



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Alan

good luck in your new endeavor.  
I know you'll do well.  
Keep me posted.

cheers.

Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Daniel T. Kingsley  
1225 19th Street, N.W.  
Suite 750  
Washington, D.C. 20036

3/24

Daniel T. Kingsley

1225 19th Street, N.W., Suite 750

Washington, D.C. 20036

202/659-5750

March 18, 1983

The Honorable Michael Deaver  
4521 Dexter Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Mike:

I just wanted you to know that I have resigned from the Hannaford Company, Inc. effective May 1, 1983 and will be operating my own firm with the National Venture Capital Association as the base client and others to follow.

I hope all is well with you and Carolyn.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dan", followed by a horizontal line.

Daniel T. Kingsley

DTK/mm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1983

*Pat TD*

*✓*

MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICIA A. BYE  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO  
MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING  
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Gifts from M&M/Mars

Your memo today requests advice regarding Mr. Deaver's handling of a jogging suit and an M&M bag presented to him through Cliff Sharrock by representatives of the M&M/Mars Co.

As Cliff's memorandum indicates, and as he further explained in our discussions with him, M&M/Mars has been chosen by the Olympic Committee as the "Official Snack Foods of the 1984 Summer and Winter Olympic Games." In connection with that, they are seeking permission to produce and sell, through concession stands at U.S. Post Offices, candy jars bearing an Olympic emblem on one side and an M&M emblem on the other. A certain amount of the proceeds from each sale would be donated to the Olympics. Additionally, they are interested in giving or selling to the White House a number of the jars bearing Presidential seals (not unlike the jelly bean jars currently being used as White House gifts) for the President's use as gifts.

They advised Cliff that they also are interested in developing a jogging suit, like the one given Mike, with the addition of Olympic and/or Presidential and/or President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports seals, which they would present to the President and selected staff members.

Despite the fact that M&M/Mars is no doubt making significant donations to the Olympics, their above-described efforts regarding the candy jars clearly have a substantial promotional aspect, and they appear to be in the process of trying to consummate a business relationship with the U.S. Postal Service. The appearances resulting from gifts to Mike are, therefore, such that we recommend against acceptance.

*no objection to the \$200 bag -*  
*✓*

MAR 24 1983

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1983

TO: FRED F. FIELDING  
Counsel to the President

FROM: PATRICIA A. BYE *JB*  
Adm Asst to Michael K. Deaver

SUBJECT: Gift from M&M/Mars

Please advise as to whether or not Mr. Deaver may accept a Jogging Suit (Value \$48.00) and a M&M Bag (Value \$2.00) as a gift from the above named company.

Thank you.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1983

*Lat*  
*all 7 accept?*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SHIRLEY MOORE

FROM:

CLIFF SHARROCK *CS*

Shirley, reference our conversation yesterday:

M&M/Mars has been designated as the "Official Snack Foods of the 1984 Summer and Winter Olympic Games."

They are in the process of developing a candy jar, similar to the Jelly Belly jar, which they offer to make available to the White House as a "giveaway." The jar would have on it either: (a) an Olympic Seal along with a Presidential Seal; (2) a President's Council for Physical Fitness Seal; or, (3) just a Presidential Seal.

~~They are prepared to donate them or sell them to the White House.~~

They are also working on a jogging suit with an Olympic Seal, and/or Presidential Seal, or President's Council for Physical Fitness Seal, which they would like to present to the President and selected Staff members.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Shirley,  
Jogging Suit \$48.00

MM Bag 2.00

Off

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 25, 1983

Dear John:

Thanks for the apron, tea towel, can opener and coasters. It was nice of you to think of me, and good to see you again.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Mike", written in a cursive, slanted style.

MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. John Young  
2 Fordholm Road, Hawthron  
Melbourne, Victoria  
Australia



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Ernie

I'm sorry - I tried and failed.  
I'm sure you have the inside track  
on any other assignment you want.  
Let's get together and talk about  
it. sincerely. Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. W. Ernst Minor  
Executive Office of the President  
Council on Environmental Quality  
722 Jackson Place, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20006

5/25





MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Gordon

Thank you sincerely for  
your gracious note about the  
Queen's visit. It was a memorable  
although taxing assignment. I'm  
grateful for your comments.

Sincerely, Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Gordon C. Luce  
Great American Federal  
600 B Street  
San Diego, CA 92183

3/25

Great American Federal



600 B Street • San Diego, California 92183 • Telephone (619) 231-6000

GORDON C. LUCE  
Chairman of the Board  
and Chief Executive Officer

March 14, 1983

Michael K. Deaver  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy Chief of Staff  
The White House Office  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

*note*

Dear Mike:

The Queen's visit to San Diego was a great success by all standards and we appreciate your good work in making all of this possible.

It was a rare privilege for Karon and me to be invited to the dinner aboard the Britannia. The beautiful hospitality provided by the British, combined with your reception and that of others, made it a very special evening.

The incredible scope of the Queen's visit to California certainly has great significance to both our nations. It is one that will be long remembered.

Best regards,

Gordon C. Luce

GCL:cpf



MICHAEL K. DEAVER

Dear Ed and Jackie

Thank you immensely for making  
our stop in Yosemite so special.

The entire British party were in  
awe after their visit.

You certainly did everything possible  
to make it successful — Thank you  
for remembering the glasses. Sometime  
soon, Carol and I would like to come back.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. and Mrs. Ed Hardy  
Yosemite Park and Curry Co.,  
Yosemite National Park - California  
95389

Michael:

Mar. '83"

Yosemite is very fortunate  
you entered matrimony  
in this special sanctuary.

Queen Elizabeth II and  
Prince Philip had a  
successful Yosemite experience  
due to your selection and  
arrangements.

It is a genuine pleasure  
to work with you, hopefully  
we will be together in Yosemite  
again soon.

Thanks for making the  
Royal Visit happen.  
appreciatively  
Jackie & Ed



Ed Hardy  
Yosemite Park & Curry Co.



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Paul

Thanks for your thoughts.  
Those are good ideas. I'm following  
through on them. Let me know  
if you coming back this way  
with the families. Cheers! Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Paul Shirley  
Coast Counties Medical, Inc.  
116 Hubbard St.  
PO Drawer 1003  
Santa Cruz, CA 95061

3/25

# Coast Counties Medical, Inc.

Santa Cruz Ambulance (408) 423-7272

Coast Medical Rentals (408) 425-7755/(408) 724-5010

Care A Van (408) 426-5520

*note*

3-19-83

Hi, Mike -

I just saw the RMC ad re. RR (the lady with the rubber gloves in the kitchen). Good idea.

Would it make any sense to think about obtaining some footage of some vacant plants, perhaps both inside & exterior aerial, that might re-open in the next few months & then go back after they are open & take the same shots showing the parking lots full of cars & people working inside. These could be used to show that RR's policies have put people back to work. It probably would be best to use locations that were shut down when





this administration took over.

Probably just one of hundred of crazy schemes, but I thought I'd pass it on.

Say, we just bought a house in Tahoe. We all took up skiing & love it. If you need a place to hide, let us know. It's a free-standing house with 4 bedrooms, in Tahoe. Donner (near Truckee). We'll have skiing until the 4<sup>th</sup> of July the way things look.

I'll be in D.C. the week of 5/23. Maybe we can have lunch or something. I'd love to be able to bring the kids back to see the White House. Maybe if the \$99<sup>00</sup> fares are still in effect I will.

See you later -

Paul



MICHAEL K. DEAVER

Tom

Thanks for your note -  
unfortunately we don't have time  
on this trip to visit The Jims.  
Appreciate the invite and the  
kind words about Rockefeller.  
Cheers. Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Tom Johnson  
Los Angeles Times  
Times Mirror Square  
Los Angeles, CA 90053

3/25



# Los Angeles Times

*note*

TOM JOHNSON  
PUBLISHER  
AND  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER  
(213) 972-5000

March 21, 1983

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

Dear Mike:

From my seat on the board of the World Affairs Council,  
I know that President Reagan graciously has accepted a  
speaking engagement in Los Angeles on Thursday, March 31.

We would welcome having him visit with us for a 1983 ver-  
sion of the editorial board meeting at The Times, either  
in the morning of the 31st or the afternoon, if the schedule  
permitted. All of us felt our lunch last year was superb.

So, through you, I'd very much like to extend a cordial  
invitation should you find you're able to fit it in. In  
any case, we're looking forward to his address at the  
World Affairs Council.

The appointment of Bill Ruckelshaus as administrator of EPA  
was an excellent answer to a most difficult set of problems.

Best always,

*Tom*

TJ:jh

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1983

Dear Mr. Needham:

Thank you for your supportive letter regarding my recent appointment in Private Sector Initiatives, and your assurance of future help. The Salvation Army has made a considerable contribution to this country.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to Jim Coyne, Special Assistant to the President for Private Sector Initiatives.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. John D. Needham  
Commissioner  
The Salvation Army  
National Headquarters  
799 Bloomfield Avenue  
Verona, NJ 07044

JARL WÄHLSTRÖM  
GENERAL



FOUNDED 1865

JOHN D. NEEDHAM  
NATIONAL COMMANDER

## THE SALVATION ARMY

WILLIAM BOOTH, FOUNDER

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

799 BLOOMFIELD AVENUE

VERONA, N.J. 07044

OFFICE OF  
THE NATIONAL COMMANDER

201-239-0606

March 14, 1983

### Personal

Mr. Michael K. Deaver  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
Coordinating Committee on  
Private Sector Initiatives  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

*Thanks of  
refers to  
J. Cozart*

Dear Mr. Deaver:

Congratulations on your recent appointment and I know  
you will give good account of yourself in this im-  
portant position.

As you will know, we have had continuing relationships  
with the Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives since  
its inception. The Salvation Army throughout the country,  
we believe, has made a considerable contribution.

Please let us know if we can help in any way. Our na-  
tional representative in Washington is:

Lt.Colonel Ernest A. Miller  
Director  
THE SALVATION ARMY  
National Public Affairs Office  
and Disaster  
1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20005  
TELEPHONE: (202) 833-5577

Warmest and best wishes. God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

*John D. Needham*  
John D. Needham  
COMMISSIONER



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Rob

What a thoughtful note.  
Thank you sincerely for taking  
the time to write. It isn't  
often that we hear something  
positive.                      His very grateful.  
   Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Bob Briner  
1318-B Broadway  
Santa Monica, CA 90404

3/25

Rob Briner  
1318-B Broadway  
Santa Monica, California 90404

*Note*

March 18, 1983

Mike Deaver  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Deaver,

I've recently returned from my first trip to Washington, D.C. I visited the White House, various monuments, the Capitol and other points of interest. It was a wonderful trip which deepened my sense of American government and our national history.

But I'd like you to know that the most insightful experience of the trip was seeing you at the airport and on the plane on my return trip home (I said "good morning" to you). There you were, one of the President's closest advisors, traveling just like everyone else. And only a few months ago I flew to San Francisco and the man in front of me in line was your colleague Ed Meese -- also buying his own ticket, carrying his own bags, and as far as I could tell unguarded. The point is in most countries men of your position would never travel, even on personal business, as I have seen you and Mr. Meese travel. I don't want to hyperventilate about it, but seeing you two gentlemen as I have made a special impression on me about democratic values.

Good luck to you.

Sincerely,

*Rob Briner*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1983

Dear Henry:

Thanks for all the information about Charles E. Sporck, President and Chief Executive Officer of National Semiconductor Corporation.

Please direct your request to Craig Fuller, Cabinet Secretary, The White House, Washington, D. C. 20500.

Thanks for your continued support.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Henry O. Dormann  
President & Editor-in-Chief  
LEADERS  
59 East 54 Street  
New York, NY 10022

# LEADERS

14 March 1983

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

Dear Mike:

In our next issue, Charles E. Sporck, President and Chief Executive Officer of National Semiconductor Corporation, will be writing a major article for us on the overall international trade situation suggesting that the United States should have a national policy.

This is probably old hat to The White House and something which is already in the works. However....

Charles Sporck and his chairman, Peter J. Sprague are two extremely wealthy individuals. They have the highest regard for the President and have been lifelong Republicans but they have never really been asked to contribute in any way. Neither of them, particularly Sporck, have ever met the President.

I think they can be of considerable help in 1984, should the President run, and I'd like very much to arrange an appointment for Charles Sporck to meet someone with whom he could discuss his idea - preferably someone at The White House.

Also, I think it would be a good idea at some function if he could be part of a group that could briefly meet the President. I think it would be the beginning of a very loyal and generous future.

However, of much more importance is the fact that Sporck is a genius in the semiconductor field. He has built two

*do not  
see if C7  
has some ideas*

*do letter  
we he get in  
touch with C7.*

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver  
14 March 1983  
Page Two

major American companies and he is recognized as one of the  
most unique scientists/businessmen in the nation.

I'd value your thoughts.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "H. Dormann", written over a vertical line.

HENRY O. DORMANN  
President & Editor-in-Chief



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1983

Dear Dr. Ballal:

Thanks for your input regarding EPA selections. I certainly appreciate your thoughtfulness and concern, and will give attention to your thoughts when these matters come up.

It is always appreciated when citizens take the time to convey their feelings.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEAVER

Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

S. K. Ballal, Ph.D.  
Dixie Royal Homes, Inc.  
460 East 15th Street  
Cookeville, Tennessee 38501



DIXIE ROYAL HOMES INC

460 E. 15th STREET • COOKEVILLE, TENN. 38501 • TEL 615/528/1589



*draft  
response*

March 16, 1983

Hon'ble Mike Deaver  
Executive Office of the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mike:

The EPA used to be one of the most credible arms of the federal government since its inception. Today it is not only in administrative shambles, but brings into question all our seriousness in having a clean environment. It is not a special concern of businessmen or back packers, Republicans or Democrats, but as Times Peach revealed, rich and the poor are hurt equally. I am sure that you guys are politically more astute than I am, but even I saw what was coming. I have been in communication with you before, and your group did take some good positions on issues before; environment is everybody's apple pie, flag, and family, and certainly will be a visible issue in 1984. We find that socially conscious corporate behavior is good for business, and we don't find economic or moral benefit in being a polluter.

All of you must be under pressure to fill the vacancies created by the exodus of Anne Purford and company. Please consider the following suggestions before picking the next round of administrators and the like.

1. Give serious thought to find someone who has not been mentioned by the media. I have a feeling that everyone on the hill has a list in his hip pocket. This will give the White House Personnel Office the credibility that they do have a backlog of potentially promising people who are willing to serve the nation and its federal establishments.

2. Please do not go after an idealogue on the right or left; if you do, you will have an extended debate reaching into 1984. Based on the article enclosed (SCIENCE March 18, 1983), the public has the perception that this administration looks only for ideological purists. Moderates such as Secretaries Schultz, Regan, and Baldrige have brought lot more prestige than the extreme idealogues have.

3. Get some people from the academic community; if they are trained in any field of science, they will have a clearer understanding of scientific problem solving methods. Fortunately, they cannot be manipulated by politics because they know that they can always go back to teaching and research at the institutions they came from. They are also more acceptable to the press and the public than the pure political appointees.

(contd.)

W. Weaver  
page two

4. Find an articulate tenured professor who has some appreciation of the problems of the corporate community. This is a little difficult thing to do, but you can succeed if you don't go after big names. Established figures will automatically draw undue attention and occupy the Presidency with more time on less important issues. One probable way to do this is to place your candidate in a less visible position and move him or her up after a lapse of time.

5. President Reagan pleasantly surprised a lot of people by appointing the first female Supreme Court Justice, and the choice of Mrs. Elizabeth Cole is equally superior in my opinion. However, the public perception is that the minorities haven't done too well with this administration. Maybe the minorities do not fit the job descriptions you have, but an effort has to be made to nominate minorities and immigrant Americans to Schedule A positions to defuse the opposition by liberals to anyone you may choose.

6. Good environmentalism transcends the Democratic and Republican party lines. If the choices are from the Democratic side it will quickly dampen the partisan politics of the various congressional committees.

7. I never considered being branded an environmentalist to be derogatory. I understand that Jim Baker is an environmentalist! You may never find one that toes the party line 100% of the time; but there are a lot of them who are willing to serve the nation at this critical time but never have been asked.


8. Delay the choice of nominees till the summer to let the furor die down, so that the media attention is drawn to other important issues such as El Salvador. The decisions made in the midst of a heated debate are usually poor ones.

9. Please don't pick the candidates because they have had administrative experience. I have seen some awfully poor administrators who were picked because they have had previous administrative experience. What you need is a well educated intelligent individual who is articulate and pleasant enough to face the Congress, the Corporations and the community leaders. Established administrators usually tangle themselves up with too much paper but not enough policy. We need people who can follow policy with clear conscience, with ability to compromise and quickly reach a consensus.

Ofcourse, this is just a concerned friend and a citizen expressing his opinions on what is good for the country with the hope that you may wish to consider these before the next slate of nominees reaches the confirmation stage. If you want more free advice, you know where these came from!

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

 P. V. Ballal, Ph.D.

was worth pursuing. They have set an arbitrary date of June to drop work on the proposal if no further interest is expressed by universities or industry. Despite Cape's apparent skepticism, he urged the two men to continue. "It's an extremely profound proposal," Hugh Andrade, senior vice president at Schering-Plough added some encourage-

**—MARJORIE SUN**

between 50 and 60." Why? Looking over the agenda for 1983, Yosi saw that "we have an expanded work load." EPA apparently is considering advertising the new vacancies in order to create a large pool of candidates.

Gahl Hodges Bothe

file

March 25, 1983

Dear Mike,

Just a note to say thank  
you very much for taking me  
into see the President on Wednesday.

It was truly one of the thrills  
of my life and I appreciate  
your thoughtfulness very much.

Most Sincerely,  
Gahl

The Honorable

Michael K. Deaver,

Deputy Chief of Staff.



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Tom

I did send your note into the  
President along with a copy  
of the article.

Cheers! Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Tom Brokaw  
NBC News  
Thirty Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10020

3/28

Tom Brokaw

Mr. President,

As you may have heard from your staff, recently I made some personal observations in a magazine about your political philosophy and lifestyle.

Those remarks were inappropriate and ill-advised. Indeed, agreeing to the interview was probably the dumbest act I've committed as a journalist.

Mr. President, we've known each other as public servant and journalist for a long time. I hope this incident does not jeopardize what always has been a thoroughly open, professional relationship.

Further, I can assure you that my coverage of you will continue to be fair and factual, as I hope it has been going back to the earliest days when you first ran for Governor.

My best to Mrs. Reagan.

Every good wish,

Tom  
Brokaw



# TOM BROKAW

## *is mad as heck*

**T**om Brokaw is one of those sons of the Midwestern plains who grew up to be everything the American Dream has ever promised. Coanchor of the *NBC Nightly News*, friend of celebrities and statesmen, he has become a dinnertime fixture to 16 million Americans, a young man reaching for Walter Cronkite's still unclaimed ring as "the most trusted man" in America.

But Brokaw yearns to be more than a television icon. He wants to be respected for his ideas and his intelligence. Frustrated by flattering but shallow profiles in *Rolling Stone*, *Cosmopolitan* and *TV Guide*, he agreed to talk bluntly to *Mother Jones* contributing writer Frank Browning about TV journalism and American politics. His surprisingly forthright remarks about Ronald Reagan, El Salvador, abortion and corporate-controlled news are bound to anger conservative media watchdogs and those who still believe that TV anchorpersons should be scrupulously devoid of opinions.

But beneath the Midwestern plain speaking, there is an undiluted self-confidence bordering on arrogance, born perhaps of the 43-year-old newsman's meteoric rise at NBC. Brokaw believes that his family ties and personal affinity for working-class people are enough to prevent him from being swallowed by the power and privilege of his position. While acknowledging the severe limitations of network TV, he holds on to the conviction that his brains and decency are enough to transform television news from banality to brilliance.

"Because of where I am, I help set the rules and don't have to follow them," he said early in our discussion. "I can break the patterns. I am far more of an independent operator than a lot of people would be."

How independent is Tom Brokaw? Enough to tell us in his office at Rockefeller Center in New York City what he cannot or will not say on camera tonight. □

**BY FRANK  
BROWNING**

**Photography by Larry Williams**

**MOTHER JONES:** You frequently make a point of saying how closely you identify with work-a-day America. But living on the Upper East Side of Manhattan and working in Rockefeller Center, in the elite, rarified realm of network television, how could you possibly know how most Americans live, much less report on their lives with any understanding?

**TOM BROKAW:** Well, one has to live somewhere, and this is where I live—Manhattan. But I grew up in small towns on the prairie. I come from rural America, the Heartland, and I don't mean that as a cliché or to denigrate it, but that's how I grew up. It is very much a part of me. I like the life I have now, but values that were formed and interests that I developed in those days remain with me.

*Why Can't A Man Who Speaks To 16 Million People  
Every Night Tell Them What He Really Thinks?*

MOTHER JONES  
April 1983



**MJ:** For example?

**BROKAW:** The value, in my case, of very hard work, the value of—I don't know how to describe this—a value in which money doesn't mean a lot to me. I have a lot of money now. [NBC reportedly pays Brokaw almost two and a half million dollars a year.] I could be coy about it, but there's no sense in it. It's true, I make a hell of a lot of money doing what I'm doing, and I find that mildly exciting to think about, having grown up not poor but in very modest circumstances. But the value of money is not something I pursue just for the sake of pursuing it.

**MJ:** O.K., but how is it possible for you to understand the daily problems of someone living on \$15,000 a year, taking a bus to work every day?

**BROKAW:** It is possible. It is not easy.

**MJ:** How do you do it?

**BROKAW:** I do it in part because I still have ties to that world. My parents still live in Yankton, South Dakota. One of my brothers is a telephone hard-hat worker in Orange County, California, with whom I am in touch a lot. I have another brother who was out of work and drifted for a while and now lives in Denver.

**MJ:** How does that affect the news?

**BROKAW:** It affects me because I know what their concerns are.

**MJ:** Still, isn't it terribly presumptuous to suppose that a \$2 million-a-year celebrity can know what's going on in unemployed workers' minds after a five-minute telephone conversation with his brother?

**BROKAW:** It's not just a matter of picking up the phone and talking to my

brother in Orange County or my other brother in Denver. I work very hard at it, going to Charles City, Iowa, or to the Libbey glass factory in Toledo, spending the day with the workers there and talking about what they're thinking about. This business of staying in touch is very important to me.

I can dress up in my New York clothes and live in my wonderful apartment and have a house in the country, but I find I have certain fixed values at the age of 43. At the heart of me, I'm really not all that different than I was living in Red Brokaw's household as a young man.

When I first came to New York, the *Today* show gave me a car and driver to come to work in the morning. This friend of mine—a rock promoter who made quite a bit of money and is now a film producer—saw me three weeks after I started. He asked me how I was doing. I said, "Everything's going well. It's gonna be great, but I got this god-damn problem with the car and driver. I don't know what to do with them. I don't feel comfortable. I've got to get to work, and that's the best way to do it at four o'clock in the morning. But I just don't use it the rest of the day."

"Are you kidding?" he said. "Not me, pal. I have 'em pick me up at JFK and I get out at the Sherry and people are looking, and I look back and say, 'Look at me, sucker!' That's the only attitude to take."

Well, this is an extreme example, but I'm never ever going to feel comfortable in the back of a chauffeur-driven limousine in my life. It seems like a whole other world to me, and . . . it

seems morally wrong somehow, even though I use it from time to time. I still cannot get used to the idea that you ought to be driven around.

**MJ:** More important than whether Tom Brokaw personally stays in touch with his roots is whether network news accurately reports about the whole of America. It seems to me that the nightly news in this country excludes a whole range of political and social ideas. *60 Minutes* and its imitators sometimes do programs on the offenses of business operations . . .

**BROKAW:** Mostly the smaller businesses.

**MJ:** But if you look at most television in Western Europe, the ideological debate seems far broader than it is here in America. Don't you agree?

**BROKAW:** I don't see it that much.

**MJ:** NBC is a large corporation, a rather troubled one. It is a marketing organization more than anything else.

**BROKAW:** You're asking whether we're capable of providing that kind of forum, since we're part of a large corporation?

**MJ:** Right.

**BROKAW:** There's very little interference. There's just no interfering. In fact, the consensus on the part of businesspeople is that the networks are virulently antibusiness. It's a major complaint.

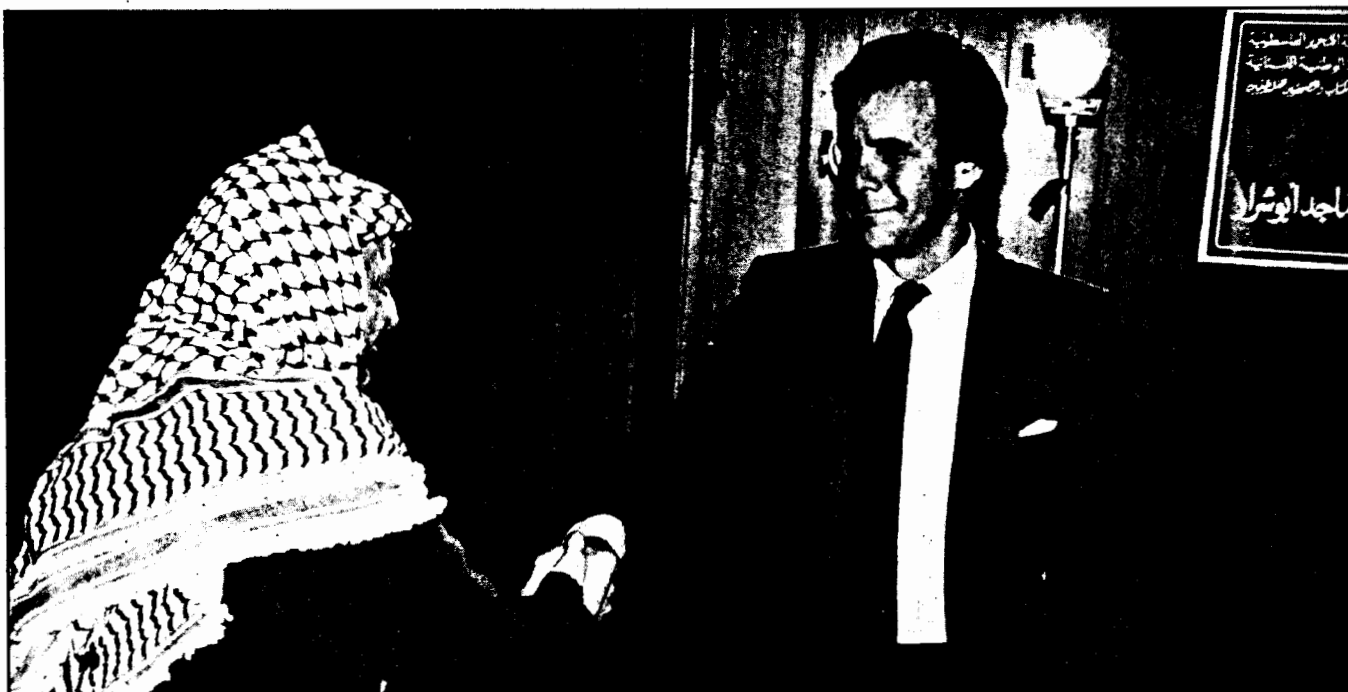
**MJ:** Yes, but they also feel that they've never had a friend in the White House. I'm not suggesting you should run NBC like *Mother Jones* . . .

**BROKAW:** That's not the business we're in.

**MJ:** No, you're not. But except for an occasional commentary by Bill Moyers, there's very little on television that challenges the fundamental assumptions about how American society works.

**BROKAW:** I think you're totally off base. For one thing, the program for which I work is a news program. What we do primarily every day is cover the news: what's new, what's different, what's going on. Now, occasionally, we will, in the context of this program, take a broader look at a given issue. Let me give you a recent example. We've run a number of stories on the question of how much should be done for the survival of the American steel industry. Have we done a story about whether it would be better to switch to a Mitterrand brand of socialism in America?

**O**ff-camera, Brokaw calls Reagan "simplistic and old-fashioned" and says human rights in El Salvador is a "sham."



**A**BOVE: "Last year I went to see [PLO Chairman Yassir] Arafat in Beirut, spent the night there talking with him. Not long ago, Palestinians were thought of as animals in this country. But I think that has changed. I have a better understanding of who they are now. I've always known lots of Israelis. Whenever a new Israeli ambassador arrives, if you're operating at the level that I was on the *Today* show, pretty soon there's a call for lunch from the ambassador. Some have become friends. But if you're a conscientious reporter, you're aware that you shouldn't overplay the Israeli side of the story."

No, we have not done that.

**MJ:** Nor have you asked the kinds of questions that journalists on French television ask about the control of the economy. Those are the kinds of questions that seem clearly out of bounds on American television.

**BROKAW:** I don't know whether it's out of bounds. I think there is, if you will, a more clear rationale for asking those questions in a country where there is a stronger socialist tradition, as there is in France, and a more activist socialist element in the political system than there is here.

I think there has been a general failure of U.S. television to cover the economy and explain it. I just don't think we've done a very good job. Too few people in the area. Too little time devoted to really careful examinations in our programs.

**MJ:** But you don't think the particular structure of the broadcast industry in this country has any effect on that?

**BROKAW:** I really don't. That's what a lot of people believe, and I don't quite know how to persuade them otherwise. I think it has more to do with the fact that for a long time the economy—which worked pretty well in this country—was a "MEGO" subject: "My

Eyes Glaze Over." It was something nobody wanted to do because there were far more fascinating areas of the world in which to get involved. Besides, business reporting seemed to mean you would have to cover the rise and fall of certain business executives, and it just didn't seem to have much sex appeal. We all are beginning to pay more attention now. When I was on the *Today* show, I kept saying that the one subject the American people were interested in was the economy. We put on a wide variety of people, talking about what should be done. And not just the cliché stories about the "Japanese Way," but questioning the fundamental things about trade, for example, and the steel industry's ability to survive and the sheer awesome mismanagement of many industries in this country.

**MJ:** Why isn't television news as good as, say, National Public Radio's news programs?

**BROKAW:** They've got more time. It's a big factor. They're on the air longer. You know what my dream used to be? Still is, I guess. My dream is a *Today* show type of format from eight to ten at night, or from seven to nine, or to be less greedy, seven to eight-thirty. Or to be even less greedy than that, just give

us an hour. We could do a lot of things we can't do now. The audience turns on network news for a kind of quick fix about what happened that day, and that's about all we give them—22 minutes for a quick fix: All right, the world's still here. These little things are going well; those little things are not. This is what may or may not happen next week. A little giggle in between.

**MJ:** You've obviously discussed the idea of launching a better, longer news program with NBC executives before. What do they say?

**BROKAW:** They just look at me benignly and smile. The news people have always been thought of in the networks as a kind of pain in the ass: they want more time; they produce programs that have colons in the titles and aren't very interesting. It's a cash-eating machine down here with all those camera crews and satellite costs. Salespeople run the TV networks. They don't have any real interest in what we do, except when it's commercially successful. They'd rather talk about it when they go to university forums.

**MJ:** If you're so constrained by the network news format, why stay? Why not use your brains, your money, your fame to start your own news operation, say,

on cable TV?

**BROKAW:** Because it's not right yet, and I . . . want to do it here. I have all the resources of the National Broadcasting Company. I believe it's possible to do this at the networks. When I agreed to do *Nightly News* a year ago, it was with a pretty clear understanding on the part of all the parties that we would be doing an hour by this date. That was the big reason I was interested in doing this. And we're not yet. And there's no real chance that we will be soon.

**MJ:** Who specifically gave you that impression?

**BROKAW:** Everybody. The people on the sixth floor of this building—that's where the executive suites are—desperately want to make that arrangement, for a variety of reasons. They thought they had struck a pretty good agreement with the network board of affiliates, speaking for all the affiliates. But the rest, the affiliate stations at large, the rank and file, if you will, said, "Stuff it. We're not interested."

**MJ:** That's a question of corporate power, too, isn't it?

**BROKAW:** Sure. We can't do it without the affiliates.

**MJ:** So the structural ownership of television *does* affect what you can do.

**BROKAW:** Yeah. Sure it does.



**MJ:** Not long ago, you and Roger Mudd presented a special report on President Reagan at midterm and his values. What are Reagan's values?

**BROKAW:** Pretty simplistic. Pretty old-fashioned. And I don't think they have much application to what's currently wrong or troubling a lot of people. His values are kind of Norman Rockwell-ish, *Reader's Digest* America, 1924. I'm not exaggerating that: thrift, hard work, a lot less government, kindness toward your neighbors, and it'll all work out somehow.

**MJ:** Aren't those the same values you grew up with in Yankton?

**BROKAW:** They are still my values at the core. But I don't think that those values alone will make our system work and go forward. When there are major problems, we all need to be more resourceful than [relying] just on those fundamental values. They're fine but they have to work in a system that has a . . . well, *safety net* is not a bad term. We

have to build in certain assurances and insurance within the system, and Reagan is not prepared to do that.

Nor do I think he really understands the enormous difficulty a lot of people have in just getting through life, because he's lived in this fantasy land for so long. I've known him a long time as a political creature; I covered him in California when I was a TV newsman there. I've always felt one line we've let him get away with is the crock that he was out of work in the '30s, his line that "I know what it's like."

He wasn't out of work very long, if he was at all. He had a very good job at WHO in Des Moines, where he was a well-paid and highly regarded sportscaster. Then he went into the movies, where he was a contract player at very good salary from 1937 on. While he was living in Hollywood, he was not a guy who became a producer or an entrepreneur, going out to try to put money together. He's always been a guy who had a paycheck coming in—you know, from a studio or from General Electric or from somebody, and he lived in this artificial world, with Nancy out in Pacific Palisades, with his pals in the West Los Angeles business community. He had no real exposure to the rough spots in life.

I said to him during the presidential campaign, talking about the ECBC [Ethnic-Catholic-Blue-Collar] thing, "How can you possibly go to them and tell them you identify with their problems? You're an extremely rich man who has lived this isolated life." Well, Nancy blew up at me afterward. "How can you say that?" she said. "You know his background." I said, "His background was a long, long time ago. He's almost 70, and it was 50 years ago that he lived that way."

Reagan said to me, "You know, I'm not all that wealthy. If it weren't for what I'm doing now, I would have to be out there working."

I said, "You mean you're running for president not just for the honor of it but because you need the work? Is that what you're telling me?"

"Yes, that's right," he said. "I'm not all that wealthy."

He believed he wasn't a wealthy man because he compared himself with his California millionaire friends—Holmes Tuttle, Justin Dart, Alfred Bloomingdale. That's his idea of wealth. He's

just a working-class guy in that crowd. **MJ:** Couldn't the same thing be said about you?

**BROKAW:** Same thing with me. Sure.

**MJ:** How do you see Ronald Reagan's political impact on America?

**BROKAW:** I think what Reagan did that was of value was cause us to re-examine, truly, the role of the federal government in our lives. How much we wanted of it. How much we were willing as a society, as a body politic, to continue expanding the role of the federal government in the lives of the people, in the economy, in social programs, etc. I think it was time to re-examine that. We have worked on the New Deal model for a long time, and it's good to have a periodic review of the merits of these programs. I think the election of Ronald Reagan gave us an opportunity to do that.

But I thought from the outset that his "supply side" [theory] was just a disaster. I knew of no one who felt that it was going to work, outside of a small collection of zealots in Washington and at USC—Arthur Laffer, Jack Kemp. What I thought quite outrageous was that the business community, which for years carped and complained that it could never get a president sympathetic to its needs, finally got its champion, Ronald Reagan. Then, to its horror, it discovered that he was actually going to press ahead with supply side—a theory whose disastrous consequences businesspeople began desperately to prepare for, but did not publicly warn the rest of the country about. They knew it simply could not work. But what they did was look to their own little life raft and not to anyone else's.

**MJ:** When in the past 30 years has there been a president not sympathetic to big business?

**BROKAW:** Oh, I don't think there has been. Jack Kennedy said they were sons of bitches, but that was *not* his true feeling.

**MJ:** He clipped his coupons.

**BROKAW:** That's right. I think this guy, however, is far more sympathetic than the others have been, far more willing to go to greater lengths to make sure big business gets what it wants. Big business has more direct access to him. There's less to offset big business' influence on Ronald Reagan, from a political point of view, than there has been on

# TOMBROKAW

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any other president in the past. Even Richard Nixon had a stronger sense of what was politically possible and what was not.

**MJ:** As we sit here talking, your comments on Reagan, the Corporate President, are sharp and incisive. Yet when you covered the same territory on television, in the midterm special, it all seemed like so much mishmash. The points were diffuse, and it felt frustratingly superficial.

**BROKAW:** Did you see this week's *New Yorker*? There's a cartoon, and it shows the *New York Post* with the headline "ARGH!" Next to that is the *Daily News*, and the headline is "YEEEEK!" Then it shows the *Times*, and the headline is "Blah, Blah, Blah." It's really a terrific, symbolic bit. Well, I suppose your point is well taken.

**MJ:** You just criticized members of the business community for keeping their mouths shut even though they knew Reagan's ideas were idiotic.

**BROKAW:** Right.

**MJ:** Now, I suppose you can't say the president is an idiot on national television. But, aren't you guilty of the same thing?

**BROKAW:** You would have been happier if I had just said on that special, for example, "Maybe the business community will finally have the courage to tell this guy to his face that his program is not working."

**MJ:** That would have been a lot straighter.

**BROKAW:** But part of what governs our thinking is the whole business of "Is it balanced? Is it fair? Is this a fair and balanced program?" *The Washington Post* said our program was quite tough on the president. I thought it was a fair report on what people are saying.



**MJ:** You went to El Salvador last year to do a report on the civil war. What did you find there?

**BROKAW:** It was the most sinister place I've ever been to. Just on the face of it. There's death everywhere. People just disappear. The routineness of people disappearing from their families, of

being executed, of being killed in terribly violent ways; of being chopped up, shot up and dumped with their hands trussed behind their heads. It's so routine that it's mind-boggling. I don't pretend to be an authority on El Salvador. It's so much more complicated than I had expected—the economic layers and the political structure of the country. All these families are related economically and by marriage, all the families at the top—the right wing. At the same time, all of this is happening in this spectacularly beautiful place: rich, enormous potential, an idyllic place in which to live, idyllic people.

My wife and I had a woman who was from El Salvador working for us when we lived in California and were raising our children. We got involved in this American odyssey in which she got her whole family out of there. We were helping finance the operation, and she was bringing them out one at a time. She came from a barrio on the edge of San Salvador. We were running a hostelry, first in California and then in Washington, a halfway house. The third floor of our house was filled with Salvadorans all the time, and they would stay there until they got on their feet.

So by the time I actually went there I felt I knew something about Sal-

vadorans. But I didn't. I didn't know much about the country, for all the reading I'd done and academic studies I'd seen. It's really a complicated place, and I think it would be silly for a journalist to go down there for a week and come back saying, "I know El Salvador. I've been there."

**MJ:** What did you end up filming?

**BROKAW:** We did one piece about a kid who had disappeared; we decided to do a kind of *Missing* account of what happens in El Salvador to a lot of families. We had his mother describe how this guard came along and did a snatch. We had other kids describe it. We went to the electronics shop where he had been working, and they said he had been a good worker. We went where a lot of people are kept, and at some risk, shot the exterior of it. We went to the Red Cross, which I have come to admire a lot in places like El Salvador and Beirut. They were very wary of cooperating with us because they didn't want to appear political. But at the same time they did show us files and boxes and boxes on these missing people and described what it's like.

Then we got an interview with the head of the National Treasury police—I still don't know why he agreed to it—Francisco Morán, the guy who interro-



gated the four Dutch journalists before they were bumped off. We asked him about this kid who had disappeared. It was an incredible experience to go into this compound where he worked. We went through this heavy steel door into this cool, well-lit room, everybody in heavily starched uniforms. "No, no," he said, they were not responsible for it; he didn't believe any of these tales of snatches. It was really quite chilling to see this guy describe all this, butted up against all the other eyewitness testimony by the Red Cross and everybody else. We did that as a piece to show how El Salvador really operates, what life is like there.

**MJ:** What do you want Americans to know about El Salvador?

**BROKAW:** That it is an extremely hostile place just in terms of life and death every day. That it is controlled by a handful of people, a right-wing oligarchy that takes most of the money out of the country. And that the peasants are poor and exploited.

**MJ:** After witnessing firsthand the horror there, how do you feel when you hear U.S. officials like Deane Hinton [U.S. ambassador to El Salvador] certifying that human rights have improved?

**BROKAW:** Mixed. I feel pretty good when he goes before the Salvadoran Chamber of Commerce and says, "If you guys don't straighten up your act, we're getting the hell out of here."

**MJ:** But how do you, personally, feel? What is your visceral reaction when the State Department makes statements about how El Salvador is moving on the road to democracy and things are getting better?

**BROKAW:** I think they're wrong. I think that it's not true. I think that my job is to stay calm at the center and point out why they're wrong, not become histrionic about it.

**MJ:** But beyond your role as anchorperson, what's your gut response?

**BROKAW:** Personally, I think it's outrageous.

**MJ:** And a fair-minded journalist would have to say . . .

**BROKAW:** There is no progress on these matters. I haven't been there recently, so I can't say firsthand. But having been there, knowing what the record of Roberto D'Aubuisson is, having sat the day after the election outside a house inside which the five right-wing

parties were all gathered, striking a deal before they went over to have lunch with Hinton, I know pretty well how it works. Having flown out on an airplane with a woman in her red-white-and-blue outfit who said, "Oh yeah, well, we all got together. What you guys don't understand is that we've all worked together for years. We just made up these [political] parties." This was a Salvadoran woman who was flying back to Miami. She had gone down only to vote. She owned a plantation up in the hills. So . . . I, I think it's a sham.

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**MJ:** One woman journalist told me she thought Tom Brokaw was the most feminist journalist she had ever worked around.

**BROKAW:** [*Embarrassed laugh*] That's nice. It's not anything I wear on my sleeve. It's a natural outgrowth of my life. I have a strong, bright mother who always worked and a father who has always had great respect for her, and there was in our family a kind of nonsexist view of the world. We all had our roles within our family, but my mother was of equal weight to my father in terms of being an authority figure—and being a breadwinner. She worked in a post office, in a shoe store. We were not poor, but she liked working. She's a bright woman who grew up during the Depression, and her father lost his farm, and she could not go to college. To this day I have wonderful political discussions with her. She's an old-fashioned prairie populist. I talked to her the other night, and she's outraged at what's going on. It brings back the old fear of the Depression.

All of that had an effect on my attitude toward women as I grew to be a young man. Then I married an extraordinary person, and we had three daughters. That probably buttressed a lot of my own feelings.

**MJ:** How many women work here as NBC producers?

**BROKAW:** There are not enough. But there are more all the time. On this program there is one writer and one producer, and the clerical jobs tend to be filled with women. Why is that? Late starting. Women were not encouraged to come in or were intimidated, ten or fifteen years ago, by the male quality of this business and had a hard time penetrating it. I think there is, for all our

raised consciousness, more than a residual feeling of "Oh, she's just a woman." I notice it even among people who think of themselves as among the most enlightened, a kind of running commentary about the news correspondents in which women get hit the hardest. They're held to a higher standard. I think change will come, but it's not coming fast enough.

**MJ:** One of the most important issues in the women's movement today is the abortion question. How do you see the issue?

**BROKAW:** I think it comes down to the question of whether a woman has a right to control her own body.

**MJ:** And what side do you take?

**BROKAW:** That she does have that right. But I think it's one of the most troubling issues of our time. When it first became a major issue, I felt that [abortion] should be legalized, that a woman could make that decision, because I was dealing with it in the abstract. But then my father-in-law, who is an obstetrician, explained that he had hard feelings about it himself. He talked about seeing fully formed fetuses, and, knowing that, it was a very hard thing to do. It really caused me to think about it, and I don't really know what I would do if it were to happen in my family. Could I look one of my daughters in the eye and say, "You have my blessing if you want to get an abortion," or would I say, "My God, you can't do this"?

**MJ:** Has it come up in your family?

**BROKAW:** It's come up between my wife and me. We've talked about it. I think that she's of the judgment that she could not have an abortion. She understands women, and has had friends who have had abortions, and she understood fully why they've had the abortion and supported fully their decision. But for herself, she doesn't believe that she could have one. I don't know what I would say to her.

**MJ:** But you believe, finally, it's the woman's decision.

**BROKAW:** Yeah. Look, I think that the great moral issue in terms of life and death and the state is capital punishment. Ten years ago I used to think, in ten years we'll be rid of this. It's a God-awful cancer on us all. I'd think that 30 years hence, historians would wonder how a civilization in such an advanced state could have been engaged in these

acts. Now, in 30 years, it looks like we'll still have capital punishment, but by more "antiseptic" means. That's the direction we're going.

**MJ:** Which strikes you as . . .

**BROKAW:** I think it's barbarous.

**MJ:** Is there any condition under which you could accept it?

**BROKAW:** I can't think of any excuse.

**MJ:** Is there any justification for retribution in pursuit of justice?

**BROKAW:** Not the ultimate retribution. Not taking a life. I think it's a blight on our values. It's a failure of society.



**MJ:** Now that you have been wearing the mantle of a network news anchor for a year, what are your thoughts about this exalted position?

**BROKAW:** I've always been extremely conscious, having grown up in this business, of what I call the anchorman syndrome: that you become larger than life. That is a great danger—that you become not a reporter but a healer—which is not what we should be. Without mentioning names, that became a

little bit of a problem with all three networks during Watergate. We had people who were holding the nation together. Do you know what I mean? These are all people whom I admire. I'm not denigrating them, but I don't want to do that.

**MJ:** You don't want to become another Uncle Walter, the man we can all trust?

**BROKAW:** Oh, sure, I'd like that. But I'd like you to trust me because I am not papering over something or making it out to be what it is not. I think Walter Cronkite was a wonderful, driving newsman. He let me down only a few times, which is quite remarkable.

**MJ:** When did he let you down?

**BROKAW:** One time was with Mayor Daley in Chicago. I was on the streets of Chicago [during the 1968 Democratic Convention] covering that story when Walter got the first interview. It was with Daley, and Daley ate him alive, in a friendly way. Daley knew precisely what to do. He walked into the [sound] booth, sat down and said—on the air—"Walter, before we begin, I want you to know that you're in our house every night. We watch your program every

evening." And the air just went out of Cronkite.

**MJ:** What would you have done?

**BROKAW:** Oh, there are lots of things I would have said—I like to think I would have said something to the effect, "That's very nice, Mr. Mayor. I'm grateful for that. I want to talk to you about what's going on in the streets of Chicago. You've got rampant lawlessness on the part of the people who are there to keep law and order. We can show you some videotape of your cops beating up people." That's what you gotta do. But then, who knows if I would have?

**MJ:** Do you see yourself being an anchor the rest of your career?

**BROKAW:** Oh no. Oh no. Please. There are lots of careers. I could go off camera. That's not the staff of life with me. It once was. When I was first in television, it was great fun. But good God! Doing that for 20 years! . . .

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*Frank Browning is a regular contributor to Mother Jones. He is a member of the organizing committee for the National Writers Union.*