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Meetings, Lunches/ Background--Card/ '89-'90 [1]

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Thursday, July 26, 1990

9:00 am

Meeting w/Congresswoman Schneider

Robert Rendine - District Chief of Staff

Wesley Warren - Staff Assistant

Mayor Michael Traficante

Earl Croft - Staff Asst. to Mayor

Re: Federal Funding f/Wastewater
Treatment Demonstration Project

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

CITY OF CRANSTON



RHODE ISLAND

APR 13 1990
FILE

MICHAEL A. TRAFICANTE
MAYOR

April 5, 1990

Mr. William J. Canary, Jr.
Special Assistant to The President
for Inter-Governmental Affairs
Room 160 O.E.O.B.
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, 20500

Dear Mr. Canary:

I am writing at this time as a follow-up to your meeting of last week with my Policy Aide, Steven DeToy and the City of Cranston's Washington representative, J. William W. Harsch, Esq.

First, I would like to take the opportunity to thank you for taking the time to meet with these two individuals so that they could update you on the western Cranston sewer project.

As you are aware, this project continues to proceed through the legislative process with the assistance and guidance of both United States Senator John H. Chafee and United States Representative Claudine Schneider. Both Bill and Steve have told me of your suggestion on approaching EPA on this multi-faceted environmental situation that we are encountering and I concur with them in that your suggestion was and will be very helpful. I look forward to attending the meeting with the top EPA officials and yourself in the very near future.

A further development which I would like you to be aware of is that on April 4, the communities of Warwick, West Warwick and Cranston entered into a consent agreement with the Rhode Island Department of Environmental Management that commits the three communities to spending nearly \$100 million to upgrade their treatment facilities in order to enhance the water quality of the Pawtuxet River and upper Narragansett Bay. This development further heightens the need to begin work on the western Cranston project in the very near future. As you may know from previous briefings and letters on the subject, the Cranston Wastewater Treatment Facility is a financially self-sustaining facility. Therefore, it is imperative to the city's financial structuring of the needed improvements at the plant that the plant's design capacity be fully utilized. This has added increased dimension to the need for the connections in western Cranston and the permanent connection of the Central Landfill, which services the entire state, located in neighboring Johnston, Rhode Island.

I feel quite strongly that the western Cranston project has the capability of being an innovative and technological example for other communities in the country

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER CITY HALL CRANSTON, RHODE ISLAND

TO: Mr. William J. Canary, Jr.

April 5, 1990

Page 2

From: Mayor Michael A. Traficante

which are or will be facing similar multi-category environmental concerns regarding wastewater treatment facilities. I greatly appreciate your assistance in this matter of extreme environmental importance to my community and to the State of Rhode Island.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if there is any additional information which you may require or any questions that I or my staff may assist you with.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael A. Traficante". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Michael A. Traficante
Mayor

MAT/ama

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 17, 1990

Dear Mayor Traficante:

Thank you for your kind letter. It was thoughtful of you to take the time and write as you did about the Cranston Sewer Project, and I wanted you to know of my appreciation.

Sincerely,

William J. Canary, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
for Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable Michael A. Traficante
Mayor
City of Cranston
Executive Chamber
Cranston, Rhode Island 02910

CITY OF CRANSTON



RHODE ISLAND

MICHAEL A. TRAFICANTE
MAYOR

TO: William Canary
Office of Intergovernmental Affairs

DATE: March 21, 1989

FROM: Mayor Michael A. Traficante

Re: Western Cranston Sewer Project

The City of Cranston currently operates a 23 MGD wastewater treatment facility. This \$55 million facility was built under the now expired Federal Construction Grants Program and is operating at 50% design capacity. This plant is the most technologically advanced facility in Rhode Island. Current excess capacity exists because of the closure of a major flow contributor, (Ciba-Geigy Corp.) and the expansion of sewers to western Cranston designated in the 1977 design plan have not been constructed.

The City of Cranston has recently entered into an agreement with the Rhode Island Solid Waste Management Corporation, (RISWMC), to provide wastewater treatment capacity to the RISWMC landfill and waste-to-energy incinerator located in neighboring Johnston, RI. This landfill is the largest in New England and is adjacent to the Scituate Reservoir which provides drinking water to 60% of RI's population. RISWMC is required by law to construct this incinerator at the landfill site will require a permanent solution to the treatment of the incinerator's wastewater and landfills leachate and wastewater. The technology and service provided to the RISWMC site will be applicable to the former Capuano landfill which sits on the banks of the Pawtuxet River. This landfill is a serious polluter of the river and the river is a major contributor to pollution in Narragansett Bay.

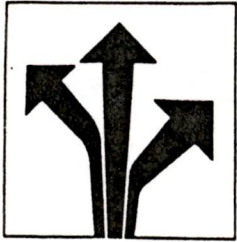
The City of Cranston is seeking \$6 million in federal assistance to construct interceptor lines, pumping stations and sewer lines. Federal assistance would be complimented by significant local financial resources made possible by overwhelming voter support of local bonding authority for sewer related projects.

I have personally had the opportunity to speak with then Vice-President Bush on this matter and the City has also had contact with Ed Rogers, Charles Grizzle, Assistant Administrator, EPA, as well as numerous discussions with Members of Congress and staff. Senator John Chafee was successful in offering an amendment to provide for this federal assistance, which was defeated in Conference. He remains an active proponent. Congresswoman Claudine Schneider and Senator Claiborne Pell have also been active on the City's behalf. In fact, Congresswoman Schneider has already met with EPA Administrator William Reilly to inform him of her strong support for the project.

In addition to the environmental benefits listed above, the State of Rhode Island and the City will benefit from this project by encouraging economic development, the utilization of innovative technology in the construction and operations of the sewer treatment extensions of this project, better comprehensive land use planning and by addressing other groundwater pollution by replacing existing septic systems with sewers.

You may obtain more detailed information from either the City's Washington representative, Gary Brown, Esq., POWERS, HARSCH AND KINDER, (202) 446-5770 or my policy aide, Steve DeToy, in my office at (401) 941-5380.

On behalf of the residents of Cranston and our state, I thank you for your time and attention to this worthy project.



RHODE ISLAND SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT CORPORATION

West Exchange Center
260 West Exchange Street, Providence, Rhode Island 02903

401/831-4440
TELEX 401/861-0830

RICHARD A. JOHNSON, Chairman
THOMAS E. WRIGHT, Director

March 16, 1989

The Honorable Claudine Schneider
The United States House of Representatives
1431 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Schneider:

The Solid Waste Management Corporation strongly supports the efforts of the City of Cranston to obtain federal financial assistance to construct interceptor sewers and a pumping station.

This expansion of the Cranston wastewater system is critically important to the Corporation because it would serve the wastewater disposal requirements of our Central Landfill, waste-to-energy facility, leachate pretreatment facility, and vehicle maintenance facility, all located at our complex in Johnston.

If Cranston had not been willing to serve the wastewater needs of the Corporation's Johnston complex, the costs of construction and operation of the resource recovery project would be significantly higher.

Moreover, important environmental impact issues of widespread concern would be addressed by Cranston's regional wastewater project: We are committed to closing Central Landfill and to start operations of the resource recovery project as soon as is feasible. The Cranston regional wastewater project would help us attain our objective of operating our major Johnston facilities in as environmentally protective a manner as possible.

The Corporation realizes that the temporary sewer connection we currently plan to utilize would restrict planned industrial and residential tie-ins to the Cranston wastewater system. Completion of the Western Cranston Sewer Project would provide a permanent solution to our wastewater treatment needs at the Johnston facility complex.

We therefore reiterate our strong support for this environmentally sound, technologically advanced and much needed project.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Wright
Director

:pc



RHODE ISLAND SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT CORPORATION

West Exchange Center
260 West Exchange Street, Providence, Rhode Island 02903

401/831-4440
TELEX 401/861-0830

RICHARD A. JOHNSON, Chairman
THOMAS E. WRIGHT, Director

March 16, 1989

The Honorable John H. Chafee
The United States Senate
567 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Chafee:

The Solid Waste Management Corporation strongly supports the efforts of the City of Cranston to obtain federal financial assistance to construct interceptor sewers and a pumping station.

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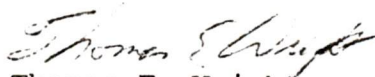
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We therefore reiterate our strong support for this environmentally sound, technologically advanced and much needed project.

Sincerely yours,


Thomas E. Wright
Director

:pc

POWERS, HARSCH & KINDER

INCORPORATED

WILLIAM G. BRODY
GARY A. BROWN
JAMES M. GREEN
J. WILLIAM W. HARSCH
THOMAS C. KEENEY
DANIEL K. KINDER
ROBERT A. MOISSONNIER
WILLIAM R. POWERS III

20 WASHINGTON PLACE
PROVIDENCE, RI 02903
(401) 421-2224

1722 EYE STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20006
(202) 466-5770

November 28, 1989

Mr. William Canary
Special Assistant to the President
for Intergovernmental Affairs
White House
Room 116
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bill:

Following up on the recent conversations between you and Mayor Traficante of Cranston, Rhode Island, Stephen Roady of the Senate Environmental and Public Works Committee staff and myself, I am forwarding an outline of a proposed innovative wastewater demonstration project in Cranston. Also enclosed is testimony concerning the project which Mayor Traficante recently presented to a subcommittee of the House of Representatives Space and Technology Committee.

In line with your observations, we believe that it is sensible to follow a two-track process with one track being a legislative initiative sponsored by Senator Chafee and Cong. Schneider. The other track would involve some initial start-up funding developed through assistance from the White House. We are seeking your help in identifying existing programs pursuant to which such funding may be available and, with your assistance, we would attempt to adapt Cranston's needs to meet programmatic guidelines. The program could be based at EPA, HUD, or elsewhere; doubtlessly you are in the best position to advise concerning funding mechanisms.

As we have discussed once you have an opportunity to review this material, it may be a logical step to convene a meeting with representatives of Senator Chafee, Cong. Schneider and the

POWERS, HARSCH & KINDER
INCORPORATED

Mayor in order to pursue this project. The project represents a solution to major interrelated water supply and quality issues for the City and the State. Solution to the problems is the City's top priority. We appreciate your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,



Gary A. Brown

GAB/slr

cc: Mayor Traficante
Stephen Roady
Wes Warren

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WILLIAM G. BRODY
GARY A. BROWN
JAMES M. GREEN
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MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. William Canary
Special Assistant to the President
for Intergovernmental Affairs

FROM: Gary A. Brown, Esq.

DATE: November 28, 1989

RE: Summary of Request for Federal Funding
Involving Wastewater Treatment Demonstration Project

1. Objective. The City of Cranston, Rhode Island, is seeking Federal seed funding of up to \$6 million to take initial steps to remedy major interrelated water supply and quality issues for the City. These issues are having a major impact on the rest of the State, and the solution to the problems is the City's top priority.
2. Solution to Long-standing Environmental Issues. There are a number of long-standing environmental issues impacting the entire State which would find resolution in the proposal:
 - ° Solution to leachate from the Central Landfill in Johnston. The Central Landfill is the largest in New England and takes in all the solid waste from the State. Pollution from the leachate in the Landfill is heading towards Cranston and may be polluting the Scituate Reservoir, the water source for an estimated 60% of the population of the State.
 - ° Pollution of the Pawtuxet River. There is significant pollution on the Pawtuxet River, which is contributing to pollution on Narragansett Bay. This proposal would

involve study and possible cure of one of the sources of pollution, the Capuano Landfill in Cranston.

- ° Contamination in Western Cranston. There is a problem of increasing development pressure in Western Cranston. New projects are using septic tanks. The soils and water table of Western Cranston are poorly suited for subsurface disposal of wastewater and system failures are frequent.
- 3. Construction of Interceptor System Connecting Landfill Facilities to New Wastewater Treatment Facility. Federal funds of \$6 million will provide for study, preliminary design and first phase construction. The project would connect, via an interceptor system, the existing landfill and the planned waste-to-energy recycling facilities located in the Rhode Island Central Landfill into the newly-constructed wastewater treatment facilities of the City of Cranston, utilizing capacity previously committed to a manufacturing facility no longer in operation.
- 4. Agreement Reached to Connect Landfill to Wastewater Facility. The Rhode Island Solid Waste Management Corporation (RISWMC), the operator of the Central Landfill, after studying a number of alternatives, reached agreement last year with Cranston to connect the proposed facilities at the Landfill to the Cranston wastewater facility. To accomplish this task, a sewer interceptor system serving Western Cranston must be built. Wastewater from the Landfill and recycling facility must be discharged into the system and conveyed to the new wastewater treatment plant.
- 5. Model Project. If done properly, this Project can serve as a model for cities across the country that are grappling with the problems of leachate from sanitary landfills and the need for wastewater management systems that can complement and, indeed, encourage the development of new waste-to-energy and recycling facilities.

CITY OF CRANSTON



RHODE ISLAND

MICHAEL A. TRAFICANTE
MAYOR

October 2, 1989

The Honorable Claudine Schneider
1512 Longworth H.O.B.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congresswoman Schneider:

I am pleased to submit the enclosed testimony to the National Resources, Agricultural Research and Environment Subcommittee relevant to your consideration of H.R. 2734, The National Ground Water Research Act of 1989.

If passed, this legislation will make a vital contribution to the preservation and restoration of our nation's water supply.

It is my hope that this subcommittee of the Committee on Science, Space and Technology will recognize the threat posed to the water supply of many of our nation's cities and states caused by the leachate of heavy metals and other poisonous substances from solid waste landfills.

Accordingly, my testimony urges this Subcommittee to authorize a demonstration project that will serve as a model for cities grappling with this very real problem of landfill leachate.

I greatly appreciate your consideration of this matter and the attention of the Subcommittee to my testimony.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if I may offer any further information or assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Michael A. Traficante".
Michael A. Traficante
Mayor

MAT:tsp

Enclosure

Statement of
The Honorable Michael A. Traficante
Mayor, City of Cranston, Rhode Island
Submitted To The
Natural Resources, Agricultural Research &
Environment Subcommittee of the Science,
Space & Technology Committee
U.S. House of Representatives

October 2, 1989

I am writing to express my views with regard to the National Ground Water Research Act of 1989, HR-2734. This legislation should make a vital contribution to the Nation's water supply by causing federal, state and local officials to examine and to undertake innovative solutions for groundwater contamination.

It is my hope that this legislation, as it is ultimately enacted, will recognize the threat posed to the water supply of many of the nation's cities and states caused by the leachate of heavy metals and other poisonous substances from solid waste landfills. Accordingly, I am urging this Subcommittee to authorize funding for a demonstration project to serve as a model for cities across the country grappling with the leachate problems from sanitary landfills. This project would promote an efficient wastewater management system and will innovatively encourage the development of new waste-to-energy and recycling facilities.

The demonstration project which I am recommending involves two landfills impacting the City of Cranston, Rhode Island where the damage to surface and ground water from landfill leachate is well-illustrated. Most significant is the Central Landfill in the neighboring community of Johnston, Rhode Island (a Superfund site), and the other landfill involved is the Capuono Landfill in Cranston.

The Central Landfill is the largest in New England and takes in nearly all of the solid waste from the State. Consistent with dumping practices around New England, there is good reason to believe that the forty year old site may contain hazardous waste. Tests have indicated the presence of very substantial groundwater contamination, and there is reasonable ground for concern that leachate from the site is moving in the direction of aquifers associated with the Scituate Reservoir, water source for an estimated 60% of the State's population.

The Landfill continues to operate only through an emergency permit, and even under the temporary permit, it is considered to have a life of less than five years. Because of its age, most of the area covered by the Landfill has no provision for leachate collection and as a result discharges substantial leachate into the groundwater beneath the Landfill.

There is also another forty year old landfill in Cranston, the Capuano Landfill. Though it has been capped, it is still considered to be a source of significant pollution for the Pawtuxet River which is considered by EPA and state officials to be in a critical situation because of pollution, impacting the historic sections of Cranston and portions of upper Narragansett Bay.

With regard to the Central Landfill, there are now some valuable and innovative solutions available, which could be demonstrated under our proposal. The Rhode Island Solid Waste Management Corporation (RISWMC), operator of the Landfill, has plans to alleviate the State's continuing waste disposal problem by creating a new waste-to-energy facility and a mass-burn incinerator. Although an improvement in the overall situation, these facilities in fact add to the wastewater problem, requiring the disposal of several hundred thousand gallons of wastewater during each day of operation. The City of Cranston has reached agreement with the RISWMC to receive and transport both the leachate from the Landfill which now goes into the area's groundwater and the additional wastewater generated by the new disposal facilities to a recently-developed wastewater treatment facility in Cranston, contingent on funding and building the connector. In the process of connecting the Central Landfill, Cranston is also willing to consider connecting the Capuano Landfill with its wastewater treatment plant for purposes of collecting and treating the leachate generated by this source.

The connection of these landfills will encourage development of new waste-to-energy and recycling facilities. The connection will also employ innovative technology such as piping with lower friction so that the groundwater will not get into the pipe and contaminated water will not seep into the groundwater. This project has the potential to provide valuable lessons for other states and cities.

An additional advantage of the project is that while solving the landfill leachate problem, the project will solve other environmental problems as well. For example, it will halt the proliferation of septic tanks in Western Cranston which discharge into a soil which is poorly suited for subsurface disposal. Such septic tanks also contribute heavily to surface and subsurface water pollution in our area.

In fact one of the reasons the innovative project should be adopted is because it demonstrates an important concept: Pollution is not always media specific. Solutions should not be fragmented. Innovative programs funded by the legislation should be those which cover several objectives, which in fact get "the biggest bang for the buck."

Indeed, I would recommend that the Committee specify that one of the findings which the Administrator should make under Section 7(b) of HR-2734, which provides for demonstration projects

is that such projects address more than one form of water pollution at the same time.

The overall cost for the entire Cranston project is estimated to be approximately \$30 million including components such as land use planning. The City is seeking \$6 million, constituting the demonstration project, through authorization and appropriation of federal funds which will be matched locally by City bonds and a RISWMC payment. The State is unable to provide funds at this time because available water pollution control money is targeted to the Narragansett Bay Commission, and the State is unable to fund projects of the Cranston nature.

Breakdown of the \$6 million would be as follows: \$1 million for comprehensive studies and the necessary mapping of interceptor/force main/pressure sewer routes and \$2 million for basic design for all facilities, such design to include economic comparisons of innovative design systems to reduce power consumption and construction costs; and \$3 million for demonstration construction. The connection would be designed using state of the art energy saving methods including high efficiency motors, high efficiency variable speed drivers and low friction PVC pipe pressure sewer. The use of such design will save hundreds of thousands of dollars in construction costs.

Attached to this letter is a letter from the Director of the Solid Waste Management Corporation in support of our efforts. Also attached is a letter explaining some of the innovative technology involved.

In conclusion, the question may be asked: Why federal participation? First of all, the particular landfills have resulted from state and regional dumping. They are not just a city problem. Secondly, landfills depended upon in the years since World War II to dispose of solid waste, are presenting leaching problems which will be of concern to communities across the country. The proposed solution for Rhode Island - in part replacing the huge Central Landfill with a waste-to-energy facility linked to the Cranston water treatment facility -- has the potential to provide valuable lessons for other states and cities.

Thank you for the opportunity to present our views.

MICHAEL A. TRAFICANTE
Mayor

POWERS, HARSCH & KINDER

INCORPORATED

WILLIAM G. BRODY
GARY A. BROWN
JAMES M. GREEN
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20 WASHINGTON PLACE
PROVIDENCE, RI 02903
(401) 421 2224

1722 EYE STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20006
(202) 466 5770

May 18, 1989

Mr. David Stonner
Office of the Honorable Claudine Schneider
Member of Congress
1512 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-3902

Dear David:

I am writing further to our discussions concerning Cranston's proposal to create a wastewater management system in Western Cranston, thereby solving major environmental problems in the region, through an innovative program.

As described below, the project, by using the latest in construction and operating technology, has the capacity to be a valuable model. It could serve as a demonstration project for cities across the country that are grappling with the problems of leachate from sanitary landfills and the need for wastewater management systems that can compliment and, indeed, encourage the development of new waste-to-energy and recycling facilities.

The following is a description based on interviews with the City's engineering firm of some of the innovative technology to be utilized:

Energy Savings. According to the engineers, the system being planned should achieve electric power cost savings of between 25-50%. The technology involves using a cross City Pumping Station and Pressure Sewer instead of a conventional system of pumping station, force main and gravity sewer. Such design and construction technology features the following advantages:

- ° The pumping station will be designed using highly efficient electric motors for the pumps, which may achieve power savings of about 10%.

- ° The pumps will have variable frequency drives which match pump outflow to pumping station inflow, thereby reducing the pumping horsepower requirements.
- ° The pressure sewer will be designed using low friction pipe. The use of low friction pipe reduces the force required by the pump to push the wastewater through the many miles of pressure sewer. This will significantly reduce horsepower requirements for the pumping station.


Protection of Ground Water. The lower friction piping employed by the project, described above, is further advantageous in that ground water will not seep into the pipe and dirty water will not move into the ground water.

Construction Cost Saving. Considerable construction cost saving will be realized by using a pressure sewer instead of a combination force main and gravity sewer. The pressure sewer will probably require a smaller sized pipe and will have vertical flexibility not feasible with a gravity sewer. Access ports for clean out and inspection will be required as well as air release valves but not the frequent manholes (every 300-500 feet) required by a gravity sewer. The engineers estimate that as much as 25% of the construction cost will be saved in the portion of the pressure sewer that replaces the gravity sewer.

Construction savings alone amount to a minimum of \$2 million savings for the project. Energy savings are additional. Duplicated nationwide many millions of dollars of savings could be achieved through this important demonstration program.

Best regards.

Sincerely,


Gary A. Brown

cc: Mr. Steve DeToy

CITY OF CRANSTON



RHODE ISLAND

MICHAEL A. TRAFICANTE
MAYOR

March 22, 1989

Mr. William J. Canary, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
Office of Intergovernmental Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Canary:

I am writing at this time on behalf of the Rhode Island Credit Union Affiliates who have expressed some deep concerns relevant to the Treasury Department's proposal to aid the Saving and Loan industry.

Over 70% of Rhode Island's families are members of the 75 credit unions in our small state. It is the position of the credit unions that their industry should not be expected to participate in the Treasury plan for the savings and loan situation.

The credit union industry is insured through the National Credit Union Share Insurance Fund which enjoys a high level of solvency at this time. The credit unions are fearsome that the Treasury plan would have devastating impacts on their industry nationwide.

In light of the very high levels of credit union members in my state, I would respectfully ask that you convey the concerns of the credit unions to the Secretary of Treasury and also to the President.

I appreciate your time and attention of this matter of great importance to so many Rhode Islanders. Please do not hesitate to contact me if I may be of any further assistance in this situation.

Sincerely,


Michael A. Traficante
Mayor

MAT/pb
cc: Senator John H. Chafee
Senator Claiborne deB. Pell
Congresswoman Claudine Schneider
Congressman Ronald K. Machtley

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1989

Dear Mayor Traficante:

On behalf of the President, I would like to thank you for your recent correspondence regarding the credit union's role in respect to the Savings and Loan crisis.

Your views on these matters will be shared with the appropriate officials within the Administration for their benefit and consideration. Your input is highly valued and we appreciate your taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W. J. Canary".

William J. Canary
Special Assistant to the President
for Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable Michael A. Traficante
Mayor, City of Cranston
Executive Chamber, Office of the Mayor
Cranston, Rhode Island



NEWS RELEASE

FROM THE OFFICE OF MAYOR MICHAEL A. TRAFICANTE, TELEPHONE 461-1000

FOR RELEASE: Immediate
6 September 1989

CONTACT: Phil Loscoe
Extension 3110

MAYOR TRAFICANTE APPLAUDS PRESIDENT'S DRUG MESSAGE; CALLS ON STATE, LOCALS TO DO MORE

Saying President Bush's message to the nation last night "accomplished as much as can be accomplished at the federal level", Mayor Michael A. Traficante applauded the address of President Bush and said the responsibility for winning the war now falls on state and local governments.

"President Bush has supplied the resources necessary to intensify the war on drugs, has expanded the scope of the federal involvement and has improved the coordination between a multitude of agencies which is so vital to a successful effort. We must not, however, believe that money alone is going to win this war. Moreover, the federal government can not win this war without the strong participation of the states and the localities," Mayor Traficante said.

The Mayor indicated that the plan unveiled by President Bush correctly touched upon the importance of stopping production, importation and demand to solve the problem.

"Because the drug problem exists in our streets, our neighborhoods and our families, we, at the local level, must bear responsibility as well to ensure that the president's initiative is successful. In Cranston, we use the D.A.R.E. Program, our unique Peer Education Program in our school system, and activities sponsored by the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Substance Abuse to educate people about the dangers of substance abuse. We also have, both in our schools and in

-MORE-

CITY OF CRANSTON

the private sector, excellent treatment centers for those who seek help for their substance dependencies. The President has recognized the limits of the federal government, and he has challenged us to join the battle," the Mayor said.

The key to winning the war on drugs is stopping demand, and that can only be accomplished through education and treatment. We need the enforcement side to crack down on production and importation, but cutting back on demand is the most important facet of this effort," the Mayor said.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/11/89

TO: *Bill Canary*
FROM: **BRUCE STEBBINS**
Associate Director
Office of Political Affairs

Mayor Traficante was our
Bush Chair in R.I. I don't
know if you received a copy
of this but could you drop
him a letter thanking him
for his support.

If you haven't made
contact with him, please
introduce yourself. He's a good
guy and one of two GOP mayors
in R.I.

Thanks!

THE WHITE HOUSE

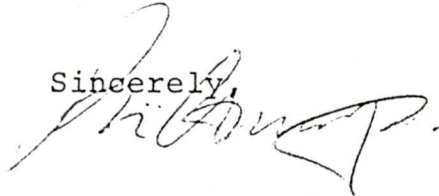
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1989

Dear Mayor Traficante:

On behalf of the President, I want to thank you for your thoughtful message of support. We are grateful for your advice and the many contributions you have made to the war on drugs. The President looks forward to working with you and other leaders from around the United States in achieving mutual goals of eliminating illegal drug use and building a better America for present and future generations.

Sincerely,



William J. Canary, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
for Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable Michael Traficante
Office of the Mayor
Cranston, RI 02910

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1990

DROP BY MEETING WITH PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND
INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS DIRECTORS

DATE: July 26, 1990
TIME: 3:45 p.m.
LOCATION: Indian Treaty Room
THROUGH: David Demarest *DD*
Assistant to the President
for Communications
FROM: Debra Anderson *DA*
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of the Office
of Intergovernmental Affairs
Barrie Tron, Director *BT*
Office of Public Affairs

I. PURPOSE:

To drop by a meeting of agency public affairs and intergovernmental affairs directors.

II. BACKGROUND:

This group represents a cross section of agency people who consistently present your message to a number of publics every day. This is an excellent way to bring them in and explain Administration policy and current pressing issues.

These folks carry your message to the media and to state and local governments -- they are critical to our outreach efforts.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Deb Anderson, Intergovernmental Affairs
Barrie Tron, Public Affairs
25 Agency Public Affairs Directors
20 Intergovernmental Affairs Directors

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

The President arrives
Greets the group and makes brief remarks
The President departs

V. PRESS PLAN:

Closed press

VI. REMARKS

Talking Points to be provided in the morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1990

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH THE WOLF FAMILY

DATE : Thursday, July 26, 1990

LOCATION: The Oval Office

TIME : 9:55 a.m.

FROM : J. Bonnie Newman

Bonnie Newman

I. PURPOSE

Photo with Mrs. Virginia Wolf and her three sons Theodore, Gregory, and Nicholas.

II. BACKGROUND

During the April visit of President and Mrs. Bush to the funeral home in honor of deceased Maryland State Trooper Cpl. Ted Wolf, who was killed in the line of duty, the President invited the surviving members of the family to visit the White House.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Russell Miller, Deputy Special Agent in Charge
Mrs. Virginia Wolf, Widow
Theodore Wolf, Son (16)
Gregory Wolf, Son (14)
Nicholas Wolf, Son (11)

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS


Russell Miller will introduce Mrs. Wolf and her three sons to the President, pictures will be taken and the individuals will depart.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1990

AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT
SIGNING CEREMONY

DATE: JULY 26, 1990
TIME: 10:00 a.m.
LOCATION: SOUTH LAWN
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST 
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR COMMUNICATIONS
FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG ^{BK}
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

I. PURPOSE:

To sign the historic Americans With Disabilities Act.

II. BACKGROUND:

The Americans With Disabilities Act is the culmination of your leadership and the efforts of many. This high profile ceremony will reinforce your long standing commitment to **civil rights** and to the disabled community since you were Vice President, throughout your campaign, and as President.

We expect 2500 people in attendance at this ceremony. They represent many elements from the disabilities community, including leadership and grassroots advocates from throughout the country. Also included are business leaders who have been supportive of the ADA bill, and key White House and Administration staff who worked on the bill. The Congressional delegation will include members and key Congressional staffers who were involved with the bill. All Cabinet members and Presidential appointees who are disabled were also invited.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Mrs. Bush
The Vice President
Mr. Evan Kemp, Chairman
Equal Employment and Opportunity Commission

Mr. Justin Dart, Chairman
President's Committee on the Employment of People
With Disabilities
Ms. Sandra Parrino, Chairman
National Council on Disability
The Reverend Harold Wilke

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

The Vice President is announced on stage
The President and Mrs. Bush are announced on stage
The President and Mrs. Bush arrive on stage and are greeted
by stage participants Evan Kemp, Rev. Harold Wilke, Justin
Dart, and Sandra Parrino
Evan Kemp will introduce Reverend Wilke to give a blessing
Evan Kemp will introduce the President
The President gives remarks and proceeds to the signing desk
The President signs the bill and presents signing pens to
the stage participants
The President and Mrs. Bush depart.

V. PRESS PLAN:

Open Press

Speech provided by speechwriters.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY

DATE: THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1990
LOCATION: OVAL OFFICE
TIME: 11:30

FROM: D. ALLAN BROMLEY



I. PURPOSE

To pose for a photo with Dr. J. Thomas Ratchford, Associate Director for Policy and International Affairs, Dr. Eugene Wong, Associate Director for Physical Sciences and Engineering, and Dr. William Phillips, Associate Director for Industrial Technology, Office of Science and Technology Policy.

II. BACKGROUND

Dr. Thomas Ratchford has been with OSTP since November 1989 acting as Associate Director for Policy and International Affairs. Dr. Eugene Wong has been with OSTP since April 1990 as Associate Director for Physical Sciences and Engineering. Dr. William Phillips April 1990 as Associate Director for Industrial Technology.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President, Dr. Bromley, Dr. J. Thomas Ratchford, Dr. Eugene Wong, and Dr. William Phillips.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Your guests will be shown into the Oval Office, pose for a photograph and depart.

VI. REMARKS

None.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

**PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH EARVIN "MAGIC" JOHNSON
AND EARL GRAVES**

DATE: JULY 26, 1990
TIME: 11:30 AM
LOCATION: OVAL OFFICE *AA*
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS
FROM: SICHAN SIV *SS*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE
PRESIDENT FOR PUBLIC LIAISON
JOSEPH WATKINS *JW*
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC
LIAISON

I. PURPOSE:

To demonstrate your continued commitment to reach out to minorities.

II. BACKGROUND:

Both Earvin "Magic" Johnson and Earl Graves are currently visiting Washington and have met with Secretary Kemp on black enterprise issues.

Earvin "Magic" Johnson is one of America's best known professional athletes. The winner of three MVP awards (for 1987, 1989 and 1990), he has played 11 seasons in the NBA for the LA Lakers and has led them to 5 NBA Championship titles. An excellent role model for young people, Johnson supports many charitable causes including the "Magic Johnson All-Star Camps" where he urges young people to stay in school and away from drugs.

Earl Graves is the Publisher of Black Enterprise magazine, the leading black business publication in the nation. A former assistant to U.S. Senator Robert

Kennedy, Graves founded Black Enterprise in 1970. He has been active for many years with the Boy Scouts and has been here for a couple of the photo ops you have done with the group.

This photo opportunity will provide you with a good chance to welcome two key black opinion-shapers to the White House.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

THE PRESIDENT
Earvin "Magic" Johnson
Earl Graves
Joe Watkins (staff)

IV. PRESS PLAN:

WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHER

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

--THE PRESIDENT WELCOMES JOHNSON AND GRAVES TO OVAL OFFICE.
--THE PRESIDENT TAKES PHOTOS WITH JOHNSON AND GRAVES.
--JOHNSON AND GRAVES DEPART THE OVAL OFFICE.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1990

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH SHERIFF JAMES O'GRADY

DATE: Thursday, July 26, 1990

LOCATION: The Oval Office

TIME: 11:30 a.m.

FROM: Edward M. Rogers, Jr. *EMR*

I. PURPOSE

To demonstrate support for Sheriff Jim O'Grady in his bid for re-election as Sheriff of Cook County, Illinois.

II. BACKGROUND

Sheriff Jim O'Grady is facing a difficult re-election challenge this year from a Democrat Chicago Alderman. O'Grady was elected Sheriff of Cook County in 1986, after serving 37 years with the Chicago Police Department. O'Grady, a lifelong Democrat, switched to the Republican Party in 1985.

O'Grady has done much to stop the patronage that dominated the Cook County Sheriff's office for decades. O'Grady has a solid law enforcement background, and is widely respected for his innovative and reform minded style of management. O'Grady served as Superintendent of the Chicago Police Department, the nation's second largest municipal force, for six years.

Sheriff O'Grady served as your Cook County Chairman, Illinois Co-Chairman, and on the Bush-Quayle National Steering Committee in 1988.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Sheriff Jim O'Grady

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press
White House Photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Sheriff O'Grady enters the Oval Office for a brief photo opportunity, then departs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1990

PHOTO-OP WITH SHERRIE ROLLINS

DATE: Thursday, July 26th

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 11:30am

FROM: Ed Rogers *ER*

I. PURPOSE

To allow a long standing supporter to have her photograph taken with you.

II. BACKGROUND

Sherrie Rollins is a tried-and-true Bush supporter. Even while her husband ran Jack Kemp's campaign in 1988, she was in the Bush camp.

She's leaving her job as Spokesperson for Jack Kemp to relocate to New York to become Director of Public Affairs at ABC News.

Her husband, Ed, has been very good to us lately and this photo means alot to him.

Sherrie has never been photographed with you.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Sherrie Rollins

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Sherrie Rollins enters Oval Office;
The President greets Mrs. Rollins;
Photo-op; and
Mrs. Rollins departs Oval Office.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1990

PHOTO-OPPORTUNITY WITH
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON EXECUTIVE EXCHANGE

DATE: JULY 26, 1990

TIME: 11:30 A.M.

LOCATION: ROSE GARDEN STEPS

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST, ASSISTANT TO THE
PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO
THE PRESIDENT FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

I. PURPOSE:

To meet and have your photograph taken with the 32 senior executives who are serving as the 1989-90 Presidential Exchange Executives.

II. BACKGROUND:

The President's Commission on Executive Exchange was created in 1969 to bridge the gap between government and the private sector, to bring needed expertise into the government, and to provide insight into governmental procedures and practices. The Commission's role is to seek out and place successful corporate executives in challenging governmental positions for one-year assignments, and, accordingly, place outstanding Federal executives in key corporate management positions.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Bobbie Kilberg, Deputy Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Betty Heitman, Executive Director of the President's
Commission on Executive Exchange

The Exchange Executives (see attached list)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

IV. PRESS PLAN:

White House photographer only

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- . The President departs the Oval Office for the Rose Garden.
- . Group photo-opportunity on the steps
- . Betty Heitman presents a gift to the President on behalf of the Executives.
- . The President invites the Executives to have individual photos taken.
- . Executives line up for individual photo-opportunities.
- . The President departs the Rose Garden for the Oval Office.



The President's Commission on Executive Exchange
THE WHITE HOUSE

1989-1990 PRESIDENTIAL EXCHANGE EXECUTIVES

Matthew E. Anderson
Assistant Technical Director & Head of
Ordnance Systems Department
Department of the Navy
assigned to
Xerox Corporation
Assistant to the Chief Engineer,
Advanced Products Technology and Engineering

Robert E. Baker
Deputy Division Chief
Department of Defense
assigned to
Boeing
Assistant to the Director, Electronics Technology

Jeffrey G. Brown
Manager, Marketing & Communications
Pepsi Cola Company
assigned to
Overseas Private Investment Corporation
Senior Officer for Marketing & Communications

Joseph W. Buracker
Director, Computer Management Division
Department of Housing and Urban Development
assigned to
Warner Lambert
MIS Planning Consultant

Robert M. Duncan
President and Chief Executive Officer
Inez Bank
assigned to
The White House
Assistant Director, Office of Public Liaison

James P. Gallogly
Assistant Administrator for Information Resources Management
Small Business Administration
assigned to
McDonnell Douglas
Director, Information Resources Management

G. Thomas Gibson
Director, Financial and Business Planning,
Ventures and Acquisitions
AT&T
assigned to
Department of Defense
Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for
Production and Logistics

Karen L. Gislason
Branch Manager
Bell Atlantic
assigned to
Department of Transportation
Special Assistant to the Secretary of Transportation

John K. Harper
Assistant Director, National Security and
International Affairs
General Accounting Office
assigned to
IBM
Consultant to the Director, Community Programs

Daryl M. Hartnett
Product Development Manager
Southern California Edison
assigned to
Department of Energy
Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary
for Policy, Planning and Analysis

John P. Healy
Senior Vice President
Ruder-Finn
assigned to
Department of Commerce
Executive Assistant to the Director,
Office of Public Affairs

John F. Hennigan, Jr.
Director, Office of Transportation Analysis
Interstate Commerce Commission
assigned to
IBM
Advisor to the Director,
Transportation Industry

Alice C. Hogan
Senior Program Manager, Division of International Programs
National Science Foundation
assigned to
Motorola
Special Assistant for Asian Technology Strategies

Judy A. Johnson
Director, Management Development
IBM
assigned to
The White House
Assistant to the Deputy Director of Demand Reduction
Office of National Drug Control Policy

Larry Kasulka
Director, New Business
McDonnell Douglas
assigned to
Department of Commerce
Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary and Director,
Office of Space Commerce

Howard P. Katz
Chief, Office of Management Services
Department of the Treasury
assigned to
Mobil Corporation
Assistant to the Manager of SCS Administrative Support

Karen E. Liukkonen
Director, Money Market Operations
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company
assigned to
Department of Health and Human Services
Special Assistant to the Inspector General

Susan M. Maciorowski
Associate Department Head for
Intelligence Systems Engineering
MITRE Corporation
assigned to
General Accounting Office
Special Assistant to the Director of Operations, IMTEC

Dennis R. Mayo
Manager for Consumer Reporting
Warner-Lambert
assigned to
Department of Health and Human Services
Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for
Management and Budget

Jack Nager
Manager, Special Program Integration Division
Federal Aviation Administration
assigned to
Hughes Aircraft
Senior Scientist/Engineer,
International Air Traffic Control Systems

Brian J. O'Connor
IBM
assigned to
Department of State
Special Assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to Hungary

Marvin J. Odesky
Manager of Planning
W. R. Grace
assigned to
National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Special Assistant to the
Associate Administrator for Management

Sherilynn J. Perelli
Director of Public Relations, Cadillac Division
General Motors Corporation
assigned to
Department of State
Special Assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to Japan

Andrew K. Phelps
Executive Assistant to the President
Bechtel National, Inc.
assigned to
Department of Defense
Special Assistant to Deputy Director, Defense
Research & Engineering, Research & Advanced Technology

Richard R. Ramlall
Staff Manager, Financial Analysis & Regulatory Support
Bell Atlantic
assigned to
Small Business Administration
Special Assistant to the Deputy Administrator

Terry C. Rumsey
Manager, Advanced Marketing
Xerox Corporation
assigned to
Department of Transportation
Special Assistant to the Secretary of Transportation

Charles R. Shipp
District Manager - Financial Regulatory Matters
AT&T
assigned to
Department of Agriculture
Special Assistant to the Director,
Office of Finance and Management

Dr. Ivan A. Somers
Program Manager
Hughes Aircraft
assigned to
Office of Management and Budget
Special Assistant to the
Executive Associate Director

David L. Townley
Generation Analysis Manager
Georgia Power Company
assigned to
Department of Defense
Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for
Production and Logistics

Adam J. Trujillo
Deputy Director, Office of Enforcement
Food and Drug Administration
assigned to
American Cyanamid
Associate Director of Environmental Impact Programs

Donald L. Vieth
Deputy Assistant Manager for Environment, Safety & Health
Department of Energy
assigned to
Lockheed Corporation
Executive Assistant to the President

Larry W. Walther
Division Manager
Southwestern Bell
assigned to
Department of the Treasury
Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary
for Management

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1990

HOUSTON POLICE RELAY TEAM
PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

DATE: JULY 26, 1990
TIME: 1:15 p.m.
LOCATION: ROSE GARDEN STEPS
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR COMMUNICATIONS
FROM: DOUG WEAD
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

I. PURPOSE:

To highlight your commitment to individuals who personify the "Thousand Points of Light" theme you will recognize members of the Houston Police Department for their efforts on behalf of the Leukemia Society of America.

II. BACKGROUND:

For the past eight years, officers from the Houston Police Department have been active in an annual bicycle relay to raise money for the battle against leukemia. Off duty hours, the officers volunteer their efforts throughout the year towards fundraising in the community. The money raised from the relay and from these community efforts will be presented to the Leukemia Society of America.

The relay team of twenty eight officers have just bicycled 1,650 miles from Houston to Washington.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Al Skozen, Relay Team Leader
Houston Police Department
27 Houston Police Relay Team Members
(see attached list)
Shiree Sanchez, Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

The President arrives

The President poses for group photo

Officer Al Skozen presents the President with a bicycle

The President departs.

V. PRESS PLAN:

Closed Press / Official Photographer

HOUSTON POLICE RELAY TEAM
PARTICIPANTS

Mark Curran
Tommy Shane
June Cain
James Koteras
Chuck Sheldon
Brad Piel
Michael O'Connell
Bill Tweedie
Allan Wallace
Diane Young
Michael Walsh
David Gott
Bob Francis
Bob Villireal
Henry Robledo
Stephen Morrison
Jeffrey Roeder
Robert Shane
Veronica Martinez
Antonio Saldivar
Craig Newman
Earl Thrash
Mitchell Garcia
Gary Powers
Jim Kalinwoski
Marion Yost
John Blackburn

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1990

Dear Mr. MacBride:

On behalf of Andrew H. Card, Jr., thank you for your invitation for Saturday, August 11th.

While Mr. Card appreciates your thoughtfulness, at this time he will be unable to join you on the 11th.

Thanks for your kindness.

Sincerely,



Linda M. Gambatesa
Special Assistant to
the Chief of Staff

Mr. Roger MacBride
Post Office Box 151
Biddeford Pool, Maine 04006

FOR Cocktails ; Gypset

Regret

DATE Saturday August 11th

TIME 5:00 - 7:30 pm

PLACE 38 Ocean Avenue, Gilledford Pool

Roger Mac Bride

NOVLIANI NV



NV 534-1
© HALLMARK CARDS, INC.
MADE IN U.S.A.

THE WHITE HOUSE

6/25/90

Dear Ed -

Thank you for your letter on behalf of Salahuddin Tauhidi. He graduated from Holbrook High School with my sister and his father was a close and special friend, as well as my Sunday School teacher.

I have had some communication with Salahuddin and have expressed support for his activities. - Keep in touch. Sincerely,
Andy Card

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable
Edward W. Brooke
Route 5 Box 270
Warrenton, Virginia
22186

EDWARD W. BROOKE

ROUTE 5, BOX 270

WARRENTON, VIRGINIA 22186

703-349-0068

AC HAS SEEN 6/25

June 15, 1990

Mr. Andrew Card
Deputy Chief Advisor to
President Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Andy,

I would like to recommend to you Mr. Salahuddin Tauhidi, (formerly Robert S. Gross), son of Buckley S. Gross of Holbrook, Massachusetts. Mr. Tauhidi has been seriously interested and striving to establish a successful petroleum and field equipment based international trade operation and soon will be relocating to the Washington, D.C. area.

Having served in the military with Mr. Tauhidi's father, and knowing of the family's commitment to community service, together with Mr. Tauhidi's international trade resources and experience, I believe that he would be an outstanding candidate in the International Trade arena. He has travelled extensively and shows a sincere desire to aid in our country's International Trade efforts.

Any support and networking assistance that you could possibly render to reinforce his efforts in the private and or government sectors of the petroleum (and general trading industry) area would be greatly appreciated.

I have again enclosed his resume for your review. Should you desire to speak with me directly, please contact my office at 703-349-0068.

With every best wish, I am

Sincerely,



Edward W. Brooke

EWB:dws
Enclosure

SALAHUDDIN S. TAUHIDI
252 Pond Street
Holbrook, Massachusetts 02343
(617) 767-3763

CAREER
OBJECTIVE

International Trade Developer

- A. The organization, coordination and management of business training seminars, networking conventions and trade missions between the U.S. and developing nations.
- B. The ownership and operation of a petroleum and oil equipment based trading and shipping firm covering imports, exports and projects for joint venture between the U.S. and developing nations.

EDUCATIONAL TRAINING - Related to Career Objectives

Primary Howard University Small Business Development Center, Washington, DC
Course Seminars - One month each (October '86 & June '87)
Small Business Startup Business Planning Seminar
Feasibility Workshop International Trade Management Program

Other Training World Trade Institute, Baltimore, MD (August '85)
Forming Business Partnerships and International Trade Law.

George Mason University (April '87)
Virginia Market Research Seminar.

WORK EXPERIENCE RELATED TO CAREER OBJECTIVES

8/87-8/88 Joint Venture Partner
One year international trade partnership between Fresh Wind Trade Consultants, Silver Spring, Maryland and Warm Seas House, London, England. Identifying producers of raw semifinished and finished products.

10/84-8/85 International Market Researcher & Sales Representative
Mumin Corporation, Cleveland, OH

12/82-10/84 Sales Representative
Time Life Libraries, Washington, DC

GENERAL EDUCATION

9/72-5/76 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA
B.A. African Mideast Studies

9/74-6/75 University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria (Junior year abroad)

GENERAL WORK HISTORY

12/89-Present Research Assistant - Boston Financial Data Service, Quincy, MA

10/87-10/88 Customer Service - Organic Farms, Beltsville, MD

3/84-9/84 Customer Service - Y.E.S. Natural Food Gourmet

REFERENCES UPON REQUEST

May 1, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: Andy
FROM: Lisi *Lisi*
RE: Bobby Gross

Just in case you haven't been bothered enough, here is one more item to add to your list.

You probably remember Bobby Gross (Buckley's son, the basketball player) who graduated in my class. Well, I heard from him a few weeks ago and, of course, he is interested in tapping into your position for a boost in his endeavor in opening a trade office. I suggested that he contact the appropriate people here at Commerce which he says he has, however, he also thinks you will push the magic button and open all sorts of doors.

I haven't heard from or about him for the almost twenty years since I graduated, however, he was a legitimate good guy. You will notice that he has embraced the Islamic faith and thus has changed his name. He has sent me the attached information to pass on to you. Perhaps you can make more sense out of exactly what he is doing than I; however, there is mention of establishing an export trading company. It just so happens that Doug Aller handles these here at Commerce, so I could bounce this off Doug to see what he thinks.

I'll wait to hear what your recommendations are before doing anything. Thanks.

ps. - Remember his brother - (in your class?) well he died suddenly last December.

Attachment

*Good seeing you
last night!*

252 Pond Street
Holbrook, MA 02343
(H) (617) 767-3763
(W) (617) 774-2116

April 12, 1990

Mr. Andrew Card
Deputy Chief Advisor to President Bush &
Chief of Staff
c/o Alison Kaufmann
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Subject: Letter (or correspondence) of Recommendation
Support for International Trade Between
USA and Saudi Gulf Arab States Brunie and Sudan

May this letter greet you in the best of spirit, health and faith.

May I introduce myself as Salahuddin Tauhidi, one of the sons of the late Buckley S. Gross of Holbrook, Massachusetts. My birth name was Robert S. Gross and upon embracing the Orthodox (Universal) Islamic faith, received the above name.

In conference with Mrs. Joyce Card (our family lawyer), she affirmed and briefly expressed your presidential appointment as Deputy Chief Advisor to President Bush and Chief of Staff John Sununu. I take this time to congratulate you for achieving this station of public service and for placing our "Peyton Place" of Holbrook on the map. Your achievements should definitely serve to inspire and generate responsibility/accountability to specifically our youth.

After briefly outlining my international trade profile to Mrs. Card, I expressed an interest to both seek your possible assistance and/or counsel in a supportive capacity. Mrs. Card kindly offered your White House phone number as well as the employment number to Alison Kaufmann.

I called Alison who graduated in the same 1972 Holbrook High School class year as myself, to confer with her on the appropriate protocol in directing my case to you. I suggested and she agreed that I direct my concerns in the form of a letter as a first step, in care of her. I begin as follows and will be very concise.

Mr. Andrew Card
April 12, 1990
Page 2

I have been under frugal conditions and at subsequent future financial security, diligently preserving to develop, own and operate an international trade company (export trade company). Petroleum and real estate joint ventures are my primary areas of interest that will also include general trading. Trade between the U.S. and Mideast Africa, Western Europe and Southeast Asia are my geographical areas of interest.

Not meeting the conditions for securing a bank loan (collateral and track record), I was left with the risky option of striving to secure one or two lucrative contracts which would both provide the seed capital for developing the business operations and meet one of the conditions for a bank loan.

I have cultivated and secured the ready, able and willing partnership and support from very, very influential, affluent and competent businessmen in those countries mentioned above, most who have direct business and family ties to heads of state in government.

I wish to forge and develop strong and durable business relations between them and the following U.S. government agencies, companies and businessmen:

1. Department of Defense U.S. Fuel Supply Center
Petroleum sales to DOD through the 5% minority program.
2. Oil Companies (Refineries)
Petroleum related joint ventures and petroleum sales to U.S. refineries.
3. International Real Estate Joint Ventures.

As you are most probably well aware, petroleum trade and major real estate ventures contain unique complexities and nuances of varying degrees that are challenging to both the heart and spirit.

Securing the influence, respect and attention are some of the components to those complexities and nuances. The greater the degree of influence, respect and attention, the greater the response and eventual push that can get one over the camel's hump.

I brought this to your attention with the hope that you may be able to provide that command of influence, respect and attention in the form of a letter of recommendation/support directed to the above outlined U.S. government agencies, designated oil companies (to be identified) and real estate entities. As I have secured the overseas influence, respect and attention, such a letter of recommendation and support would complement and secure the U.S. side.

If you are in a position or capable to provide such a letter, I can provide you:

1. Names, addresses of overseas business parties (partners) in petroleum, real estate sectors along with partnership agreements.

Mr. Andrew Card
April 12, 1990
Page 3

2. Address any other questions you may have regarding my international trade qualifications.
3. Meet with you in person to fully introduce myself and business objectives.

I am looking to locate my E.T.C. in the Washington Metropolitan Area. With one or two successful and lucrative petroleum and real estate contacts, I would be well on the way toward not only achieving the financial stability but ultimately be in a position to become purposefully and substantially involved with the current issues and problems (i.e., drug wars, role model youth...) that affect our nation. Such an endeavor would be a continuing legacy to my dear father, well known for his active participation and contributions in community affairs in the Holbrook, South Shore, Brockton Area.

As indicated, I am ready to meet with you at your decision regarding the letter of recommendation and support.

I have enclosed a resume, portion of a feasibility that highlights my growth strategy (researched from Coopers & Lybrand). Further below is a list of references of people who have known me over the years and of my business endeavors.

1. Tom Watson - Watson & Rice, Washington, DC
Chairman - Industry Sector Small Business Development
2. Ali Khan - Muhammad Ali
Champ Cookies who met recently with President Bush
3. Jammie McKay - Petroleum Oil & Field Sector
Department of Commerce
4. Sulay Man Ny Ang - Director of African Studies
Howard University

This completes my address.

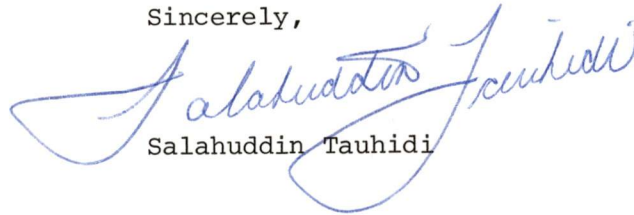
In closing you may be interested to know of my deep experience and background in international/cultural relations. I have lived and studied in Nigeria and travel to some thirteen other countries in Africa, Mideast and Europe. I wish to advance and refine these cherishable experiences and enhance global consciousness that would not deter from my international trade objectives, but which would serve to complement them in a diplomatic international liaison relation capacity. Perhaps you may be able to suggest some good words of advice.

Mr. Andrew Card
April 12, 1990
Page 4

Upon expected arrival of this letter to you through Alison, I shall follow up with a call to her and/or to your White House Office phone number to ascertain your response. I am currently residing in Holbrook assisting my mother after the passing of my brother Richard Gross (December 22, 1989). We are making preparations to sell the family house and hopefully relocate my mother to Virginia, Maryland Area. I had to temporarily take up work at Boston Financial Data Systems as a Research Assistant but am planning on returning to DC mid-spring. However, I can meet with you any day of the week at your earliest convenience if possible.

May God grant you continued success, peace and blessings to you and your family in this life and the next.

Sincerely,



Salahuddin Tauhidi

252 Pond Street
Holbrook, MA 02343

The attached (resume) concisely outlines my career interest and experience in international trade. As a complement to its contents please note the following information.

I have travelled extensively to some fourteen countries throughout the Mideast, Africa and Europe. These periodic travel excursions, covering a period between 1974 and 1989, were both exclusively business related as well as college study and leisure.

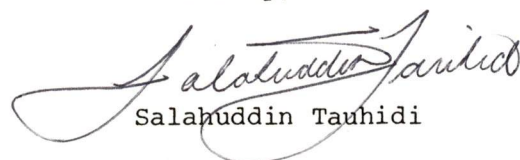
The business objectives (exploratory in orientation) in visiting those countries were designed to evaluate and secure interested joint venture partners, acquire working knowledge of the market, and business culture. Specifically product project areas were more purposely defined and healthy personalized business relations were established, a most important "preliminary" for conducting business in the Middle East as well as Africa.

Please note under the career objectives on the resume, I have divided them into two areas. This was stated purposely as a reflection of actual work experience as an employee for an international trade firm (Mumin Corporation) and as an entrepreneur joint venture partner (Fresh Winds/Warm Seas).

I intend to continually advance, refine and acquire knowledge and experience in the international trade area. It is a very competitive arena where one has to keep abreast of the various trends/changes (1992 European Market/Democracy Eastern Europe) that greatly impact upon the competency of one's job or business.

Thank you for your time and interest in reviewing and considering my position as _____

Sincerely,


Salahuddin Tauhidi

SALAHUDDIN S. TAUHIDI
252 Pond Street
Holbrook, Massachusetts 02343
(617) 767-3763

CAREER
OBJECTIVE

International Trade Developer

- A. The organization, coordination and management of business training seminars, networking conventions and trade missions between the U.S. and developing nations.
- B. The ownership and operation of a petroleum and oil equipment based trading and shipping firm covering imports, exports and projects for joint venture between the U.S. and developing nations.

EDUCATIONAL TRAINING - Related to Career Objectives

Primary Howard University Small Business Development Center, Washington, DC
Course Seminars - One month each (October '86 & June '87)
Small Business Startup Business Planning Seminar
Feasibility Workshop International Trade Management Program

Other Training World Trade Institute, Baltimore, MD (August '85)
Forming Business Partnerships and International Trade Law.

George Mason University (April '87)
Virginia Market Research Seminar.

WORK EXPERIENCE RELATED TO CAREER OBJECTIVES

8/87-8/88 Joint Venture Partner
One year international trade partnership between Fresh Wind Trade Consultants, Silver Spring, Maryland and Warm Seas House, London, England. Identifying producers of raw semifinished and finished products.

10/84-8/85 International Market Researcher & Sales Representative
Mumin Corporation, Cleveland, OH

12/82-10/84 Sales Representative
Time Life Libraries, Washington, DC

GENERAL EDUCATION

9/72-5/76 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA
B.A. African Mideast Studies

9/74-6/75 University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria (Junior year abroad)

GENERAL WORK HISTORY

12/89-Present Research Assistant - Boston Financial Data Service, Quincy, MA

10/87-10/88 Customer Service - Organic Farms, Beltsville, MD

3/84-9/84 Customer Service - Y.E.S. Natural Food Gourmet

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FEASIBILITY ANALYSIS REPORT

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FEASIBILITY ANALYSIS REPORT
FOR
INTERNATIONAL TRADE PARTNERSHIP

ART I INTRODUCTION

A. Scope - Purpose

The scope and purpose of the Feasibility Analysis Report for International Trade Partnership has been provided to determine the favorable success factors of a U.S. based Export-Import Trading Company, which will function as a partner to a foreign trading company. This Analysis covers the full range of topics that relate to the organization and development of the partnership between the Export Trading Company, hereinafter referred to as The E.T.C. and the Foreign Trading Company hereinafter referred to as Warmseas House.

B. Description of the Business

As a partner to Warmseas House, the E.T.C. shall provide the following services.

1. Core Function Areas

A. Commodity Brokerage - Identifying producers of raw, semi finished and finished products.

B. Joint Venture Project Development - Identifying and developing joint venture projects in high tech, agricultural, construction (architectural, engineering) petroleum, health and environmental and or as otherwise determined.

2. Trade Activities - The trade activities of these two core function areas shall consist of:

A. Exports - Exporting commodities, and joint venture projects from the U.S. to another country.

B. Imports - Importing commodities and joint venture projects from another country into the U.S.

C. Third Country Trade - Trade between two countries other than the U.S.

D. Barter/Countertrade - Taking payment in goods rather than currency.

E. Switch Trade - Using a third countries currency in trade between two nations.

F. Franchise Acquisition - Development - in and outside the U.S.

3. Characteristics of Trade Activities

A. A percentage of attention shall be directed towards networking the E.T.C. - Warmseas partnership with minority-owned/controlled business operations (corp, firms, construction, government agencies) in the U.S. as well as Canada, Caribbean, Latin and South America, that have the demonstrated interest and or capability in implementing international trade transactions.

B. Special concern and attention shall be devoted towards those commodities and joint venture projects that are transfer tech orientated, provide jobs-skills training, fosters utilization of natural resources of a nation or community, life promoting and which are consistent with the social-moral-cultural values and ethics of a country or community.

4. Essential Services - The essential duties of the trade activities of the two core function areas shall consist of pursuing, negotiating, and closing leads and directives of products/projects identified by Warmseas as well as those identified by the E.T.C. and approved by Warmseas House. Initially for the beginning phase of the E.T.C. - Warmseas partnership, services related to the implementation of the

essential duties shall consist of:

- A. Buyer Identification
- B. Market Research (intelligence), Planning, Strategy
- C. Product Adaptation and Design Packaging
- D. Promotions/Communication Advertising

Due to the low cost (growth strategy) operating structure of the U.S.-E.T.C., the following services shall be subcontracted:

- 1. Freight Forwarder - to cover export logistics
- 2. Custom House Broker - to cover import logistics
- 3. International Bank Services - Documentation Services
- 4. Research Assistant - H.U.- who will perform investigative analysis
- 5. Administrative Assistant (only on a as needed basis) who will perform office assistant duties.
- 6. Private/Non-Private Managerial Consultants
- 7. Telex Services
- 8. Secretarial - on a as needed basis

Lastly, in addition to the above business descriptions, the E.T.C. upon the request of Warmseas shall:

- 1. Provide current information and forecast reports on the issues, trends, policies, and laws effecting world trade from U.S. perspectives.
- 2. Assisting in providing logistical support in the development and coordination of trade missions and expos.

C. Business Objectives

The primary objective of this E.T.C.-Warmseas partnership is designed to secure meaningful and purposeful international business opportunities mutually profitable to principals and partners.

Benefits To Warmseas House

Through utilizing the U.S. strategic base of operations of the E.T.C. and its complimentary:

- 1. Primary-secondary international trade resources/expertise
- 2. Defined and established, customer/entreprise base outside as well as in the U.S.

Supported by an excellent health, a self-motivated and competitive spirit of the E.T.C. principal, Warmseas can use the E.T.C. as a vehicle towards:

- 1. Selling projects/products/services related to its primary business.
- 2. Identifying and evaluating investment opportunities and how to implement that investment once the decision has been made by a regular presence of the U.S. based E.T.C.
- 3. Defraying some % of cost of its present interantional infrastructure.
- 4. Taking advantage of current and future disincentive measures and features, specific to an E.T.C. regarding foreign investment and overall trade.* (see Business Strategy)
- 5. Acquiring current information and forecast data on laws, policies, trends and issues affecting world trade.*

In short, the U.S. based E.T.C. could provide Warmseas an additional extended and strategic dimension towards diversity, reinforcement, and expansion, of its international trade operations.

* Flexible Intergrated Computer Automated Systems.

Benefits To The E.T.C.

A partnership with Warmseas would enable the E.T.C. to purposefully and strategically channel and cultivate its international trade resources and expertise through:

1. Gainful and unique access to established and/or exclusive markets.
2. Gainful and unique access to advanced and specialized international trade knowledge and experience.
3. Established international infrastructure.
4. Access to product/project ventures
5. Experience with foreign currency
6. Financial stability
7. Credit extended capabilities

In short, these seven factors possessed by Warmseas would provide a major competitive edge feature and tactic that would propel the E.T.C. towards an established and continuously progressive financial position and operating leverage in world trade. (see tables 1 & 2 attached)

D. Basic Business Strategies of Partnership

1. Growth Strategy - There are three basic growth strategies that the E.T.C. can take:
 - A. Large trade comp. with full scale operations from the outset. This strategy is the most riskiest, and costly, requiring great or substantial commitment of resources and thus stands to lose the most, if not successful. On the other side, it could achieve greatest market penetration and potential profits if successful.
 - B. The second strategy consists of working on a deal by deal basis acting more as a broker than a trading concern. This strategy is the least riskiest, requiring modest initial expenditure mostly in the form of time and expenses from principals; could also promise less in future payoffs and prove difficult to translate its activities from brokering to trading. As it gains experience, however, the brokering activities could move towards a trade concern and then expand according to the third strategy.
 - C. The third strategy, calls for a gradual middle-of-the way approach - The E.T.C. could begin by focusing on a few countries with few product/project lines. As experience is gained, new countries/product/project lines could be added gradually as a result of taking advantage of new opportunities when they arise or as a result of pre-planning.

Concluding Recommendation

Given the current international trade resource base (personal, managerial, financial) of the E.T.C. principal, the 3rd strategy represents the most feasible - a medium by which the partnership could gradually develop the required trading experience, capability and management expertise (which is an essential ingredient). Also, in the beginning phase of operations, the E.T.C. - partnership can assume a low cost initial expenditure that is based on the following factors:

- A. Operating base-from residence which would defray overhead (as sole proprietorship status).
 - B. Subcontracting out on a as needed basis.
 - C. Utilizing strategic based secondary sources in the Washington Metro Area that are free, inexpensive and in constant supply at volume levels.
 - D. Utilization of administrative support structure of Warmseas where applicable to E.T.C. operations which would also defray overhead.
2. The second basic strategy would relate to selling those products/projects related to one of the primary business niches of Warmseas where they have established trade relationships, thus maximizing an advantage. i.e. U.S. government multi-billion dollar petroleum industry.
 3. Choosing a product/project mix that have common attributes such as similar transportation distribution channels and requirements.
 4. Utilization of the E.T.C. - sponsors bank (Signet) that have developed and sustaining relationships with manufacturers and business entities.
 5. Identify established market channels in those geographic areas that offer the most promising and prosperous business activities (i.e. Pacific Rim refer to Islam Arabia Review, March issue March 1987)
 6. Develop a marketing strategy that focuses on a combination of geographic areas and types of buyers (i.e. high priority target clients that have a centralized purchasing authority such as international hotel chains, airline caterers or foreign military establishments.
 7. Maximizing the strategic location of the resources (human/technical, federal, state, region) and business opportunities of the Washington Metro Area (Virginia, Maryland), an international capital and business center.
- * Also take note of newly released survey that shows an improvement in business climates in Maryland and Virginia. Baltimore-Washington corridor is 5th fastest growing economy in the nation. (attached)
8. Integrate into the marketing strategy the regional access to the major industrial, financial, and investment capitals of the northeast - NYC, Boston, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Newark,...
 9. Port Authority - 20 minute access to a leading U.S. port in Baltimore, Maryland.
 10. Acquire E.T.C. certification from E.T.C. act of 1982 that would allow:
 1. U.S. firms the freedom to make joint bids to fulfill foreign request for manufacturing goods and services and to bid cooperatively on overseas projects. (i.e. benefit to architectural engineering projects) (refer to E.T.C. Act)
 2. Allow bank holding companies to invest in and own E.T.C.'s making available new sources of finance for the historically under capitalized export service industry. (Foreign investment rose 13.4% in 1986 - \$209.3 billion, Washington Post - 6-25-87 see attached)
 11. Utilize access to other continental business territories and opportunities in the U.S. and proximity to Canada, Caribbeans, Latin, and South America.
 12. Utilize an established and cultivated rapport with elected officials and opined business leaders that have decision making capability

13. Schedule time to acquire or sharper management skills related towards E.T.C. development i.e. - with new technology, management, computer, and language skills - Arabic, Chinese. (see article - 21st. century)
14. Institution of time progress manage control charts that could include self-evaluation of the E.T.C. principals, a bi-yearly evaluation by Warmseas that would assess overall performance, employ new strategies and address new challenges.
15. Attending business expos, luncheons, seminars, workshops, to keep abreast of current trends, information, and opportunities as well as subscriptions to leading trade publications (INC., Black Ent., Oil Daily)
16. yearly marketing opportunity analysis report

PART 2 RESOURCES

A. Personal

1. Work Related Experience

- A. General office manager for an export management company - research, administrative, secretarial duties.
- B. Independent brokerage excursions
- C. Mideast-Africa visit to explore business opportunities and to acquire first hand experience and exposure to business culture of those areas.
- D. Sales representative - Time Life, INC.

2. Education

- A. BA degree in African/Middle Eastern Studies, 1976, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; 2 years Modern Literary Arabic.
- B. Enrollment in - certification in seminars, workshops, conferences - business management, planning and international trade programs. 1982-87, D.C., Cleveland, Boston, Baltimore.
- C. International Trade Certification, Howard University, May, 1987.

3. Time Commitment

5 days a week plus whatever days and hours within reasonable expectations are necessary to efficiently produce profitable results for the partnership.

The E.T.C. principal (Tawhidi) will assume a flexible but very time effective calendar and disciplined approach which will facilitate access to acquire and integrate skills/experience related to development of the E.T.C. partnership (i.e. management/finance/computer/Arabic) and which will enhance outside interdisciplinary studies.

B. Financial

Capital requirements for the E.T.C. partnership will depend on two factors:

1. Scale and scope of the E.T.C.
2. Resources of the existing international infrastructure of Warmseas

To determine the capital requirements partners should assess:

- A. The cost required to support the E.T.C. method of operation
- B. Products Sold
- C. Activities/Services
- D. Infrastructure needs

Capital requirements will vary according to the particular needs and functions of the partnership.

However, attached I have devised a tentative low cost financial forecast for initial capital requirements to be reviewed and/or revised by Warmseas.

C. Managerial

The following list consists of the current resources readily available to support the operations, marketing and finance functions (three common organizational forms to any E.T.C.) of the E.T.C.

1. Partners: Ahmed U. Makki, Abdallah Sheikh, Magdi Hassan
either as - active, limited, nominal, subpartner, ostensible, dormant
(see terms defined, attached)
2. International Trade Services and Specialist - providing free or low cost management support services.
 - A. Dept. - Commerce - R.R., A.G., D.P., T.H., A.B., J.M.
 - B. S.B.A. - A.C., E.S. - export data base
 - C. Maryland Int. Dev. Finance Authority - M. Taurus
 - D. D.C., MD., Virg. - Chambers of Commerce
 - E. Howard University S.B.D.C. - W.M.J. Kavoski
 - F. Office of International Trade, Baltimore, MD. - K.L., D.O., R.N.
3. Low cost management consulting services that provides financial, marketing, planning and accounting services.
 - A. W & R (Invest/Analysis Corp) A. Malik
 - B. B & Y
 - C. Resoures INC.
4. Import-Export Consultant - N.J. - native of England experienced in Mid East, Europe, Far East
5. Research Assistant
 - A. S.B.D.C. - Howard University
 - B. International Marketing Dept. - Howard University
6. International Finance - Trade Transactions
 - A. Signet Bank - E.T.C. sponsors bank
P.S. - Assistant Vice President
 - B. Baileys Freight Forwarder
7. Secretarial - on a as needed basis
 - A. Howard University S.B.D.C.
 - B. Howard University North Faculty & Founders Library
8. E.T.C. Development
Coopers Lybrand
9. Other - Politech, Hollice Shingler, Nat. Bank of Washington
plus management resources relative to infrastructure of Warmseas.

The above managerial resources of the E.T.C. may be combined with those inherit in the managerial infrastructure of Warmseas. Managerial controls would be devised to maintain accountability, in the form of guidelines, flexible enough to act quickly and adapt to opportunities as they arise and a financial information system developed to measure performance.

Complimentary and additional cost effective managerial measures can be included upon the review of this report by Warmseas and as the need arises.

D. Operational Structure

1. Legal Form

Sole Proprietorship

Advantages - ease - speed - formation, reduced expense, relative freedom from gove. regulation and taxes

Disadvantages - unlimited liability, difficulty in obtaining finance

2. Organizational Form and Structure of Partnership

A. Partnership

B. Other potential options to consider are wholly owned subsidiary division within Warmseas (see attached diagram)

E. Other Resources

1. Elected and influential officials such as Mayors, City Councilmen, Congressmen

2. Dept. of Commerce - (I.T.A., MBDA, Export Trade Company; Foreign Trade Reference Room)

Chamber of Commerce - DC, Maryland, Virginia

Dept. of Energy

" " Agriculture

" " Transportation

" " State

" " Treasury

" " Defense

Embassies/Consulate

Commercial Banks

Trade Associations

SBA

Inter American Development Bank

Exim-Import Bank

World Bank

Office of International Trade, Baltimore

Agency for Int. Development

Asian Development Bank

United Nations - International Project Bidding

General Agreement on Tariff - Trade

Harlem World Trade Inst.

National Minority Business Council

(U.S. Entrepreneurs Network)

National Urban League

(U.S. Business Council)

National Black Leadership Association

Manufacturing Study Board

3. Trade Journal Publications

U.S. Assoc. of International Business

I.N.C. Black Enterprise Oil Gas Journal

Forbes Oil Daily American Petroleum Inst.

International Franchise Assoc.

Business America

Natural Merchandise

Int. Alliance For Sustainable Agriculture

4. Japanese African American Society

I. Baf

A.A. Shab

National Bank of Washington - Ms. Saunders, Ms. Washington

F. Possible Potential Investors For An E.T.C.1. ServicesA. Financial

- Banks Money Centers - NYC
- Regional Bank - Signet
- Investment Banking Houses
- Insurance Companies

2. Suppliers

- Fortune 500
- Medium Sized
- Small Comp
- Large Retailers

3. Export Services

- Export Management Comp
- Webb Pome Associations
- Freight Forwarder
- Transportation

4. Other

Communications Comp
Trade Associations
Comm/Sec/Traders

Foreign Trade Comp -- Warm Seas House

5. Unassociated Investors

Venture Capitalist
Common Stock

6. Quasi-Public

- Port Authorities
- State Economic dev. Authorities

7. Government

Federal
State
Local

7/25/90

THE WHITE HOUSE

6/25/90

Dear Chris -

Thank you for your letter. Deb Stedman
has speak very highly of you.

Yes, I would be glad to meet with
you. Please call Linda Gambatera in
my office to schedule a meeting - 456-2533.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

224-2235
8-12-53

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Christopher Koch
Administrative Assistant
to Senator John McCain
111 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

JOHN McCAIN
ARIZONA

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE,
AND TRANSPORTATION
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

United States Senate

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SUITE 190
PHOENIX, AZ 85016
(602) 640-2567

5151 EAST BROADWAY
SUITE 170
TUCSON, AZ 85711
(602) 670-6334

PERSONAL

June 18, 1990

Mr. Andrew Card
Assistant to the President &
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

AC HAS SEEN 6/25

Dear Mr. Card:

Debbie Steelman told me that she had talked to you about me and my interest in the Federal Trade Commission, and I thought it might be appropriate to provide you with a little personal perspective and information.

I want to assure you that I fully understand the difference between working for Congress and for the President. As you may know, I have been trying to serve President Bush at the FTC since he was elected for both personal and professional reasons. I have been staying in my present capacity as Senator McCain's chief of staff in large part because I had reason to believe that a Commissionership was a realistic possibility.

Philosophically, I believe the consumer is far better off under a deregulated, competitive economy than any other alternative. The role of the FTC is to discourage unnecessary regulation and to encourage competition. Frankly, not only is this good economics and public policy, it is good politics for the President.

I also want to assure you of my commitment and loyalty to President Bush. I appreciate the fact that some may question whether a person coming from the Hill will have his or her bearings orientated toward the wrong end of Pennsylvania Avenue. I can assure you I would not, and I would be more than willing to discuss that point in detail with you or anyone else in the Administration.

Politically, as you know, I worked for the Bush campaign both directly in the Congressional relations program and in support of John McCain's numerous supportive efforts during the campaign. My efforts were genuine and enthusiastic for the President then, and they would continue to be should I go to work for him in the Administration.

I fully realize the importance of a coordinated Administration team, and the possible liability of appointing someone to an independent agency that you cannot have confidence in. I can assure you I am not such a person.

I believe I have the work habits, the intellectual acuity, and the judgment to serve the President exceptionally well at the FTC. It is an area I have had an abiding interest in for many years.

If you believe it would be at all helpful, I would like to meet with you to discuss this interest and issue in more detail. I believe I can make a very positive difference for the President.

Sincerely,



Christopher Koch
Administrative Assistant
to Senator John McCain

CK/vp

DANIEL E. McDONALD, P.E.
5420 ALPINE DRIVE
RALEIGH, N. C. 27609
(919) 876-3863

July 6, 1990

Done

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ms. Linda Gamatesa
Special Assistant to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Thanks a million for your help in arranging for me to meet with Andy Card on Monday, July 16, at 1:30 P.M. (not to exceed twenty minutes). Dianne Jordan promptly relayed your call on June 27.

Each time I have visited the White House it has been necessary to furnish, prior to the visit, my social security number and date of birth. May I give this information to you for passing to the West Executive gatekeepers?

SSN: 238-24-5180

DOB: August 3, 1911

HEALTH: AOK

(Incidentally, I am 39 years old, as I have been for several years. However, when I heard that Ronald Reagan was born in 1911 I could not resist being born the same year!)

I look forward to seeing you July 16. I assume Andy's office is the one occupied by Dan Crippen in early 1988. I remember it well. To reach Dan's cubbyhole I passed through a room overflowing with lovely ladies. For a moment I thought I was in Heaven - not the White House.

Thanks again. And best wishes.

Dan McDonald



GANNON UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY SQUARE • ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA 16541 • (814) 871-7534

Political Science

June 13, 1990

Mr. Andy Card
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Card:

On behalf of all of us in the Gannon University Washington Seminar program, thank you for what everyone agrees was a great opportunity and first-rate program.

All of the students agreed that your remarks were extremely helpful in their efforts to understand the U.S. policy process within the Beltway. Please know that they and we on the faculty greatly appreciate your generous grant of time and obvious preparation. We hope that we may again have the pleasure of visiting with you.

Sincerely, with gratitude,

David C. Kozak, Ph.D.
Professor, Public Policy
Director, Institute for Policy
and Leadership Studies

DCK:sjs

*First-rate in every way. I'm
very impressed with the quality of your
remarks. Very informative.*

Enclosed is article by Ken and I.

Hope to see you soon —

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

Notes to the Next Administration: Thoughts on Effective Congressional Relations and Legislative Liaison

KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DAVID C. KOZAK

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

GANNON UNIVERSITY

Inevitably, the next president and his top assistants will soon come to realize — as all of their predecessors have — that relations with Congress must receive highest priority. They may think they understand this now, but the sheer weight of Congress must be felt first-hand before it is fully appreciated.

The U.S. political system is not a unitary one. The consent of a highly independent Congress is required before major presidential initiatives can be enacted. As Jeff Fishel has so succinctly stated, "Presidents control what they initiate; other institutions (especially the Congress) control what presidents achieve."¹ How well the President works with and influences Congress will strongly affect Presidential standing and prestige and the president's ability to determine public policy. In sum, presidents cannot overemphasize congressional liaison, especially at the outset of a new administration. Whomever we elect and inaugurate as President Reagan's successor is going to have to be able to get on with the formidable U.S. Congress. And one of the major criteria by which he and his administration surely will be judged is how well he can persuade the Congress on his programs.

The purpose of this essay is to offer the new administration of 1989 some recommendations on how to deal effectively with Congress, how to manage relations with "the Hill," and how to derive maximum gains from that relationship. The essay reflects the different vantage points of the two authors: Chief of Staff to the President Duberstein, who previously served as Assistant

to the President for Legislative Affairs from 1982-83 and as Deputy Assistant for the House during the critical year 1981, provides recollections of strategic success and early planning. Kozak, who taught courses in legislative affairs and liaison in Washington, D.C. at a U.S. Government institute, has conducted an academic study based on interviews with more than twenty-five legislative liaison experts within the Reagan administration. Our hope is to blend these practitioner and academic perspectives.

Our essay unfolds in four parts: (1) general propositions about the U.S. political system, Congress as an institution, and doing business in a pluralistic democracy; (2) recommendations concerning congressional relations in the transition; (3) a strategy for maximizing Presidential influence; and (4) suggestions for continued effective interface between the administration and Congress.

*1. General Propositions about the U.S. Political System,
Congress as an Institution, and Doing Business in a
Pluralistic Democracy*

Effective relations with the Hill need to be conducted with the following general propositions in mind. Each needs to be part of the operational code of any President who hopes to succeed on the Hill.

Understand the System

The American system is predicated on a deliberate fragmentation of power that creates co-equal branches. To use Neustadt's famous phrase, the essence of the American political system is "separate institutions sharing power."² For Edward Corwin, the constitution is "an invitation to struggle between President and Congress" with regard to national priorities.³ The result is a political system featuring adversarial rivalry and ceaseless agitation.

The framers of the U.S. Constitution were not interested in creating a neat, orderly, efficient government. They were driven by a desire to protect and preserve individual liberty. It was their hope that they could structurally prevent a constitutional dictatorship by creating multiple centers of power comprised of different institutions. Furthermore, each institution was to be constitutionally intruded into the business of the other in a scheme of checks and balances whereby power would countervail power

and ambition would rival ambition. Such is the legacy of the American system, and the first step toward wisdom in effective relations with Congress is acknowledging Congress's legitimate responsibilities, powers, and functions in the policy process. Congress is the strongest legislative body in the world. Despite a worldwide decline of legislatures this century, the U.S. Congress has grown in its authority. Its powers of the purse and statutory and oversight policy tools are truly awesome.

Politics in a pluralistic system is best practiced with a sense of mutual respect

Adversarial relations do not require acrimony. Different positions and interests can and should be pursued in an atmosphere of comity and mutual respect. This doesn't mean you should run from a fight — it means that, as Sam Rayburn used to say, "you learn to disagree agreeably." As a result, the system will run much better and the chances of maximizing your goals over the long run will increase.

Understand Congress as a Unique Institution

Congress is a unique organization. Its members are independently elected. Within the Congress, therefore, there exist 535 separate political fiefdoms.

Four aspects of Congress's peculiar structure must be kept in mind. First, Congress is a political institution, driven by an electoral connection. Members get there through an election and want to get reelected. Of course, this means pursuing electoral and constituency interests. Second, there are many power centers on the Hill: two houses; subcommittees and committees in each for authorizations, appropriations and budgets; informal work groups; and staff, staff, staff. Third, although congressional leaders have the potential to centralize this diffuse structure, they are less influential than they used to be. And, finally, the congressional process has multiple stages, involving numerous successive decision points (e.g.: subcommittee, committee, floor, conference) each of which requires a separate strategy. Furthermore, each policy domain (agriculture, defense, education, etc.) constitutes a distinctive issue-network subsystem, replete with its indigenous power structure in Congress. Each must be worked separately.

From an administration's point of view, the consequence of

these characteristics is the creation of a policy process that moves slowly and incrementally and is strongly affected by constituency parochialism. All who work with Congress need to be ever mindful that it is more a conflict resolution body than a solutions-oriented body. This is key to understanding it.

'Bipartisanship' and 'Compromise' are the watchwords for dealing with Congress

In almost all votes on the Hill, victory comes as the result of bipartisan coalition-building. A President will, of course, start with a base afforded by his own party in Congress. But, because of inevitable defections, the administration must build beyond this by encouraging support from the opposition party. For this to happen, another Rayburnism must be observed: "always realize that today's adversary on a particular bill may be tomorrow's ally on other bills." In other words, keep the lines of communication open to the opposition. You'll need them.

Of course, give and take compromise is the lubricant of a pluralistic system. You can't have it all your way. You can hold out for the best deal but you've got to deal and at the right time. And, you need always keep in mind the famous LBJ dictum: "half a loaf is better than none." Always keep your principles and promises in mind, but a simple fact of life in a system of shared power is that effectiveness in policymaking requires bargaining, negotiation and eventual accommodation. This policy process responds best to consensus-building rather than cause-driven zealotry.

The President is expected to be a legislative leader; but that doesn't happen automatically

Presidents must provide legislative leadership. Even most members of Congress acknowledge the need for an activist President to lead the nation; but that leadership is something that must be won and then safeguarded through hard work and sophisticated power-wielding.

It is vital for the functioning of the American political system that the President be effective in leading Congress. As analysts from Hamilton to Neustadt have emphasized, the U.S. Presidency constitutes the unity and energy of the American system, the one true centripetal force in an otherwise fragmented struc-

ture. It is the one institution offering the potential for coordinated, integrated, and centralized policymaking. Harry Truman may have stated it best, "The President is the only official elected by all the people. He is the lobbyist for all of the people."⁴ If the nation is to have policy coherence and direction, the president must be able to exercise influence on the Hill.

The nature of the American system is such that many factors combine to constrain and limit Presidential power, especially Presidential leadership of Congress. The President and the Congress reflect different time frames, policy roles and perspectives, and constituencies. Inevitably, this means that the President and the Congress may be at loggerheads. Members of Congress — though generally high-minded, nation and public interest oriented — are in the last analysis understandably driven by constituency and re-election interests that do not always coincide with "the national interest." Congress frequently reflects partisan, parochial, short-term, and segmented concerns. And, an assertive Congress incessantly attempts to impose its will on the administration in order to put its imprint on public policy.

To survive and prevail, presidents must carefully husband their limited stocks of power. Power cannot be squandered needlessly on agenda overload and fighting for impossible causes. When a President goes to the mat with the Congress he must go to win. Every potential conflict with Congress must be gauged for its impact on the President's prospective power — the ability to influence future events on the Hill.⁵ Success will beget success; failure will foreordain more failure. Always, the President must have the perception if not the reality of being able to influence the Congress. He must be viewed as a winner, as a force to be dealt with, and as someone who plays to and frequently does in fact win. This does not come easily nor automatically. Some practical observations along these lines: Don't stake all your prestige unless you have a high probability of winning. If you make a deal stay with it. If you threaten the veto, use it, unless the threat has already accomplished the changes you seek.

Presidential prestige, public standing, and professional reputation in dealing with Congress are inextricably intertwined. The sophisticated exercise of power in dealing with Congress will stand a President well. Maladroit relations with the Hill will cause incalculable political difficulties on that and other fronts.

2. *Recommendations Concerning Congressional Relations in the Transition*

The approximately ten-week transition period between election and inauguration is a crucial one for establishing the proper relations with Congress. As Neustadt points out, there is great hazard as well as opportunity in the transition.⁶ The outset of an administration involves a honeymoon period, a rare time of relative harmony between President and Congress and also a rare open window for Presidential leadership of Congress. Except under conditions of grave national crisis or emergency, the President will never have a greater opportunity to steer the ship of state. A smooth transition emphasizing congressional relations will provide a firm foundation for subsequent good relations. Awkward transition and early missteps will not only close the window and preclude Presidential leadership in this crucial early period in the life of an administration, but also create an image of ineptitude that will be exceedingly difficult to shake. In Washington, neutralizing and overcoming an image of political incompetence is almost impossible. It takes a long time to come back, and while recovering you lose the ability to influence.

The Reagan transition of 1980 established a strong base from which the administration was able to build and develop a successful strategy for dealing with Congress. Among some of the important lessons learned are the following.

Hit the ground running

An imperative in the transition is to organize for congressional relations as early as possible. A President will not have a better opportunity to exercise Presidential leadership than at the beginning of a new administration. Legislative liaison must take advantage of this and that means being organized at the outset. The beginning of a new administration is no time for awkwardness, false starts, and a rickety shake-down cruise. You never get a second chance to make a first impression. Congressional relations have to be organized from the start.

The Reagan transition team featured an office of congressional relations that well served the administration. It made early contact with members of Congress on behalf of the President-elect, signifying the priority President Reagan placed on having good working relations with Congress. Such early efforts are indispensable for effective liaison with Congress.

Keep the President's legislative agenda focused on a few crucial agenda items

To take maximum advantage of the honeymoon period, the administration's legislative agenda must be prepared early. Moreover, agenda overload must be avoided at all costs. The President is most likely to maximize legislative benefits with an initial highest priority agenda that entails no more than two or three items. These proposals should reflect major themes of the President's campaign platform, be ideas for which a mandate can be reasonably claimed, and be politically feasible on the Hill. Keeping it simple, not overcrowding the focus of the country nor of the Congress, and offering proposals embodying mandate ideas floated in the campaign that are likely to carry in the Congress will start any administration out on the right foot.

The Reagan administration's budget and tax proposals are a great case illustration. Both were campaign pledges, enjoyed early support and offered reasonable opportunity for success. A macro focus on only those two legislative priorities kept the calendar uncluttered and gave an all-so-important early impression of Presidential success.

Develop and cultivate a team concept with members of Congress as soon as possible

Some of the best relations Presidents develop with members of Congress grow out of a sense of teamwork. Two factors help produce a team concept. One is early and continued consultation between a President and congressional leadership — especially the leadership of his own party in House and Senate who will serve as loyal lieutenants in their respective chambers. Presidential candidates cannot begin this process too early. Consultation needs to be continued with regard to top Presidential appointments and devising the policy agenda.

A second factor contributing to teamwork begins even before the election as the Presidential candidate campaigns with his party's candidates for the House and Senate. Developing and continuing such a sense of "shared fates" helps enormously.

Recruit experienced Congressional operatives for Congressional Liaison staffs

An almost universally acknowledged, early, critical, misstep of the Carter administration was the appointment of the head of

the White House Office of Congressional Affairs. A talented and subsequently successful liaison official, he was unfortunately hampered by his own lack of Hill experience. The hard lesson learned: staff liaison offices with people who know the Hill and, more importantly, people whom are known to the players — both members and staffers — themselves.

The choice of Max Friedersdorf and his staff of experienced congressional liaison specialists from both the Hill and the Nixon-Ford liaison apparatus was a deliberate effort by the Reagan administration to avoid this early problem on the Hill and enable President Reagan to hit the ground running.

Get the President's personal time for Congressional liaison

Presidents usually are most influential when they bring their own political skills to bear on powerful and key members of Congress. A number of rules of thumb must be observed in effectively exercising personal bargaining. First, the importance of time being allocated for this purpose must be impressed on the President and his scheduler. The President's personal time — that most crucial commodity of the Presidency — must be freed up in order for the President to make and take calls, to receive emissaries from the Hill, and to bargain. Next, the President must meet with not just the congressional leadership but the many bloc, issue-area and strategically located powers who make things go and stop in Congress. In early strategizing about initial programs, it is wise to give these players a stake in the outcome, perhaps by getting their advice and relying on their help. Last, although certainly all members are not equal, effective relations with Congress require an early reaching out to both the opposition and junior back-benchers. Coalition building is crucial. Good relations established early on can be energized on close votes vital for continuing a President's "magic" on the Hill.

The AWACS vote is a good case in point. In 1981, there was a good chance that a Presidential veto of legislation prohibiting the administration's sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia would be overridden. The legislation would have dealt a major loss of face to the administration. To avoid that, it was imperative that the President personally lobby Congress as Commander in Chief and Head of State. President Reagan's involvement was significant. He put aside more than eight hours on the eve of the vote to make personal calls to wavering and undecided members. It

worked, and a potentially embarrassing defeat was averted and turned into "magical" victory.⁷

3. A Strategy for Maximizing Presidential Influence

Moving legislation through Congress is a most uncertain process. Numerous hurdles and chokepoints exist to undermine even the most forcefully pressed of Presidential proposals. Legislation can be bottled up in subcommittee or committee, pigeonholed in the scheduling process, and scuttled on the floor or in conference committee. Congressional leadership—even those friendly to you—will sometimes be a barrier to working the administration's way. To cope, Presidents must have a sense of strategic thinking and timing in dealing with Congress. The following are offered as ingredients for successful strategy:

Package it

For the Congress, the more general a bill is, the more likely it is to be adopted. Of course, the reason for this is rooted in coalition-building. A broad bill that lumps together several items attracts more supporters, offers something to everyone, and becomes very difficult to oppose. The Reagan administration benefited enormously from the omnibus nature of the 1981 and 1982 reconciliation bills. This all encompassing character contributed significantly to the crucial budget victories. There are, however, limits to packaging. The trend over the last few sessions toward super legislation offered with a take it or leave it approach, especially in appropriations vehicles, substantially constrains Presidential power.

Give bills a catchy, politically appealing name

Bills with such tags as "the Economic Revitalization Act" or "the Fiscal Responsibility Resolution" become hard to oppose. To maximize the chances for success, legislative strategy sessions should devote some effort to naming bills.

Try to get proposed legislation assigned to the jurisdiction of a favorable committee

Because committee jurisdictions overlap, proponents of legislation have some say in how a bill will be assigned. Care should

be taken to insure in drafting that a bill will go to a committee offering the best chances for a favorable hearing.

Work key members of Congress, giving them a stake in passing proposed legislation

Each bill requires a separate strategy. Key members on subcommittee, committee and in leadership need to be courted. Legislating is a lot easier when they are supportive, help carry the water, and have pride of ownership.

Know how and when to bargain

In a system of separated powers, government becomes a bargaining arena. Things are not done simply because the President says they should be done. They are done because a bargain has been struck for them to be done that way. A most important skill for moving legislation along is the ability to negotiate and strike a deal. Bargaining must be honed and developed to a finely tuned art form.

Occasionally, when necessary, threaten to "go over their heads"

When faced with a recalcitrant Congress, Presidents have an important trumpcard to play: go to the people. Put the heat on members by going to the people in public statements and press opportunities. The television-oriented bargaining arena in Washington provides incentives for this ploy.⁸ An occasional, adroit direct appeal will yield substantial dividends. However, this is a ploy that should not be over-used. Going public too frequently can dissipate a valuable presidential resource.

Understand that there is no "sudden death" on the Hill

Legislative finality is rare. Issues and programs rarely die or fade away; things are hardly even brought to closure. Even when a bill is authorized, it must receive an appropriation. Even when you have succeeded with both authorization and appropriations, you still must worry about being derailed in the implementation phase. It never ends and you shouldn't expect it to. Things can come apart even after you think you've put them to bed. Conversely, never assume an item you have "killed" is truly dead. Accept this fact of legislative life readily and remain constantly vigilant.

4. *Suggestions for Continued Effective Interface Between the Administration and Congress*

Effective legislative liaison requires persistent, continuous interaction. There are essentially two modes of congressional relations: fire-fighting and gardening. The first is ad hoc, reactive trouble-shooting, e.g. stopping a harmful amendment. The second, is an effort to cultivate ongoing and somewhat permanent relations. If gardening is well done, some of the fire-fighting will not be necessary.

A recent survey of twenty-five experts in legislative affairs provided many insights into what makes for good legislative liaison. The following are among the most frequently mentioned tips on legislative gardening for those representing the administration on the Hill. We have divided them into three categories: Congress as an institution, agency internal processes, and selling the agency's programs.

Congress as an institution

- The Hill is a small town. To be an effective representative of your office, you have to get to be a citizen of it. Personal relationships are the key.
- Know the members, their themes, priorities, concerns back home, and staff. Spend time on the Hill: talk, observe, listen. The key is being visible.
- Don't bypass staff. Any approach to a member should include staff.
- Develop an information network that includes members from both parties in both houses on major substantive committees, appropriations subcommittees, and in the leadership.
- Know where to go for information on what is happening in Congress. Follow *CQ Weekly Reports*, *National Journal*, *Roll-Call*, to name a few.
- Understand the differences between the House and Senate and adapt liaison strategies accordingly. The House — because it is larger — is more structured, more committee-oriented and more driven by rules and procedure. The smaller Senate is more flexible, less committee- and more floor-oriented, and driven by unanimous consent resolutions. Because of the possibilities of

filibusters and non-germane amendments (riders), agencies must constantly monitor the Senate.

Agency internal processes

- Insure your agency speaks with one voice in legislative liaison. To do otherwise can be most harmful to agency interests.
- Remember in legislative affairs who you work for.
- Don't go to Congress with problems that can be solved within your own agency.
- Be responsive to inquiries about your agency from Congress. Insure your agency is responsive to the needs and inquiries of members. These are the jobs of a successful legislative liaison official.
- When responding to a congressional inquiry, if you don't know something, admit it and find out from someone who does.
- Never say "no" instinctively to a congressional request. Check back with your agency, then respond, explaining why the answer is as it is.
- Learn you sometimes must take "no" for an answer.
- Recognize that committee staffers often have comparable expertise in their area as those in the executive branch.
- As much as possible, keep continuity among personnel in legislative affairs.

Selling your programs

- Defend your positions programmatically and with reasons and arguments, but don't discount the political element. Don't assume that logic will prevail over politics; things don't happen merely because they are the right thing to do.
- Prepare yourself for congressional hearings and testimony by getting as much information as possible, anticipating questions, and understanding the theatrics of congressional questioning. Don't take it personally.
- Realize that you will win some and lose some. After the losses such as the refusal of the Senate to confirm Robert Bork — pick yourself up and get ready to fight another day.

A final thought for a new administration is to promote unity of effort in legislative affairs. Many individuals represent the ad-

ministration on the Hill. To insure a unified front, we recommend two procedures that were employed with some success in the Reagan administration. First hold legislative strategy sessions with key operatives. The Legislative Strategy Group of the Reagan administration brought together all major players at the White House—White House Chief of Staff, Directors of OMB and Congressional Relations, lead cabinet officials—to strategize about legislation proposed or pending. Such groupings could also be employed successfully at the departmental and subdepartmental levels. The second procedure for promoting unity is to continue the practice of giving a say to the Director of White House Congressional Relations in the appointment of under or deputy and assistant secretaries in the various departments and agencies who will have jurisdiction over legislative liaison.

Conclusion

The government hammered out in Philadelphia that hot summer of 1787 features a system of separated power. For the Presidency, this means that power is shared with other institutions that can either facilitate or frustrate the president's agenda.

Making this separation of powers work toward coherent national purposes has been a major challenge to the American system. Political parties have been of some help but as Neustadt so perceptively states, "what the Constitution separates, our political parties do not combine."⁹ Throughout American constitutional history, the task of making the system work has fallen more often than not on presidential leadership. Strong executive leadership is the force that has allowed our government to cope with the nation's problems.

In 1981, when President Reagan took office, commentary abounded concerning crises of legitimacy and competence and how the Presidency was an "impossible job" and a "no-win situation."¹⁰ Due to the early legislative victories, talk of a "futile political system" vanished.

President Reagan's four predecessors experienced various degrees of failure and frustration in legislative affairs. As Charles O. Jones convincingly argues, each of the four pursued Congressional relations with an aberrant style: Johnson using the style of majority leader, Nixon acting as a foreign minister, Ford as minority leader, and Carter as a layman amateur.¹¹

In contrast, President Reagan conducted legislative liaison in a more traditional manner, in the mode of Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy—present a focused agenda to Congress and continuously work it in consultation with the leadership of the President's party in Congress. Such a style, we believe, allowed President Reagan to steer the ship of state well, to avoid being taken advantage of by the Congress and the media, and to put his imprint on legislation. Although, to be sure, Republican control of the U.S. Senate for the first six years was a significant benefit to the President—providing him with an advantage enjoyed by no other post-Eisenhower Republican President—still the nimbleness of the President and his chief advisers in legislative affairs can not be over valued. As James Pfiffner writes, "President Reagan's impressive victories in his first year in office demonstrated that a determined and popular president could, even with control of one house, have his way with Congress."¹² Reagan may not have had the best record nor the highest percent of legislative victories,¹³ but he had the image of great success, and, in Washington, appearances are reality. As Steven Wayne writes,

By almost any standard, Reagan's first year with Congress must be judged a success. He got the legislation he wanted: his initial budget requests and many of his second-round reductions, his tax bill with most of its major components intact, and a farm bill he could accept. The sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia was not stymied by a legislative veto, nor was the confirmation of Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court derailed by conservative opposition. Moreover, Reagan prevented legislation he did not want from being seriously considered, and he created an atmosphere conducive to his future success.¹⁴

To this we need also to add that President Reagan was reelected by a landslide in 1984.

Making the system work is the challenge to all administrations and the generations they serve. The suggestions we list here served President Reagan well in his dealings with Congress. The interests of the nation will be served by their application in the new administration, no matter who is elected and regardless of the political alignment he faces in Congress.