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STORY:MARGARE
MA:60 FMT:

QUEUE:SJF-SJF
HJ:

MSG:
INI:

OPR:SJF ;08/12,15:05

To: mls lt jf bfp dr jg jwm gp dcb lh rak pa pgh daw dlb

From: sjf

The following items come from a background lunch with
Margaret Tutwiler, executive assistant to Jim Baker:

* Margaret will be the liason between the White House and the Reagan re-election committee. She will attend the senior staff meetings at the committee every day and report back to Jim. She will also inherit the management of whatever is left of Ed Rollins' political shop at the White House when Ed moves to the committee. She'll have a staff of at least two people, but she will continue to work in an office adjacent to Baker's--not in the Old Executive Office Building. Margaret will be on the lookout constantly for anti-Baker plots at the committee.

* Twenty state chairman and five regional directors have already been chosen for the re-election committee. Paul Manafort, chosen as a regional director, has his nose out of joint because he wanted to run the committee. So did Lyn Nofziger, who also was miffed at not being chosen even though he's telling everyone he's too busy to get involved in the committee. The choice of Jim Lake as press spokesman for the campaign is now official.

* Rollins was chosen to run the committee because Baker trusts him, even though he is a friend of Lyn Nofziger. Rollins is supposed to to work with Lyn, but remain loyal to Baker. Rollins owes a debt to Baker, who claims to have saved Rollins' job on three separate occasions when he was

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quoted saying embarrassing things in the press.

* Debategate is still a problem for Baker. As a result of it, says Margaret, ``We're not operating from a position of strength right now.''

(END)

STORY:WIRTHLI
MA:60 FMT:

QUEUE:RAKX-RAK
HJ:

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INI:

OPR:RAK 108/16,12:08

TO: MLS, LT, JF, BFP, DR, JG, GP, DCB, LH, SJF, PA, PGH,
JWM, LAW, DLB

FROM: RAK

RE: Background-only_ivu_with_Richard_Wirthlin

1984_coalition. Wirthlin's approach to getting Reagan re-elected is simple: "We begin by looking at what parts of the 1980 coalition remain solid, then target new groups that we might bring into the fold." If Reagan puts together a winning coalition next year, it will not be the same group of voters who elected him in 1980, says Wirthlin, but he hedges when asked what groups are disaffected with the President.

Blue-collar_vote. Among voters Reagan still can count on for support, according to Wirthlin, are blue-collar workers, especially nonunion laborers, who before 1980 generally voted Democratic. "Blue-collar workers have remained very loyal to us and that was a key element in our win....It's a very surprising thing" that blue-collar voters did not abandon Reagan because of the recession. Yet Wirthlin concedes that Reagan's support among unionized workers has eroded.

Blacks. In 1980, Reagan got only 11 percent of the black vote, according to Wirthlin's numbers, and "we're not getting [even] that degree of support now." The loss of support among blacks is critical in the South because of increased black-voter registration. Since the first of the

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year, 640,000 new black voters have registered in the South, according to a detailed survey based on interviews with county registrars that will be published soon. While stressing that Reagan isn't writing off the black vote, Wirthlin does not expect him to get more than 10 percent in 1984. Reagan will continue to address black issues, largely because such actions appeal to moderate white voters.

Hispanics. Wirthlin reports off the record that his exit polls showed that Reagan received 26 percent of the Latin vote in 1980, a "disproportionate showing for a Republican." Reagan's support among Hispanics is about the same today and he can probably improve on that. But, says Wirthlin, it is a fallacy to believe that a lack of support among blacks can be offset by support among Hispanics, who are a much smaller group than blacks. Hispanics represent only 5 or 6 percent of the voting population. "The key to Hispanic support is to detect where they can make the difference." He cites Florida, Texas, California and, to a lesser degree, Illinois and New York. Reagan cannot expect to do nearly as well among Puerto Ricans in New York as he does among Cubans in Florida, but "we're certainly not conceding New York to any Democrat." Hispanics of all origin are more supportive of Reagan's Central American policy than are Anglos, Wirthlin claims.

New supporters. He singles out two new groups that Reagan can add to a new coalition: Better educated voters and those under 24 years old. "Better educated voters are

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substantially more supportive of Reagan now than they were in 1980," largely because of the decline in inflation and other aspects of the Reagan economic program. Unemployment is not as much a problem for the better educated. The White House will take pains in the weeks ahead "to bring back into focus" the fact that inflation has fallen.

Young voters support Reagan because they are not old enough for their voting patterns to have been shaped by the Vietnam War and Watergate, and they are more career oriented than the 25-35 age group, who tend more toward social consciousness. Wirthlin is urging Republicans to do more on college campuses to register students and get them to the polls. "There's one problem with younger voters," adds Wirthlin. "They don't turn out [to vote]."

Women. Wirthlin asserts that Reagan's gender gap is no worse in the South than anywhere else, and he maintains that it has not changed much since 1980. It is still in the range of 10 to 12 points.

Approval rating. In Wirthlin's view, the major benefit of Reagan's relatively high approval rating--now in the 47-to-52 percent range--is to ward off all primary challengers. At this same period four years ago, Jimmy Carter's approval rating was 32 percent in the Gallup Poll. Wirthlin notes that because of the recovery Reagan's approval rating has climbed steadily in the first half of his third year, a period in which all other modern Presidents suffered declines. If the recovery continues, Wirthlin believes

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Reagan can hold his approval rating at around 50 percent.

Issues. If the recovery sours, Reagan will be sunk, although Wirthlin says it would not necessarily be impossible for him to overcome a slight rise in unemployment brought on by a flat economy as opposed to a full recession.

Off the record, Wirthlin is very pessimistic about Reagan's Central American policy. "It's a liability today, but clearly not a major liability....The risk is what may happen in the future. The best we can hope for is the status quo. [But] it's more likely that events will conspire to make it more of a liability than it is today." If a wider war breaks out in Central American, Reagan is likely to get the blame. Many voters already perceive him as trigger happy.

(END)

STORY:RR

QUEUE:PAX-PA

MSG:

MA:7D FMT:

HJ:

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OPR:PA

;03/24,10:10

~~PA~~

SJR

To GP(RAK, MLS, LT,

From PA

REAGAN'S RECORD ON WOMEN'S ISSUES

The following represents the views of women's groups in response to the President's assertions that he has consistently supported laws and proposals advancing women's equality. (RAK is reporting the White House version of events and actions)

Women activists cite his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, his support of a constitutional amendment which would effectively outlaw legalized abortion, reduced enforcement of existing laws and regulations banning sex discrimination in education and employment, a pullback from affirmative action plans, too few appointments to top level jobs, particularly in judicial posts, and proposed budget cuts which have a very heavy impact on women because they form the bulk of the nation's low-income wage earners and welfare recipients.

Women critics also charge that up until recent weeks, the White House turned a deaf ear to requests for help with legislation which would aid women and only in recent weeks and months is turning its attention to the problem in moves to close the gender gap and because they are afraid of the women's vote in 1984.

Some chapter and verse on what these groups allege. Sources include the Women's Equity Action League, the National Women's Political Caucus, the Women's Legal Defense Fund, the National Organization for Women and the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues.

Appointments of Women. The National Women's Political Caucus states that in the comparable time frame--August 1979 and August 1983--

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Carter had appointed 97 women to jobs requiring presidential appointment and Senate confirmation in Administration jobs and 18 women to federal judgeships making a total of 115 women. Reagan has filled 112 such slots. However, Marilyn Nejelski of the NWPC who has made comparative studies of appointments since the Carter years asserts that unlike his predecessor, Reagan has appointed no women as General Counsel in Cabinet Departments (Carter appointed four) and no women Under Secretaries (Carter appointed two). Most particularly she finds 'glaring omissions' in the rate of Reagan appointments to the federal judiciary. Reagan has appointed 10 women to these posts compared with 18 for Carter. But Nejelski says that Reagan has appointed no women to the circuit court of appeals while Carter had appointed five. Circuit court judges rank just under the Supreme Court and above federal district judges.

Administration policy on existing laws. A 1972 law bans sex discrimination in educational institutions receiving federal funds but women's groups charge that the administration is virtually dismantling educational gains women have made since the law was passed by attempting to eliminate the Women's Educational Equity Act Program through consolidation into a blockgrant once and three times by porosing not to fund it. In addition, an education amendment called Title IX figures in a court case (Grove City) where the Justice Department takes the position that the law should only be applied in a department or program of a given institution which is violating the provision and funds to the entire institution should not be cut off.

Women also charge that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

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has become less active since Reagan took office. Only 761 back pay awards were made in fiscal 1982 compared with 4,336 in Carter's 1980 fiscal year. The average length of time to process a case has nearly doubled. Much of this is caused, say women, by understaffing at EEOC.

The Administration first proposed new regulations that would eliminate affirmative action requirements for most federal contractors and back pay awards have already been reduced by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs. Revised regulations were undertaken after the hue and cry of women's groups and are now awaiting OMB approval before being published. But as they stand now, they call for exempting firms from an on-going review of their affirmative action plans for five years, limiting third party complaints and raising the size of firms covered by the regs from a company of 50 employees to one of 100 or more with at least \$100,000 in federal contracts.

Donna Lenhoff, associate director of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, made this observation of the Administration policies.

'If you look at Administration proposals, then at the actions taken which undercut existing laws on sex discrimination you see a clear picture of the very low priority the President gives these matters and a total contradiction of his avowed interest and concern for women and equality.'

Eliminating legalized discrimination. Aside from the resignation of Barbara Honegger from the Task Force on Legal Equity--a resignation which the President of NOW, Judy Goldsmith, calls 'the smoking gun' of the President's record on women's issues and sex discrimination --

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what about the White House initiated 50 States Project? This initiative dating back to 1981 was designed to 'encourage' the states to review their own laws to eliminate sex discriminatory statutes. But the NWPC states that state compliance is voluntary, the Project does not mandate a review and does not require rewriting of laws, the job at the White House keeps changing hands and that 40 states had either completed or had started to the review process on their own before the Project was announced.

NOW and other women's groups have also criticized the President for thus far not supporting laws banning sex discrimination in insurance. The official word from NOW: 'Reagan has shown that his claim to be for the 'E' and the 'R' and not the 'A' was hollow. He has repudiated his own 'statute' by 'statute' approach to eliminating sex discrimination by refusing to support legislation now before Congress that would outlaw the legal sex discrimination in insurance that now costs women millions of dollars each year.'

Economic benefits to women. The Administration record of budget proposals have hit women hard because of their low income and the extent to which many rely on welfare. Some examples:

NOW and NWPC and WEAL cite these statistics:

0 Women and children are two thirds of the nations' poverty population. 12.2 million women are at the poverty level. Close to 10 million families are maintained by women with a median income of \$10,000 a year.

0 Of AFDC recipients, 90% are women yet 1.35 billion dollars were cut from AFDC in fiscal '82 and '83 and the Administration proposes cutting 1.2 billion more in fiscal '84.

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0 The supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children offers nutrition counseling and prescription food supplements to 2.35 million women and children but the Administration wants the fiscal 83 funding kept at the same level as '83 of 1.09 billion level which would result in dropping people from the program.

0 Cuts in health services have reduced funding for maternal and child health in 47 states and have already cut 130,000 persons from WIC.

0 Title XX provides subsidies for child care facilities for low-income children but Reagan proposed a 17% cut in '83 and a 10% cut in fiscal '84.

0 85% of food stamp users are women and children but at least 2.5 billion have been cut from the program in fiscal '82 and '83.

0 68% of 22 million eligible medicaid recipients are poor females either old, living alone or single AFDC mothers with children but Administration proposes cutting 285 million dollars in fiscal '84. Cuts in fiscal '82 were almost 1 billion and \$250,000 in fiscal 1983.

Pat Reuss, lobbyist for the Women's Equity Action League follows virtually every bill affecting women before Congress and particularly the Women's Economic Equity Act an omnibus bill much of which is pending. She indicts the President for taking credit for legislation he did not initiate but signed and in some cases initially opposed. Reuss says Reagan initially opposed the increase in tax credit for child care but then signed the bill and took credit. A proposal on refundability of child care tax credit is not meeting with White House support but is backed by Republican Paula Hawkins. The

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marriage tax penalty , removal of which was backed by Reagan, was a proposal made in Congress in 1979 before he was in office. Expansion of IRAs participation was already proposed by Congress, but Reagan takes credit along with estate tax reduction which was earlier proposed by Nancy Kassebaum.

Reagan has taken credit for proposals for better enforcement for child support responsibilities but he initially opposed extension of provisions to non AFDC cases. The White House now says it wants such extension and supports mandatory wage withholding for parents who are delinquent on support payments. Women critics cite such moves as examples of flip flops by the White House. Said Pat Reuss of the Reagan or White House performance on proposed legislation in the last two and one half years:

'Proposals from members of Congress in both parties were met with blank stares if not outright opposition and now the President brags about his efforts on child support.

'The President's men say their people were busy compiling reports on discriminatory federal laws while legislative proposals on a range of important issues affecting women gathered cobwebs on White House desks.

'I don't enjoy telling the nation that the President is a liar but he is taking credit for things he either opposed or ignored initially and were finally passed by a bipartisan Congress often acting on measures which preceded his term in office.'

This from Judy Goldsmith, President of NOW after the Honegger resignation:

' After the revelations of Barbara Honegger, it's clear that Ronald

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Reagan has no real commitment to equality for women and has lied about his intention to improve women's condition.

And this from Kathy Wilson, president of the National Women's Political Caucus:

'Women are now recognizing the juxtaposition of the President's rhetoric and his actions. For example, he touts his record on women's issues to the ABA even while the Justice Department is gutting Title IX which is designed to ban sex discrimination in education. He lauds the 50 States Project even while White House aides privately give a damning view of his priorities. This type of contradiction only widens the gender gap, it doesn't narrow it.'

Social issues. The President has openly supported a constitutional amendment which would effectively outlaw abortions. He also backed the so-called Tattle Tale provision issued by HHS in January 1983 which required federally funded family planning clinics to notify parents when teenagers receive prescription contraceptives. But the rule was struck down by two federal courts in the spring when they ruled that it was 'inconsistent with Congressional intent' and would create an 'increased risk of pregnancy.' The Administration is supporting an expedited appeal on those rulings.

In the area of family planning, in 1982 the Administration sought a 25 percent cut in federal funding for family planning services and in fiscal 1984, seeks further cuts. In 1982 fiscal year, funding was cut to 125 million dollars in fiscal 1983 it was cut to 124.1 million. The White House, in the wake of Reagan's widening gender gap, set up a council headed by Mike Deaver to work out positive legislation benefitting women and to meet with Republican Congresswomen. There

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will be a women's package of legislation by Election Day proposed by the White House. In the meantime, irate women's rights activists loudly proclaim that it is already too little, offered too late.

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STORY:MARCOS
MA:60 FMT:

QUEUE:RAKX-RAK
HJ:

MSG:
INI:

OPR:RAK 08/25,12:08

TO: MLS, LT, JF, BFP, DR, JG, GP, DCB, LH, JWM, SJF, PA,
PGH, DAW, DLB

FROM: RAK

RE: Reagan and Marcos

The following was provided in background-only ivus by NSC
aides Bob Sims and Gaston Sigur, the Far East specialist.

Sims describes as ``totally off base`` today's New York
Times story asserting that the administration is prepared
to dissociate itself from the Marcos government if Marcos
or his top aides are implicated in the assassination of
Benigno Aquino. Sims notes that ``it goes without saying``
that the U.S. would re-evaluate its relations with Marcos
if he is found guilty of the assassination, ``but there's
no reason to suggest at this point that we're willing to
dissociate ourselves from him....There is no change in our
relationship with the Marcos government.``

Sims stresses that there is no evidence to implicate
Marcos. ``Marcos himself had nothing to gain personally
from the assassination and everything to lose.`` Sigur
adds, ``Whatever one may think of Marcos, he's never been
accused of being dumb....He's got a good brain and
political sense....I don't see how he can gain from this,
no matter how it turns out.`` Sigur notes that Aquino told
Bill Moyers that he feared assassination by one of his own
followers. ``It could have been a personal vendetta.

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Phillipine politics are very volatile."

The commission named by Marcos to investigate the murder is composed of "distinguished individuals....As far as we can judge, the investigation is being carried out objectively," says Sigur. The administration has been offering "advice" to the Marcos government regarding the commission, Sims says, but he declines to call it pressure. "This is a matter for the Phillipine government to investigate. It's not our investigation." The U.S. is supplying other technical assistance for fingerprinting and to help trace the manufacturer of the gun.

Reagan's stop in Manila will not be changed, barring some drastic change in circumstances.

Chad. The U.S. was willing to leave its AWACS planes in Sudan but the French didn't want them there any longer. Sims believes the French have sent in their own air-monitoring aircraft which are similar to the AWACS. At any rate, the French do not expect to engage in substantial air action in the immediate future.

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STORY:BLACKS
NA:00 FMT:

QUEUE:RAKX-RAK
HJ:

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OPR:RAK ;08/31,09:43

TO: LIM (MLS, LT, GP, SJF, LAW) ✓

FROM: RAK

RE: Blacks_vs._Reagan

The growing political clout of black voters is of special concern to the White House as the President lays plans to run for a second term. In 1980 Reagan received only 11 percent of the black vote, according to exit polls done by Reagan pollster Richard Wirthlin (who provided this info on background only). Today, Reagan's support among blacks is even less than it was three years ago. Wirthlin believes Reagan will win no more than 10 percent of the black vote in 1984, regardless of what he does.

Accordingly, black opposition to Reagan is viewed by White House strategists in strictly political, not ideological, terms. Because of Reagan's philosophical outlook, there is little the administration can do in policymaking that will appeal to black activists. The President's views on affirmative-action quotas, school busing, spending for social programs, minority preference, etc., simply conflict too strongly with the black agenda. (The most dramatic example of the chasm between Reagan's views and those of black leaders is the Bob Jones University case, in which Reagan took the position that it was more critical to stop the Internal Revenue Service from imposing bureaucratic edicts than it was to stop racial discrimination.)

The increase in black voter registration spells trouble

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for Reagan and other Republican candidates, particularly in the South, which gained electoral votes from the 1980 census. Since the first of the year, 640,000 new black voters have registered in Southern states, according to Wirthlin's estimate. In 1980 Reagan carried the region by only a narrow margin. Both White House and Democratic handicappers view the South as the battleground that could decide the outcome of the next presidential election. Reagan's intense efforts to woo Hispanics in Florida, Texas and California are intended to help offset his lack of support among blacks. (Latins, however, are a much smaller percentage of the voting population than are blacks. Needless to say, the White House would love to see Jesse Jackson as a third-party candidate in 1984 because he would siphon votes almost exclusively from the Democratic nominee.)

Recent White House initiatives that appeared to be directed at blacks really were for the benefit of moderate white voters. "As far as blacks are concerned, there's not much hope," says Larry Speakes on background. Such actions as Reagan's proposal to toughen the Fair Housing Act are intended to dispel the prevalent notion among moderate whites that Ronald Reagan is a bigot. The President's reconsideration of his opposition to a federal holiday honoring Martin Luther King has the same purpose.

Reagan's aides say the one thing that really gets under his skin is the charge that he is racially biased. The

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President often defensively tells audiences that his mother wouldn't let him see the film ``Birth of a Nation`` because of its racist message, and that he once interceded on behalf of a black teammate who was barred admission to the hotel where Reagan's high school football team was staying. What Reagan refuses to believe is that it's his policies that foster the image that he's insensitive to blacks.

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