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SHORT RECORD DISPLAY

1 062762

E840.D38

Presidential election and transition, 1960- 1961: Brookings lectures and additional papers

David, Paul Theodore (ed.)

Brookings Institution

1961

RETAINED BY: NEOB

2 073396

JK516.H38

Transferring the Presidency

Henry, Laurin L.

American Political Science Association

1958

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3 073398

JK516.H381

Presidential transitions

Henry, Laurin L.

Brookings Institution

1960

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4 073932

JK723.E9S781

Changing administrations: the 1961 and 1964 transitions in six departments

Stanley, David T.

Brookings Institution

1965

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c.1-2

5 086594

HJ2051.A594

Transition budget: a compilation of memoranda, statements, and documents

U.S. Office of Management and Budget + U.S. Bureau of the Budget

RETAINED BY: NEOB Res 1954 (Eisenhower) (2c), 1962 (Kennedy)

(2c), 1970 (Nixon) (2c), 1978 (Carter) (2c), 1982

(Reagan) (2c)

6 126286

E875.D38

Presidential election and transition, 1980- 1981

David, Paul Theodore (ed.) + Everson, David H. (ed.)

Sangamon State University

1983

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7 129061

JK516.B7

Presidential transitions: Eisenhower through Reagan

Brauer, Carl M.

Harvard University. Institute of Politics

1986

RETAINED BY: OEOB

8 130256

JK570.V57 v.01

History and current issues

Thompson, Kenneth W. (ed.)

Virginia. University. White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs +

Commission on Presidential Transitions and Foreign Policy

1986

RETAINED BY: OEOB

9 130318

JK570.M67

Presidential transitions and foreign affairs

Mosher, Frederick C. + Clinton, W. David + Lang, Daniel George

Virginia. University. White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs +

Commission on Presidential Transitions and Foreign Policy

1987

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RETAINED BY: OEOB

10 130838

JK570.V57

Papers on Presidential transitions and foreign policy

Virginia. University. White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs

RETAINED BY: OEOB

Cataloged

11 131241

JK516.P37

Strategic Presidency: hitting the ground running

Pfiffner, James P.

1988

RETAINED BY: OEOB

ENTER DISPLAY FORMAT

Federal Budget
Revisions by incoming
President

Good chapter on
80 transition →

Good
Book

OK

OK

OK

Included in
Gaek ground
book

9/3/1

✓ 464238 870400810

Strategies for governance: transition and domestic policymaking in the Reagan administration.

Walker, Wallace Earl and Michael R. Reopel.

Pres Studies Q 16:734-60 Fall '86, table charts

?t

9/3/2

464003 870303585

Presidential transitions: Eisenhower through Reagan.

Brauer, Carl M.

'86 xvii+310p, index

ORDER INFO: Oxford Univ Pr (LC 85-30983) (ISBN 0-19-504051-1) \$22.95

?t

- book is checked out; you are on reserve to see it next -

9/3/3

423618 840902325

Federal agencies in the context of transition: a contrast between democratic and organizational theories (examines the organizational effects of the recent presidential transition on the Environmental Protection Agency and the Mine Safety and Health Administration, using interview, questionnaire, and archival data collected between 1980 and 1983).

Gaertner, Gregory H. and others.

Public Admin R 43:421-32 S/D '83, tables

?t

9/3/4

✓ 422935 840803200

The Carter-Reagan transition: hitting the ground running.

Pfiffner, James P.

Pres Studies Q 13:623-45 Fall '83

?t

9/3/5

✓ 422275 840704438

The presidential election and transition 1980-1981.

David, Paul T. and David H. Everson, ed.

'83 xi+258p, tables

ORDER INFO: Southern Ill Univ Pr (LC 82-19145) (ISBN 0-8093-1109-7) \$24.95

?t

E875.D38 - 090B

9/3/6

373734 811001166

Start-up problems: Reaganites have much they plan to do early, few staffers to do it; they aim to curb spending on Social Security, aid to jobless and "synfuels."

Perry, James M. and Albert R. Hunt.

Wall St J 197:1+ Ja 9 '81

?t

9/3/7

The other side of the transition--leaving office isn't as much fun: the Carter administration seems to be doing its best to prepare President-Elect Reagan's transition advisers for the day when they will be running the government.

Bonafede, Dom.

Nat J 12:2158-61 D 20 '80

?t

9/3/8

372411 810801933

Reagan's transition: it's computerized, crowded and chaotic; just how well it's all going appears to be debatable.

Perry, James M.

Wall St J 196:1+ D 11 '80

?t

9/3/9

371987 810704696

The Reagan team comes to Washington, ready to get off to a running start: where Jimmy Carter kept his transition and campaign staffs separate, the leaders of Ronald Reagan's well-organized staff were part of the campaign.

Kirschten, Dick.

Nat J 12:1924-6 N 15 '80, 11

?t 9/3/10-21

9/3/10

371759 810702414

Reagan: putting his philosophy to work fast: Reagan will move speedily to set up a working government-in-waiting.

Bus Week P 154-5+ N 17 '80, 11

9/3/11

370867 810600482

Taking the reins: Reagan forces prepare to assume presidency; snags already appear; split between factions of Ford and hard-liners over personnel, policies.

Hunt, Albert R.

Wall St J 196:1+ N 6 '80, 11

9/3/12

321939 780065996

Audit of Ford-Carter presidential transition expenditures; report to the House committee on governmental operations by the comptroller general of the United States.

United States. Gen. accounting office.

D 23 '77 vii+58p, tables

SERIES: GGD-78-36;

ORDER INFO: Free to government officials, news media, colleges and non-profit organizations--Room 4522, 441 G st., N.W., Washington, DC 20548; others \$1--P.O. Box 1020, Washington, DC 20013 pa

9/3/13

307425 761124557

The TIP talent hunt: Carter's original amateur hour? the process of filling the scores of sub-cabinet positions in the Carter

(so-called talent inventory process under the direction of presidential adviser Hamilton Jordan, formalizing the evaluation of job candidates).

Havemann, Joel.

Nat J 9:268-73 F 19 '77, il

9/3/14

305499 761105002

The state of Carter's union-at peace, but in need of repair (problems in dealing with the economy, growing bureaucracy, energy crises, environmental and social programs and minorities).

Nat J 9:88-102 Ja 15 '77, il tables charts

9/3/15

304194 761073673

Dangers of being earnest: Mr. Carter's most striking trait during the transition, one likely to cause him problems as president, is his tendency to promise more than he can deliver.

Farney, Dennis.

Wall St J 189:14 Ja 10 '77

9/3/16

303623 761067896

The new boys on the block are easier to play the presidential game: Jimmy Carter and his staff are now making a transition within themselves-from hard-driving campaigners to national leaders.

Bonafede, Dom.

Nat J 8:1726-30 D 4 '76, il

9/3/17

303387 761065513

Problems pile up fast for Carter: he does not take over for two months, but already the president-elect faces big decisions-tax cuts, global hot spots, cabinet choices and more to come.

U S News 81:17-19 N 22 '76, il chart

9/3/18

303345 761065094

Carter gets rolling: shaping economic policies, wooing Congress, learning about foreign hot spots, filling jobs; the next president is stepping up his pace.

U S News 81:13-15 N 29 '76, il

9/3/19

303253 761064155

Carter is taking pains in picking his plums: the president-elect's transition team has come up with an elaborate procedure for locating talent, and it hasn't been hampered by a lack of eager job-seekers.

Havemann, Joel.

Nat J 8:1650-4 N 20 '76, il table

9/3/20

303109 761062670

Ford-Carter shift: on the right track (how President-elect Jimmy Carter and his staff have approached the transition period).

Cross, Mercer and David Speights.

Cong Q W Rept 34:3195-7 N 20 '76, il

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Preface

The purpose of this book is to provide a quick broad brush, overview of the kinds of issues and activities that would be associated with the transition to a new Presidency and new Administration on January 20, 1989. The effort focuses primarily on the responsibilities of an outgoing Administration though there is an attempt to put those duties in the context of the total incoming and outgoing transition effort. It is intended to help stimulate the preparations for the transition planning process. The information contained in this book is drawn primarily from published sources and has not been verified for accuracy with official records. This material has been supplemented with historical information from White House Records Management and the White House Executive Clerk. FY'89 Budget figures were supplied by OMB. An important omission is any contact with those individuals actually involved with the various transitions. Such contact could be very helpful in planning the 1988 transition and is included in a series of recommended steps to be taken during 1988.

INTRODUCTION

In the past 20 years there have been only three circumstances in which an outgoing President has turned over the reins of government to his successor on January 20th:

°Johnson to Nixon in 1969;

°Ford to Carter in 1977; and

°Carter to Reagan in 1981.

In each instance the change in office also reflected a change in political party. The last Presidential transition within the same political party -- with the exception of Nixon to Ford and Kennedy to Johnson -- was Coolidge to Hoover in 1929. The 1988 Presidential transition is unique because of its certainty. Since both Presidents Ford and Carter were standing for election during the fall election cycle, there was little incentive for their Administrations to plan for an orderly, outgoing transition. Not since President Johnson in 1968 has an Administration faced a certain departure from office. Given that the government structure has become more complex and involved in these past 20 years, planning for an orderly and efficient transition by the outgoing Administration seems to be the prudent course of action.

THE PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION ACT

In order to provide a smoother, more efficient continuity of government, Congress in 1963 passed the Presidential Transition Act which authorizes, among other things, public funds for the President and Vice President-elect and staff, as well as funds for the outgoing President and Vice President. The funds are to be used for office space, salaries, travel, consultants, etc. These funds must be expended in accord with government rules and regulations. In addition to these appropriated funds, GSA (and other government agencies) can supplement these funds with otherwise available, idle government resources. For example, the incoming transition can utilize unoccupied GSA office space without charge to its transition appropriation.

President-elect Nixon was the first incoming President to utilize the assistance. His transition efforts were located primarily at the Pierre Hotel in New York City and some \$900,000 in funds were appropriated for the Nixon/Johnson transition. In 1976, the Ford/Carter transition had a \$3 million appropriation -- \$2 million for the incoming President and Vice President and \$1 million for the outgoing President and Vice President. The same appropriation with the same incoming/outgoing division was used in 1980. The FY89 Budget again provides a \$3 million

appropriation for the transition, with the same two-thirds/-one-thirds allocation. The Archivist of the United States also has funds available to assist with Presidential papers, which are for the first time governed by the Presidential Records Act.

OTHER TRANSITION RESOURCES

In addition to these official transition funds, incoming Administrations have also traditionally utilized private donations to supplement their available resources. These donations have apparently been both cash and in kind contributions. Officially paid transition staffs have also been supplemented by volunteers and "loaner" personnel from corporations. The wisdom of using private contributions for transition purposes has been a source of discussion in the Congress and was the subject of hearings by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee in the fall of 1987. There remains the possibility that the Congress could address this policy issue with legislation this year. Use of private funds by an outgoing Administration would need further research.

Following each transition cycle the GAO conducts an audit of the transition activities and presents its audit to the Congress. A copy of the GAO report for 1981 is at Tab B. This report made two recommendations for action prior to the next transition:

(1) that clarification be made for transition team access to classified material and public access to information given to the transition team and (2) that agencies obtain reimbursement for secretarial support provided the transition teams. Research will be necessary to determine the status of these recommendations to be certain they are resolved before the 1988 transition.

In addition to the "official" transition resources, there are some outside organizations that appear to play a self-appointed but traditional role of helping to organize a transition -- as distinct from helping the new team decide on policies and personnel. The two most notable outside groups are Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, which appears to have several programs geared to governmental transitions, and the Center for the Study of the Presidency, headed by R. Gordon Hoxie. Hoxie's group publishes a Presidential Studies Quarterly and an interesting article on the 1980 transition is located at Tab C. Given the certainty of a Presidential transition in 1989, as January 20th approaches both of these groups as well as others may undertake unsolicited, pro-bono transition planning assistance efforts. For example, a third organization, The Center for Excellence in Government, recently held a "discussion" on the subject and a copy of The Washington Post account of that discussion is at Tab D. In any event, such studies are most likely to be directed towards the incoming team rather than the governmental functions of the outgoing team.

A QUICK REVIEW OF 1976 AND 1980

In order to provide a historical basis for precedent, the two most useful transitions to review are the 1976 Ford to Carter and the 1980 Carter to Reagan efforts. Relevant Congressional Quarterly and National Journal articles on these transitions are located at Tab E. By all published accounts following the election, the 1976 and 1980 transition efforts were marked by cordial relations between the incoming and outgoing Administrations and the desire by all parties involved to be as helpful as possible. Not surprisingly, most of the transition literature and news accounts focus on the new incoming team, anticipating the new personalities and policy changes.

There is very little material available on the more mechanical "government-to-government" aspects of these transitions. One of the best descriptions of the mechanics of the government-to-government transfer can be found in the transcript of a White House press briefing given by then White House Chief of Staff Jack Watson on November 6, 1980. A full copy of the transcript is at Tab F. At Tab G are a number of the memoranda used by the Carter Administration to organize the government's transition. These memoranda provide a good sample of the kind of communications that are needed within the government in order to prepare for a transition. They should be helpful in preparing for this year's effort.

In both 1976 and 1980 the Presidential candidates already had transition planning efforts underway prior to election day. The 1976 effort for candidate Carter was headed by Jack Watson. According to published reports, the transition effort was separate from the campaign though it was apparently funded by FEC funds and was based in Atlanta. Following the November 2 election, the Carter transition group opened a Washington office on Nov. 17, in the HEW building. The 1980 effort for candidate Reagan, according to published reports, was headed by Peter McPherson. It was initially housed in Alexandria, Va. and was funded separately from the campaign. Following the November 4 election, the transition offices were moved on Nov. 5 to an office building at 1726 M Street, where several hundred people reportedly used seven floors of office space.

Traditionally, the sitting President promptly extends his election congratulations to the incoming President and offers his assistance in facilitating a smooth transition. President Ford did so in a telegram. No public information was found to indicate how President Carter communicated with President Reagan. In 1976 and 1980 overall transition policy and management rested within the White House, which assumed responsibility for organizing the agencies and departments. The incumbent President and President-elect each designated a principal aide to coordinate

their transition matters. Their aides then communicated and began the process. In 1976, President Ford designated Counsellor to the President Jack March to organize the transition effort, and President-elect Carter designated Jack Watson and Hamilton Jordan. In 1980, President Carter designated his Chief of Staff Jack Watson and President-elect Reagan designated Ed Meese to coordinate the transition work.

LOOKING AHEAD TO 1988

Given past experience, it is reasonable to assume that in 1988 the President-elect will already have a functioning transition effort prior to election day. In all likelihood, once the election result is clear the new transition team could be quickly pressing the White House for transition information and administrative support from the Congressionally authorized transition funds. It is conceivable under the guise of careful planning ahead, both candidates' transition efforts could, prior to election day, seek transition budget and other administrative and procedural information so that they could be ready to move promptly after the election. For these reasons, given the certainty of a Presidential transition this year, transition efforts should be well underway prior to November 1.

From the perspective of the departing Administration, the tasks that any Presidential transition must perform fall into several categories:

° Incoming President- and Vice President-Elect (and Family) Support

° Supporting the New Team

° Government Agency/Transition Teams Interaction

° Departing Team Support

° White House and Executive Office of the President Transition

° Inaugural Preparations

° The Departing President

° Incoming President and Vice President Elect (and Family) Support

Promptly following his victory, the President-elect begins to acquire the institutional support afforded to the Presidency, though he clearly does not assume the responsibility for government decisions. Often this institutional support begins before the two Presidents have the opportunity to meet, as history indicates vacations for both occur immediately following the election.

In 1976 and 1980 the outgoing President appears to have provided (at least) the President-elect with daily intelligence and national security briefings. The official record of these arrangements will need to be researched for the appropriate

precedents. Press reports indicate President-elect Carter had almost immediate WHCA support, daily intelligence briefings as well as a briefing in Plains, Ga. by then CIA Director George Bush. Press reports also indicate President-elect Carter sometimes used government planes for transportation.

In addition, government residences in Washington have been offered to the President-elect for his use. The Blair House and/or the former President's residence on Jackson Place have been made available in the past. At Tab H is a copy from the White House files that appears to be a synopsis of the support provided by the White House Military Office for recent incoming and outgoing Administrations, as well as a memo outlining the usage of Blair House. Again, the official records will need to be researched for the appropriate precedents.

There are moving and other transition arrangements to be made with respect to the White House residence and Vice President's official residence.

While historical precedent will provide some guidance as to the appropriate level of institutional support that the outgoing President may wish to provide to his successor, these types of decisions deserve very careful review and attention as they will help set the general tone and style for the entire transition.

There is also the important question of how the Presidents should first communicate and when the two should first meet. Decisions on these matters would best be made closer to the time of the election.

°Supporting the New Team

The incoming staff of the new Administration will need to be apprised of their transition budget, to promptly arrange (through GSA) for office space, telephones and supplies, as well as to process people onto the transition payroll. All of these complex administrative matters involving hundreds of people will be expected to be accomplished virtually overnight and without any snafus. Primary responsibility for this effort has traditionally rested with GSA. Given that the Presidential candidates are likely to have transition efforts already in place, it is conceivable each candidates' staff, under the guise of careful planning could request some of this information prior to election day. Some preparatory and anticipatory work by the federal government could be done to make this administrative process go as smoothly as possible. Again, the ease with which these early organizational tasks are accomplished will help set the tone of the entire transition.

°Government Agency/Transition Teams Interaction

Once the incoming and outgoing President's have designated their transition heads, the outgoing Administration is responsible for arranging for and overseeing the Department and Agency transition teams. The incoming Administration has traditionally designated one or more individuals to interact with each Department and to prepare briefing books on personnel, organization, policy and early decisions. In 1976 and 1980 these departmental lists were exchanged at the White House level, disseminated to agency heads and released to the Press. (Not certain about 1976 release.) In order to avoid false starts, mistakes and to be sure suitable office space is available in each Department, certain procedures and arrangements could be put in place in advance of the election to make the transition team process as efficient as possible.

Traditionally the Cabinet Secretary or Agency head designates a senior official to be the daily contact with the incoming transition team. The Secretary hosts the get-acquainted session with the incoming team and then turns the routine responsibilities over to his designated transition official for day-to-day management. Each department provides office space, supplies, phones, clerical and other administrative support for the transition team.

°Departing Team Support

Assuming that all existing political appointees will be leaving government on January 20, 1989, there are a number of departure tasks to be accomplished. These include the securing of records and files, letters of resignations (and acceptance) to the President or Departmental head as appropriate, explanations of termination benefits (pensions, options to continue life and health insurance, etc.) and post government employment restrictions, as well as any outplacement advice or job assistance that might be provided. Much of this work could be organized prior to November 1st so that it could begin promptly after election day.

°White House and Executive Office of the President Transition

In addition to coordinating the government-wide transition, the White House will also have to organize and provide for its own transition as a "government agency." Transition books on budgets, space and functions will have to be prepared, with special care given to the national security and commander-in-chief responsibilities. A copy of the book prepared for the incumbent President Carter in 1980 is available from Records Management and should be helpful as a reference tool in preparing this year's draft. In addition, some transition work

on the "institutional" aspects of the Presidency -- the 25th Amendment, Presidential Records Act, etc. may be an appropriate gesture to the incoming team. In 1980, these individuals directly responsible for the White House transition were different than those coordinating the whole government's transition effort.

°Inaugural Preparations

The Military District of Washington and the Congress both have large roles to play in this function. While most of the key issues here will be addressed by the incoming team, certain administrative preparations, such as office space, the ability to process people onto payrolls, descriptions of official budgets and resources available can be prepared in advance.

°The Departing President

There will be numerous projects associated with the President leaving office. A budget for his transition departure will have to be prepared, as well as determining the level of institutional support traditionally afforded to former Presidents. In addition to the continuing responsibilities of government, there are transition responsibilities -- the closing of accounts, acceptance of resignations by departing White House

and agency personnel, disposition of Presidential papers, forwarding of official and personal effects -- as well as any departing gestures the President may wish to make. For example, President Carter bestowed the Medal of Freedom on a number of individuals after the election, but prior to leaving office. In addition, there are likely to be a number of social and other official activities (letters of thanks to heads of State, or Cabinet thank yous, for example) that the President may want to undertake. The President and Mrs. Reagan will also decide on their official portraits to be painted. Arrangements for the move out of the residence will also have to be made.

ACTION STEPS

Preparatory work in each of these seven functional areas could be completed well in advance of November 1st, so that immediately following the election, the Reagan Administration would be ready to provide the incoming team with almost instantaneous support and information.

The following is a proposed set of actions and tentative time tables for their implementation:

- ° Task White House Counsel's Office for memorandum reviewing 1963 Transition Act.
Task: 3/1 Due: 4/15

- ° Task White House Counsel's Office for memorandum on Presidential Records Act as it applies to upcoming transition.
Task: 3/1 Due: 4/15
 - ° Task the NSC Executive Secretary for the history of providing national security briefings to Presidential and Vice President candidates as well as President and Vice President-elect. Policy guidance in this area should be considered in advance of the Party conventions in case one of the nominees requests such briefings.
Task: 4/1 Due: 5/1
- 12-
- ° Task the White House Military Office for the history of support (if any) they have given to Presidential candidates, the President- and Vice President-elect, the outgoing President and Vice President, and their initial recommendations for the 1988 transition.
Task: 4/1 Due: 5/1
 - ° Task the White House Military Office for tentative events/decisions scenerio for 1989 Inaugural preparations, as well as a history of preparations for the 1976 and 1980 and 1984 Inaugurations.
Task: 4/1 Due: 5/1
 - ° Review material received and in conjunction with additional research at OMB and GSA prepare a detailed overview paper on the process and time table to be followed for the remainder of 1988.
Task: 5/1 Due: 6/1

- ° Using the overview paper, consult with those who have headed recent Presidential transitions for any additional thoughts they may have:
 - *Jack Marsh (Ford 1976)
 - *Jack Watson (Carter 1976 & 1980)
 - *Ed Meese (Reagan 1980)
 - *Jim Baker (Reagan 1980)
 - *Bill Timmons (Reagan 1980)Task: 6/1 Due: 7/15

- ° Canvas outside organizations, notably the Harvard Kennedy School group and Center for the Study of the Presidency, for any activities they may have planned or any suggestions they may have.
 - Task: 6/1 Due: 7/1

- ° Update the June overview report with outside suggestions and draft a final preparatory document setting out general transition policy, any specific issues that must be addressed and time tables for accomplishing the necessary tasks. Seek Chief of Staff approval and President's concurrence for general transition guidelines.
 - Task: 7/1 Due: 7/15

- ° Designate small White House/OMB/GSA(?)/OPM(?) group to prepare for the transition.
 - Task: 8/1 Due: 10/1

CONCLUSION

The certainty of a Presidential transition allows for careful preparations for the numerous and hectic post-election activities associated with a change in Administration. While much of the important work cannot occur until after the election, most of the planning and administrative preparations can be

accomplished in advance of November. Given the administrative and functional nature of these preparations, throughout 1988 care should be taken to insure the preparatory effort is low key, but thorough. Once the senior White House staff has reviewed the scope of the process and approved the general planning outline, work on various elements of the transition could be phased in during the course of the year. While it will be helpful to the transition process to assemble a knowledgeable group of individuals as the year progresses, transition preparations need not be a full-time effort until the August break.