendment (banning Peace Corps dollars from being used for abortion) the Peace Corps pays for transportation and other ancillary costs so that the volunteer can obtain an abortion on her own. Why is it legal to aid and abet obtaining an abortion when paying for the abortion is a violation of the Young Amendment? Exactly what is the justification for paying such transportation and other costs?
9. You mentioned that the Justice Department was looking into this question exactly who at Justice are you consulting?
10. There are approximately 77 full-time and temporary Peace Corps recruiters how many were volunteers or trainees or employed as recruiters during Sam Brown's tenure? Without a change in recruiters how can you hope to get "new, more representative" volunteers?
11. Country directors are hired and fired in your sole discretion. How many are hold overs from the Sam Brown regime? Of those you have hired how many have identifiable Reagan-Bush credentials? Why don't the others have these credentials? How do you expect to get a change in policy if the "hands on" managers of your agency, the country directors, are not Reagan people?

Also you said that as a measure of your system for monitoring for political statements or actions contrary to this government's policy you would tell us how many volunteers and/or employees you have reprimanded or dismissed for such transgressions.

I look forward to an expeditious reply to these questions.

Sincerely,



Gary L. Curran
Legislative Consultant

GLC/sm

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July 23, 1982

Mrs. Loret Miller Ruppe
Director
Peace Corps
806 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
12th Floor
Washington, D. C. 20525

hand delivered

Dear Mrs. Ruppe:

This will follow up my letter of June 24, 1982 to which I have not received an acknowledgement nor a response for a whole month.

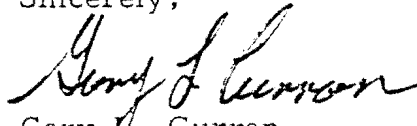
On June 22, 1982, at your invitation, I attended a meeting so that you could explain how the Peace Corps has changed since the tenure of 60's radical Sam Brown served as director.

I stress that I did not ask for the meeting, it was your initiative. Why has it taken you more than a month to answer questions that you did not answer in person and which you specifically asked me to put in writing?

Sam Brown probably answered his mail quicker than the present administration has answered me.

When can I expect a reply? Please telephone me at 546-5550 I will be glad to pick up your reply in person.

Sincerely,


Gary L. Curran
Legislative Consultant

cc: Judge Clark
Ed Meese III
James A. Baker III

GLC/sm



A.L.L. "... for God, for Life, for the Family, for the Nation"

Peace Corps

Washington, D.C. 20525

July 23, 1982.

Mr. Gary Curran
Legislative Consultant
American Life Lobby
6 Library Court, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Mr. Curran:

Your letter of June 24 put into writing some of the questions raised at the White House meeting the previous day, initiated by Director Ruppe through the office of Morton Blackwell.

I apologize for the delay in responding to your request, but I intentionally asked Loret's permission for me to develop the replies as a "learning experience" (I joined the Peace Corps just weeks before your letter was received.) As we discussed by telephone, when you said you intended to write a letter of protest about the delay anyway, the issues you raised were sensitive and significant. Consequently, if the information in this letter is to be used other than for your own personal background, I ask that my replies be printed in their entirety so as to avoid misunderstandings which may arise if material is lifted out of context.

Here are our views on the topics you address:

A. Peace Corps relations with United Nations Volunteers. To the best of our knowledge, no Communist citizen is heading any United Nations agency involving United Nations Volunteers (UNVs). The costs of U.S.-supplied volunteers are shared jointly by Peace Corps and the host country. Of the 56 (currently) U.N. Volunteers supplied by Peace Corps, one volunteer is a health-related rural water and sanitation project specialist in Liberia, a second is a pharmacist trainer in Lesotho, and the third works on administrative matters for the U.N. Fund for Population Activities post in Turkey.

B. Peace Corps policies re abortions, abortifacants, and family planning. Peace Corps does not consider abortion to be a birth control method, so Volunteers neither educate others, nor receive information from Peace Corps, about abortifacants or abortions. That includes use of Depo Provera

as an abortifacient. As a practical matter, Volunteers operate primarily in rustic rural areas and handle few medicines other than aspirin, deworming medicine, chloroquine (anti-malarial prophylaxis) and other common substances. Peace Corps is required to pay travel and per diem for Volunteers who require "elective (necessary but not emergency) surgery of any consequence" including abortions. The Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice, has verified this requirement pursuant to the Pregnancy Discrimination Act [42 USC pp 2000 e(k)], so long as Peace Corps continues to pay travel and per diem for comparable medical conditions.

C. Peace Corps' use of civil servants as recruiters. Less than two-thirds of the present recruiting force were associated with Peace Corps (or ACTION) during Sam Brown's tenure; primarily as Volunteers during that time. Congress requires by law to give preferential hiring treatment to returned Volunteers. Few others express interest in the part-time, low-pay, non-career-directed employment opportunity as Peace Corps recruiters.

D. Peace Corps personnel policy regarding Country Directors. Country Directors serve 30-month contracts. Since the beginning of the Director's term, May 28, 1981, seventeen Directors have been appointed, and five selected but not yet fully appointed. All final candidates must receive medical and security clearances in addition to clearances from White House Presidential Personnel. Of the twenty-two, ten have Reagan-Bush credentials, nine were previously employed (e.g., Federal government) in positions which precluded campaign activities, and three are non-political. All are committed to the Reagan Administration's policies.

You assert you can "discern no major change in the recruitment, training or policy" since the Sam Brown days. To make major changes would require legislative sanction. Except for minor technical changes, there have been no policy changes enacted by Congress since the first act in 1961. We are still required by law to pursue the initial three goals, to help others by effort of American volunteers, to help others understand Americans by example, and to help Americans understand others' cultures.

Under the Director's leadership, we have reinstituted training about the Communist menace. We have deliberately sought out the older-Americans, in recruiting. We have reoriented our projects toward economic development and entrepreneurial training in marketing, distribution, accounting and management skills. We are seeking direct corporate involvement in Peace

Mr. Gary Curran
July 23, 1982
Page 3

Corps activities. And we have undertaken internal management procedures to achieve even greater operating economies and protection against waste, fraud and abuse. We have not publicized these activities, consistent with Peace Corps' belief that actions speak louder than words. Perhaps we should be educating Americans better about the Peace Corps, so enclosed is an article by the Director for use in one of your publications. We would appreciate receipt of a copy of your publication reprinting her article.

I apologize again for the delay in this reply, but you asked thought-provoking questions that have required some time to determine the answers.

I look forward to keeping open our dialogue. I urge you to seek support from your members for considering the potential of becoming Peace Corps Volunteers. It's a proven micro-economic way to help make stable the economies of developing countries by fighting poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy -- traditionally the breeding grounds for the menace of Communism.

Sincerely,



John B. Nicholson
Director of Communications

Enclosure

"Why a Conservative Reaganite
should support the Peace Corps"

By Loret Miller Ruppe

What's the best, most proven deterrent against Communist intrusion into developing countries around the globe?

Americans in action. Not words. Deeds. "Helping people help themselves."

And what organization has placed more everyday Americans into those developing nations -- to help stabilize their economies, day by day, spreading awareness of the American way of life by being and doing instead of orating about it?

The Peace Corps.

And it has been done at a most economical cost -- thanks to American's willingness to volunteer. Ordinarily, a corporation figures on at least \$150,000 to have a company representative in a foreign land. And the cost for an AID or State Department diplomat is high. Peace Corps' \$105 million budget supports approximately 5,000 Volunteers abroad.

Sen. Barry Goldwater's original concepts for the Peace Corps have not changed much over the past twenty-one years, but some new thrusts are taking place, under President Reagan's direction. Less than a year ago, in his Philadelphia speech on our Nation's willingness "to offer our hand in friendship as a partner in prosperity" to the developing nations, the President recalled the old proverb:

"Give a hungry man a fish and he'll be hungry tomorrow; teach him to fish and he'll never be hungry again."

That's what the Peace Corps Volunteers are now being trained to do -- they teach, they show by example, they get involved side-by-side with the people of the developing nations.

Twenty-one years ago, there was less concern about what the Volunteers were supposed to do. It was a time of heady idealism with little regard for what the host countries wanted. Eventually, host countries began demanding more specialized skills. Today, we are shifting the emphasis to business skills. Our hosts have come to realize that development and economic freedom go hand in hand. They are asking for Volunteers who can help provide business know-how. Business skills can make economic freedom a reality, so they seek to develop a climate where free enterprise can flourish -- their own free enterprise.

President Reagan stated it succinctly, from an ideological viewpoint: "This isn't a question of East versus West, or the U.S. versus the Soviet Union. It's a question of freedom versus compulsion, of what works versus what doesn't work, of sense versus nonsense." Peace Corps Volunteers come from a system that works, and they want others to recognize that fact by doing it, not talking about it.

The contrast in these developing nations, of East versus West, is remarkable. The Russians send thousands of propagandists, and without fail, they act out the folly of themselves by jostling to be first in line to buy American

appliances. Or the Soviet technologists come to town, not to serve people but to tinker with military machinery purchased to satisfy the ego of the prevailing politician.

Your Peace Corps Volunteers come to a host country quietly. They are trained to speak the language, to learn about the local taboo's and culture, and to work side-by-side with the everyday people whose focus is often just survival. Peace Corps is purposeful about isolating Volunteers from the diplomatic set, the U.S. intelligence operatives, and the governmentalsists. Volunteers are trained not to get involved in politics. They are there to help people, to educate for self-sufficiency, to teach business and agricultural methods.

Some of these Peace Corps principles we've learned from experience, and others reflect President Reagan's new directions. Here are some of the Reagan initiatives:

First, we are stressing in-country economic development projects leading toward self-sufficiency. Most of these are agricultural in nature because of need. Some involve AID-sponsored activities. This interagency coordination is cost effective and provides grass roots assistance. All have the common focus of developing businesses.

Second, also for the first time in any significant way, we are trying to weave the Peace Corps into the fabric of the major U.S. companies' personnel policies. Hiring the returned Volunteer, pre-retirement counselling to suggest a Peace Corps assignment, or revising the company's "public service sabbatical" program to include Peace Corps are but some of the ideas being pursued.

Third, we are deliberately encouraging senior Americans to join the Peace Corps. Our 300-plus of the approximately 5,000 Volunteers today "experienced in life" are consistently received very well. There's no limit on age (a 74-year-old just finished her second tour), and health requirements are flexible (though strict) depending on assignments. Without doubt, senior Americans know best how our free enterprise system of capitalism works the most good for the most people. (They are our most fervent missionaries of the American Way.)

Fourth, we are increasingly depending on private sector groups to make use of our Volunteers, so as to minimize our administrative oversight. For example, when the Salvation Army, or CARE, or Save the Children has a foreign project, we supply Volunteers and they provide project management, a mutually beneficial partnership.

Eventually, we hope, the stereotyped "long haired Peace Corps Volunteer" image that tends to cripple the President's new programs will stop being exploited by those who have no interest in the reality of a changed Peace Corps. While the new reality might not be as glamorous, today's Peace Corps is serious about being effective in stabilizing economies of developing nations. Peace Corps works. I welcome your help to keep it working better, under President Reagan's new initiatives.

John Houston
Executive Director

July 23, 1982

The Honorable Loretta Ruppe
Director of the Peace Corps
1806 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, DC 20525

Dear Mrs. Ruppe:

Pursuant to our meeting, several comments are warranted.

First of all, I appreciate your taking the time necessary to meet with myself as part of a larger group to discuss the Peace Corps.

Second, notwithstanding any statements made by you or your staff, I apologize for any comments which I may have made in response to those statements. I believe, however, that in a frank discussion such as this was supposed to be, half truths and mis-statements of fact by you and your staff were equally out of line. While the tape will show that there were two intemperate remarks in over a two hour span, this meeting was over all a healthy and constructive exchange of views. While conflicting opinions may distress you, I and all the other representatives that I spoke with afterwards, feel that our visit brought a breath of fresh air to the Peace Corps.

"When we asked her (Mrs. Ruppe) about 8(C), she expressed ignorance and when prompted by an aide, she said plans had been started some eleven months into the Reagan administration."

Evans and Novak
The Washington Post
January 1, 1982

Specifically, you stated in response to my quotation from the Evans and Novak column about your ongoing violation of the law that requires you to train all peace corps volunteers in the nature, danger, and "menace" of communism, that the newspaper interviewer confused you by referring to this section of the law as 8(C). The information in the column itself belies this statement. It states that when you continued to feign ignorance to your interviewer, one of your staff interceded to say that you were looking into it.

Moreover, the same column confirms that prior to this, Tom Pauken, Director of Action, had repeatedly requested that you comply with this provision of law.

It seems as of our meeting we have evidence of three different explanations of your policy in this matter. But what was even more disturbing was your statement that obeying this provision of law "could set off a firestorm." You repeatedly evidenced doubts that this law could or should be obeyed by you. Since you seem to be of more than two minds on this subject, perhaps we should conclude that until further notice, neither you, nor the Peace Corps will obey this law.

Moreover, the best effort you had made up to date was a tepid video tape which suggests that communism is an alternative to freedom and Western Civilization. The narrator states in your tape that after all, if Lenin were alive today he would just be another GS. 17. While this is a very telling statement about the state of mind of the Peace Corps bureaucrats, it hardly lives up to the mandate of the law to educate Peace Corps volunteers as to the threat of communism.

Following up on your "firestorm" analysis, I asked you who in Reagan's constituency would set off a firestorm because of a frank, factual, straightforward discussion of communism. You declined to identify any Reagan arsonists who would be offended. However, you did say that we had to be understanding of the kind of people who would care to serve under the adverse conditions of the Peace Corps.

This seems to represent an apology for what everyone at the meeting became convinced of. That is that the Peace Corps is led by people who either sympathize with the Carterites already in the Peace Corps, or do not understand with whom they are dealing. If a frank discussion of communism would offend any federal employee, then their boss ought to have little hesitancy in bidding them farewell to federal employ.

If the Peace Corps is run from top to bottom with anti-Reagan, pro-Carter people, as your "firestorm" statement indicates, this would demand the wholesale re-organization of the Peace Corps to return it to the mainstream of America. If a straightforward, factual presentation of the state of communism offends you or any of your employees, then the Reagan administration should look elsewhere for the management of the Peace Corps.

Pursuant to this, I asked your Associate Director, Nadine Plaster, if Peace Corps Volunteers were ever instructed in the history of the United States, its cultures, its institutions, its native religions, its essential qualities. Receiving a mumbled "yes" from her, I asked whether Peace Corps volunteers were ever supposed to relate anything about America of a positive nature, to people they lived among. I was told "no", that was not the function of the Peace Corps.

Yet, we are to believe your statement that the Peace Corps volunteers are ambassadors to the third world from America and are winning us friends abroad. What kind of friendship is based on a self-imposed black out of news about reality?

At the same time that nothing substantive about the U.S. is allowed to pass the lips of Peace Corps volunteers, how is that information which is critical of the U.S. handed out by the Peace Corps as its own information such as "Volunteers and Neo-colonialism - An Inquiry into the Role of Volunteers in the Third World " by Glyn Roberts? It would seem in the twisted values of the Peace Corps bureaucracy that what America stands for is bad, and what appears to be chicly opposed to America is good. Moreover, in this publication, Peace Corps volunteers are advised to mobilize native populations for political purposes. That would seem to be another illegal activity which you are acquiescing in.

Could you please explain how political activism against the established host governments is what the taxpayer's money is supposed to be spent for, while accurate information about the U.S. is somehow verboten. Your attitude on this reminds one of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, where historical events are made to disappear when they no longer serve the political purposes of those in power. Goebbels, the propagandist of the Third Reich was at least loyal to his own patron.

Lastly, I asked how Plaster determined if someone would really represent the U.S. government or not. She assured us that interviewers took care of that. I then asked, "Well how do you know if someone is a communist or would like to overthrow our government?" Plaster stated that the questionnaire asked that information and in addition you screened people carefully.

In point of fact, the questionnaire contains no such question, or even alludes to it.

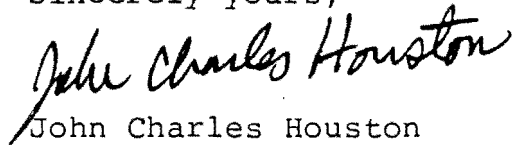
I asked how many people had been rejected for objectional politics. I was told there were some. What are their names, dates of dismissal, and stated grounds of dismissal?

In point of fact, the vast majority of the interviewers are holdovers from the Carter Administration. Your application itself is a holdover from the Carter Administration. You would seem to leave very little credibility in Republican circles anywhere that you had done much of anything to change the leftward slide of this agency. Indeed, your statement to Evans and Novak that the only thing you could think of

doing to improve the Peace Corps was to increase the "minority" volunteers, reveals that you perceive nothing objectionable in continuing your present staffing and policies.

I will appreciate seeing your documented response to these questions.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John Charles Houston". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

John Charles Houston
Executive Director

✓cc: Morton Blackwell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE
JAMES BAKER
MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE *EH*

SUBJECT: 50 States Project: Transition Plan

I have been considering various alternatives to assure the orderly transition of the 50 States Project from the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs to the Office of Public Liaison, based on the following considerations:

- * The need to have a visible demonstration of White House interest in the 50 States Project in advance of the June 30 ERA ratification deadline.
- * The unlikelihood of being able to announce the new Project Director in OPL by June 30.
- * The anticipation that, while media interest in the Project has been fairly limited, it is expected to intensify between now and June 30.

Taking these factors into consideration, I am proposing the following plan of action for your approval.

1. Continue to have Judy Van Rest serve as interim Project Coordinator during the month of June. She is currently answering all outside inquiries and is compiling a state-by-state progress report which will be complete within about two weeks.

2. Immediately send letters of invitation to the fifty state project directors to a June 28 White House meeting to review their progress to date. The relatively long lead time will enable the President to demonstrate his continued interest in the Project and give the White House a chance to defer official comment on the future of the Project until June 28.

3. Announce the transfer of the 50 States Project to the Office of Public Liaison during the June 28 meeting. It would be most desirable for the new Director to be announced at this meeting and formally introduced to the group. If an announcement is not possible, I will make a statement accepting the Project and will announce that a new Director will be selected in the near future.

*Announce
OPL taken
50 States Proj.
after 9 days
get budget
in road.*

Review on Plan w/ MKD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1982

JC - Move This
Clear Scheduling w/ MKD

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE *ED*

Ann Armstrong -
energy dept. - women

SUBJECT: Women's Strategy Action Item Summary

1. Develop a report of positive accomplishments for women during the first 18 months of the Reagan Administration.

- * Task Dave Gergen with the compilation of this document. Target completion date is June 11.
- * Task OPL to work with the RNC to distribute the report to organizations and individuals across the country in advance of the June 30 ERA ratification deadline.

2. Assure the aggressive implementation of the 50 States Project.

- * Task Rich Williamson (Judy Van Rest) to complete the state-by-state progress report. Target completion date is June 11.
- * Immediately send letters inviting the 50 State Project Directors to a meeting with the President on June 28 to review the progress of the project. Target completion date: June 3
- * Formally announce the transition of the 50 States Project from IGA to OPL during the June 28 meeting. Announce the new Project Director, if possible. Target completion date: June 28
- * If OPL Project Director is not announced on June 28, identify and announce this position at the earliest possible date. Target date: July 15.

3. Assure the implementation of Executive Order 12336, creating the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women.

- * Complete the Justice Department's first quarterly report and transmit it to the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy. Target completion date: June 4.
- * Complete the review of the report by the Cabinet Council Working Group. Target completion date: June 11

- * Full Cabinet Council review of working group recommendations, with sign-off by the President. Target completion date: June 25
 - * First Formal meeting of the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women to begin implementation of changes in identified sex-biased regulations, practices and policies. Target completion date: June 29
 - * Development of a long-range action plan by the Justice Department which assures appropriate staffing for the completion of the research process, and an orderly schedule for the quarterly reporting of remaining departments and agencies. Target completion date: June 25
4. Identify an appropriate forum for a Presidential speech on women in advance of the ERA ratification deadline.
- * Identify several alternative forums. Target completion date: June 7
 - * Select the forum. Target completion date: June 10
 - * Deliver the speech. Target completion date: June 23-29
5. Identify a cadre of respected and visible women from across the country who will make statements of support for the President's programs to attain legal equity for women.
- * OPL to assign a staff person to recruit prominent women spokesmen. Target completion date: June 4
 - * OPL to complete the search. Target completion date: June 18
 - * Dave Gergen to coordinate media activities of the identified women spokesmen during period from June 25-July 30.
6. Identify an informal foreign affairs/national defense task force of respected and visible women who will speak out on the war and peace issue on behalf of the President.
- * Task OPL to recruit key people for this area in conjunction with the search program already underway to identify other spokeswomen for the domestic issue counterpart. Due: June 4, 1982
 - * OPL to complete the search. Due: June 18, 1982
 - * Dave Gergen and Mort Allin to coordinate media activities. Due: June 25-December 31, 1982
7. Conduct an intensive issue briefing for key women appointees to serve as surrogates on women's issues.
- ★★// * Target date for OPD issue packet completion: June 18 (See Strategy, Pg 7)
- * Target date for briefing: June 22

8. Conduct a formal review of the President's campaign commitments to identify those which can be honored between now and 1984.

Ed
Hager

* Assign OPD to research the President's campaign commitments to women and report on those which require Administration action. Target completion date: June 21

* Prepare implementation plans for the commitments. Target completion date: August 30

9. Intensify recruitment effort of top level women - *Cabinet*

10. Commission a private poll to determine the public's sentiment concerning the failure of the ERA ratification effort. *Judges, Admiral, General?*

* Target date: ASAP

objection poll - not our pollster.

11. Implement a series of regional meetings to take the President's programs and accomplishments for women to the grassroots.

* No target dates have been developed yet, pending approval of this initiative.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE III
JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

SUBJECT: Women's Strategy: Anticipating the ERA Defeat

Much has been written in recent months about the erosion of support for the President and the trend away from Republicanism among women. The media has picked up on what is now commonly referred to as the "gender gap" and speculates often about its causes and long-range political implications.

This negative trend away from the President is, in itself, sufficient reason for concern. The importance of this trend is intensified in view of the approaching June 30 deadline for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, which is generally predicted to fail. When it does, emotions will run high in those women's organizations which have devoted years of effort and millions of dollars in the ratification effort.

The major activist organizations, such as the National Organization of Women, the National Women's Political Caucus and the League of Women Voters will not take the ERA defeat lightly. The President must be prepared for a rash of negative press, including scapegoating, finger-pointing and threats of retaliation at the polls in November and in 1984. These organizations control vast resources of people, financial contributions and media attention. The demise of the ERA is likely to spark a full-throttle campaign to blame the President and label him an enemy of women. The gender gap publicity will certainly play into the hands of those who will attempt to draw a cause-and-effect relationship between the failure of ERA, the effect of budget cuts on the poor and needy, and the trend of female defection from the President and the Republican Party.

June 30 is only 30 days from now. Unless the President goes immediately on the offensive, he will be forced to react to an exclusively negative feminist attack. To avoid this problem,

a positive counter-offensive strategy has been developed to blunt the impact of the ERA defeat and to get the President on record several times during June, stating his positive accomplishments and programs underway which effectively accomplish the ERA objectives.

The three major objectives of this strategy are:

1. Demonstrate to American women that President Reagan takes them seriously; he is not cavalier about their interests nor their political impact at the polls.
2. Show women that the Reagan Administration has a credible record of accomplishments benefitting women after 18 months in office, including a track record of keeping specific campaign promises to women.
3. Demonstrate in every way possible that Ronald Reagan is a President who cares; he cares about women, about the needy and about the elderly.

I. DEVELOP A REPORT OF THE POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION FOR WOMEN DURING ITS FIRST 18 MONTHS

Part of the reason that many American women are unfamiliar with the positive accomplishments of the Reagan Administration on their behalf is that there is no readily accessible resource document which effectively presents this information. Feminist organizations routinely publish long articles criticizing what they view as the Administration's deficiencies -- the criticisms are extremely well known, but the positive accomplishments are not.

It is proposed that the White House Communications Office quickly compile a summary of the positive accomplishments of interest to women which can be widely distributed to organizations and individuals across the country. Some of the areas which should be addressed are:

Economic: Marriage tax relief, estate and widow's tax relief; IRA provisions for women; positive effects of lowered inflation; and others.

Budget: The rationale for cuts in spending and the long-range benefits; a summary of the extensive services for the elderly and the needy provided by the government in spite of cuts.

Appointments: A listing of major women appointees.

Legal Equity: Descriptions of the functions and progress of the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women and the 50 States Project.

Nuclear Arms Limitation: A summary of the President's plans for peace and arms control.

While this report will obviously not satisfy all women, it will, at a minimum, provide positive information on a number of fronts that most women probably are not aware of today.

ACTION:

1. Task Dave Gergen's Office with the compilation of this document. It must be complete by June 11 in order to be effectively distributed nationwide in advance of the June 30 deadline.
2. Task OPL to work with the RNC to distribute the report to individuals and organizations across the country before June 30. Distribution of the report will continue on a large scale through the summer, after which time it must be updated for use as a campaign document for Republican candidates.

II. ASSURE THE AGGRESSIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 50 STATES PROJECT

In response to those critics who opposed his position on the ERA, Ronald Reagan promised to appoint a Special Assistant to monitor the inequities in state laws. This promise was kept, and the "50 States Project", as it is now known, is underway. In 1981, the President contacted every governor and requested a representative to be appointed to review and change those state laws which discriminate on the basis of sex. These state representatives met with the President in October 1981 and were urged by the President to conduct this program for change. Since the October meeting, a portion of the states have formally reported their current status and future plans.

The 50 States Project holds significant symbolic and substantive importance to the President's ultimate success in winning women voters. The project was not intended to constitute an "ERA alternative", per se, but it has since been interpreted as such by the media and women's organizational leaders. It does reflect the President's belief that discriminatory laws can and should be corrected at the state level rather than by an amendment to the Constitution.

If the ERA fails on June 30, the first thing that women's leaders will do is point to the 50 States Project to determine whether or not it is working and search for areas of vulnerability. It is, therefore, essential that the project be presented in the best possible light.

In late March, the Director of the 50 States Project left the White House, and the responsibility for the project has not yet been permanently reassigned. Well in advance of June 30, the project must have a new Director in place, and demonstrate an aggressive action plan to increase the visibility and promote the accomplishments of the states.

ACTION:

1. Officially designate a Special Assistant to the President to serve as Director of the 50 States Project or, at a minimum, announce the transfer of responsibility.
2. Convene a meeting of the 50 state directors of the project in the White House as soon as possible after the President's return from Europe. Progress reports will be delivered by the most advanced states, and the President will deliver a message of support for the objectives of this project. Depending on the accomplishments of various states, the President can call selected governors to credit them for their successes, or to urge them to take action on the project.

These events must all occur in advance of the June 30 ERA ratification deadline. After that date, the President will appear to be acting in response to criticism rather than out of his own sincere commitment to the project.

III. ASSURE THE AGGRESSIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 12336, WHICH CREATES THE TASK FORCE ON LEGAL EQUITY FOR WOMEN

In many respects, the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women is the complement of the 50 States Project. What the 50 States Project does at the state level, the Task Force does at the Federal level. The two projects, together, constitute what can be considered the Reagan Administration's comprehensive alternative to the ERA.

The President could suffer a major embarrassment if he cannot point to some positive action and accomplishments of the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women by June 30. The Task Force was announced by the President on December 21, 1981, but has yet to meet and does not have a proposed agenda. It is waiting for the Justice Department to complete the review of laws and regulations which will serve as the eventual Task Force agenda.

There is much to be done in a very short period of time to get this project on target before June 30.

ACTION:

1. Complete the Justice Department's first quarterly report and transmit it to the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy. Due: June 4, 1982.
2. Complete the review of the report by the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy Working Group. Due: June 11, 1982.
3. Full Cabinet Council review of working group recommendations, with sign-off by the President. Due: June 25, 1982
4. First formal meeting of the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women to begin implementation of changes in identified regulations and policies. Due: June 28, 1982.
5. Development of a long-range action plan by the Justice Department which assures appropriate staffing for the completion of the research process and an orderly schedule for the review and reporting, on a quarterly basis, of remaining departments and agencies. Due: June 28, 1982.

IV. DELIVER A MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH TO WOMEN THE WEEK PRECEDING THE JUNE 30 ERA RATIFICATION DEADLINE

During the first 18 months of his Administration, President Reagan has addressed few, if any, national women's organizations. He has, therefore, not had the occasion to make a major speech directed specifically at women and their concerns in the same manner that he has addressed those of Blacks, labor, small business and other groups. In the absence of such a targeted message, it has been easy for the President's opponents to control the issue agenda and put him on the defensive by criticizing the fairness and compassion of his budget and foreign policy programs.

The ERA ratification deadline provides the President with a timely opportunity to go on the offensive in a sincere, statesman-like manner. By pointing out that his programs for legal equity are compatible with the goals of the ERA, he can invite the support of American women on behalf of these objectives.

Finally, such a speech would serve as a much-needed "State of the Union" for women. A message delivered on a positive, high plane would be very beneficial, tying together the substantial accomplishments of his Administration to date, and his goals for the future of America's women, and the ideological framework through which those goals can be accomplished.

V. IDENTIFY A CADRE OF RESPECTED AND VISIBLE WOMEN FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY WHO WILL MAKE STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAMS TO ATTAIN LEGAL EQUITY FOR WOMEN

On June 30, the press will undoubtedly showcase the defeat of the ERA amendment and run long stories chroniclizing its history. In the midst of the eulogies, it would be useful to have positive spokeswomen making speeches, statements and conducting press interviews in support of the President's activities for women.

The women we will be seeking to identify are not those who oppose the ERA and who have been working to defeat it. Those women, such as Phyllis Schlafly, will undoubtedly be contacted without our assistance. Our objective will be to identify women who do support the ERA, and who may indeed start working again once a new amendment is proposed. The message that we would like to communicate via these women is that the President's programs are consistent with the ERA goals -- only the methodology is different. Thus, the President is implementing today what the ERA will only accomplish (if it is passed) in seven more years.

OPL will identify 5-10 major figures in each of the following occupations -- sports, films, TV, literature, broadcasting, politics, etc., who will be willing to make a statement, give a speech or go to TV or radio talk shows. This identification effort will require a personal appeal from the White House and the expenditure of a full-time staff person with travel expenses between now and June 30.

ACTION:

1. OPL to assign a staff person to identify prominent women spokesmen. Due: June 4, 1982.
2. OPL to complete the search. Due: June 18, 1982.
3. Dave Gergen to coordinate the media activities of the identified celebrity spokeswomen. Due: June 25-July 30.

VI. IDENTIFY AN INFORMAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS/NATIONAL DEFENSE TASK FORCE OF RESPECTED AND VISIBLE WOMEN WHO WILL SPEAK OUT ON THE WAR AND PEACE ISSUE ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT

Just as with the aforementioned group addressing essentially domestic issues of concern to women, it is important to have a group who will speak out on behalf of the President in the national defense area. In addition to speeches before appropriate forums, it is envisioned that this effort would also include op-ed pieces, interviews for print and film, letters to the editor, etc. Potential recruits might be Ambassador Kirkpatrick, Anne Armstrong, General Jean Holm, General Hoisington, etc.

This group could gain easy access to media as a result of the heightened focus on this area caused by the President's European tour and the START talks beginning on June 29.

ACTION:

1. Task OPL to recruit key people for this area in conjunction with the search program already underway to identify other spokeswomen for the domestic issue counterpart. Due: June 4, 1982.
2. OPL to complete the search. Due: June 18, 1982.
3. Dave Gergen and Mort Allin to coordinate media activities. Due: June 25 - December 31, 1982.

VII. CONDUCT AN INTENSIVE ISSUE BRIEFING FOR KEY WOMEN APPOINTEES WHO SERVE AS SURROGATES

The majority of the Reagan women appointees have not been effective Administration spokesmen. Most have not been actively travelling and speaking on behalf of the President; those who do, tend to stay within the boundaries of their official program areas.

Various women appointees have confessed that they do not feel comfortable discussing women's issues because they are either not familiar with the President's positions, or they do not have enough background on the subject areas.

An in-depth briefing will be scheduled for mid-June to make the women appointees more aware of the pending problems associated with the ERA defeat, and to arm them with the information they need to be more effective spokesmen for the President. At the briefing, they will be asked to accept grassroots speeches and media appearances during the month of July as part of our ERA counter-offensive.

Prior to the Briefing, it will be imperative that OPD compile an issue packet outlining the Administration's position on all major issues of concern to women, i.e., Title IX, affirmative action, etc. A document along the lines of the one prepared by Ed Harper for the Blacks would be excellent.

ACTION:

1. Task OPD to complete issue packet for women's issues
Target Date: June 18.
2. Target Date for briefing; June 22.

VIII. CONDUCT A FORMAL REVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN COMMITMENTS TO IDENTIFY THOSE WHICH CAN BE HONORED BETWEEN NOW AND 1984

There are approximately 34 campaign commitments which specifically address women. Many of these promises have already been implemented, and several others are in the process of implementation.

A complete review of each campaign commitment should be conducted by the White House Office of Policy Development to identify those which can be implemented and to develop an action plan to complete the implementation. Some pledges may not be possible to honor considering current economic and political conditions, but it would be important to report to women that the vast majority of the President's campaign pledges were honored. A major element of the 1984 campaign is likely to center around the President as a man who keeps his commitments, and this process will dovetail with that objective.

ACTION:

1. Assign OPD to research the President's campaign commitments to women and report on those which require Administration action. Due: June 21, 1982.
2. Prepare an implementation plan for the remaining campaign promises. Due: August 30, 1982.

IX. INTENSIFY RECRUITING EFFORTS TO TOP LEVEL WOMEN

We need to be ever mindful of trying to gain greater involvement of women in key policy roles within the Administration. In addition to a Cabinet position, it's also very important to focus on U.S. judgeships, career military appointments to flag rank, and Level II and Level III positions. A few key appointments can go a long way toward eliminating the caveat "lacking quality" when the media refers to our women appointees.

X. COMMISSION A PRIVATE POLL TO DETERMINE PUBLIC SENTIMENT CONCERNING THE FAILURE OF THE ERA RATIFICATION EFFORT

To measure sentiment and awareness components, suggest a poll be conducted to specifically identify the breadth and intensity surrounding the issue. Questions may be along the lines of the following:

On June 30, the process of ratifying the ERA Amendment to the Constitution will end without the approval of the necessary 38 states -- which would you prefer?

1. Accept the fact that ERA is not necessary, because the rights of women are adequately protected by existing laws and government processes; or
2. Introduce amendment again and beginning the same process of Congressional approval and ratification by states to see if outcome would change over next couple of years?

XI. IMPLEMENT A SERIES OF REGIONAL MEETINGS TO TAKE THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN TO THE GRASSROOTS

It is essential that a program be initiated to reach the women at the grassroots who are the most likely Presidential supporters, but who are not receiving positive information about the President's programs on behalf of women. We cannot rely on the Washington-based organizations to carry a positive message, since most are opposed to the President's goals and programs and will be committed to a negative campaign after the expected defeat of the ERA.

Local meetings can be very effective in reaching large numbers of women and provide them with positive information that they would not be likely to receive through the network news or other means. The local meetings can be organized to coincide with states and cities with targetted Republican races between now and November. The formats can be flexible, depending on the strength of one or more of the following groups, which could serve as hosts and undertake the majority of the advance preparation:

1. RNC state and/or country chairmen;
2. The 50 States Project Coordinator for the state;
3. GOP elected women (state senators and representative, mayors, etc.);
4. Leadership of supportive women's organizations.

In general, the local meetings can be planned around a major speaking invitation for a White House staff person or a key woman appointee. The local meetings would be non-partisan in nature, intended to be informational, with a period for questions and answers. The meetings would be planned to incorporate as many media opportunities as possible, including print, radio and local television.

XII. DEVELOP A PROGRAM DESIGNED TO INCREASE THE ELECTABILITY
OF STATE AND LOCAL REPUBLICAN WOMEN

A very important complement to our program of briefing Administration women appointees on key general programs and specific women's issues is a similar program targeted at Republican women who have been elected to state legislatures, statewide offices and principal city and county positions, as well as those Republican women candidates for Congressional offices.

Since most filing dates for 1982 have passed, our effort would be primarily focused at providing our current candidates with a better understanding of the Administration's positions. Our secondary purpose would be to send a signal to all potential women Republican candidates for 1984 that this Administration is committed to the active promotion of women in politics. This could pay excellent dividends, as the RNC begins its candidate recruitment efforts in 1983.

Day-long sessions at the White House would equip these women with extensive materials in order to allow them to complement their own local knowledge with a detailed grasp and understanding of the major initiatives and positions of the Administration. During the session, a system would be instituted which would enable the attendee to receive updated Administration material as we move toward the election date.

The day would conclude with a reception at which the President and Mrs. Reagan would drop-by for a visit and brief remarks. While time consuming, a receiving line would provide for an individual photo with the President and Mrs. Reagan, a real boost in the local campaign effort.

With 371 Republican women state legislators and approximately 100 other key locally elected Republican women, two day-long sessions would be required. If it is decided to expand to include Republican women candidates for the equivalent office, as well as Congressional seats, several more sessions would be needed. Regional forums might also be held, with involvement by the President or Vice President on an occasional basis, travel permitting.

The details of this proposal would have to be worked out with both Rich Williamson and Ed Rollins in order to ensure that the political balance of their operations were not upset by too extensive an effort here.

It is understood that the RNC is planning an extensive campaign school briefing for all Republican women Congressional candidates from June 18th to June 23rd. It would be excellent if, during that period of time, a photo of each with the President could be arranged. Administration advocacy pieces should be assembled and provided the attendees.

XIII. UTILIZATION OF CABINET WIVES AS SPOKESMEN FOR PSI
AND OTHER ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST

Cabinet wives play a very important role as both an adjunct to their husband as well as a prominent role model for the Administration. We may wish to approach them as a group and ask their views as to whether they might like to participate in a series of briefings on Administration-wide policy positions, including the President's wish to advance the Private Sector Initiative concept.

Armed with the information, their own individual involvement on behalf of various projects of personal interest might be expanded to include additional events which would broaden exposure of the Administration's views.

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 2 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of Media Liaison

June 18, 1982

Contact: (202) 456-7896

President Reagan today announced the appointment of Thelma Duggin as Special Assistant to the President and Director of the 50 States Project. Ms. Duggin will combine her service in the White House Office of Public Liaison under the direction of Elizabeth Hanford Dole, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

The 50 States Project fulfills President Reagan's 1980 campaign promise that, if elected, he would designate a Special Assistant in the White House to liaison with the 50 Governors in an effort to identify and correct state laws which discriminate against women. The groundwork for the program was begun in May 1981 with a Presidential letter to the Governors seeking their assistance in identifying and correcting discriminatory state laws. In October 1981, the Governors representatives met at the White House to exchange information and promote cooperation between the states. In her capacity as Director of the Project, Ms. Duggin will work to complete the project in all 50 states.

Since April of 1981, Ms. Duggin has been serving as Deputy Special Assistant in the Office of Public Liaison. Her responsibilities include outreach to the Black community and youth organizations. Before joining the White House staff, she served as a field coordinator with Wright McNeill and Associates which directed the Black Community Involvement Program for the Republican National Committee.

During the general campaign, Ms. Duggin volunteered at the National Headquarters in the national Black voters programs as a liaison from the Republican National Committee. Additionally, she served as Director of Personnel for the CSA transition. Between 1973 and 1977, Ms. Duggin, having completed the management training program, was a senior merchandise manager with the J. C. Penney Company in Columbus, Georgia.

In Columbus, Georgia, Ms. Duggin was a member of the Mayor's Community Relations Commission and served on the Board of Governors for the Georgia Health System Agency. In addition she held various offices within her local Republican party. After graduating from Heart of Mary High School in Mobile, Alabama, Ms. Duggin received an academic scholarship to Edgewood College in Madison, Wisconsin, where she received her degree in education in 1971.

From 1971 to 1973, Ms. Duggin worked with the Catholic School Systems in Mobile, Alabama as a teacher at Holy Family Elementary School. She is a member of the Zeta Phi Beta national sorority.

CATHERINE MAY BEDELL
514 SANDPIPER
PALM DESERT, CALIFORNIA 92260
(714) 568-2118

Catherine May Bedell was born in Yakima, Washington. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree and a five-year education degree from the University of Washington, Seattle in 1936.

Before entering a political career, Mrs. Bedell was a teacher, radio broadcaster and a legislative news commentator.

She served as a member of the Washington State Legislature for six years and was elected to the United States Congress in 1958, where she served for 12 years.

In Congress, Mrs. Bedell was a member of the House Committee on Agriculture, the District of Columbia Committee, and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. She also served on the National Commission on Food Marketing, and was appointed to the House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. Specialized work in Congress included: agriculture, water and land conservation, consumer education, and selected areas of special education. Her participation in international trade meetings and activities included: The Interparliamentary Union Meeting in Ottawa, Canada and Majorca, Spain; serving as U.S. representative at the 1968 Trade Fair in Tokyo, Japan; attending the U.S. Agriculture Attache's Meeting in Bonn, West Germany in 1969; and attending the Food and Agricultural Organization Conference in 1969 in Rome, Italy. As a member of Congress Mrs. Bedell went to Vietnam on an investigational tour in 1968.

In December 1970, Mrs. Bedell was a Presidential appointee to the Board of Incorporators of Amtrak and served on the Board of Directors of that corporation until June of 1971.

Mrs. Bedell was appointed to the U.S. Tariff Commission by President Nixon in 1971, and she was sworn in as Chairman on July 12, 1971 -- the first woman to hold that position. Mrs. Bedell was reappointed to the Commission in 1974 for a six year period on January 3, 1975. The Trade Act of 1974 changed the agency's name to the U.S. International Trade Commission and extended her time in office to June of 1984. Her term as chairman expired in June of 1975. Then in December 1979, President Carter appointed Mrs. Bedell to serve as Chairman until June 16, 1980. In November of 1981, Mrs. Bedell resigned her commissioner's position and moved to Palm Desert, California.

In 1976 Mrs. Bedell served as Chairman of Executive Women in Government, an organization of women who serve in policy making positions in the Federal government.

She also represented the U.S. International Trade Commission on the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise and the Interdepartmental Task Force on Women.

Mrs. Bedell presently serves as a member of the Advisory Board of the Republican Women's Federation and the Advisory Council of the National Federation of Republican Women.

Mrs. Catherine Bedell is married to Donald W. Bedell, a management consultant. She has two children, a son James C. May, who resides with his wife Bonnie in Alexandria, Virginia; and a daughter, Melinda May Sullivan who resides with her husband Thomas in Alameda, California.

for memos

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Note: This has the concurrence of OPD and the political shops.

DATE: June 18, 1982

TO: Elizabeth Dole

VIA: Red Cavaney *MB* Diana Lozano

FROM: Wendy Borchardt *MB*

SUBJECT: Meeting of Women on June 30th
As Requested by Betty Heitman

The low profile regarding ERA must be maintained through the June 30th deadline - and even into July. I feel that the Administration must not address the defeat of the ERA legal process in any manner publicly.

This meeting will be totally confrontational, for emotions will run high on both sides of the issue. It certainly will be a "no win" situation for the President, for if he gives any indication of approval to one side or the other he immediately will alienate the other side.

The issue of the ERA has been out in the states with the process and it must remain there. We will not be addressing the issue on a national level - even when the amendment is re-introduced.

Finally, many of the women's groups suggested by Betty Heitman are totally opposed to the entire agenda of this Administration: the budget cuts, the tax cuts, our Defense policies, our foreign policy, voluntary prayer in the schools, the balanced budget amendment, tuition tax credits, etc. At least seventy percent of the women's organizations suggested by Betty Heitman are not only upset over the ERA position of this Administration, but would use the meeting to unload their distress, their dissatisfaction, and their disapproval of what we are trying to do.

CONCLUSION: I am totally opposed to having any meeting here at the White House with these groups with the President. No positive result can occur no matter what the format or agenda.

JAB

*ACTION JAB
in your COURT TO
TELL HEITMAN
feeling here is
NO GO
MOT
6/18*

DONE

Tier 1

JAB/Heitman

6/16

[Add Cress. Women's org.
B. Heitman can furnish.]

strong scheduling request -
on June 30th -
RR meet with

NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

Kathy Wilson, National Chair
1411 K Street, NW Suite 1110
Washington, DC 20005

347-4456

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Dorothy Ridings, President
1730 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

296-1770

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Mary Purcell, President
2401 Virginia Ave, NW
WDC 20037

785-7700

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS INC.

Phyllis Harrison, President
2021 Massachusetts Ave., NW
WDC 20036

293-1100

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN

Ellie Smeal, President
425 13th Street, NW
WDC 20004

347-2279

WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE

Mary Gray, President
805 15th Street, NW
WDC 20005

638-1961

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

Shirley Leviton, President
1346 Connecticut Ave., NW
WDC 20036

296-2588

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

Dorothy Height, President
1819 H Street, NW
Suite 900
WDC 20006

223-8055

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

Maria Van Hoy, President
39 Stillman Street
Boston, MA 02113

617/279-0100

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

Joyce Miller, President
15 Union Square
New York, NY 10021

2 2/242-0700

No -
ABUSIVE
TO RR

Tier 2

FEDERALLY EMPLOYED WOMEN

Marylouise Uhlig, President
1010 Vermont Ave., NW #821
WDC 20005

638-4404

GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA

Mary Jane Sprague, President
205 Lexington Ave.
New York, NY 10022

212/940-7500

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Jewell Freeman Graham, President
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10022

212/753-4700

MEXICAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S NATIONAL ASSOCIATION (MANA)

Raydean Acevedo, President
c/o Westinghouse DataScore Systems
1801 K Street, NW
WDC 20006

833-5288

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Marijoe Shide, President
1734 N Street, NW
WDC 20036

347-3168

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE USA

Jane Freeman, President
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1312 Massachusetts Ave, NW
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1982

*please
file all
under
OPL memos
Thank
J.*

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE III
JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT: Partners With People

THE PRESIDENT AND PEOPLE

To answer unfounded claims of a number of pundits that the President does not care about the consequences of his policies on people, I suggest we focus on the constraints of incumbency on Ronald Reagan and consider an additional approach aimed at increasing the opportunities for interaction between the President and average citizens in an "average" environment.

If we look at the past 15 months and use relative comparisons rather than absolutes, the level of Presidential involvement with people is significantly lower than before, which can subconsciously reinforce claims he doesn't care. For as long as the President has actively pursued public office, he has always been portrayed as a populist and, while powerful in staged television appearances, his campaigns have always been marked by a great deal of interaction on a personal basis. The focus of his appeal and his approach has rested on a "we" versus "them" -- "we" being the people and "them" being faceless government. In order to score his smashing legislative victories and midwife the Reagan revolution, the President has been forced to spend an inordinate amount of his time in Washington, D.C., the least populist town in America. In short, a man whose very strength and appeal has flowed from a grassroots populist heritage has been forced to abdicate his base. Have we succumbed to the age-old trap that a President must be omnipresent in Washington if he is to govern effectively?

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT

Simply bringing a greater number of citizens into the Oval Office/ White House complex and/or adding a few more "color events" to the Presidential travel schedule is not enough. A strategic plan,

whose objective is to return the President to his populist roots, is needed. For example, it's easier for the President to visit with disadvantaged young workers in the White House, but the impact of his concern on the individuals is significantly less than were he to make an actual on-site visit.

I propose we initiate a program whose sole design is to move the President among people on a much more regular basis in the months and years ahead. Rather than rely on more traditional fixed forums (joint-sessions, fundraisers or conventions) for public appearances, I suggest we create a mechanism which will provide us with sizeable "ad hoc" audiences under secure conditions. Audiences can be configured to enable the President to provide both a formal address or the more informal question and answer format. This concept can be packaged to ensure successful introduction into any medium or large-sized city, although its effectiveness is greater in environments where a Presidential visit is unique. In other words, cities like Memphis, Jacksonville, San Antonio or Spokane might be chosen over New York, Chicago, Los Angeles or Philadelphia. Additionally, this proposed concept will enable us to obtain an audience which reflects the demographics of the area.

While not totally new, the concept reflects a more comprehensive variation on the basic thrust of Ford's White House Conferences and Carter's Town Hall Meetings.

PARTNERS WITH PEOPLE

The concept theme Partners With People contains the essence of the Ronald Reagan message and serves as an "umbrella" for a number of the Administration's current initiatives: New Federalism, Enterprise Zones, Private Sector Initiatives, etc. The objective of the program is to increase the interaction between President Reagan and people to help each gain increased insight without the filtration effects of the media, large organizational structures or impersonal communication.

The core of this program involves President Reagan out of Washington, D.C. The President and his key policymakers (Cabinet/Agency heads and White House Staff), who have the greatest impact on the specific community interests, participate in a day-long session, which would be tailored to suit the needs of the community. While the Partners With People program would encompass an entire day, Presidential participation would involve only one appearance before the assembled audience, leaving the remainder of the day for travel and, more importantly, the opportunity for Presidential involvement on a one-for-one basis with key elements of the community. For example, were a Partners With People conference held in Kansas, in addition to his audience address, the President might choose to visit and lunch with a working farm family, as well as visit a PSI demonstration project or a small business firm employing the disadvantaged. This latter

group of events will enable the President to visually demonstrate his empathy with and interest in people in an environment in which the community can readily identify.

Complementing the travel portion of the program would be a Partners With People in-town program for Washington, D.C. Looking to my projected OPL meetings for 1982, it is anticipated that they would be geared a great deal more towards grassroots participation, since the leadership components were serviced in 1981. Grassroots people would be brought to the White House for a series of meetings and briefings to include some time with the President. They would be invited by community, including press, and receive a "Day with the Administration" treatment.

A better understanding of the overall Partners With People concept may be gained by an overview of a typical conference conducted outside Washington as follows:

The Planning Stage

Convenience of an Air Force One landing site is the only criteria governing site selection. The choice of a city can be made on pure geographics, on an issue concern or on a political rationale as a result of the flexibility of the format. It should also be noted that, although a host city is selected, the impact and the reach of the program should be no less than statewide or regional.

Once a city is selected, a meeting is to be held in Washington with a member of the Office of Public Liaison and representatives of key national organizations who have local chapters in the host city. This meeting develops national headquarters encouragement for local chapter participation in the Host Committee, the ad hoc sponsorship group in the community that will stage and fund the event. This meeting occurs between four to six weeks prior to the visit date.

Shortly following this meeting, an Office of Public Liaison staff member would visit the selected city and work with the community leaders to develop the bipartisan Host Committee. The committee would consist of as many leadership organizations in the community as practical, i.e., Chamber of Commerce, Farm Bureau, union locals, Jaycees, Lions Club, Soroptomist. The benefit to the community and involved organizations is obvious -- increased national exposure and added civic enthusiasm. In return for their willingness to underwrite the actual on-site costs of the visit, the Host Committee member organizations would receive the full allocation of tickets for the daily sessions.

Under this approach, the White House is removed from the actual process of deciding which citizens will attend and which will not. The Host Committee shoulders that decision through the allocation of its tickets. It must be remembered that this will not guarantee

a 100% supportive audience, rather a cross section of the membership profiles from the organizations that comprise the Host Committee. By concentrating travel into areas where Presidential visits are uncommon, the supportive and respectful component of the audience is increased markedly.

This approach also provides a much broader base of public participation than by having just one local host; it provides grassroots flavor while maintaining a measure more control than a first-come, first-served general public basis.

A broader-based audience could be invited to the luncheon by expanding the seats for the meal and providing additional ticket sales to the general public.

Following the establishment of the Host Committee and a detailing of their areas of issue interest, White House requests are then forwarded to appropriate Cabinet/Agency heads and Administration issue specialists, citing appropriate time of participation and format (speech with questions and answers, panel, working breakfast, reception, etc.).

The Pre-Event Stage

In the three weeks immediately preceding the event, several telephone interviews are arranged between Administration spokesmen and local radio and newspaper journalists. This information flow enables us to begin to articulate Administration policy, particularly from those areas which may not be specifically represented at the Partners With People conference. It also helps create a greater local awareness and puts additional focus on the upcoming event.

Approximately one week prior to the conference, an Administration official would visit the area and provide an in-depth interview for the local newspaper's Sunday edition immediately preceding the visit. Other local anchormen interviews, talk show call-ins, cable television appearances and the like can be scheduled.

I would make myself available on the local scene, as appropriate, to assist in the final stages of implementation for the visit.

Event Format (Sample)

- 8:00 - 8:45 a.m. Editorial Board Breakfast with key Administration participants.
- 9:00 - 11:30 a.m. A.M. General Session to include speech by Administration participants, each to be followed by an audience question and answer portion.
- 12:00 - 1:30 p.m. Luncheon to include expanded audience, if possible, and keynoted by senior Administration representative in attendance (not an A.M. participant).

- 2:00 - 4:00 p.m. P.M. General Session to include panel discussion by Administration participants, and possibly others on topical issues of local interest. Also to include audience question and answer portion.
- 4:15 - 5:00 p.m. Host Committee Reception and Local Press Availability.

NOTE: The President could speak at virtually anytime during the morning or afternoon session. This, coupled with local "color" event or two, would require approximately a half-day of the President's time, exclusive of Air Force One flying time. Additionally, the same format could be utilized with the Vice President instead of the President. This would enable us to have a broader reach for the Partners With People program, as well as appeal to some of the smaller, more inaccessible cities which could be reached with the DC-9 and not Air Force One.

Post-Event Impact

This saturation exposure will ensure coverage for at least 48 hours following the event and is particularly true for newspaper coverage, which will gradually display follow-up stories and local citizen's involvement and recollections even beyond 48 hours.

A detailed follow-up plan for the President and all participants is key. Prompt thank you's, gift acknowledgements, and issue follow-up garner good additional exposure as well as help provide an even more favorable after-glow of an Administration that cares about the little person in our society.

As important as the actual participation is a responsiveness to the concerns of the community. It will be very important to ensure that the policy input obtained from each conference is channeled to the proper Administration office for appropriate action and consideration. A transcript of the entire conference will be very helpful in recapturing specifics of issue discussions.

IMPLEMENTATION

If this plan were to be implemented, it should be done as soon as possible in order to put the maximum time distance between the announcement and the fall elections. This will help soften any partisan criticism that this is an electioneering ploy, although we should recognize that it might be difficult to justify this approach during the time period between Labor Day and the election.

To be successful, the program will require a great deal of inter-governmental cooperation and, therefore, would need to be a priority issue for the Administration. To do less, risks falling short and

inviting criticism that this is a gimmick and not a meaningful effort to help people better understand the issue alternatives faced by the Federal Government and themselves.

I consider a program of this general nature to be critical to the success of the President's initiatives and would welcome the opportunity to pursue the matter further with you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD DARMAN

FROM:

ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT:

SOTU As Per Staffing Memorandum 044142CS

I am suggesting a broad theme which I believe could serve as a preamble to the President's SOTU message. The theme attempts to illustrate the principles at the heart of the President's value system and to share these philosophical principles with the public. I suspect that some of the "mainstreet" Americans who have expressed confusion and disenchantment with our actions over the past months have this concern, as much as anything, because they do not fully understand the President's philosophical framework for decision-making and why he is charting his current path.

By starting at the lowest common philosophical denominator, the President can shape the path on which he is travelling and force people to judge his progress against a yardstick of his own making. Additionally, such an approach will enable listeners to experience the depth of his feelings for the freedom of the individual and the importance of community: family, neighborhood, school, church, etc.

THE THEME

Ronald Reagan understands better than any other political leader that America is great because of (1) individual activities and enterprise, and (2) a strong sense of community.

I propose that the President point out that the health of America is based on a balance of these twin values, and that supply side economics and the entire Economic Recovery Plan are basically attempts to encourage individual economic enterprise. Similarly, the President's support for private sector initiatives, revived federalism, and other Administration social programs is part of an attempt to foster a sense of community and the limitless beneficial activities it can engender.

It can be shown that these principles -- individual enterprise and community - are the essence of the American political tradition and, at the same time, are the core of the Reagan programs. The President could strongly state that in foreign policy he is implementing a revived defense program which will ensure that

America is never again held hostage. Domestically, the President can underscore his commitment to work with the Congress to assure that never again will American citizens be held hostage to a bureaucratic, centralized government which preempts wealth, resources and incentives. The President's record of accomplishments and vision for the future of America will flow well from such a base.

THE SUB-THEMES

With the aforementioned structure for underpinnings, the President could then weave sub-themes throughout the address:

Keeping Promises . . . A Man of His Word

The President could point out that most of our economic and social difficulties are the result of American government having strayed from our traditions and first principles. The President could point out that he has promised, and is delivering, a new beginning, based on the old and tried principles of the Founding Fathers.

The President could, of course, then turn to many specific programs (i.e., budget, tax and regulatory relief), all of which are designed to create incentives for individual and community-oriented activities. The President can show his constancy and his excellent record in keeping his campaign promises.

"I was not sent here to warm a seat in the Oval Office.

"A year ago, I promised a new beginning. With your help and support, we have made good on much of that promise. But a beginning is exactly that - the first of many steps away from what has not worked, toward what can work if we give it a chance. The economic problems we face have ~~rolled downhill with gathering force for half a century.~~ We have halted them in their tracks - but the path uphill will be steep. I offer no panaceas, no painless, patented formulas for wiping out inflation and unemployment. There are no easy answers. But there are answers.

"Most of all, I will not accept the cynical premise that what candidates offer, officeholders somehow find inconvenient. A wise British statesman said that 'History is apt to judge harshly those who sacrifice tomorrow for today.' With your help, with the support of the American people and the sustenance of Almighty God, we will live up to our promise as well as our promises.

"Like every generation of Americans, we acknowledge the problems, and we perceive the potential for better things. Already, some of that potential is being realized. **Tonight,** I can honestly state that we have turned a corner."

A Caring President . . . A Compassionate Administration

The President can show through this sub-theme that he is encouraging individual and community activities through a number of social programs, including immigration policy, voting rights, the maintenance of the integrity of the social security system, the creation of the "50-States Project" and "Task Force on Legal Equity for Women" and others. Of course, the most obvious examples of the President's dedication to these twin concepts would be private sector initiatives which directly fosters both, and the President's revived federalism programs which are designed to encourage both.

Throughout the speech, we should highlight the President's compassion and emphasize his realization that there are so many under-utilized human resources, especially the elderly, the disabled, women and others who are able and willing to work.

Frankly, there are some constituencies that he must address in his speech, including women, the elderly, blacks, labor and small business, all of which have major concerns about the President's interest in their welfare. The type of example the President utilized regarding the hospitalized youngster conveys his compassion and concern far more effectively than any amount of rhetoric. The President could show that his is not an Administration run by and for the rich and powerful by showing his policy of openness and outreach to all citizens.

"I want to speak to nine million Americans auto workers standing in an unemployment line instead of an assembly line, ambitious black men and women with no outlet for their ambitions, teenagers condemned to street corners because America's economy has yet to stretch to accommodate your desire to get ahead.

"I share your frustration, and, yes, your anger. More than that, I am committed with all my strength to a program that will force outward the walls that now constrict our economy, that will staunch the flow of capital away from the marketplace and return it once more to grease the engine of a free economy."

A Man of Peace

Finally, the President must stress the peace initiative, which will go to the concerns of many of these groups. The theme of "Reagan the Peacemaker" complements the domestic theme of the compassionate President.

"Tonight America is more secure in her freedom. Our defenses are at last being bolstered, and our armed forces are receiving their rightful due. But our strongest weapons have never been our missiles or our aircraft carriers. Our most powerful weapons are our ideas. Our most potent export is liberty: liberty to worship as one sees fit, liberty to realize one's dreams, liberty to be all that God intended."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM:

ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT:

FY 1983 Budget Process Observations

It is the responsibility of OPL to provide private sector constituent views, develop consensus, and build coalitions in support of the President. It is obvious to all that most constituencies cannot be served programmatically by the government to the extent they have been in the past. In the transition, those earlier given the most help will tend to be most disappointed. In the FY 1983 budget process, as the debate over dollars progresses, it is also most important that we tackle the intangibles -- symbols that demonstrate that the President cares. Who said that the amount of dollars was the only determinant of the level of caring?

Constituents are going to complain just as loudly if cut 35% rather than 25%. Of course, the lower level of dollars makes a difference, but also important is an understanding that the ultimate goal is to improve individual quality of life. It's not the people who have fallen from favor; rather the ineffective programs and bloated bureaucracy. As we lower systems and programs, we need to raise people -- and point to more efficient ways of helping them!

In plotting a business or private sector strategy, two tracks are followed once a strategic plan has been agreed upon. One track is the "number crunch" effort or budgetary process. On this track the dollars and cents are squeezed and traded to, first, set milestones for guiding the process and, secondly, to be adjusted to reflect strengths and weaknesses in implementing the strategic plan.

The second track is the tactical planning track. This effort monitors progress and provides anticipatory guidance for adjustments to short term variations from the strategic plan. In this Administration, I think one of the key strategic goals we must have is to show the President's compassion, since we need to raise people (provide recognition) as we lower programs.

Our goal for the next three years and beyond should be to spend a great deal of time monitoring that second tract. I believe all of us will admit we can improve on our first year.

While I'm somewhat reticent to suggest additional meetings, I feel we need a tactical planning group -- not so much to argue programs, but to determine how we can more readily demonstrate that the President cares and that his efforts are directed toward helping, not hurting, people.

The upcoming State of the Union address provides us with an excellent focal point to begin a coordinated, not an ad hoc, effort on this second track. We can develop themes and then ensure that our budgetary process, as well as our tactical process, reflects what the President wants to stress.

With the budgetary constraints of the coming year, I see the aforementioned as essential unless we are willing to settle for an increased polarization of constituencies.

I hope the budget process will result in 1982 and 1983 being years which emphasize people as well as numbers.

P.S. 12/11/81 7:00 p.m.

Recent business coalition feedback recommends that the President be sure to take more from business in the next round of budget cuts! Additionally, and most important, in their view, is that the President show compassion and lots of it. The rich guys theme is killing us at the grassroots in the face of such high unemployment. Bryce Harlow summed up the community's view when he said, "If the President doesn't give us good doses of compassion for the wage earner and unemployed, he might find he's digging up rocks instead of gold."

CC: E. Meese
M. Deaver
D. Gergen

BCC: R. Darman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD DARMAN

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

SUBJECT: SOTU Draft

One of the President's strongest leadership traits is his vision and his ability to inspire others. The draft lacks the highest levels of vision and inspiration exhibited in the best of the President's earlier speeches.

On balance, the draft does not do justice to what I know to be the President's real commitment to people as well as to principles and concepts. It needs to be stressed that it is not the people who have fallen from favor, rather the ineffectiveness of programs and a bloated bureaucracy. As we lower federal systems and programs, we need to raise people - and point to more efficient ways of helping them.

In stressing people, the compassion theme should be introduced wherever possible. The following is an example of a greater weight being given to the concerns of the less fortunate:

"I want to speak to auto workers standing in an unemployment line instead of an assembly line, ambitious black men and women with no outlet for their ambitions, teenagers condemned to street corners because America's economy has yet to stretch to accommodate your desire to get ahead.

"I share your frustration, your confusion and, yes, your anger. More than that, I am committed with all my strength to a program that will force outward the walls that now constrict our economy, that will staunch the flow of capital away from the marketplace and return it once more to grease the engine of a free economy."

Note: Raising the unemployment issue may unnecessarily highlight this difficult aspect.

The President should include a strong statement on his commitment to keeping promises, for example:

"Most of all, I will not accept the cynical premise that what candidates offer, officeholders somehow find inconvenient. We have made many promises; we have kept many promises. We will make the journey together, remembering the words of a wise British statesman who said that