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Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Card, Andrew, Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 04012
Folder ID Number: 04012-003b

Folder Title:
AHC General Correspondence October 1990 [2]

Stack:

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Row:

15

Section:

21

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6

Position:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Report	Re: U.S. West/ USSR International Gateways Project. (3 pp.)	08/15/90	(b)(4)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Card, Andrew H., Jr., Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: AHC General Correspondence October 1990 [2]

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FOIA/Sys Case #: 2025-0373-S
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THE WHITE HOUSE

10-5-90

Dear Robert -

Thank you for your note and for all that you did to support Justice Souter during his confirmation by the Senate. Justice Souter will be a great member of the Supreme Court.

As you know, the budget crisis prompted the President to postpone his scheduled visit to Boston on behalf of the GOP ticket. Sec. DoB filled in and did a top job.

My best to all on Beacon Hill. Sincerely, *Andy Card*

Andrew H. Card Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Robert Flanders
6 Beacon Street, #415
Boston, Massachusetts
02108

PAUL SIMON
ILLINOIS

COMMITTEES:
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
JUDICIARY
FOREIGN RELATIONS
BUDGET

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 24, 1990

Mr. Robert Flanders
6 Beacon Street, #415
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Dear Mr. Flanders:

Thank you for contacting me about the nomination of David Hackett Souter to be an Associate Justice on the United States Supreme Court.

Judge Souter's nomination is currently under consideration by the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which I am a member. I intend to review Judge Souter's qualifications and judicial record carefully. I am looking for someone who will respect the rights and civil liberties of all Americans.

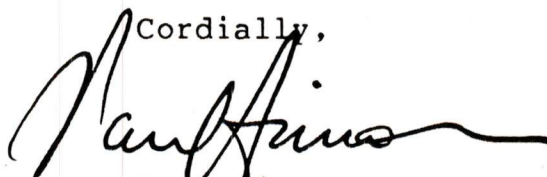
The federal courts are the last recourse for achieving fairness in our government. When you appoint a person for life to our nation's highest court, it must be a person who is truly qualified for the job. We must be careful to choose and confirm a person who has the experience and maturity required to perform the job fairly and responsibly, with the judicial temperament and compassion necessary for this tremendous responsibility.

The Committee plans to hold a hearing on Judge Souter's nomination in September, and I look forward to the opportunity to question Judge Souter on a variety of issues.

I appreciate your taking the time to let me know your views on this nomination. I will keep your thoughts in mind as this nomination is considered by the Judiciary Committee and the Senate.

My best wishes.

Cordially,



Paul Simon
U. S. Senator

PS/ssm

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-6-90

Dear Ted -

Thank you for your note and
congratulations on the National
Newspaper Association recognition
of the excellence of The Nantucket Beacon.
You should be proud of your team.
Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

Andrew H. Card Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Edward R. Leach
c/o The Nantucket Beacon
P.O. Box 2610
64 Old South Road
Nantucket, MA 02584

Sept. 25, 1990
6 Beacon St
Suite 415
Boston, MA
02108

Dear Andy:

How are you
doing? Thank you for the
nice letter you sent me,
9/5/90.

I wrote to
many Senators about
Judge Souter's nomination.

I only got 1 reply
back. I enclose the letter.
It looks like he has
the job. I tried hard
for him. I would like
to send him a card.

I am sorry
I missed you last

weekend 9/22/90. Will
you be up 10/5/90 with
the President? What ever
I can do to help let me
now. Did you really
tell the President about me?
My prayers are
with him, family, and you.

God Bless
Sincerely
Robert Flanders

P.S.

(617) 723-4080 work

Every one up the House Clerks
office says hello.
Would like to see you.

THE NANTUCKET BEACON

September 25, 1990

Dear Andy:

When we present the President with a copy of a paper, it isn't just any old paper. I hope you can find an opportunity to share this with the President.

Keep up the good work.

Ted



THE NANTUCKET BEACON

♦♦♦

September 24, 1990

NEW HAMPSHIRE-OWNED NEWSPAPER
SWEEPS NATIONAL AWARDS

KANSAS CITY, MO - The National Newspaper Association (NNA), Friday, awarded several of the most prestigious prizes in American community journalism to The Nantucket Beacon of Nantucket MA. The Beacon is owned by Edward R. (Ted) Leach of Hancock, NH.

In ceremonies at the NNA Annual Convention, the organization reviewed almost 4000 entries before declaring The Beacon as the best written newspaper in its class, newspapers with circulations of 5000 or under.

The newspaper then followed that award by taking the top award in its class for Best Investigative Reporting. And, competing in an open category which includes all weekly newspapers of all circulations, The Beacon took the top award for Business and Economic Reporting.

The capture of three first place writing awards was unmatched in the competition.

Mr. Leach, in accepting the awards said, "This is a wonderful team victory for The Beacon. To win an NNA Award demonstrates a professional recognition of the highest caliber. To win three at once is beyond description.

"We have a group of talented young professionals out there (on the island of Nantucket) whose dedicated work has paid off. We are proud to share this award with our readers, the Town of Nantucket, and New England in general," Leach exclaimed.

The award for the Best Writing came with a judges notation which read " Excellent writing throughout paper; clear, concise and to the point. You want to read it all the way through."

Mr. Leach is the former owner and publisher of The Monadnock Ledger in Peterborough, NH. He is also owner and publisher of The McCormick Messenger of McCormick, SC.

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-6-90

Dear Bob -

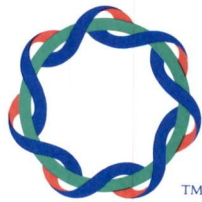
Thank you very much for your kind letter. The 1990 Goodwill Games were a tremendous success and you, more than anyone, made it all work. Congratulations!

I was honored to be able to help and to work with you.

Keep in touch. Sincerely, *Andy Card*

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bob Walsh
1990 Goodwill Games
999 First Avenue
Seattle, Washington
98151-1990



1990
GOODWILL
GAMES™

AC HAS SEEN

9/23/90

Dear Andy:

The 1990 Goodwill Games were a success!
I can think of no one I can thank
more than you - you had the vision -
despite all the obstacles we had -
(i.e. Evil Empire - Turner, \$, etc.)
to see the value of continuing -
My understanding is that it was the
largest event in the history of the
two countries - and there is no way it
would have happened without your support
and understanding.

I don't think I can ever repay you -
but please know how much I care and
appreciate your support.



Best regards

Bob Walsh
(old Bostonian)

1990 Goodwill Games Seattle Organizing Committee™

999 First Avenue • Seattle, Washington 98151-1990 • (206) 554-1990 FAX: (206) 343-1542

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-6-90

Dave -

I'm sorry current events kept
me from joining you in Worcester
on the night of the 3rd. Thank
you for your understanding.

I owe you one! - Keep in touch.

Andy Card

Andy Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

David J. Lionett
5 Candlewood Place
Worcester, MA 01606

AC HAS SLS

1.6

5 Candlewood Place
Worcester, MA 01606
September 10, 1990

Dear Andy:

We are looking forward to your visit to
Worcester on October 3rd. It will go far in helping
to achieve victory in November.

In the event that you cannot attend, would it
be too much to ask if you could prepare a video
presentation of ten to fifteen minutes in length that
we could show our guests?

Thank you for your time, encouragement and support
for me at this most crucial time.

Sincerely,

David

David J. Lionett

Honorable Andrew H. Card
Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC

*Sent copy to Bruce Stebbins
in*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1990

Dear Mr. Cole,

Thank you for your letter. I apologize for the delay in getting back to you.

I appreciate your input and will make sure our NSC staff gets a copy of your letter. Thanks for taking the time to share your ideas with us and for your support of President Bush.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Andy Card". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Andy" and the last name "Card" clearly distinguishable.

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Jeremiah Cole
Three Clinton Street, Apt. 4
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

JEREMIAH COLE

3 Clinton Street, Apt. 4
Cambridge, Mass. 02139
617.547.8014

Mr. Andrew Card
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Aug.22, 1990

Dear Mr. Card:

You don't know me. I have only recently returned to Massachusetts after a ten year absence. When I left in 1980, I was still nominally a Democrat, having supported liberal Democrats for years despite increasing discomfort with the direction in which they were headed. Away from Massachusetts, I felt freed of those personal ties and happily registered and voted as a Republican. I confess that one remaining personal tie, a twenty-five year friendship with Michael Dukakis, resulted in my supporting him in 1988 even though I disagreed with him on virtually every issue. (Some things, like friendship, are more important than politics, as every Irish pol knows.) I vocally supported Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984, to the horror of most of my friends, and I expect to support President Bush against any Democratic candidate in 1992. I have prefaced what I am about to say with this personal political history so that you will be able to evaluate better my unsolicited advice. I chose you as its recipient because you are an influential voice in the White House, you are from my home state and you seem to drive the Boston Globe crazy.

I have been thinking about how the situation with Iraq is likely to develop, with or without significant military action. Yesterday, some of my inchoate concerns crystallized, and resulted in this letter.

Our objective in the Gulf area is not as simple as an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, as you know. Hussein could, for instance, offer to withdraw in return for an American withdrawal from Saudi Arabia. We could not agree to that, I don't believe, because that would leave him only hours away from Kuwait and the Saudi oil fields and us weeks away.

A related problem is Hussein's holding of U.S. and other Western hostages. They provide him with significant bargaining power of a more or less cost-free variety because there seems to be little more we can do in response than we are already doing, i.e. imposing a blockade.

An additional problem for the U.S is the enormous cost to us of deploying our armed forces. Voices will soon be raised by the usual crowd, bemoaning that cost, comparing it to various "unmet social needs", and undercutting popular support by asking why we are accepting such a large part of the burden of this effort while others who are more dependent on Gulf oil than are we, contribute relatively little. (This last is politically potent and cuts across ideological lines. Even proportionately, countries like Japan, France, West Germany and even Great Britain are doing less than what the average American would think of as "their share.")

A possible answer to all these problems is for the U.S. to add publicly one additional demand: Hussein and Iraq must "pay" for their aggression. Payment, it would be explained, might include compensation to the U.S. and others for the cost of deterring Iraq's aggression, payment to the country of Kuwait and individuals residing there for damages incurred, payment to the foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait who are being held against their will, and payment to the international community as a punishment for aggression. This last-mentioned "payment" might be in the form of a severely reduced Iraqi military, withdrawal of all Iraqi troops not just from Kuwait but many miles from Kuwait's borders--permanently, and Nuremberg-like penalties imposed on those responsible for the aggression.

This concept of "payment" does a number of things. It gives the President diplomatic maneuvering room; it broadens our objectives in a way that ensures public support; it provides a rationale for an extended stay in the case of a stalemate; it ups the ante for Hussein. Let's examine this last point. Right now Hussein thinks that holding the hostages is cost-free. If we were to make it clear that every day they are held against their will increases the reparations that Iraq will be expected to pay when this is all over, a new element is added to his thinking. If he believes that he can outwait the U.S., that the cost of keeping our military sitting in Saudi Arabia will weaken our determination, then the possibility that Iraq will eventually bear the burden of that cost might be seen as shoring up our resolve (and domestic public support), while raising questions in Iraq as to whether an early settlement might be better than a later one.

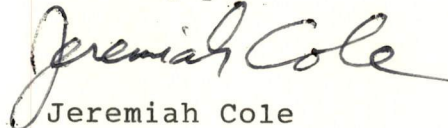
This idea could be "leaked" the next time Hussein utters some provocative statement. The mere floating of the

idea will do some good and if there seems to be a favorable response, domestically and/or internationally, it could be pursued further. One of the positive features of this concept is that it can be simply expressed, it sounds "fair", and it could mean a lot or a little when the endgame is reached.

If this idea has any merit, or if you would be willing to be the recipient of other thoughts that occur to me from time to time, you need only furnish me with a slightly more specific address. I promise not to overload your in-box. My typing is so slow, that is an easy promise to keep.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

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

Jeremiah Cole

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1990

Dear Ann,

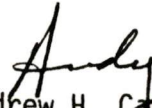
Thanks very much for your letter of September 6.
Sorry for the delay in getting back to you.

Your points are well taken, and I think you will agree that the cooperation among nations in the effort to resolve the crisis in the Persian Gulf has been unprecedented. Hopefully, a peaceful settlement will be achieved soon.

I'm all out of business cards right now but will try to remember to send you a few when I reorder.

Good to hear from you. Stay in touch.

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Ms. Ann Buckingham
President
Buckingham Personnel Services
Chestnut Green
470 Washington Street
Norwood, Massachusetts 02062



Buckingham Personnel Services

Chestnut Green
470 Washington Street
Norwood, Massachusetts 02062

(617) 762-7888

LC
note



ANN BUCKINGHAM
PRESIDENT

BUCKINGHAM PERSONNEL SERVICES

PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY STAFFING

September 6, 1990

CHESTNUT GREEN
470 WASHINGTON ST.
NORWOOD, MA 02062

TELEPHONE
617-762-7888

Honorable Andrew Card
West Wing
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

It was so nice to see you momentarily when the South Shore Chamber of Commerce members were in Washington recently.

Andy: When you are speaking with the President please consider stressing to him that many people feel troops from other countries should be in the Middle East. Our boys should not be there without the help of other countries.

Our cost of billions of dollars towards deployment of U.S. troops to the Middle East comes to \$46,000,000.00 per day. It should be shared by countries defended by deployment and those benefiting from the flow of region oil.

When there are troops from European countries it will be the action of the world.

I've been in touch with your Mom, she's a great lady.

Please send me several of your new cards. I still have the old one.

Best of everything to you!

Sincerely,

Ann Buckingham
President

AB/mhw

6951 Raven Court
Eden Prairie, MN 55344
October 12, 1990

Andrew Card
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

Aside from the fact that the Gierke appointment is a personal matter with me, his rejection has adverse political consequences as outlined in the enclosed letter to Governor Sununu. If there is still time I would appreciate your seeing that John is aware of my opinion before this decision is finalized.

Sincerely,



Allen I. Olson

Tom Needles
6676

6951 Raven Court
Eden Prairie, MN 55344
October 12, 1990

Governor John Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear John:

Knowing that you suffer neither fools nor foolish arguments lightly I will get right to the point. It concerns North Dakota Supreme Court Justice H. F. Gierke for appointment to the Court of Military Appeals. If, as I have been told, Gierke has been tentatively rejected in favor of at least one candidate who is significantly less qualified than Gierke, the political consequences will probably far exceed those normally associated with a lower level federal judicial appointment. Here's why.

The favored candidate, I am also told, has little to recommend him for this position other than political and personal connections to Untermeyer. While I understand the "All things being equal, take care of your friends" approach, in this case things are apparently not equal.

Gierke's qualifications are superb. He's a sitting justice on the highest appellate court of his state; a Viet Nam vet who was a field trial court judge; and a former Republican and legal profession leader in his state. In other words, he fits the appointment perfectly.

Most importantly from the political standpoint he is a recent past National Commander of the American Legion. Rejection of Gierke for someone clearly less qualified will be viewed by American Legion leadership as a snub that will not go unnoticed. I have no doubt that Chuck Robb will take advantage of the opportunity.

Unless I'm missing something -- and I may be -- I don't understand why the White House should invite support for a probable rival in 1992 with this relatively innocuous appointment.

Sincerely,



Allen I. Olson

THE WHITE HOUSE

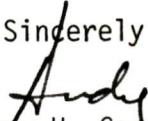
October 17, 1990

Dear Mike,

The signed photos you requested are enclosed. The President was glad to do it.

Stay in touch.

Sincerely,



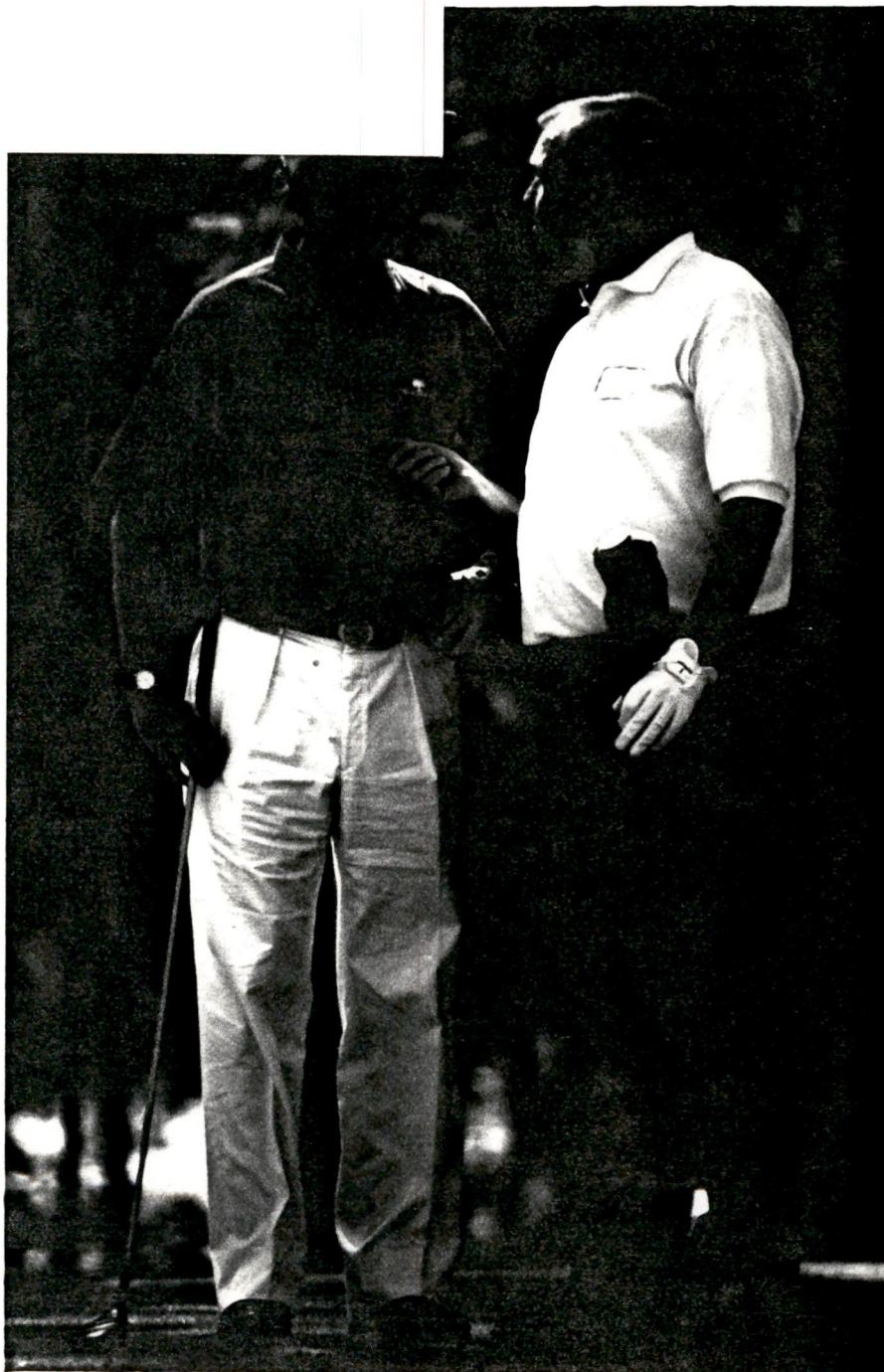
Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Honorable Mike Harkins
Secretary of State
State of Delaware

The President



To Jack Sparks
With best wishes, & Appreciation
A. B. Burk

The President



To Governor Mike Castle
With best wishes, Friendship, too - *Ag Bush*



SECRETARY OF STATE

MICHAEL HARKINS

POST OFFICE BOX 898
DOVER, DE 19903-0898
(302) 736-4111

September 21, 1990

739

Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Deputy Chief of Staff
1st Floor, West Wing
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

*neg. better
photos from
Barbara Harkins
9/28*

Dear Andy,

Enclosed are two pictures from the President Bush-Governor McKernan Golf Classic. I would like to ask you to find time in your busy schedule to see if The President could autograph the photographs.

The gentleman in the first picture, in the yellow shirt, discussing the Gulf Crisis with President Bush, is Jack Sparks, former Captain of The Delaware River Pilots Association. The other photo is Delaware's Governor Mike Castle, making his way to bogey another hole, with President Bush patiently waiting in the background.

I truly appreciate your help with putting the finishing touches on these "masterpieces". Thanks so much!

Sincerely,

Mike Harkins
Secretary of State
Delaware

SELF-ADDRESSED STAMPED ENVELOPE ENCLOSED

THE WHITE HOUSE

10.18.90

Dear Dick -

Thank you for your letter and the attached information regarding pending proposals to increase taxes on luxury items. I have shared the concerns you raised on behalf of Mr. Ronald Winston with Governor Sununu.

Unfortunately, neither I nor Governor Sununu will be able to meet with you or Mr. Winston during the current budget negotiating process.

Thank you for your understanding.

Sincerely, Andy Card

A. Card
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Richard D. Copaken
Covington & Burling
P.O. Box 7566
Washington, D.C. 20044

bcc: Governor Sununu

COVINGTON & BURLING

1201 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.

P.O. BOX 7566

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20044

(202) 662-6000

TELEFAX: (202) 662-6291

TELEX: 89-593 (COVLING WSH)

CABLE: COVLING

RICHARD D. COPAKEN

DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

(202) 662-5640

ACHESON HOUSE

46 HERTFORD STREET

LONDON W1Y7TF ENGLAND

TELEPHONE: 44-71-495-5655

TELEFAX: 44-71-495-3101

BRUSSELS CORRESPONDENT OFFICE

44 AVENUE DES ARTS

BRUSSELS 1040 BELGIUM

TELEPHONE: 32-2-512-9890

TELEFAX: 32-2-502-1598

October 11, 1990

Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
for Intergovernmental Affairs
Old Executive Office Building
17th Street & Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

While I fully understand your decision to not meet with any special interest group concerned with the budget and tax imbroglio at this time, I doubt very much that you have ever had a request quite like the one we have made on behalf of Mr. Ronald Winston, Chairman of the Board and CEO of Harry Winston, Inc. Ron, who is one of my closest personal friends, as well as a valued client and strong supporter of the President, is very sympathetic to the problem facing the President and the nation. He speaks not only for his prestigious firm, but also for the Diamond Industry Steering Committee, and informally for Cartier and Van Cleef and Arpels.

His plea is not that the jewelry industry be immunized from the pain that unavoidably will be inflicted in reducing the federal deficit. Rather, his complaint is that his industry has been targeted so foolishly in the 10% luxury tax component of the Summit Budget package and the similar more recently reported recommendations of the House Ways and Means Committee that no revenue will be produced -- indeed it is likely that the provision will add, not diminish, the federal deficit. As you will see from the attached study by SMR, Inc., the projected annual revenue would be only \$33.75 million, assuming that sales are not discouraged by this tax, an assumption that is unreasonable if the wealthy face a luxury tax on only four or five products when sold in the U.S. At the same time the federal government would be required to review documentation from and to audit 1.8 million jewelry retail establishments, the cost of which would clearly surpass the revenues generated.

At the same time, the provision under current consideration will destroy an important U.S. industry, one of the few that remains internationally competitive, putting

Mr. Andrew H. Card., Jr.
October 11, 1990
Page 2

innocent people out of work and diminishing revenues now derived through corporate and individual income tax.

In short, Ron's complaint is that neither the Administration nor Congress has targeted his industry with sufficient intelligence to provide real revenue relief that his industry could contribute.

If there is a need for genuine revenue -- not just a cynically empty symbolic attack upon the wealthy -- Ron suggests broadening the base of the targeted products to include all jewelry -- a \$25 billion per year industry -- including that which is sold at auction; artwork; antiques; rugs; clothing that qualifies as fashion rather than mere covering; belts and handbag accessories; electronic goods; and other non essential products; in addition to the furs, yachts, private planes, and automobiles that have already been targeted. So expanded to eliminate the current unwarranted discrimination, this category of taxable purchases could produce truly significant revenue with a deficit reduction tax rate of 1% or even a fraction of 1%. While there would be some negative impact on each of these industries, the pain would be shared widely and fairly enough so that none of these industries would be destroyed, the prospect now confronting the luxury jewelry industry.

I have told Ron that you are a man of integrity with an open mind who has the country's best interests truly at heart. In short, I have told Ron that I trust you. At the very least I would be grateful if you could pass these thoughts on to Governor Sununu. Ideally, I would appreciate an opportunity for Ron to meet with you and your colleagues to help you craft an approach that would produce a genuine revenue contribution from his industry.

I have enclosed for your additional information a copy of a letter Ron wrote to Congressman Charles Rangel on this subject.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,


Richard D. Copaken

RDC/d

Economic Consulting



Suite 605 West
1025 Thomas Jefferson St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 337-6064

October 11, 1990

Mr. Richard Copaken
Covington, Burling
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Level 1-B
Washington, D.C. 20044

Dear Mr. Copaken:

As requested by you and Mr. Winston, I have put together some very preliminary estimates of the amount of revenue that might be generated by the proposed 10 percent excise tax on retail sales of precious jewelry.

Please give me a call.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Sam Rosenblatt", with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Samuel M. Rosenblatt
President

Estimate of Additional
Tax Revenue
from

Proposed Ten Percent Excise Tax on Precious Jewelry

On the basis of the assumptions laid out below, the estimated tax revenue to be generated from a 10 percent excise tax on retail sales of precious jewelry would most likely fall in a range between \$19.3 million and \$50.6 million with a mid-point at around \$33.75 million.

1. In 1990, it has been estimated by informed industry sources, that the total retail value of sales of all precious jewelry items will be about \$25 billion.

2. It is reasonable to expect that only a small portion of these sales will occur at individual transaction prices of \$5,000 or more.

3. In 1982, an authoritative study by Jewelers Circular-Keystone, concluded that 2.7 percent of all sales of jewelry, watches and sterling occur at a price range of \$1,000 or more.

4. Since 1982, the producer price index for jewelry, precious metal (SIC 3911) has risen only about 15 percent. In 1982, the index stood at 99.8 and in 1989 it was 115.4.

5. It may conservatively be estimated therefore, that not more than 2.7 percent of precious jewelry sales will occur at prices of \$5,000 or more in 1990. This is a conservative estimate since the price threshold has been raised five fold while prices have increased by only 15 percent. Conservative, in

this sense, is defined to mean a higher estimate for the amount of tax revenue that might be generated by the proposed 10 percent excise tax on precious jewelry sales. If it were assumed that a smaller percentage of sales would occur at \$5,000 per transaction, then the resulting estimate for tax revenue would be lower.

6. Applying the 2.7 percent share to the estimated sales revenue of \$25 billion results in total sales of \$675 million in 1990 for individual sales transactions of \$5,000 or more.

7. Assume the average price of each of these individual sales transactions is \$10,000. This would mean there would be 67,500 separate sales transactions. The higher this assumed price, the larger the amount of the estimated tax revenue that would be generated by the proposed tax.

8. Of the \$675 million in sales revenue, with an assumed average price of \$10,000 per transaction, half of this revenue would be exempted from the tax since only that portion of the sales price above \$5,000 would be subject to the tax.

9. Therefore, only \$337.5 million would be subject to the 10 percent excise tax.

10. This would result in added tax revenue of \$33.75 million for 1990.

11. If it were assumed that the average transaction price was \$20,000 per transaction, than the amount of the \$675 million in sales revenue subject to taxation would rise to \$506.3 million. This would raise the estimated added tax revenue to \$50.6 million.

12. Conversely, if the average transaction price were \$7,000 per transaction, than the amount of the \$675 million in sales revenue subject to taxation would fall to \$193 million. This would mean that only \$19.3 million would be generated in added tax revenue from the proposed 10 percent excise tax.

13. This suggests that a reasonable range for added tax revenue to be generated from the proposed 10 percent excise tax on individual sales of precious jewelry at a price above \$5,000 would fall between \$19.3 million and \$50.6 million, with \$33.75 million the most likely outcome.

HARRY WINSTON, INC.

SEVEN EIGHTEEN FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, NY 10019

RONALD WINSTON, PRESIDENT

October 5th, 1990

The Honorable Charles B. Rangel
2252 Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Rangel:

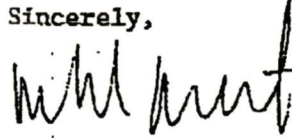
I appreciate the chance to supply you with some background information on the likely effects on the jewelry industry of the proposed luxury tax. The Diamond Information Center advised me that annual sales in the United States of jewelry that exceeds a \$1,000 per item price tag totals approximately \$3 billion. My conservative expert judgment is that at least 80% of this \$3 billion in annual sales is of items that each sell for less than \$5,000; probably a more accurate figure would be 90%.

Therefore, the amount of revenue which can be expected from the proposed luxury tax probably is no more than \$30-60 million. But even this estimate assumes a constant business base. Since we are dealing with a luxury product, the purchase of which may easily be foregone, this is not a sound assumption. Certainly, most of the sales of the jewelry in the price category targeted by the proposed luxury tax (i.e., items selling for more than \$5,000 each) occur in states with already high state and city excise taxes. Therefore, with the addition of the proposed excise tax, we would be approaching a total tax in the range of 20% in New York and, I suspect, in California and elsewhere. The cost that would be added by the proposed luxury tax would pose an extreme disincentive to purchase. If the retail buyer does make such a purchase, he probably would cause his jeweler to bear this added tax, thereby diminishing significantly the potential tax on corporate profits that otherwise would flow to the government.

The Honorable Charles B. Rangel
October 5th, 1990
Page Two

It is my strong conviction that this proposed revenue measure will not produce any net revenues, but, instead, it is more likely to create a drain on the Treasury because of the sales it will undoubtedly eliminate. In France, Mitterand's luxury tax resulted in a 70% contraction in jewelry sales. When the cost of collection and enforcement are also taken into account, it becomes clear that the proposed luxury tax will, in all likelihood, create a net outflow of funds from the Treasury. At the same time, this ill-conceived new tax would destroy a healthy U.S. industry that employs many thousands of hard-working taxpayers who deserve better from their federal government.

Sincerely,



Ronald Winston

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-16-90

Dear Dave -

Thank you for your note of 10-8. My job here is basically such that I am "where Governor Bannum is not." Current plans call for the Governor to travel with the President on the swing through Phoenix. Therefore it is unlikely that I'll get to see you or Dr. Miller on the 25th.

I have shared your suggestion that Dr. Miller meet the President during the stop over with the Political Affairs Office here. They will be in touch if something can work.

Sincerely,

Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. David E. Cook
Post Office Box 42345
Tucson, Arizona 85733

bcc: Dave Carney



from the desk of
David E Cook

(602) 628-7004
(602) 623-5008
P.O.Box 42345
Tucson, Az.
85733
10/8/90

Dear Andy:

Just a short note to inquire if you are coming out with the President
to Phoenix later this month? If so I should like you both to meet my friend
Dr. Bob Miller, Republican Candidate for State Superintendent of Public
Instruction. Bob was the leading vote getter in the primary. (besting Fife
by 53,000 votes, While only spending \$20,000) Shades of our impoverished days
in Massachusetts! Re: The Red Sox...Well, it's now time for the Bruins.

Sincerely,

Dave Cook
Dave Cook

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-18-90

Dear Dave -

It was good to see you in Omaha. Thank you for your note and the latest regarding U.S. West. I will make sure that Gov. Sweeney has the update.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable
David K. Karnes
The Fairmont Group, Inc.
The Omaha Building
1450 Fairham Street
Omaha, Nebraska
68102-2186

bcc: Gov. Sweeney

THE FAIRMONT GROUP
INCORPORATED

DAVID K. KARNES
PRESIDENT AND CHIEF
EXECUTIVE OFFICER

SAN FRANCISCO
WASHINGTON

10-15

Andy—

I know the Governor has acknowledged that U.S. West efforts can constitute too much of a good thing thus generating more negative than positive momentum—however, I would like to respectfully keep the White House apprised of developments that affect U.S. West's (and other U.S. contractors + suppliers) ability to compete for the Soviet fiber-optic project, albeit scaled down. Thus the enclosed is f.y.i. for you and the Governor. We would welcome the opportunity to discuss the U.S. West perspective at any time with the U.S. West Chairman and the Governor. As always—Thanks Dave

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Report	Re: U.S. West/ USSR International Gateways Project. (3 pp.)	08/15/90	(b)(4)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the

Series: Card, Andrew H., Jr., Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: AHC General Correspondence October 1990 [2]

Date Closed: 3/12/2025

OA/ID Number: 04012-003b

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2025-0373-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Date: October 15, 1990
Contact: Rebecca Herbst
U S WEST Spectrum Enterprises
303-649-4658

U S WEST INTRODUCES FIRST CELLULAR TELEPHONE SERVICE IN HUNGARY

ENGLEWOOD, CO -- U S WEST, Inc. and its partner the Hungarian Telecommunications Company began operating the first cellular telephone system in eastern Europe when service was turned on in Budapest, Hungary today. The system is operational three months ahead of its scheduled start date.

Mr. Peter Akos Bod, Hungary's Minister of Commerce and Industry, made the first telephone call on the WesTel Radiotelefon Ltd. system to United States Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher in Washington D.C. UP Dan Quayle.

WesTel, the Hungarian company that developed and will manage the system, is a joint venture between U S WEST and the Hungarian Telecommunications Company. WesTel is initially offering service to 3,000 Budapest customers and will add capacity for another 3,000 by February 1991. Plans call for expansion to Miskolc, the Lake Balaton region, and the main corridor highway between Budapest and Vienna, Austria through Győr-Sopron by the end of 1993.

A variety of mobile and transportable cellular phones manufactured by Motorola and Ericsson are available for purchase in Hungary. The cellular network is a Nordic 450 system manufactured by Ericsson.

U S WEST Chairman Jack MacAllister attended the ceremonies in Budapest and said: "U S WEST is extremely proud to join the Hungarian Telecommunications Company in taking the first major step in forging a new era in communications between East and West by providing this important complement to the nation's telecommunications system. Together, we have formed a new company, WesTel, that signifies our efforts to bring western-style technology to Eastern Europe."

-more-

The significance of this new network in Hungary is great, according to Jozsef Pete, the Hungarian co-managing director of Westel.

"Hungary has been examining the possibility of cellular telephones since early discussions with U S WEST in 1986," he explained. "The start of this service on 450 megahertz (MHz) is a milestone, putting Hungary far ahead of any other Central European country. It will provide immediate communications relief to several thousand residents and businesses which might otherwise wait up to 10 years for telephone service."

"The marriage of U S WEST experience with the dedicated efforts of Hungarian employees allowed Westel to begin offering service three months ahead of schedule," said Ron Sanders, the U S WEST co-managing director of Westel.

Hungarian Telecommunications Company is responsible for landline telephone service in Hungary. It has approximately one million customers.

U S WEST is a \$26 billion diversified company headquartered in Englewood, Colorado. Its major subsidiary, U S WEST Communications, serves the communications needs of 10 million customers in 14 western states of the United States. U S WEST Spectrum Enterprises, another subsidiary, is responsible for the Hungarian cellular project as well as other international and domestic radio communications opportunities. The company has an agreement to build a cellular system in Czechoslovakia and is bidding to provide cellular service in Poland. In addition, Spectrum Enterprises is a partner in Unitel, a consortium developing Personal Communications Networks in the United Kingdom.

###

C & C CONSULTING GROUP, INC.

September 21, 1990

✓ Spoke by phone

The Honorable Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Andy:

A good friend of mine, Charles Gargano, who is presently serving as the United States Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago, will be attending the National Italian-American Foundation in Washington on October 20th.

The President is scheduled to make the keynote address to this gathering of over 1500 prominent Italian Americans. I wanted to advise you that Ambassador Gargano is a well respected member of the Italian community who recently distinguished himself and the Administration during the coup attempt in Trinidad.

Andy, I thought that you would want to know that Ambassador Gargano will be attending, and suggest that the President may want to acknowledge Charles Gargano as a distinguished Italian American serving in the Bush Administration.

Please contact me at (703) 548-1992, should you have any questions or require any additional information.

Many thanks!

Sincerely,

Chris

Christopher T. Cushing

Andy -
to Democrat?
yes
Sent 10/18

THE WHITE HOUSE

10.17.90

Dear Mark -

Thank you very much for
standing in for me (and Susan)
on the 10th in Massachusetts.

You are a real trooper!

Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Honorable Mark Hayward
Acting Chief Counsel for Advocacy
Small Business Administration
1441 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20416

PERSONAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-17-90

Dear Susan -

Thank you very much for
being so willing to help when
my schedule precluded me from
being able to speak in Massachusetts
on the 10th. I owe you one!

Sincerely, Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Honorable Susan Engeleiter
Administrator
Small Business Administration
1441 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20416

PERSONAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

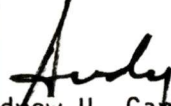
October 16, 1990

Dear Ms. Thomas,

Thank you for your letter of October 1. I'm sorry that your request for a message from the President for your Points of Light Awards Breakfast was regretted, but we appreciate your understanding of established White House policy.

It was good to see you at the BPPA dinner. I hope our paths cross again soon.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Andy", is written over the typed name.

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Ms. Carole Copeland Thomas
THE THOMAS REPORT
335 Washington Street, Suite 154
Woburn, Massachusetts 01801

THE THOMAS REPORT



A Memo From
Carole Copeland Thomas
(617) 938-5502

October 1st

Dear Mr. Card,

I saw you recently
at the Boston Patrolmen's
Dinner Dance and
asked your assistance in
securing a letter from
President Bush for our
upcoming Points of Light
Dinner Breakfast. Since

our press deadline is
Oct 8th I called your
office today regarding
this matter.

I would appreciate
any assistance you can
provide in fulfilling
our request. A copy
of the letter we directed
to Shirley Green is enclosed
for your review.

Thank you, and if you
have any questions, please
call me at (617) 938-5502.
-Carole Thomas

Andy,

I checked with Linda DeHart in Special Letters about this. She advises that the request will be denied because The Thomas Report is a for-profit publication, and that goes against WH policy for Presidential letters. (Linda likened it to sending a message to Cosmopolitan if they were hosting a similar event.) Linda (or Shirley) will send a note of regret to Ms. Thomas.

*I concur
w/ Linda D.
lc
- turn down*

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

T. E THOMAS REPORT

**335 Washington Street Suite 154
Woburn, Massachusetts 01801
(617) 938-5502**

September 21, 1990

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
c/o Shirley Green
Presidential Correspondence Department
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush,

THE THOMAS REPORT celebrated its first anniversary in July, 1990. In honor of this occasion, the publication cordially invites you to its first annual **POINTS OF LIGHT AWARDS BREAKFAST** on **Wednesday, October 17, 1990**. The event will be held at **The 57 Restaurant**, 200 Stuart Street in downtown Boston from 7:45 a.m. to 10 a.m. More than 25 extraordinary individuals throughout the greater Boston area and beyond who have exemplified leadership and role model characteristics in their careers, community activities and civic commitment will be recognized at this special breakfast. Awardees will be selected in the fields of business, government, community, education and family.

We would like for you, President Bush, to send written greetings to us for this special event.

Karen Holmes of WCVB TV's "City Line" will serve as the event's Mistress of Ceremonies. **Natalie Christian**, Community Affairs Director and host of WLVI-TV's "Vision" will be the Guest Speaker.

The Thomas Report is a monthly newsletter linking business issues with government, education, community, and family. Using a unique approach, The Thomas Report covers news and information both domestically and internationally from a culturally diverse perspective. The publication is circulated to 1400 subscribers in 26 states and 6 foreign countries.

Published by black entrepreneurs Carole Copeland Thomas and Brenda Jones Harris, The Thomas Report reflects the voice of the minority community and features interracial staff and contributing writers. Since its July, 1989 launch, advertising clients of The Thomas Report include over sixty corporations, small businesses, organizations, colleges, and universities. ***Carole Thomas is the wife of Rev. Mickarl D. Thomas of Charles Street A.M.E. Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts.***

Thank you for reviewing our request, President Bush. We hope that you will be able to honor our request in time for this event. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (617) 938-5502.

Sincerely yours,

Carole Copeland Thomas
Publisher

ID # 182272
ME002

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- ☐ O - OUTGOING
☐ H - INTERNAL
☐ I - INCOMING
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 90/09/21

Name of Correspondent: Cause Copeland Thomas

☐ MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Request message for 15th anniversary of the Thomas Report - Oct 17 90

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>PMD/ETA</u>		<u>DJ</u> ORIGINATOR	<u>90/10/11</u>		<u>C</u>	<u>/ /</u>
<u>✓ COBELL</u>		<u>R</u> Referral Note:	<u>90/10/12</u>	<u>SG</u>		<u>90/10/17</u>
		<u>DJ</u> Referral Note:	<u>for Smg-40 Request sent</u>			<u>/ /</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>			<u>/ /</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>			<u>/ /</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>			<u>/ /</u>

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure

- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

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No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: _____ Individual Codes: _____

Prime Subject Code: _____ Secondary Subject Codes: _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P. _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence
 - n - 0 - Unknown
 - n - 1 - George Herbert Walker Bush
 - n - 2 - George Bush
 - n - 3 - George
- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 1 - Barbara Bush
 - n - 2 - Barbara
 - n - 3 - Bar
 - n - 4 - Mrs. Barbara Bush
- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 1 - Barbara & George Bush
 - n - 2 - Barbara & George

MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: October 9

TO: Michelle

FROM: **Linda Casey**
Personal Assistant
to the Chief of Staff
Deputy

2533

Thanks for checking into this for me.

Linda —
Have you seen this
before?
no

regretted to
Lynne Carey -
send smog #10
to writer

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE THOMAS REPORT

335 Washington Street Suite 154
Woburn, Massachusetts 01801
(617) 938-5502

#182272

September 21, 1990

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
c/o Shirley Green
Presidential Correspondence Department
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush,

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Thank you for reviewing our request, President Bush. We hope that you will be able to honor our request in time for this event. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (617) 938-5502.

Sincerely yours,

Carole Copeland Thomas
Publisher

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-18-90

Dear Will-

Thank you for your note and
the think piece. Ed had told me
of your talk.

Tom Trimarco for U.S. Congress!
What memories!

Keep in touch. Sincerely, Andy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Will Feltus
Market Consensus
Surveys, Inc.
7700 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, VA 22043



Oct 12, 1990

Andy,

I thought I'd send you a
copy of this memo.

Also, on the 10th anniversary
of the Timanco campaign, I've
enclosed a copy of the HBS case,
suitable for framing.

Will Feltus



MARKET CONSENSUS SURVEYS, INC.

7700 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church VA 22043
Telephone: 703/734-7941 Facsimile: 703/790-9389

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Rogers
Via fax 202-456-2397

FROM: Will Feltus *Wif*

DATE: October 12, 1990

Ed, enjoyed seeing you at Thad's event the other night. Thus far we've contributed about \$100,000 to Senate campaigns and state party federal committees. I've also spent a good deal of time talking with campaign people, AA's, etc.

With only one week left in Battle of the Budget II and the election rapidly approaching, it be helpful to go on the offense. A suggested two-step pre-election tactic:

1. **The President tells this Congress to go home.** If the latest Democratic Ways & Means plan runs into the least amount of trouble, the President should ask this Congress to pass a continuing resolution until the end of January, 1991, sign it and send the 101st Congress home. Let's see if the new Congress can do a better job; we already know it can't do any worse. This strategy would still leave open the possibility of a lame duck session of politically brave lawmakers but not make it necessary.
2. **The President asks the country to send him a new Congress who can get the job done.** After sending this Congress packing -- thus clearly affixing blame for the problem -- the President needs a new Congress he can work with. "Get me some fresh blood." The 101st Congress should be the last Congress which fails to solve our country's deficit problem.

Very few voters know that the "old" Congress passes out of existence and a "new" Congress is elected to take its place. If the President could educate voters on this, it would focus the electorate's anti-incumbent energy on the "old" Democratic controlled Congress. To get the message out might require national spot buys; given the rich/poor drubbing we got on capital gains, I don't think we want to count on the so-called free media.

I know the original strategy was not to nationalize the election by a theme or advertising. Unfortunately, it is becoming nationalized on it's own and advertising may be necessary to stamp our message on it. If Presidential spots are done, one third of the buy should be Mrs. Bush into the camera.

1991

Regardless of how the 1990 elections turn out, they are already being interpreted as a mandate for change. We need to make sure that those changes take place in 1991, lest voters also change their Presidential voting preferences in 1992.

Looking ahead to 1992, what the President does early in 1991 is probably more important than what actually happens later in the year. Barring a recession which is deeper than now expected, the quality of the 1992 Democratic opposition will be determined by how politically forceful the President looks next spring, not next fall.

This argues for a fast start and a new idea or two. The most politically attractive ideas both (1) solve a problem and (2) offer people something. That was the strength of supply side economics -- you solved the deficit and you got a tax cut.

National Dividend Act

The only new idea I've heard in the past five years which meets both criteria is the National Dividend Act. Although this idea has a number of supporters (see the attached testimonials), the leading proponent is not a politician. He is a successful Florida businessman, John Perry (Yale, '39). I met him in 1987, when he commissioned MOR and Peter Hart to do a poll on his proposal. It was supported by a two-to-one margin (see attached). Importantly, it was somewhat more popular among independents and Democrats than among Republicans. The National Dividend Act proposes:

1. To repeal the double taxation of dividends, place a constitutional or statutory cap on income tax rates, and pay all corporate income taxes into a separate National Dividend Trust Fund.
2. Instead of being spent by Congress, all monies in the National Dividend Trust Fund would be equally distributed in quarterly dividends to every adult or registered voter -- unless there was a deficit.
3. Get the budget in balance through a combination of spending freezes and taxes, and the Trust Fund will start running a surplus in just a few years.

Checks could start going out during a Republican administration. The beauty of the idea is that it rewards a balanced budget. Once voters understand they can get dividend checks worth an estimated \$900 per year, a public interest group is created with clout which dwarf the special interest advocates of transfer payments and other programs. Congress wouldn't dare fail to balance the budget.

The idea also has ancillary benefits. Profit becomes a good word, instead of a bad one -- when companies make more money, the dividend is bigger. It also encourages Americans to buy American. (Of course, we could certify foreign companies' which pay equivalent amounts into the fund.)

I'm sure there are a half dozen MBA/CPA types at OMB who can tell you why this won't work. However, based on the poll I did, there are a 140 million Americans who will think it is a good idea. That will look like a pretty good number in a couple of years.

Ed, to be frank, I could use the \$900 myself.

CC: Teeter, Charlie B.

THE ULTIMATE SELF INTEREST

TABLE 4

Here are some statements others have made about the National Profit Sharing and Dividend Act, and, for each one, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.

	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree and Don't Know	Disagree	PDI ^a
Corporations and business leaders are very likely to <u>oppose</u> the National Profit Sharing and Dividend Act.	78%	8%	13%	+65
Because Americans would want to receive a national profit sharing dividend check, members of Congress would become much more reluctant to spend more than the government takes in.	63	9	29	+34
If Congress is ever able to balance the federal budget, a national profit sharing dividend would help keep the federal budget balanced.	61	12	28	+33
Since Americans contribute to the profitability of corporations through their consumer purchases, it makes good sense to let Americans share in those corporate profits.	62	8	31	+31
Instead of paying a national profit sharing dividend, it would be better to let the U.S. government spend the corporate income tax revenues on federal projects and programs.	45	11	44	+1
The National Profit Sharing and Dividend Act is just another government giveaway program.	36	12	52	-16

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH/PETER HART POLL

TABLE 5

Based on what you've heard so far about the National Profit Sharing and Dividend Act, would you say that this proposal is a good idea which should be considered by Congress or a bad idea which should not be considered by Congress?

	Total	Rep.	Indep.	Dem.
Very good idea	26%	23%	25%	31%
Fairly good idea	38	36	36	40
Fairly bad idea	9	12	6	8
Very bad idea	14	17	14	12
Don't know	12	13	20	8
Refused/NA	*	*	1	1

Suppose a candidate for Congress supported the National Profit Sharing and Dividend Act -- would this give you a more favorable or less favorable impression of the candidate?

	Total	Rep.	Indep.	Dem.
More favorable	52%	49%	40%	59%
No difference	20	19	30	18
Less favorable	19	23	19	16
Don't know	8	8	10	7
Refused/NA	1	1	--	*

THE ULTIMATE SELF INTEREST

TABLE 4

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH/PETER HART POLL

TABLE 5

Based on what you've heard so far about the National Profit Sharing and Dividend Act, would you say that this proposal is a good idea which should be considered by Congress or a bad idea which should not be considered by Congress?

	Total	Rep.	Indep.	Dem.
Very good idea	26%	23%	25%	31%
Fairly good idea	38	36	36	40
Fairly bad idea	9	12	6	8
Very bad idea	14	17	14	12
Don't know	12	13	20	8
Refused/NA	*	*	1	1

Suppose a candidate for Congress supported the National Profit Sharing and Dividend Act -- would this give you a more favorable or less favorable impression of the candidate?

	Total	Rep.	Indep.	Dem.
More favorable	52%	49%	40%	59%
No difference	20	19	30	18
Less favorable	19	23	19	16
Don't know	8	8	10	7
Refused/NA	1	1	--	*

A FEW COMMENTS ON MR. PERRY'S PLAN

"A daring plan to preserve the free enterprise system and reverse the trend toward national bankruptcy brought on by yearly federal budget deficits has been developed and should be implemented. Congress won't accept the National Dividend Plan and members will not **until they get pressure from the grassroots.**"

Dr. Martin R. Gainsbrugh
Former Chief Economist
The Conference Board

"THE NATIONAL DIVIDEND PLAN is more complex than the idea of a balanced-budget amendment, which is inching its way to national consideration. Yet it holds the hope of achieving far more widely shared goals."

Thomas Gephardt, Associate Editor
Cincinnati Enquirer

"As deficits continue to mount, this would be a good time for Congress to seriously consider a revolutionary plan to refinance the country. Some profound economic minds that have studied the concept—have become converts."

Editorial
The Sacramento Union

"I can't tell you how much I admire your steadfastness. The compelling logic of your case (and the interesting trade-offs you've developed). Too bad there aren't more great Americans like you to carry the ball."

William E. Simon
Former Secretary of the Treasury

"As a co-sponsor of the National Dividend Act, I assure you that I will continue to urge my colleagues to consider the merits of this legislation."

Carrol A. Campbell, Jr.
Member of Congress

"I believe this proposed legislation has a great deal of merit, and I hope that the House Ways and Means Committee will consider it carefully in the weeks ahead."

Howard H. Baker, Jr.
United States Senate

"It's a great idea."

Stanley J. Modic, Editor
Industry Week

"The logic is irresistible, and presents our lawmakers with a plausible structure for a truly **popular** economy."

Editorial
The Patriot-News Co.
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

"I want to assure you of my continuing strong support for this legislation, and of my efforts to see that it does receive favorable action."

Guy Vander Jagt
Member of Congress

"I think your success to date is evidence of your devotion to the issue and we will watch with interest action on this legislation over the next several months."

Donald L. Calvin
Executive Vice President
New York Stock Exchange



TOM TRIMARCO FOR U.S. CONGRESS (A)

Andy Card stared at the back of the envelope on which he was sketching his ideas for reorganizing Tom Trimarco's campaign for the United States House of Representatives. It was Monday, September 29, thirty-five days before the general election and one day after Andy had accepted his job as the campaign's fourth manager. In one hour he would meet with Trimarco and the campaign's consultant to discuss plans for unseating one-term Democratic Congressman Nick Mavroules.

As he drew an organizational chart, Andy began to review what he knew about the campaign and its problems. Although only 34 years old, Andy was no political novice. Four times he had successfully managed his own campaign for a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives - so successfully, in fact, that Andy had no opposition in the upcoming November 4 election. Earlier in the year, Andy had worked as chairman of George Bush's Massachusetts campaign organization which turned back a strong challenge from John Anderson in the state's presidential primary. But despite his success as a candidate and as a manager, Andy knew the Trimarco campaign would be his toughest challenge. Observed Andy:

I could get 50 people out on an afternoon to drop literature in my district with 18,000 registered voters. In the Bush campaign, with the help of national headquarters, we could turn out hundreds, even thousands of volunteers in the state, get our message on the evening news and our advertising in prime time. But there's probably nothing tougher in this business than defeating an incumbent Congressman in a district like this. The election is only 35 days away and we're not ready yet.

Thomas H. Trimarco

Tom Trimarco brought to his first campaign for public office a personality and background that sparked the interest of journalists and Republican party leaders. During April of 1980, voters in the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts began to learn about Trimarco in newspaper stories with titles like "Trimarco Offers the GOP a Non-Traditional Candidate" and "He's a Republican Running Like a Democrat." Reporters found the 41-year-old son of an Italian draftsman from the North Bronx made good copy. Trimarco's fledgling candidacy benefited from positive exposure in the numerous small

This case was prepared by Will Feltus, Research Assistant, under the supervision of Assistant Professor Leonard A. Schlesinger as a basis for class discussion rather than to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of an administrative situation.

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daily and weekly newspapers which were the primary source of local political news along the North Shore of Massachusetts. These excerpts, taken from a full-page profile in the April 9 North Shore Weekly, are typical:

"He's Running For Congress"

Thomas H. Trimarco of Beverly, now a partner in a major Boston law firm, married and the father of four, confirmed Monday that he will seek the GOP nomination in the Sixth Congressional District...Trimarco readily acknowledges he has a tough fight ahead. He had hoped to avoid a primary fight altogether and concentrate on mounting a serious challenge to freshman Rep. Nicholas Mavroules. But he won't have that luxury.

...Trimarco characterizes himself as a "moderate." "I'm not a liberal and I'm not a conservative," he explains. "One of my strengths is my ability to take the best of both camps and meld it into public policy that can gain broad public support."

...Trimarco says he made the decision to run for Congress after repeated prodding from several of the North Shore's GOP heavies, including Frank Hatch, the former House Minority Leader and 1978 gubernatorial candidate, and Josiah Spaulding, the GOP standard bearer in the 1974 campaign for attorney general...Trimarco insists it was a well considered decision, based on private meetings with a number of GOP shakers and movers, support from his family, and the belief that a win is possible - if not probable - in this heavily Democrat district.

"I don't have all the answers. I want input," he offers, adding, "I intend to put together some very knowledgeable people on committees to advise me as the campaign progresses."

"I realize I'm starting from a zero recognition factor," he says.

But as a politician, he's not really starting from scratch. Trimarco is familiar with the inner workings of Washington, D.C., has several years exposure to foreign policy, and benefits from hands-on experience with a major statewide political campaign.

...(after 5 years as a law clerk and a practicing attorney in Massachusetts) Trimarco took a position as assistant general counsel for legislation at the Department of Transportation in Washington, a department then run by former Massachusetts Governor John Volpe. Over a two and a half year period, Trimarco says he really got to know how things work down there.

Then Volpe was named Ambassador to Italy and asked Trimarco to go along as his assistant. Over the next four years, Trimarco learned to speak Italian, grew accustomed to dealing with the media, and got some perspective on the way America looks from overseas.

In 1977, he rejoined Csaplar and Bok as a full partner. But it wasn't long before he became politically active and took a leave of

absence to work five months full time as field director (second in command) for U.S. Senator Ed Brooke's unsuccessful 1978 re-election campaign. Prior to the Massachusetts presidential primary in March of this year, he caught the bug again and volunteered to work part time on the Massachusetts "noncampaign" of Howard Baker.

"I'm not naive about what politics is all about," he says, stressing that he has no illusions about the demands the upcoming campaign will place on him and his family. It's just something he sincerely wants to do despite whatever sacrifices are required.

"I enjoy the making of public policy," he says. "With my background and interests, it's the most satisfying thing I could do."

He adds, leaning forward to emphasize his conviction, "My gut tells me it's do-able."

The Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts

Nearly half a million people live in the seven cities and nineteen towns of the Sixth Congressional District, the North Shore region of Massachusetts. The district is in the Boston media market. Historically, the district's politics were dominated by generations of blue-blood Republican families. But during the late nineteen-fifties and sixties, the Sixth District, like most of Massachusetts, began to become more Democratic. When the incumbent Republican Congressman died in 1969, a liberal Democrat defeated a blue-blood Republican to take the seat. He was succeeded in 1978 by a more moderate Democrat, Nicholas Mavroules of Peabody, who outspent (\$290,331 to \$185,029) and outpolled (97,099 to 83,511 votes) Conservative Bill Bronson.

During his first months in the Congress, Mavroules voted with President Carter about 75% of the time and seemed to be more interested in taking care of constituent problems back home than in making headlines in Washington. His positions on the issues attempted to bridge the broad ideological spectrum represented in the Sixth District. Mavroules was probably one of the few Congressmen in the country who both opposed legalized abortion and favored legalized marijuana. Mavroules, who was mayor of one of the district's larger cities before going to Congress, had served 20 years in local elective offices. Some local Republicans, unaccustomed themselves to such uninterrupted political success, described Mavroules as a "professional politician."

After his first year in Congress, Mavroules seemed vulnerable to many Massachusetts Republicans, including Tom Trimarco. Common wisdom held that incumbent Congressmen got harder, not easier to best after their first term. After their first term, observed one journalist, congressmen become like old shoes - too comfortable to throw away. The year 1980 seemed like a good time to challenge Mavroules. Trimarco thought voters were ready to make changes in 1980 and labeled Mavroules as part of the "failed policies of the past."

In April of 1980, the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) commissioned a confidential telephone survey of the Sixth District.

Market Opinion Research of Detroit, Michigan contacted 400 voters in the district to determine if Mavroules was vulnerable to a strong Republican challenge.

The results of the survey were mixed. Although Mavroules was favorably perceived by 57% of the district's voters, the survey found that only a third of the district's voters could be classified as staunch Mavroules supporters. On the other hand, Trimarco was an unknown quantity; only 7% of the district's voters reported to be aware of Trimarco while 87% knew Mavroules. Consequently, in a trial ballot heat between the two, Democrat Mavroules lead Republican Trimarco by a margin of 75% to 25%.

The margin was not so wide, however, when voters were asked which political party they favored in the upcoming congressional elections. This "generic" party vote showed a 59% to 41% lead for the Democrats. The NRCC was encouraged to find that Sixth District voters considered the Republican Party significantly more capable than the Democratic Party of handling a number of national problems, including reducing government spending, reducing the size of the federal bureaucracy, controlling inflation, and strengthening the national defense. Similarly, the April poll found that voters in the district favored Ronald Reagan over Jimmy Carter by 57% to 43%; in 1976 Carter had carried the district over President Ford, 55% to 45%. Thus, it appeared that a strong Republican challenger might be able to fashion a winning coalition against Congressman Mavroules, particularly with the Reagan/Carter race at the top of the ticket.

The consensus among most Republican leaders was that Trimarco had the best opportunity of winning. NRCC staffers were enthusiastic about Trimarco and his chances for winning, and invited him to Washington to attend a course on modern campaign techniques.

Voter registration statistics clearly favored Mavroules. In 1980, the Sixth District had approximately 110,000 registered Democrats, 58,000 Republicans and 120,000 independents. In March of 1980, a memo titled, "An Outline Campaign Plan" was prepared for Trimarco by a manager of Senator Ed Brooke's unsuccessful 1978 campaign for re-election. The fifteen-page memo summarized a strategy and tactics for defeating Mavroules in the November 1980 general election. It made these suggestions about Trimarco's strategy:

- hold all of the Republican and Republican-inclined independent vote from the small- and medium-sized towns.
- maximize the vote from those known to swing between Democrats and Republicans.
- minimize the opponent's strength in the union-oriented, industrial cities such as Lynn, Peabody, Haverhill, and Salem.

The Early Campaign

Tony Conte was the campaign's first manager, hired by Trimarco in

late May 1980 at the recommendation of the Massachusetts Republican chairman. Described as a "Republican used to swimming in Democratic waters," Conte was a 32-year-old lawyer from Revere, Massachusetts, an industrial city adjacent to the Sixth Congressional District. Conte was himself a successful politician. Despite the 8-1 Democratic to Republican registration ratio in Revere, Conte in 1979 had received more votes than any other candidate of either party in the election for city council.

Conte came to the Trimarco campaign after four years as executive director of the Massachusetts Republican State Committee. As executive director, Conte had twice watched Republican Bill Bronson try unsuccessfully to take the Sixth District seat away from the Democrats. Trimarco would face Bronson in the September 16 Republican primary. Conte described how he watched the congressional campaign developing in early 1980, before he was hired as manager:

Those of us involved with the state party were very high on Tom. We knew that Bronson had little chance of winning on his third try - he had done well in the more Republican towns, but was obliterated in the cities. Tom had promised to campaign in the cities and to get away from the image of the Yankee from Manchester (Bronson) versus the gutsy ethnic from Peabody (Mavroules).

Although Conte and Trimarco had both been involved in Senator Ed Brooke's re-election campaign, the two men knew each other only casually. Conte understood that Trimarco had spent the first months of the year talking with Republican Party leaders, fund-raising sources, and political professionals in an effort to assess his chances of defeating Mavroules. Trimarco had also sought the public support of Republican state and Sixth District activists, and by mid-April, he had received the endorsement of all the Republican State Committee members who lived in the Sixth District.

When Conte was hired in late May, the campaign was already underway although Trimarco had yet to legally file. During the first months of his unofficial campaign Trimarco began to meet regularly with a group of four men from the Boston area who had extensive political experience. Trimarco referred to the group as his "kitchen cabinet." After Conte was hired as the campaign's manager, he began to attend the weekly, early morning meetings which were held at Trimarco's law offices in downtown Boston.

One member of the kitchen cabinet was Charles Greenleaf, then an associater director of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University. Greenleaf recalled the type of subjects the group discussed in March and April:

We knew that Tom had potential to win - the question was how and the subject of our discussions were generally strategic, about just what sort of campaign Tom should run. We were strategists and planners. It was our consensus that while Tom was the kind of person who would be most comfortable waging a positive campaign against

Mavroules, there would have to be a strong anti-Mavroules component if he was to turn the incumbent out of office. There was very much discussion on whether Trimarco could afford to look past the primary and get an important headstart on the general election campaign against Mavroules. The late (September 16) primary date was a problem. We thought it would be important to take Mavroules on as soon as possible. There was less discussion of organizational and personnel issues although we did talk about such things as who to hire as a campaign manager and as a pollster, and for other major jobs. We agreed that Tony Conte would be a good choice for the job of campaign manager because he knew the district and the politics of the area. We talked very little about money; we knew early money would be a problem, but Tom had commitments from established fund raisers and some of the wealthier individuals in the district.

When Conte took the job as the campaign's manager in late May, he told Trimarco he felt the campaign was several months behind where it should have been. Conte felt that Trimarco had been reluctant to fully commit himself unless he had received assurances of financial backing.

However, the legal deadlines of the political calendar forced Trimarco to commit himself to the race. With the help of friends, Trimarco collected 3 times more than the 2,000 voter signatures necessary to get on the ballot. Trimarco made sure some of those signatures were collected in Mavroules's home town of Peabody. It was front page news. On June 7, Trimarco officially declared himself a candidate, and pledged "to campaign day and night."

As campaign manager, Conte divided his time between organizational efforts, news relations, paid media development and fund raising. With his increased schedule of personal campaigning, Trimarco hired another staff person to assist him. Mary Claire Langille, 28 years old, had worked on the Washington staff of Senator Ed Brooke; in the Trimarco campaign, she scheduled Trimarco's personal appearance, handled correspondence, and manned the campaign's headquarters - a three-room H&R Block building on Main Street in Beverly. Conte spent most of his time on the telephones of Trimarco's law offices in Boston talking with potential volunteer and fund raising coordinators in each city and town. Conte depended heavily on lists of names which he had collected in his previous political activities. Said Conte, "We wanted somebody in each community who would be responsible, at this early point, for routine things - meeting Tom at shopping centers and at plant gates, holding coffees - that sort of thing. We were building and growing our organization."

Conte said that Trimarco took a special interest in the fund-raising activities of the campaign:

Tom played a very active role in lining up people for the finance committee - calling them up and winning them over to his campaign. We were very fortunate to find an excellent chairman for the finance committee. Federal law limits an individual contributor to \$1,000 in a primary and then another \$1,000 in the general election; political

action committees (PACs) can give up to \$5,000. Tom's plan was to appoint a committee of 40 individuals each of whom would be responsible for raising \$2,500, a reasonable amount. Fund raising can be done through direct mail to smaller contributors, but we knew that the initial money would have to come from larger donations and that takes personal appeals. It's hard to raise money for somebody who is not well known, and it's hard to get Republican contributors to take sides in a primary, even though our finance chairman had been the major fund raiser for Bronson back in 1978. Fund raising was a problem. We depended on smaller contributions.

Not only was Conte worried about the campaign being able to raise an adequate war chest, he was also concerned about how the campaign planned to spend its funds. In particular, Conte was concerned that the outline campaign plan (which had been drafted before he was hired) had underestimated the campaign's need for expensive paid media such as television (see Exhibit 5 for budget proposal).

"I came up in politics believing in the power of organization," said Conte, "but it is hard to do it that way now, especially in a congressional district like this where you don't already have a strong personal or party organization in place - it can be a real problem for a Republican running against an incumbent. You have to force the voters to see you and the best way to do that is by television. Of course, the only television you can buy is Boston and most of the people you're paying for don't live in the district."

Another believer in the power of television was Don Ringe, a 35-year-old friend of Trimarco who lived in Boston and who had developed a national reputation as a producer of advertising for Republican candidates. Ringe was one of the people who had been closest to Trimarco during the period when Trimarco was deciding if he should run against Mavroules. Ringe, who had handled advertising for such candidates for Governor Bill Clements of Texas in 1978 and who had six major statewide clients in 1980, was excited about the possibility of Trimarco becoming a Congressman. Ringe offered to volunteer some of his spare personal time to producing media material and advertising for the Trimarco campaign on a cost basis. Most advertising firms charge their clients 15% on the cost of print space and broadcast time, plus a 15-20% markup on the cost of production. Trimarco would have to pay a great deal of money for a 30-second prime time TV spot.

Ringe said he and Tom discussed the difficulty of a relatively unknown Republican unseating a Democratic Congressman in a Democratic majority district. Ringe described Trimarco as a "tough media candidate" because he was heavy-set and inexperienced in front of the camera. Said Ringe, "Tom's greatest asset is that he can talk to people, not so much with charisma as with empathy. People like him when they meet him. If Tom could spend a couple of minutes with half the voters in the district, he'd have no problem."

Ringe, like Trimarco, was raised in a working class, ethnic neighborhood of New York City. Ringe considered Tom's Democratic background and "non-traditional Republican" image to be assets. Ringe also knew that Tom's greatest liability was his low level of name awareness among the district's voters. Thus, Ringe proposed that Tom plan to run a series of "name identification" spots on radio and television in mid-June shortly after he announced his candidacy.

In addition to advertising in the paid media, the news provided another avenue for increasing voter awareness of Trimarco. Conte knew that the Sixth District was dotted with small daily and weekly newspapers which were generally hungry for political news. He wanted to hire an experienced press secretary to keep Trimarco's name in the news. However, Trimarco, concerned about the campaign's fund-raising progress, decided to postpone the hiring of a press secretary and the placing of an initial wave of name awareness advertising. (See Exhibit 7 for examples of fund-raising reports made to the Federal Elections Commission.)

Conte said he was often frustrated by the campaign's tendency to get bogged down in details, particularly what it came to what Conte described as "searching for magic words." Said Conte, "Tom would gather input, advice. He'd say 'it's my name on these things.' I can't blame him. One example was the campaign slogan. Shortly after the announcement, Tom and I agreed upon the slogan 'A Good Man For A Change.' However, some of Don Ringe's associates considered the slogan too trite and too negative. We talked back and forth for over a week about what the slogan should be until Don returned from a trip out West. He agreed with a variation of the original idea."

According to Conte, one of the roles of the campaign manager is as an "insulator," protecting the candidate from the numerous day-to-day details of the campaign. Said Conte:

Perhaps I wasn't forceful enough. The candidate has enough to do without getting bogged down in details and in dealing with so many people out there. Tom was very close to the mechanics of the campaign; when it is your first campaign and you only have two people working full time, it's hard not to be. We talked about this in campaign management school (conducted by the Republican National Committee). The candidate knows he is supposed to give the manager authority. The manager knows he's supposed to tell the candidate the manager is the boss and that he'll leave if he can't run the show. But I've seen it in my own campaigns; it's hard to find somebody you can trust to do the right thing for you. There just aren't many talented managers. I've run all my own campaigns myself.

The Primary Campaign

On June 25, Conte told Trimarco that he was unable to make the eighteen-hour per day commitment that the job required and, at his wife's urging, Conte resigned to return to his law practice. On July 4, Trimarco, Conte and Don Ringe met in Ringe's Boston office with David Sparks, a free-

lance political consultant. Sparks, 30 years old, was the deputy political director of George Bush's national presidential campaign until Bush withdrew from the race. A Massachusetts native, Sparks knew all three men from previous political activities. Ringe had called Sparks to ask his help in locating a new manager for Trimarco's campaign.

Sparks, who was working as a consultant to two other New England congressional races, was asked by Trimarco to take his campaign as a client. Sparks agreed. He recalled the July 4 meeting:

I told Tom his campaign was inadequate; there was no real campaign organization, no local organization of volunteers, and an inadequate finance operation. There was still a very positive political environment out there for Tom, but it was my evaluation of the campaign that it was behind where it should have been with the primary (September 16) just over two months away and the general election less than two months after that.

Sparks said the campaign needed to refocus its attention on the primary campaign against Bill Bronson. Bronson had run twice before and his higher level of name awareness among the district's Republican primary voters - who had nominated him twice before - would give him an advantage in the primary balloting. As part of his consulting agreement, Sparks wrote a campaign plan. The plan which Sparks submitted to Trimarco on July 7, was a detailed 15-page document which included discussion of campaign activities in the following areas: volunteer field activities, press operations and issue research, scheduling of the candidate's personal appearances, direct mail, media and collateral (printed) materials, polling and finance. The activities were summarized in a flow chart showing which activities the campaign should complete on a daily basis. The plan was intended as a guide for the campaign's new manager; though Sparks submitted it to Trimarco, he was not certain that Trimarco ever found the time to read it.

The plan included the following proposals for staffing:

On July 21, the campaign will need to fill the following staff functions; either with paid or volunteer individuals: campaign management, press, research, fieldwork, secretarial help, volunteer coordination, candidate driver/aide, schedule and fund raising.

The following positions or combination of positions should be established:

Campaign Manager - \$300-\$400 per week.

Senior Field Person - \$150-\$250 .

A combination of two individuals in the \$150-\$250 range, responsible for scheduling, volunteer coordination, office management and secretarial assistance.

Fund Raiser - \$150-\$250 - if not enough volunteer assistance.

Driver/Aide - \$100-\$150.

In addition, two junior level field people should be added before Labor Day.

Sparks' plan distinguished between the broader strategy of the campaign, and the tactical and administrative details the strategy required; page one of the plan summarized the strategy of the campaign while fourteen pages were required to summarize the details of its implementation. At the heart of the plan was a voter identification program which would use volunteers to locate and turn out Republican primary voters.

To fill the campaign manager's job, Sparks recommended Josie Martin, a 25-year-old woman from New Hampshire. Martin had served as a Representative in the New Hampshire state legislature and had worked as a field person in the Bush campaign helping run presidential primary campaigns in several states. It was agreed to hire Martin as the campaign's manager.

It was also agreed that one of the new manager's first responsibilities would be to get a handle on the campaign's fund raising and spending. Federal law requires all campaigns for federal office to file periodic reports of receipts and disbursements. The Federal Elections Commission report for the period April 9 to June 30 showed that the Trimarco committee had raised a total of \$29,378.75, \$6778.75 of which had been donated in amounts of less than \$100. During that period, the campaign spent \$9908.04. (See Exhibit 7 for details of some campaign expenditures during the period.) The new manager would have to coordinate the efforts of volunteer fund raisers in order to free up as much of Trimarco's time as possible for the Republican primary.

As part of the plan Sparks drafted for the campaign, a budget for July, August and the first half of September was drawn up. Although Sparks did not offer his opinion as to how much the campaign might raise, he submitted a budget calling for primary campaign expenditures of \$99,440. The budget, which included no television advertising, was described as "realistic" by Sparks. (See Exhibit 6 for Sparks' budget proposal.)

Given a new plan and what Sparks saw as a consensus within the campaign to refocus its attention on the primary, Sparks was optimistic that Josie Martin, as the new manager, would be able to turn the campaign around. However, Martin's tenure as campaign manager ended before it started. Shortly after agreeing to take the job, Martin was forced to leave the campaign with a medical problem.

While Trimarco and Sparks began the search for another campaign manager, Trimarco hired Joe Malone to be the campaign's field director. Malone would be in charge of volunteer activities, including the critical effort to identify Trimarco voters before the September 16 primary. Malone

was a 28-year-old graduate of Harvard from Waltham, Massachusetts who had started two health clubs in the Boston area. Trimarco had met Malone during the Brooke campaign when Malone was a full-time volunteer. Trimarco considered Malone to be politically "street savvy." Malone had also been executive director of John Connolly's Massachusetts primary campaign. In April, Trimarco had asked Malone to help him organize the signature drive on a full-time basis, but Malone had been forced by his business commitments to refuse both Trimarco's offer and another offer to manage a neighboring congressional campaign. In July, Malone reconsidered and joined Trimarco's campaign.

Malone described his job as being an "implementer." Said Joe, "For a while I actually lived at Tom's house. We would sit down at night and he would tell me who he had talked to. I would make notes and get in touch with the people, give them something to do, get them involved. I also told Tom what I'd heard, for instance in a town where nobody seemed to know much about him. I tried to tell him positive things mostly."

Joe worked out of Trimarco's Beverly campaign headquarters. Also working there were Mary Claire, who with the assistance of her sister Kathy Campfield was handling press, scheduling and administrative matters, and Lewis Lee, who was in charge of research for Trimarco. Lee, who had worked with Malone in the Connolly campaign, left Trimarco's staff in late August to attend Columbia Law School.

Malone recalls there was a feeling of urgency, but little sense of direction during his first few days on the job, particularly since the campaign was again without a manager. Malone remembers that Trimarco shared with him a few of the names he was considering for the manager's job: "I told Tom I wasn't too impressed with them. Then he mentioned this guy from Minnesota might come in. I said 'Look Tom, I feel awkward telling you this, but here's a guy coming in all the way from Minnesota who really doesn't have the pulse of New England politics. You've got David Sparks here who can consult on anything I can't handle; I don't see why we don't proceed this way.'"

Lee, before he left the campaign, went to Trimarco and suggested that he consider making Malone the campaign manager. Trimarco even considered the idea of having no campaign manager, but he and Sparks realized the campaign needed one. In the absence of a manager, Sparks was spending as many as four days a week at the headquarters, though billing Trimarco for only one.

Again, Sparks located a campaign manager who had worked in the Bush campaign: Bob Herbolsheimer was a native of Peru, Illinois, a twenty-six-year-old attorney with a deep booming voice who had worked as a field person during the presidential campaign. Bob had gotten his start in politics as a deputy manager in a 1978 congressional campaign. In early August, Trimarco agreed to hire Herbolsheimer as the manager of his campaign.

Herbolsheimer moved to Beverly from Minnesota. Bob wasted no time in immersing himself in the Trimarco campaign. Herbolsheimer's first priority was to learn the politics of the district, including the names of important supporters and fund raisers. Kathy Campfield, who had been hired by Trimarco to do the campaign's bookkeeping, recalls Herbolsheimer's early weeks as campaign manager:

Our first reaction was that he was another outsider, although it was clear he was very competent and had the best intentions. When he arrived, he called a staff meeting to talk about breaking up responsibilities in the office - up to that point, everybody had been doing everything. He said we would have staff meetings every three days, but we just didn't have the time, so we stopped. Too often, Bob was a bottleneck; everything had to go across his desk and then it would come back out to us. Everybody kept doing everything.

The last weeks before the primary election were hectic. A mid-August poll showed that Trimarco was trailing Bronson 24% to 40% among voters likely to vote in a Republican primary, with a very significant 35% undecided. With the campaign accelerating toward the primary election, Herbolsheimer was clearly having a difficult time establishing himself as the campaign's manager. Said one worker, "The sharks were already in the water. I don't think anybody could have been quick enough."

Malone said he felt as if he were working for Trimarco rather than Herbolsheimer:

Bob stepped into a tough situation. He hadn't hired anybody and he really didn't know the players and he was learning about the area, even a month into the campaign. Often, in the last few weeks before the primary, Tom would come directly to me with stuff. When I decided to work for Tom, one of the things I was interested in was making sure I would be involved in the decision-making process.

Malone said the final weeks of the primary campaign were frustrating for the staff, particularly for Mary Claire who had been with Tom from the beginning:

It was frustrating for us, in the final two or three weeks when you're battling the clock, to see Bob spend an hour in his office talking with somebody who, when he came in the door, I could tell wasn't worth spending that much time with. On the other hand, things I needed for my operation I couldn't get. I'd say "Bob, when am I going to get those envelopes for the printer?" and he'd tell me he had not gotten them down there yet, or that he was still looking at prices. I knew that Mary Claire thought she could have done a better job than Bob.

Malone said that Sparks played a very active role in keeping the campaign staff together in the weeks before the primary:

Sparks was very good. There was a little unrest and David sat everybody down - Bob, Mary Claire, Kathy, me - it was like a little true confessions session and we tried to get to the root of the problem. We didn't want to hurt Bob's feelings because he was a nice guy and we

knew he'd walked into a tough situation. But we sat there and eventually got to the root of the problem, which turned out not to be all the little things that Bob was doing wrong, but the fact that we were behind schedule and Bob, who'd just come in, really wasn't in a position to contribute much.

The Republican primary was held on September 16. Tom Trimarco won the GOP congressional nomination by only 245 votes out of 16,000 cast. Trimarco decided that the campaign needed a new manager for the general election.

The Situation on September 29

As the campaign's new manager, Andy Card knew he faced a range of organizational, political and financial problems. The preliminary results of a poll just completed by the campaign's pollster showed that the general election was still up for grabs. Among 308 likely voters surveyed, 41% said they would vote for Mavroules if the election were being held today, 30% said they would vote for Trimarco and 29% were undecided about their vote intention.

It was Card's feeling, however, that the campaign had lost momentum since the primary election - it had been nearly 10 days since Trimarco had removed Herbolsheimer as manager. The campaign's strategy was uncertain. Card knew that Trimarco felt the media component of the general election campaign would be more important than in the primary, although it was not clear the campaign could raise the funds needed to wage an active campaign in the expensive Boston media market. Fund raising would be critical. Herbolsheimer, despite Sparks' reservations about keeping him on the staff after he was removed from the manager's position, had accepted Trimarco's offer to manage the fund-raising operation. Herbolsheimer would remain in the Beverly headquarters. The rest of the staff moved to another storefront in nearby Salem.

Card was also concerned about Malone's role, given the apparent intention of the campaign to devote more attention to media. Malone had no campaign plan from which to work since the primary, although he had attempted to stay in touch with volunteer coordinators and to integrate Bronson's people into Trimarco's campaign. Card had met Malone and the other staffers that morning. They seemed anxious to cooperate with him.

Card said that political campaigns were communications organizations:

There are only three ways you can get a message to a voter. You can do it in person; in my legislative district with 18,000 voters, I am able to meet a significant number of those who will actually vote. Second, you can get somebody else to do the talking. You can get somebody to ring doorbells and telephones in your behalf; you can get a piece of paper into the voters' hands and hope they'll read it and remember it. Finally, you can use the media - everything from TV to direct mail, for example, the newsletter. Congressman Mavroules sends it out from his congressional office. We try to get in the newspaper.

Radio and television is tougher to get free and almost too expensive to buy, but it is nearly impossible to win without it. People expect it.

Card was also concerned about the strategic implications of political events beyond his control, particularly about the impact of the presidential race on the Sixth District congressional election. Although he had seen no recent presidential polls for Massachusetts, Card was well aware that the Reagan-Carter contest had tightened up all over the country in recent weeks and that Reagan currently had little momentum. He was pleased, however, that Anderson and Reagan campaign leaders in the state had endorsed Trimarco. Trimarco had gotten the endorsement of the Boston Globe in the primary election and could get it again come November. Mavroules would be getting his own endorsements from popular Massachusetts Democrats like Edward Kennedy and Thomas "Tip" O'Neil.

Most of what Card knew about the campaign and its workers came from his conversations over the past weekend with Trimarco and Sparks. Card had also heard about the campaign from his political associates in the state legislature and Republican Party. The consensus was that Trimarco faced an uphill fight but the campaign was winnable. This was also the tone of newspaper stories that Card read in the Boston Globe. Upon arriving at campaign headquarters Card saw stacks of other newspapers from all over the district, some of which had been clipped and filed. He had had time to look at a few. In the file there were indications that Mavroules was running scared. A front page article in the Salem Evening News Saturday began this way: "Nick Mavroules is in trouble. Deep trouble." Card knew that Mavroules and the Democrats would soon be galvanized into action by such news reports. He also knew the Trimarco campaign would have to move quickly if it was to turn these optimistic news stories into a winning margin on November 4.

Card felt that the news media, particularly the Boston media, would begin to pay more attention to Trimarco's challenge to Mavroules. It would be important to carefully coordinate the news activities being handled by Mary Claire with the research being conducted by Peter Torklidsen, a recent college graduate, recently hired to fill the gap left by Lewis Lee's departure. Trimarco's statements on the issues would now come under closer scrutiny. While the primary campaign had been waged on the premise that Trimarco would be more likely than Bronson to win in November, the general election campaign would be more issue oriented. Card wasn't certain if Trimarco should attack Mavroules' record during the campaign.

Though it was not clear who would participate in making these decisions, Card knew that Sparks would continue to be influential. Card considered Sparks to be a close friend. Card and Sparks had worked together during the Bush campaign and though Card had initially been reluctant to take the job as manager, he had succumbed to Sparks' appeals over the past weekend. Sparks told Card the campaign needed a "nuts and bolts type" of manager. Apparently, there had been talk within the staff about Mary Claire and Joe running the campaign. Although Trimarco had considered a "division head" organization without a manager, he had made it clear that he would prefer to have Card as manager.

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The 6th congressional district of Massachusetts is the North Shore district. Along and just back of the rocky coast north of Boston are the estates of some of the Commonwealth's oldest families, including (to name some still important politically) the Saltonstams, the Lodges, and the Hatches. Only a few miles away are the fishermen of Gloucester, who have suffered in recent years from Russian trawlers until the United States extended its territorial waters to 200 miles. Here also are the textile mill workers in Haverhill and Newburyport on the Merrimack River--or people who used to be textile workers, since most of the mills have closed--and the artists and supplier people of Rockport. To the south is Salem, where twenty witches were once hanged and pressed to death, and where Nathaniel Hawthorne's house of seven gables still stands in a neighborhood of neat nineteenth century homes. Also in the southern part of the district is the boating suburb of Marblehead, which Jews now share with WASPs. Lynn, whose troubled shoe industry has been pressing for years for protection against imports and previously, a newer city, infested with a large shopping center and a middle income population.

The 6th district is the site of the original germ-minder, named for the desire of its perpetrator, Elbridge Gerry, to corral all the area's Federalist voters into one misshapen seat. Since then the North Shore's wealthy towns and Brahmin families have given the area a reputation for Republicanism it has for some time ceased to deserve. Republican domination of the district continued through personal popularity of one William Bates, until his death in 1969.

The result of the special election to replace him showed the way things were going in Massachusetts. Republican William Santonastoli was beaten by Democrat Michael Harrington. A hot-tempered opponent of the Vietnam war, Harrington never found a comfortable niche in the House. In the 94th Congress there was a motion to censure him for disclosing classified information on American aid to the Chilean junta, although the material was true and government officials were lying about it; Harrington got off on a technicality. He seems to have been the only member of Congress concerned about what this country did in Chile. In 1976 several bailout measures he was strongly backing were defeated in Massachusetts, and his own percentage was sharply reduced. He decided to retire in 1978 and, at 42, to return to Massachusetts.

When he left the race, Harrington was already being challenged by Peabody Mayor Nicholas Mavroules, a more traditional kind of Democrat. A local officeholder for twenty years, Mavroules was no ideologue; he won the three-candidate primary with little difficulty. The Republican candidate, airline pilot Bill Bronson, had run against Harrington in 1976 and was primed to run an anti-Harrington campaign against Mavroules. Mavroules, a man of balance and exposed Bronson's own peculiar views, such as a proposal to return most welfare programs to churches and other private institutions. Nevertheless Bronson got a better percentage against Mavroules than he had against Harrington and ran quite a creditable race. Whether the Republicans will seriously contest this race again, however, is not clear.

Census Data: Pop. 475,000. Central city, 10%; suburban, 22%. Median family income, \$19,041; families above \$15,000, 25%; families below \$3,000, 67%. Median years education, 12.3.

The Voters

Median voting age, 45.

Employment profile: White collar, 52%; Blue collar, 36%; Service, 12%; Farm, 1%.

Ethnic groups: Total foreign stock, 31%; Canada, 10%; Italy, 4%; Ireland, UK, 3% each, USSR, Poland, Greece, 2% each.

Presidential vote

1976	Carter (D)	119,963	(55.7%)
	Ford (R)	97,836	(45.7%)
1972	Nixon (R)	102,127	(47.7%)
	McGovern (D)	116,157	(52.3%)



Rep. Nicholas Mavroules (D). Elected 1978, b. Nov. 1, 1929, Peabody, home, Peabody. M.F.E., night courier. Greek Orthodox.

Career: Peabody Ward Clerk, 1958-61; Councillor-at-Large, 1964-65; Mayor, 1967-73.

Offices: 1204 L.H. 96, 202 225-8020. Also 99 Washington St. Salem 01970, 617-745-5400.

Committees: Armed Services (224); Subcommittees: Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Military Compensation.

Science and Technology (224); Subcommittees: Energy Development and Applications; Transportation, Aviation and Communication.

Election Results

1978 general	Nicholas Mavroules (D)	97,099	(54%)	(\$90,531)
	William E. Bronson (R)	83,511	(46%)	(\$185,029)
1978 primary	Nicholas Mavroules (D)	54,511	(44%)	
	James Smith (D)	27,600	(35%)	(\$75,003)
	One other (D)	16,322	(21%)	
1976 general	Michael J. Harrington (D)	121,562	(57%)	(\$100,673)
	William E. Bronson (R)	91,655	(43%)	(\$44,084)

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)
Map of Sixth Congressional District

482-019

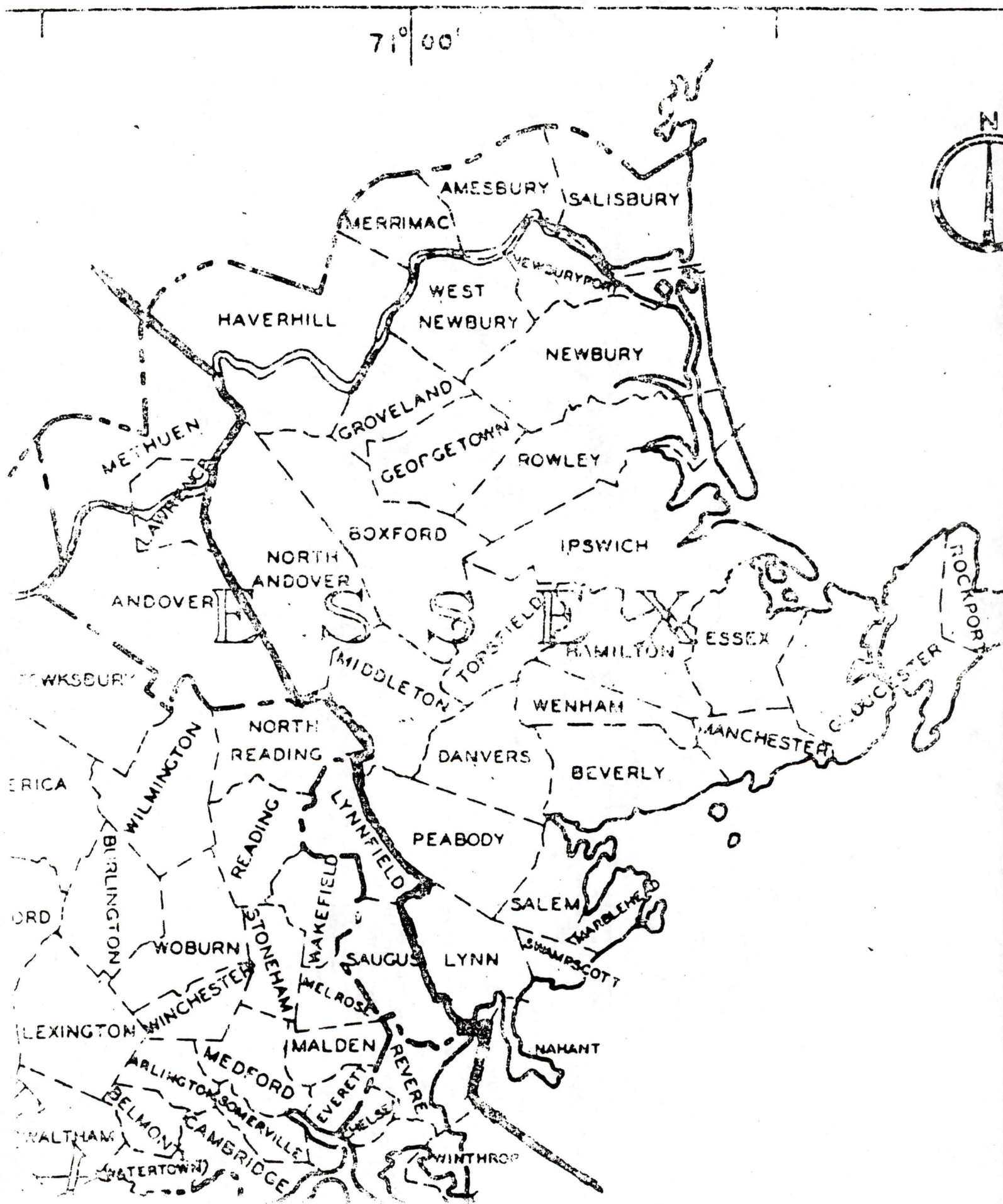


Exhibit 3

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)

Election Returns, Congressional Race 1980

Cities in capital letters, towns lower case.

District 6	William E. Groves of Manchester Republican	Nicholas Mavroules of Peabody Democratic	All Others	Blacks	Total Votes Cast
Amesbury	2 014	1 835	1	258	4 210
BEVERLY	9 032	7 300	4	554	15 900
Burlington	1 510	526	1	48	2 194
Concord	4 172	5 035	2	352	10 137
Essex	676	310	1	54	1 241
Georgetown	1 349	939	1	63	2 352
GROUNDCENTER	5 234	3 776	—	470	9 500
Groveland	1 034	1 004	—	78	2 116
Hamilton	1 994	876	—	97	2 967
HAVEPHILL	6 055	9 735	4	1 007	16 801
Isiswich	2 617	2 011	—	273	4 856
LYNN	8 877	17 219	6	2 331	28 433
Manchester	2 053	490	—	80	2 632
Marblehead	6 127	4 145	—	436	10 708
Merrimack	778	662	1	96	1 537
Middleton	784	690	—	50	1 524
Nahant	838	1 056	—	61	1 955
Newbury	1 193	653	—	95	1 931
NEWBURYPORT	2 764	2 365	—	769	5 898
North Andover	3 104	4 207	—	380	7 691
PLAOD	6 054	13 983	6	383	20 426
Rockport	2 079	813	4	149	3 045
Rowley	239	488	—	45	1 372
SALEM	4 893	11 174	2	592	16 666
Salisbury	845	891	—	170	1 906
Swampscott	2 828	3 485	—	354	6 667
Topsheld	1 857	699	1	64	2 621
Wenham	1 223	406	2	43	1 684
West Newbury	773	323	1	66	1 163
TOTALS	83 511	97 099	35	9 495	190 140

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)

Current Voting Intentions by Party Identification

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Party Identification</u>		
		<u>Republican</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	(400)	(65)	(217)	(117)
<u>Candidate Vote/Congress</u>				
Trimarco	25%	60%	24%	10%
Mavroules	75	40	76	90
<u>Candidate Vote/President</u>				
Reagan	57	87	58	37
Carter	43	13	42	63
<u>Party Vote/Congress</u>				
Republican	41	89	48	5
Democrat	59	11	52	95
*PDI (1)	-16	-29	-24	+ 5
**PDI (2)	+16	- 2	+10	+32

*PDI (1) = Percentage Difference Index: % "Trimarco" minus % "Republican".
 **PDI (2) = Percentage Difference Index: % "Reagan" minus % "Republican".

Exhibit 4 (continued)

By political region, Trimarco trails Mavroules across all five regions and is approximately 12 to 25 points below the basic party vote in each region. One observes the more traditional Democratic areas of the district are those in which Reagan is running significantly above the basic Republican vote -- the urban South and Haverhill. In the less Democratic areas of the district, Reagan equals or runs just slightly ahead of the party vote -- Cape Ann and Beverly.

Current Voting Intentions by Political Regions

	Political Region					
	Total	South	Cape Ann	Beverly	Haverhill	Newbury
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases (400)	(152)	(76)	(62)	(55)	(55)	
<u>Candidate/Vote/Congress</u>						
Trimarco	25%	19%	37%	28%	19%	23%
Mavroules	75	81	63	72	81	72
<u>Candidate Vote/President</u>						
Reagan	57	50	59	52	51	70
Carter	43	44	41	48	49	30
<u>Party Vote/Congress</u>						
Republican	41	31	59	44	30	53
Democrat	59	69	41	55	70	47
*PDI (1)	-16	-12	-22	-16	-11	-25
**PDI (2)	+16	+25	+ 0	+ 8	+21	+17

*PDI (1) = Percentage Difference Index: % "Trimarco" minus % "Republican".

**PDI (2) = Percentage Difference Index: % "Reagan" minus % "Republican".

Exhibit 4 (continued)

Current Voting Intentions by Demographic Groups

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Candidate Vote/ Congress</u>		<u>Candidate Vote/ President</u>		<u>Party Vote/Congress</u>		<u>PDI*</u>		<u>Number of Cases</u>
		<u>Trimarco</u>	<u>Mavroules</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	
Total	100%	25%	75%	57%	43%	41%	59%	-16	+16	(400)
<u>Age</u>										
Under 35	100%	29	71	53	47	32	68	- 3	+21	(100)
35-54	100%	23	77	57	43	45	55	-22	+12	(147)
55 and over	100%	24	76	61	39	44	56	-20	+17	(148)
<u>Education</u>										
Less than high school	100%	9	91	66	34	28	72	-19	+38	(44)
High school	100%	30	70	60	40	44	55	-14	+16	(168)
Some college	100%	23	77	52	48	41	59	-18	+11	(185)
<u>Catholic</u>										
Total	100%	15	85	52	48	30	70	-15	+22	(205)
White collar	100%	16	84	45	55	30	70	-14	+15	(83)
Blue collar	100%	14	86	58	42	31	69	-17	+27	(64)
Retired	100%	14	86	56	44	29	71	-15	+27	(58)
Conservative	100%	16	84	57	43	40	60	-24	+17	(86)
Liberal/Moderate	100%	14	86	48	52	23	77	- 9	+25	(119)
<u>Non-Catholic</u>										
Total	100%	36	64	63	37	54	46	-18	+ 9	(195)
White collar	100%	32	68	64	36	50	50	-18	+14	(88)
Blue collar	100%	33	67	56	44	43	57	-10	+13	(47)
Retired	100%	45	55	66	34	69	31	-24	- 3	(60)
Conservative	100%	46	54	76	24	70	30	-24	+ 6	(94)
Liberal/Moderate	100%	25	75	50	50	37	63	-12	+13	(101)
<u>Sex</u>										
Men	100%	25	75	62	38	45	55	-20	+17	(201)
Women	100%	24	76	52	48	37	63	-13	+15	(199)

Exhibit 4 (continued)

Now I'm going to read you a list of problems and issues facing the country and as I read each one I would like you to tell me whether you think the Republican party or the Democratic party would do a better job of handling that particular problem or issue.

	Total	Responses					PDI ^a
		Republican Party	Democratic Party	(VOLUNTEERED) Neither	Both	Don't know/NA	
Reducing government spending							
Mass. 6th C.D.	100%	56%	26%	6%	2%	11%	+30
National*	100%	39	22	19	10	11	+17
Northeast*	100%	33	20	18	12	12	+13
Reducing the size of the federal government	100%	50	25	7	3	14	+25
Reducing inflation							
Mass. 6th C.D.	100%	48	28	9	3	13	+20
National	100%	33	25	18	10	5	+ 8
Northeast	100%	31	23	21	10	15	+ 8
Strengthening our national defense	100%	47	32	4	4	13	+15
Improving our relations with other countries.	100%	37	36	7	5	16	+ 1
Handling crisis situations around the world.	100%	35	37	6	4	17	- 2
Reducing unemployment							
Mass. 6th C.D.	100%	31	43	7	2	17	-12
National	100%	18	39	16	14	14	-21
Northeast	100%	19	33	20	12	15	-14
Ensuring adequate supplies of energy at a fair price.							
Mass. 6th C.D.	100%	28	43	10	3	16	-15
National	100%	22	23	21	18	17	- 1
Northeast	100%	21	21	21	19	19	0

^aPercentage Difference Index = % "Republican" minus % "Democratic".

The following are several things you might find out about a candidate for U.S. Congress during a campaign. As I read each one, please tell me if knowing that would make you more likely or less likely to vote for that candidate.

	Total	Responses						POI ^a
		Much More Likely	A Little More Likely	No Difference/ Not Important (VOLUNTEERED)	A Little Less Likely	Much Less Likely	Don't know/NA	
Is endorsed by the Boston Globe	100%	11%	25%	31%	13%	10%	10%	+13
Is a Democrat	100%	14	19	38	17	6	7	+10
Is a Republican	100%	11	18	40	16	8	5	+ 5
Is endorsed by Edward Brooke	100%	8	23	34	15	12	6	+ 3
Is endorsed by Frances Sargent	100%	11	18	33	19	11	8	- 1
Is endorsed by your local newspaper	100%	8	16	41	16	11	8	- 3
Is endorsed by John Volpe	100%	6	12	34	21	20	7	-23

^aPercentage Difference Index = Total % "More likely" minus Total % "Less likely".

Exhibit 4 (continued)

The following are various federal programs and services. For each one please tell me what you favor or oppose reducing government spending in that area.

	Total	Responses			PDI
		Favor	Oppose	Don't know/NA	
Federal food stamp program.	100%	51%	39%	10%	+12
Federal aid to the states to provide financial assistance to the unemployed.	100%	53	41	6	+12
Federal financial aid to cities and towns.	100%	49	43	9	+
Federal aid to mass transit rail and highway improvement.	100%	48	45	7	+
Federal loans to college students.	100%	44	46	8	-
Federal loans to local law enforcement agencies.	100%	41	50	9	-
Federal spending for national defense.	100%	39	56	5	-1

Percentage Difference Index = % "Favor" minus % "Oppose".

Exhibit 5

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)

Campaign Budget (March 1980)

	<u>Modest</u>	<u>Optimum</u>	<u>High</u>
Operations (rent, car lease, personnel, etc.)	\$45,000	\$70,000	\$125,000
Printing	15,000	20,000	30,000
Mailings (2 complete district)	50,000	60,000	60,000
Telephone Banks	8,000	15,000	15,000
Radio	12,000	18,000	25,000
Newspaper	10,000	20,000	25,000
TV			30,000
Polls	12,000	15,000	20,000
Miscellaneous	5,000	15,000	20,000
	\$157,000	\$233,000	\$350,000

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)

482-019

Campaign Budget (July 1980)BUDGET

	<u>July</u>	<u>August</u>	<u>Sept (1/2)</u>
I. ADMINISTRATION			
A. Headquarters			
1. Rent	\$ 150	\$ 150	\$ 150
2. Insurance			
3. Utilities	50	50	50
4. Telephone	500	750	375
5. Office Supplies/Printing	500	500	250
6. Office Machines & Insurance	400	400	400
B. Personnel			
1. Payroll	3,000	6,100	3,700
2. Payroll Taxes	300	610	370
3. Travel & Exp.	300	300	150
4. Consultants	1,500	1,500	150
C. Miscellaneous	1,000	1,000	1,000
<u>TOTAL</u>	\$7,700	\$11,360	\$6,595
II. MEDIA AND COLLATERAL MATERIAL			
A. Radio Time Buy	3,600	9,600	12,000
1. Production	500	500	
B. Billboards	3,000		
C. Bus Racks	610		
D. Newspapers		2,000	2,000

Exhibit 6 (continued)

<u>BUDGET</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>August</u>	<u>Sept. (1/2)</u>
E. Brochures & Tabloids	\$ 3,375	\$ 600	\$
F. Other Promotional Materials		1,300	1,200
<u>TOTAL</u>	\$11,085	\$14,000	\$15,200
III. DIRECT MAIL			
A. Petition Signers (6,000)	1,500		
B. District-wide Republican (30,000)		8,000	8,000
C. Fundraising	4,000	1,000	1,000
<u>TOTAL</u>	\$ 5,500	\$ 9,000	\$ 9,000
IV. FIELD MATERIALS			
A. Phone Banks		2,000	1,000
B. Field	1,100	1,000	1,000
<u>TOTAL</u>	\$ 1,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 2,000
V. POLLING		2,000	2,000
<u>TOTAL</u>	\$	\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000
<u>MONTHLY TOTALS</u>	\$25,285	\$39,360	\$34,795

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)

482-019



Tom Trimarco

A better way to save

Tom Trimarco is not an ordinary candidate, but these are not ordinary times.

Tom Trimarco hasn't made a career of running for office. He has seen American foreign policy in action from our embassy in Rome. His tour at the Department of Transportation in Washington taught him a lot about how government works—and doesn't work.

Tom Trimarco represents a new generation of leadership that knows that we have serious problems—but is confident that if we face the 1980's with a renewed sense of national purpose, we can solve those problems and get America moving again.

Tom Trimarco is the right man to change the policies that have failed America.

The Economy: Tough times call for tough decisions.

Inflation must be stopped and Tom Trimarco is tough enough to balance the federal budget.

Foreign Policy and National Defense: An end to the diplomacy of failure.

Tom Trimarco won't let the diplomacy of the '80's fail. He's committed to a consistent foreign policy of peace through strength, including an upgraded conventional weapons preparedness.

Energy: A fair national energy policy is a matter of survival for New England.

Tom Trimarco will work to accelerate the development of alternative energy sources—solar and hydro. He'll promote legislation that encourages conservation through weatherization and insulation.

Cities: The revitalization of our urban areas.

Tom Trimarco will support reduced business taxes and less government regulation for urban industrial development, and he'll work to bring back revenue sharing, the most efficient means of returning federal aid to our cities.

Dartmouth College, BA; Boston College Law School
Lieutenant, US Army

Law Clerk to the Justices of the Massachusetts
Superior Court; Executive Assistant to Chief Justice
G. Joseph Tauro

Assistant General Counsel for Legislation, US
Department of Transportation, Washington, DC

Special Assistant to US Ambassador to Italy John
Voepel in Rome; Attorney and Partner, Csaplari
and Bok

Tom Trimarco lives in Beverly with his wife,
Rosemary, and their children, Tom, Jr., 14, Terri, 13,
Gerard, 12, and Jeanne, 8. They are members of
Saint Mary's Star of the Sea Church, Beverly.

Elect Tom Trimarco on November 4.

Headquarters - 269 Cabot Street, Beverly
922-0954

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

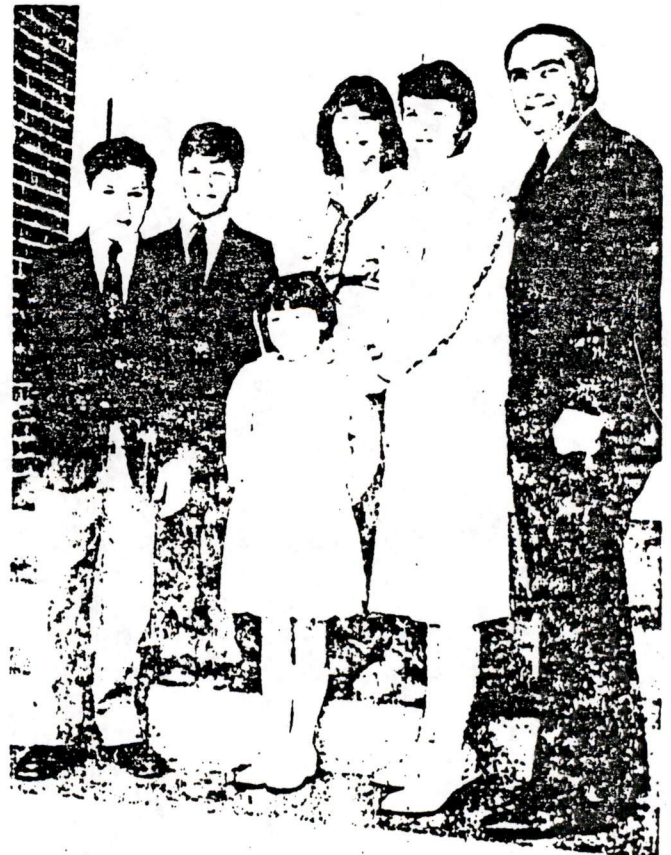
I'd like to volunteer to help Tom.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and return to: Trimarco for Congress Committee
269 Cabot St
Beverly, Massachusetts 01915



TOM TRIMARCO

Exhibit 7

TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (A)

Contributions & Disbursements

<u>DATE OF REPORT TO ELECTION COMMISSION</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>PERIOD CONTRIBUTION</u>	<u>PERIOD EXPENDITURE</u>
July 15	April 9 to June 30	29,378.75	9,908.04
August 29	July 1 to August 27	26,339.00	36,777.39
October 15	August 28 to September 30	43,833.00	50,694.78

DEBTS 14,063.95

LOANS 3,500.00

Mauroules raised between \$150,000 - \$200,000



TOM TRIMARCO FOR CONGRESS (B)

Although he did not know Andy other than by reputation, Tom had high expectations for Card as the campaign's new manager:

I really wanted him to grab ahold of the thing - to use his own political savvy. Even though he was from south of Boston, Andy was well known and knew people throughout the state. In my mind, a good campaign manager must be more than a technician minding the store. He should get out and do a little wheeling and dealing and selling himself.

Tom felt he had made a mistake in trying to bring in "outsiders" like Martin and Herbolsheimer to run the campaign.

Ideally, you'd like to start with a campaign manager and let him or her hire the Malones and the Mary Claires. I did something as uncertain as hiring Herbolsheimer over the phone. Perhaps I should have gone with either Mary Claire or Joe - they were both very competent and devoted to me in a very personal way. It was partly my inability to choose between them that led me to look outside for the "perfect" campaign manager who in my mind would have been an Irish Catholic Democrat from Lynn. Herbolsheimer did the best he could under the circumstances and we nipped Bronson at the wire. I had hoped the personal problems on the staff would work out - I was so involved with the primary campaigning, that I couldn't stop the train to worry about a couple of wheels that were rattling loose back there - I would take Mary Claire out for spareribs or Joe for a couple of beers. But the rattling didn't stop. I knew I couldn't let Bob manage the general election campaign. And I wouldn't let Mary Claire or Joe go.

This case was prepared by Will Feltus, Research Assistant, under the supervision of Assistant Professor Leonard A. Schlesinger as a basis for class discussion rather than to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of an administrative situation.

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A BRIEF NOTE ON POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Campaign organizations and methods are as varied and different as the candidates themselves. All campaigns, however, have the same goal: to convince enough voters to support their candidate. Toward that end, campaigns marshal human and financial resources to help their candidate identify and communicate with potential voters. While campaign strategy and tactics are highly situational, most campaigns organize and staff themselves along similar functional lines.

The Campaign Organization

The Candidate: At the top of the campaign organization sits the candidate. He is both the campaign's ultimate decision-making authority and its only marketable product. Candidates are political entrepreneurs who get their start by making the right impression on enough of the right people. The new potential candidate might be encouraged by influential political activists or party officials. Candidates "test the water" by attempting to favorably influence journalists, party and community leaders, other politicians, political professionals, potential fund raisers and volunteer workers. Candidates often form informal "steering committees" to advise them on political decisions. As the politically knowledgeable public begins to accept the candidate as legitimate, the candidate formally enlists the aid of others who are willing - on a paid, underpaid, or unpaid basis - to work toward the candidate's election. People work for a candidate because they know and like him personally and/or because they agree with his stands on the issues. Others work simply because it is the way they earn their living. Some work for a candidate with hopes of getting a permanent job if the candidate wins the election.

Campaign Manager: Although some candidates are able to successfully manage their own campaigns - particularly if they have been re-elected several times or if they are running in smaller elections - most candidates find it necessary to delegate at least some decision-making and/or administrative authority to a campaign manager. The manager derives his authority from the candidate. This authority varies significantly from campaign to

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campaign, ranging from that of a passive chief of staff to that of an active shaper and implementer of strategy and tactics. Since the manager's professional perspective can conflict with the much more personal perspective of the candidate, the manager-candidate relationship is often subject to strain. While the other campaign workers may be formally subordinate to the campaign manager, most workers feel their primary allegiance is to the candidate.

Generally, campaign organizations grow rapidly as more people line up behind the candidate; successful managers sustain and accelerate this momentum so the campaign "peaks" on election day. The campaign manager must be a marketer. He must assist the candidate in deciding what voters to pursue and with what message, remembering that any voter can always change his mind before his vote is cast.

The number of employees or campaign staff varies depending on the size of the election and the allocation of funds to staff overhead. The positions described below are typically found in most large campaigns. The functions are combined in smaller campaigns:

News Secretary: The candidate must trust his news secretary to speak to the media in behalf of the candidate and his campaign. The news secretary must take a proactive role by identifying favorable news opportunities, drafting and distributing news releases, providing radio stations with audio news clips, and notifying reporters of the candidate's appearances and travel schedule. The news secretary in a large campaign might have several assistants.

Media Director: This individual is in charge of the development and placement of the candidate's advertising. The media director may set up an in-house operation or work with outside advertising agencies. Although many campaigns combine the functions of news secretary and media director, campaigns with large advertising budgets find a specialist necessary.

Field Director: Most of the people who work in a campaign are not in the headquarters or on the payroll. The field director is responsible for recruitment, motivation, and coordination of the campaign's volunteer workers. Volunteers, who make an informal commitment to contribute their time in behalf of the candidate, are generally organized on a geographical basis with regional, county, city and precinct chairmen. Programs are organized in which volunteers canvass potential voters door-to-door or by telephone. Volunteers are used to develop crowds when a candidate makes a personal appearance; they distribute literature and sponsor gatherings in their homes. The field director might also be responsible for liaison with other organized groups such as party officials, college groups, women's organizations, church groups, single interest and civic organizations, etc. Generally, field directors in large campaigns have several assistant fieldmen who are in charge of geographic territories and who spend most of their time travelling. The field director might also have paid staff assistants who operate campaign headquarters in local communities or who manage specific programs, such as a telephone voter identification program.

Scheduler: It is the scheduler's job to move the candidate. The scheduler collects invitations for appearances and makes sure that an appropriate response is made to each. Schedulers differ in the extent to which they participate in making decisions about the candidate's movements, but they are invariably responsible for the mechanics of travel, accommodations, etc.

Advance People: In larger campaigns, men and women work as advance men. They precede a candidate in his travels and are responsible for planning and executing local campaign events.

Personal Secretary: Often, in smaller campaigns, the job of personal secretary to the candidate is combined with the job of scheduler. In other campaigns, the candidate and his campaign manager might share an administrative assistant. Personal secretaries know the people who know the candidate best; they help a candidate budget his time and maintain contact with political and professional associates.

Finance Director: Financial resources are the key determinant of political success. The finance director is responsible for drafting and meeting a budget and, most important, for raising the necessary funds. Few campaigns have enough money and fewer still are ever extended credit. The finance director's job is essentially one of cash management, of timing contributions and expenditures; for example, television commercials in October may need to be reserved and paid for early in August even though people are most likely to contribute to a candidate late in his campaign. Finance directors generally have clerical assistants who assist in keeping the detailed records of receipts and expenditures required by state and federal law and in insuring that the campaign complies with laws limiting contributions. Finance directors also have volunteer finance chairmen who are organized geographically and who assist in raising money. Increasingly, campaigns depend on sophisticated, targetted direct mail to raise large amounts of money from many small contributors.

Office Manager: Large campaigns often hire someone to provide general clerical and material support to the more specialized members of the campaign. Frequently, the office manager is an assistant to the campaign manager and may also be a receptionist.

Candidate Aide: Candidates who travel extensively, often have an individual who travels with them; the aide might also be the candidate's driver. Aides work closely with the scheduler, the news secretary and the candidate's personal secretary.

Research Director: This is an important job in large campaigns or in campaigns run against incumbents. It is the research director's job to provide the candidate and other members of the candidate's staff with current information on politically relevant issues. In some campaigns, the research director might also serve as a liaison with an outside political polling firm which does private research surveys for the campaign.

Consultants: Experience is a rare and valuable commodity in politics. The candidate often relies on the hired expertise of experienced campaign management consultants, professional media advisors and producers, fund-raising consultants, polling experts and others. Depending on contractual arrangements, some consultants spend several days a week in the campaign headquarters while others are available only for periodic telephone consultation when the need arises. Some consultants deal only with the candidate or his manager though most also work with other staff members.

Methods

The electronic media have revolutionized American politics. The revolution has been most radical at the national and state level. Old-time party bosses and precinct chairmen used to talk about platforms, wards, and towns. The modern political consultant talks about commercials, demographics, and media markets.

But the revolution is not complete. As media costs have soared, new legal restrictions on fund raising have kept campaign budgets tight. Campaigns are rediscovering the value of donated human capital. Campaigns use volunteer-staffed telephone and door-to-door canvasses to identify likely voters. These voters are then recontacted on election day to increase voter turnout in favor of a candidate. This incremental turnout can be particularly important in those elections where few voters - often less than 50% - actually go to the polls.



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

October 3, 1990

Jone
AAC

Dear Governor,

Thanks for your help in trying to schedule the President to participate in the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Awards Ceremony. Our possible dates are November 13, 14 or 15.

Best,

HLB

A large, stylized handwritten signature, likely of the Secretary of Commerce, is written over the "Best," and extends into the bottom right corner of the page.



North Carolina Department of Administration

James G. Martin, Governor

James S. Lofton, Secretary

September 27, 1990

Determined NOT to be
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PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

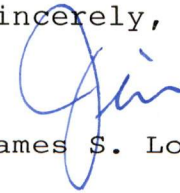
Dear Andy:

David Smyth has contacted me to help him get a political clearance from Ron Coffman. I have known David for years but have not seen him for ten. He says you know something about the New Hampshire primary that affects him, and I need your advice on what to do.

Thanks for your help.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,


James S. Lofton

JSL:dj

*If you want to FAT
- 919-733-9571
Back
Thanks for your help.*



BOB WALSH
& ASSOCIATES

1.16

Andy -

Thought you might like to
see this from one of our
"home town" papers -

Thanks again

Bob W.

TO: BOB WALSH

FROM: TONI WALSH

+ *Brockton Enterprise - Tues. Aug 21, 1990*

Kingston's Walsh plays major role in Goodwill Games

By Bob Buckley
ENTERPRISE STAFF WRITER

BOB WALSH hopes people will look beyond the financial statements of the 1990 Goodwill Games. His commitment as president of those Games does not have a price tag on it.

Walsh has come a long way from Silver Lake Regional High School.

The former Kingston resident is the president of his own company, Bob Walsh & Associates, which has been involved in such projects as the NBA Finals and college basketball's Final Four.

Walsh also had a broadcasting career in both Boston and Los Angeles before establishing his firm. He was even the general manager of the Seattle Supersonics until 1976 and was responsible for bringing Bill Russell to Seattle.

But Walsh is not one to rest on his laurels, and the Goodwill Games put him in the spotlight again.

"The Goodwill Games are much more than the basketball games, gymnastics events and wrestling meets that dominated TNT television for two weeks in late July. According to Walsh, the games seemed secondary.

"This is the largest Soviet-American exchange that has ever taken place," said Walsh. "There has never been anything like this (the 1990 Games) before."

Seattle played host not only to athletic events but also to four major conferences that included such topics as human rights, trade and medical advances. There was also a government exchange between top members of the Supreme Soviet and United States senators such as Bill Bradley (D-New Jersey).

To put together a sports extravaganza as well as a cultural, political and medical exchange is quite a feat for Walsh. It was something he accomplished despite many obstacles in his path.

"We had our skeptics," he said. "There is the obvious U.S.-USSR paranoia that existed when we started this in 1986. The Olympic Committee had their reservations and the White House (during Ronald Reagan's presidency) was also hesitant. That, plus the fact the city of Seattle did not embrace us, either."

But the climate has changed politically and otherwise for the Goodwill Games. The desire for cultural exchange between the two super powers has never been higher. Events in Eastern Europe in the past year have been in the living rooms of Americans every night.

The paranoia that once struck deep has been dimmed.

The Reagan administration has since passed to a more responsive Bush White House which has embraced the idea of the Goodwill Games.

Bush delivered the opening address and Barbara Bush made more than just a token appearance in Seattle last month.

Walsh was quick to credit another South Shore resident, Andrew H. Card, for helping the Games get the proper recognition in Washington. Card, the former state representative from Holbrook, is now a top aide for President Bush.

"The Bush administration has been much more cooperative," said Walsh. "Andy was a real visionary, he saw the potential for this to work back in 1986 when I first met him. He really got this thing going (in Washington)."

The city of Seattle was also very receptive. According to Walsh, a survey of citizens of metropolitan Seattle gave the Goodwill Games 1990 a positive rating of 80 percent.

But days after the Games, the newspapers did not highlight the cultural exchanges or the great athleticism. Ted Turner lost money, big money. How could the Games go on?

Walsh believes those who look at the Games solely in terms of dollars and cents are missing the point.

"(Those people) have no concept of what's going on," said Walsh. "Turner has lost big money before the Olympics and ABC has lost big money before, the first Super Bowl was played before a 65 percent capacity. Events like these need time to develop."

Despite rumors that the Goodwill Games will meet its demise in the near future, Walsh believes the it is full steam ahead for the event in Moscow and Leningrad in 1994.

"There has never been a bigger need for it in the USSR," said Walsh. "The situation there is catastrophic. There is a lack of food and distribution networks. The republics are searching for independence. The Games continue to be of major importance. Over 300 million people watched the Games in the USSR alone."

Walsh also believes there are two other factors on why the Goodwill Games will survive to 1994 and beyond.

"The athletes love the Games," he said, "And it will be a vehicle to develop the USA-USSR relations. That is what really is important."

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

10.22.90

Dear Patricia & Paul -

Thank you for opening your house
yesterday as I visited on behalf of
Mike Sullivan. He's a great candidate
and will make a quality State Representative.

Thank you, too, for the sweatshirt.
Keep looking for a jogging President!

Sincerely,

Andy Card

Andrew H. Card Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Mr. & Mrs. Paul J. Lane
P.O. Box 366
Whitman, Massachusetts
02382

THE WHITE HOUSE

10.22.90

Dear John-

The MacGovern for Congress Committee seems poised for victory! I enjoyed my brief visit with you and some of your team yesterday.

Thank you for your commitment to the cause.

Go get 'em!

Sincerely,

Andy Card

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



The Hon. John F. MacGovern
Haward, Massachusetts 01451

THE WHITE HOUSE

October 22, 1990

Dear Michael -

Yesterday, I had a chance to talk briefly with your father when I was campaigning with Mike Sullivan in Whitman. Your dad mentioned you and said you couldn't join us because of a game in Plymouth. I hope it went well.

The White House is an exciting place to work. I hope you have a chance to visit.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely, Andy Card

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Master Michael Olson
12 George Street
Plymouth, Massachusetts
02360

THE WHITE HOUSE

10.22.90

Dear Sullivan Supporters -

Thank you very much for all you are doing for Michael. He has a great team. Victory will be reality on November 6th.

I really enjoyed my campaign swing with Mike on Sunday. I hope it helped. Again, thank you for what you are doing. — Keep in touch.

Sincerely, Andy Card

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



The Committee to Elect
Michael Sullivan
79 Walker Lane
Abington, Massachusetts
02351

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-22-90

Dear Zola -

It was fun to campaign
with you yesterday. Work extra
hard between now and November¹⁵.

My best to all on your team.
Keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Mrs. Zola S. Carr
57 Hancock Avenue
Brockton, Massachusetts
02401

A-
Fyi, then
I'll file

October 15, 1990

lu

Dear Dr. Adamian:

I am pleased to join your many friends and colleagues in congratulating you on your retirement after 20 years as President of Bentley College.

The progress made by Bentley College during your tenure, one of the longest terms of service by any contemporary college president in Massachusetts, reflects your leadership and vision, as well as your concern for our Nation's young people. By working to increase enrollment, to expand course offerings, and to develop a strong faculty and generous financial aid programs, you have enabled hundreds of young men and women to obtain a high-quality education. Over the years you have also demonstrated the kind of commitment to excellence that all American educational institutions must emulate if the United States is to remain a leader in our rapidly changing world.

Your many contributions to Bentley College are matched only by your dedicated service in behalf of your fellow Armenian Americans. You can be proud of the example you have set.

As you complete the last year of your presidency and prepare to assume the role of Chancellor, you have my best wishes for every future success and happiness.

Sincerely,

Dr. Gregory H. Adamian
President
Bentley College
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

GEORGE BUSH

SENT TO:
Mr. Peter Kent
Public Information Director
Bentley College
175 Forest Street
Waltham, Massachusetts 02254

GB/TB/TL/TD/CH/phf (10PRESF)

cc: Andy Card, WW
Tammy Bloom, 93 OEOB
T. Donovan, 94 OEOB

Reminder No 2 sent 10/18
Sent to typing 10/11

Today's Date: September 17, 1990

Date of Event: October 27, 1990

STAFF REQUEST FOR PRESIDENTIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT LETTERS

REQUEST TO: Ellen Strichartz/Tammy Bloom
Room 93
ext. 2276

FROM: Andy Card
(Name)
(Room) WW
(Ext.) 2533

PROVIDE A MINIMUM OF 2 WEEKS FOR PROCESSING

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Mark ☒ in appropriate box and include any additional comments pertinent to request in information space below.

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(No. of yrs.; Name of Co./Org.
or gov't agency.)

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(No. of yrs.)

☐ BIRTHDAY
(No. of yrs.)

☐ FAMILY REUNION

☐ BAR OR BAT MITZVAH

☐ RELIGIOUS ANNIVERSARY
(No. of yrs.)

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(Sent to next-of-kin only)

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(Type: surgery, accident, cancer, etc.)

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(Child's name & DOB)

☐ CLASS REUNION
(Include school name &
year of graduation)

☐ ADOPTION
(List parents & child's name)

☐ WEDDING ANNIVERSARY
(No. of yrs.)

☐ WEDDINGS
(Indicate first names)
(Refer to guidelines & procedures
available thru admin. contact in your
office.)

☐ GRADUATION
(List name of school, type of school:
high, college, advanced degree, other;
specify)

☐ OTHER
(Please specify)

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MAILING ADDRESS FOR LABEL (Include complete address & zip code to appear on envelope):

Mr. Peter Kent, Public Information Director, Bentley College, 175 Forest Street,
Waltham, MA 02154-4705
Miss. _____
Mrs. _____
Mr. & Mrs. _____
Dr. _____
Ms. _____

INSIDE ADDRESS FOR LETTER (Complete address to appear on lower lefthand corner of letter):

Mr. _____
Miss. _____
Mrs. _____
Mr. & Mrs. _____
Dr. Gregory H. Adamian, President, Bentley College, Waltham, Massachusetts 02154-4705
Ms. _____

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In any event we will not be liable for any damages, whether direct, incidental, special or consequential in excess of the declared value of a shipment, whether or not Federal Express had knowledge that such damages might be incurred including, but not limited to, loss of income or profits.

We won't be liable for your acts or omissions, including but not limited to improper or insufficient packing, securing, marking or addressing, or for the acts or omissions of the recipient or anyone else with an interest in the package. Also, we won't be liable if you or the recipient violates any of the terms of our agreement. We won't be liable for loss of or damage to shipments of cash, currency or other prohibited items.

We won't be liable for loss, damage or delay caused by events we cannot control, including but not limited to acts of God, perils of the air, weather conditions, mechanical delays, acts of public enemies, war, strikes, civil commotions, or acts or omissions of public authorities (including customs and quarantine officials) with actual or apparent authority.

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Within 90 days after you notify us of your claim, you must send us all relevant information about it. We are not obligated to act on any claim until you have paid all transportation charges, and you may not deduct the amount of your claim from those charges.

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We may, at our option, open and inspect your packages prior to or after you give them to us to deliver.

NO C.O.D. SERVICES

We don't provide C.O.D. services.

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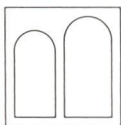
Even if you give us different payment instructions, you will always be primarily responsible for all delivery costs, as well as any costs we may incur in either returning your package to you or warehousing it pending disposition.

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We reserve the right to reject a shipment at any time, when such shipment would be likely to cause damage or delay to other shipments, equipment or personnel, or if the transportation of which is prohibited by law or is in violation of any rules contained in this Airbill or our Service Guide.

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Bentley College

175 Forest Street
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154-4705

Public Affairs Department
(617) 891-2241

September 13, 1990

Ms. Linda Casey
Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Linda:

I'm writing to follow up on our phone conversation yesterday. As I explained, Gregory H. Adamian, Bentley's president since 1970, is retiring next year to become the college's first chancellor.

The college is honoring Adamian for his 20 years as president with a dinner-dance on Saturday, October 27 at the Park Plaza Hotel in Boston. We'd love to have a letter from the President to present to him that evening.

Enclosed are a biographical sketch of Dr. Adamian, a recent article from our alumni magazine (which includes details of the dinner-dance), the news release announcing his stepping down to become chancellor, and some information about Bentley.

I'll call to touch base with you in the near future. In the meantime, please don't hesitate to call me at the office or at home (508-485-6282) if you have any questions or need more information.

Thanks very much for your help on this. I know a personal letter from the President will mean a great deal to Dr. Adamian.

Sincerely,

Peter L. Kent
Public Information director

Enc.

Thank You



Hi Andy -

Thank you for your
kind letter in response
to my retirement party.
It was a great
time.

I'm still trying to
see you at The White
House. Just be sure you
don't tell anyone I'm
a democrat.

Being remembered

In such a nice way

Means a lot more

Than just "thank you"

Can say!

Marty

P.S. By the way - I
got a letter of congratulations
from George and Barbara -
please thank them for me.

MR. MARTIN MASTANDREA
80 Pleasant Cir.
Canton, MA
02021



Determined NOT to be
National Security Classified Marking
By Jan (NLGB) on 03/12/25



Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Asst. to President
Deputy to Chief of Staff
The White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Personal & ~~Confidential~~



THE WESTIN BONAVENTURE Landmark of Los Angeles

William P. Lucas
Managing Director

October 15, 1990

Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Card,

Thank you for taking the time to write me regarding the President's recent visit to The Westin Bonaventure. I am glad to hear that your stay was pleasant.

We strive to provide extra effort as part of our all around good service, however it is nice to know that our constant search for excellence and attention to detail is appreciated.

Please let us know if we can be of further assistance. It was truly a pleasure to be of service to the entire team.

Sincerely,

William P. Lucas

WPL:mfb

cc: Linda Vasquez
John Steinmetz
Mike Ratchford

THE WHITE HOUSE

10-6-90

Dear Mr. Faust -

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to the President regarding Doug Wead. Obviously, I do not know what your "insider knowledge of what goes on in the White House" is; but I do know exactly what the situation was regarding Doug Wead. Doug was not ordered to "cease and desist" any activity here. The incidents you cite had absolutely nothing to do with Doug's leaving the White House Staff.

Finally, I am one who discussed several

Andrew Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. John T. Faust
9932 Courthouse Woods Court
Vienna, Virginia 22181

bcc: Lee Ann Metzger (FYI)

sptions with Doug. The discussions began
at his request many, many months ago.

The President has the highest moral standards.
The White House staff reflects the President and
complements his leadership.

Should you have any questions or other
concerns I would be more than pleased
to discuss them with you. I can be reached
at (202) 456-2533.

Thank you for your understanding. Please
keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Andy Card

Andrew Card, Jr.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. John T. Faust
9932 Courthouse Woods Court
Vienna, Virginia 22181

bcc: Lee Ann Metzger (FYI)

JOHN T. FOUST
9932 Courthouse Woods Court
Vienna, Virginia 22181
703-255-2840

AC HAS SEEN

September 21, 1990

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President,

I received a response to my letter of August 23, 1990 from your Assistant and Deputy to the Chief of Staff, Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr. I find his words most upsetting, as it assumes I wrote my initial letter to you without knowledge of the facts concerning Doug Wead and his departure from the White House. Mr. Card's quote, "... several options were presented to Doug and discussed," is somewhat of an understatement, I'm sure. As someone with some insider knowledge of what goes on in the White House, I do not doubt that Doug was ordered to (and could not in good conscience) "cease and desist" his fight against such incidents as members of gay groups in attendance at Rose Garden bill-signing ceremonies. When asked by my twelve year old daughter why the President would associate with such groups, I was truly unable to answer her. I am offended that my letter was viewed a possibly being in response to "... rumors and innuendo regarding his (Doug's) decision to leave," implied by Mr. Card's remarks.

Your handling of this incident demonstrates to me that the moral stands for which you received my unfailing support in 1988 have been totally compromised. As I said in my previous letter, heroes are a scarce breed these days. I am saddened that the public service is now missing one more with the finality of Doug's departure, regardless of his replacement's "qualifications." To succumb to the influences of the forces which have worked to effect this end dictates that I, and the several thousand friends, fellow church members, business associates, and social acquaintances with whom I am in constant communication, must now work for the replacement of your administration with one more capable of countering such forces for the betterment of our children's future. I shall dedicate my energies accordingly, and deeply regret the betrayal of my previous faith in our country's direction.

Yours truly,

John T. Foust

Copy to: Mr. Card