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**MANAGING THE TRANSITION:
THE NEXT FIFTY DAYS**

MANAGING THE TRANSITION: THE NEXT FIFTY DAYS

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NOVEMBER 30, 1988

MEMORANDUM TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: BOB TEETER

CRAIG FULLER

FROM: BOB GRADY

RE: COMMUNICATIONS AND OUTREACH PLAN FOR THE TRANSITION;
THE NEXT FIFTY DAYS

Overview:

The following pages contain a suggested set of objectives, themes, and events for the period between now and January 20th.

After first reviewing the highlights of some past transitions, the paper then suggests what we might hope to accomplish in our own. It then proposes some vehicles for doing so -- and sets forth the outline of a proposed calendar for the period between now and January 20th.

Historical Perspective:

A brief review of the post-war history of Presidential transitions indicates that new Presidents have used transitions to accomplish a broad range of objectives. The most important one for each, of course, was the appointment of the Cabinet and top White House staff. But beyond that,

each post-war transition had a different and somewhat unique style.

In 1952, Eisenhower ran for election and ultimately took office with the Korean War in full swing. Accordingly, the centerpiece of his transition was a visit to Korea, in fulfillment of a central campaign pledge, some three weeks after the election, for a first hand inspection of the situation. He also held two rather high profile meetings: a relatively controversial encounter with General McArthur, and a successful one with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. In addition, he met in the White House with President Truman.

Interestingly, aside from the Korea trip and meetings with an assortment of foreign leaders, Eisenhower's transition was not particularly active. He rarely left Washington during the transition period. He took a ten-day golfing vacation immediately after the election; and by May of 1953 only 200 Presidential appointments had been made. Even without travel, his approval rating remained in the 70's throughout the transition period and early months of his Presidency -- and by July, only 16% of all Americans said they objected to anything Eisenhower had ever said or done as President.

Kennedy's 1960 transition provided some contrast to the relative inactivity of the Eisenhower transition. In addition to regular Cabinet and staff appointments, made from the front door of his Georgetown townhouse, Kennedy

travelled to Florida to visit Nixon, and attended a number of social and cultural events -- including the Army-Navy game and the 1961 national championship Orange Bowl game.

Kennedy's chief concern after his razor-thin victory was to reassure the country and solve what we might term "the mandate thing"; and one critical piece of his strategy here was to reach out to Republicans C. Douglas Dillon for Treasury Secretary and Robert Lovett for a surprisingly substantial amount of advice and counsel.

Kennedy reportedly spent a considerable amount of time on his Inaugural Address, enlisting the contributions and comments of a fairly wide range of people -- including John Kenneth Galbraith, Adlai Stevenson, Dean Rusk, Chester Bowles, and Walter Lippmann.

It is also perhaps worth noting that several of Kennedy's most renowned initiatives were launched in the first few months of his Presidency -- including the Peace Corps in March 1961, and the lunar initiative in May -- as was his most celebrated failure: the Bay of Pigs in April.

Nixon ran most of his transition with a small team of high level aides operating out of the Hotel Pierre in New York. After an early post-election vacation to Florida, he spent much of his time concentrating on personnel decisions.

Because of his relatively narrow mandate, Nixon sought to, in his words, "bring us together" with his appointments. He, too, reached out to members of the other party for high level positions -- several Democrats turned down cabinet

posts but Daniel Partick Moynihan, a Kennedy Democrat, became executive secretary of the Urban Affairs Council.

One of the interesting features of Nixon's transition was something that didn't happen -- he declined President Johnson's invitation to attend a summit meeting in the Soviet Union before the Inauguration.

Nixon committed one major foreign policy gaffe during the transition, saying after a meeting with Johnson that: "I gave assurance that (LBJ) could speak not just for this Administration but ...for the next Administration as well." He then reversed this with a statement saying that LBJ had agreed not to make any significant policy moves -- which Johnson slapped down with his own statement.

Nixon spent considerable time preparing his Inaugural Address, which took him away from some of the staff machinations in Washington. It might also be worth noting that early in his term (February 1969), Nixon conducted a successful trip to Western Europe which boosted his popularity and, in William Safire's words, "helped most Americans accept (the title of) 'President Nixon'."

The best features of Jimmy Carter's transition and early months in were office his use of symbols: early on, at least, Carter's famous walk on the Inaugural Parade route, and his town meeting and radio call-in show, were as viewed largely favorable signs of his informality and humility.

Carter's transition, however, was subsequently criticized as suffering from several problems that foreshadowed his later shortcomings as President. Chief among them, according to many analysts, was the lack of a unifying theme -- a phenomenon which was evident in his somewhat diffuse statement the morning after his election.

The problem surfaced again in Carter's Inaugural Address, which was viewed as uninspiring and ambiguous. Interestingly, it was later reported that a frantic, last minute scramble to pull the speech together and make it coherent had preceded its delivery.

One noteworthy feature of Carter's transition was a cabinet retreat at Sea Island, Georgia, over the 1976 Christmas holidays. This brought the group together, although the subsequent assessment of Carter by some (notably Joseph Califano) was not necessarily positive. Another noteworthy but less effective aspect of the transition was the selection of Bert Lance as OMB director, which cost Carter's approval ratings dearly in the fall of 1977.

President Reagan's successful transition focused on three areas: showing that he was committed to working well with the power-structures of Washington (felt to be an important goal for one who was perceived as an "outsider"), undertaking some initiatives in foreign affairs, and reaching out to areas where he might have been felt to be hostile.

The most effective event was what the press called a "five day triumphant march through the Capital." He met with leaders of Congress, symbolically on their home turf (on the Hill), including a lunch with 180 members of both Houses and a long meeting with Senator Edward Kennedy. He visited the Supreme Court and the headquarters of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (both firsts for a President-elect), and spent several evenings dining with leading lights in the Washington establishment.

During the transition period, Reagan met with several foreign leaders -- but the highlights were two "surprise" meetings with Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, both of whom had difficult relations with Carter.

He also had two highly publicized "outreach" events -- one a dinner he hosted for 50 leaders from the business, religious, academic, and political communities in Washington, including Mayor Marion Barry and the President of Howard University. Many of the participants said they "never expected to be invited" -- some even thought the invitations were a joke. On December 2, Reagan travelled to New York to meet with various leaders of the political establishment there -- spending equal amounts of time with Democrats and Republicans.

Reagan spent considerable amounts of time at his ranch in California, but all in all, his transition was viewed as

a quite effective prelude to the successes of his first year.

Objectives for President-Elect George Bush:

From a review of this history, certain objectives for our transition become obvious; most of our predecessors have sought them as well: to establish constructive relations with the Congress, to reach out to all Americans, to convey a sense of the personal style that the President-elect will bring to the office ("active and engaged" might be a good summary), and to convey a sense of seriousness in the intention to address head-on the major challenges ahead (e.g. Eisenhower with Korea, Nixon with Vietnam -- in our case, the deficit may unfortunately rank as one of these, at least in the minds of the press).

But the most important objective, of course, must be to lay the ground work for a fast-running and effective start to the new Administration. David Gergen, in his "First One Hundred Days" analysis for President Reagan, pointed out three facts that should underly all of our thinking for this period:

"One, the first 100 days is the time during which the President establishes his Presidential persona. Two, the general character of the Administration is established and lasts at least the first term. And three, the President is

vulnerable to making a big mistake." His advice to Reagan: "Keep a simple focus and go strong on the economy."

But the election of George Bush as President took place in its own unique historical context, with its own set of particular, and in some cases extenuating, circumstances. This in turn, suggests some more specific objectives that are more proprietary to us:

Hold fast to the agenda of peace and prosperity:

Most broadly, the election took place at a time of unparalleled peace and prosperity; and the fundamental challenge of the Bush Presidency will be to match and hopefully build on the record of his predecessor. The task, unlike President Reagan's, is not to repair, using a clearly different formula, the wreckage of the previous Administration.

Rather, a principal objective -- perhaps the overriding one -- of both the transition, the first 100 days, and the entire term after that is, to take steps that will make continued economic growth and peace with the Soviets possible. This will require some vigilance -- because the key goal is to parry the wide array of threats to those twin pillars of Republican success. Those threats include tax increases, protectionist measures, stock market crashes, and budget-busting Congressional spending -- and that's just on the domestic side!

Eliminate the residue of the "negative" campaign:

More narrowly, the circumstances of the campaign left in place a conventional wisdom that it would be useful to undercut during the transition. The first piece of this wisdom is that the President-elect has "no mandate" -- that, since his election was the product of sophisticated use of television, polling, and "phony" issues like the furlough and the Pledge of Allegiance, the President-elect was not elected to execute an agenda on any given set of issues. A corollary to the "no mandate" theory is that the Bush campaign ran a "negative campaign" -- revealing the cynical and at times mean-spirited nature of Republican operatives and of the Republican Party generally.

So the second overarching goal of the transition must be to make it clear the the victory of the President-elect was a victory for a set of ideas; and that the victory of the Republican ticket this fall was a positive affirmation of a philosophy of government and a set of values that very much represents the thinking of the majority of Americans; and not just a trivial triumph for political flim-flammery.

Begin work on the Bush agenda:

As a follow-up to that, consistent with our efforts toward the end of the campaign, we should seek to remind the American public that we did, indeed, propose a long list of specific policy initiatives (347 pages worth, to be exact). In that many of these proposals will require legislative

action, and in fact will require some groundwork in order to win passage, we should seek to get the debate started as soon as possible.

Even if it accomplishes no other purpose, this will deflect ongoing debate in the press from two less productive hot topics: first, that the President-elect is a man without an issue-based mission, and second, continuing speculation and rumor-mongering on the subject of who may get which job.

But much more importantly, there are some real issues, and some real opportunities here. The public has said in clear terms that, while they are happy with the general premises of Republican leadership (low taxes and a strong defense), they do believe that increased attention to some other problems is called for.

Perhaps it is propitious that action on these very same problems -- the environment, education, child care, or what we seem to be calling the "kinder, gentler" nexus of issues -- is enormously popular with the press. This presents a great opportunity to move forward on a set of issues for which there is great enthusiasm nationally, and on which there is great potential for some early legislative wins in the new Administration (Child care stands out as perhaps the pre-eminent example here).

Precisely because our agenda on the economy is largely defensive -- e.g. preventing tax increases and holding the line on spending -- this suggests that we should make these

"kinder, gentler" initiatives the focus of our positive communications and legislative strategy in the early going.

Take advantage of the political opportunity to establish clearly the GOP as the "Party of Opportunity."

Politically, the Republican Party faces an historic opportunity with the triumph of the President-elect. Not only has it won five of the last six elections, but the Democrats are in disarray once again. The point is that the other party has largely failed, both in their policies and in their politics, to address the concerns of whole sectors of American society.

Two such sectors spring immediately to mind: black Americans and disabled Americans and their families. To each, the Democrats have offered only the continuing promise of dependency-inducing handouts in policy terms; while virtually ignoring them in political terms.

The Republicans, meanwhile, are on the verge of acquiring the franchise on opportunity, and with it the allegiance of a significant portion of these voters -- a portion which, if gained, could make us the majority party in America by the end of the President-elect's first term.

Whereas Reagan's challenge was to literally reverse the 20 year course of the American ship of state, ours is to seize the opportunity which his stunningly successful reversal has presented. If we can continue to demonstrate that these new policies -- the Reagan "change" -- bring the

greatest good to the greatest number of people, we can make relatively permanent converts of heretofore untouchable sectors for the Republican party.

Thus, during the transition, we must begin to proceed with a two part agenda designed to offer hope to the forgotten sectors of the old Democratic coalition. The first part is to offer them the political message of inclusion, an agenda best accomplished by the means we have already begun pursuing -- arranging meetings in which we extend the hand of friendship and the ear of a sympathetic listener.

The second part is to offer policy prescriptions that offer genuine opportunity -- not further dependence, but initiatives that break down the barriers which prevent blacks, disabled citizens, and other minority Americans from being full participants in the American economy and the American dream. Thus, during the transition and in the first few months of the new Administration, we should lay out our agenda of ideas which create jobs and opportunity -- urban enterprise zones for our cities, greater accountability in urban schools, removal of discrimination against disabled workers, and other such conservative but compassionate ideas.

Another group bears mention here: Ronald Reagan and now George Bush have made the majority of younger voters, for the first time in recent memory, supporters of the Republican Party. We need a vehicle to communicate to these

voters that, yes, the President-elect is their President. Policy wise, a strong defense and high opportunity economics do the trick -- but in this interregnum, symbolic measures could be very useful. This is a key argument for attending events like the Fiesta Bowl or inviting younger cultural figures (musicians, athletes) to social events hosted by the President-elect.

Reach out to all Americans:

This "politics of inclusion" idea can and should be extended to include all those with an interest in the transition: both those who supported us and those who didn't. David Demarest and I have developed a short list of the obvious bases to be touched -- ranging from our "base" supporters to those to whom our efforts would constitute a "reach out." Ideally, we would like to touch each of these constituencies during the course of the transition. A synopsis of the list follows:

<u>Base</u>	<u>Opportunity</u>	<u>Reach Out</u>
conservatives	police	labor
evangelicals	veterans	blacks
Republicans	Hispanics	seniors
business	Jews	mayors
	younger voters	
	Governors	
	women	

"yuppies"

teachers

disabled

Put on display an active, engaged Presidency:

As the brief walk through transition history above showed, many Presidents-elect left major chunks of transition time idle. My own view is that this would be inappropriate for the Bush Presidency. The President-elect clearly intends to be active, engaged, hands-on, and knowledgeable -- and the best time to signal this new tone is right now.

A busy schedule of meetings, speeches, and even cultural events sends this signal loud and clear: witness the favorable review to the early days of this transition.

Convey a sense of style of the Bush Presidency:

Perhaps John F. Kennedy used his own sense of cultural style to the greatest advantage among modern Presidents; his involvement in cultural affairs, sports, and even social activities proved to be a tremendous asset. The public likes a President who does the things that they do -- or would do if they could -- from playing touch football (or horseshoes) to attending football games to inviting leaders from the entertainment world, sports, the arts, and other high-profile sectors to their homes.

In 1961, JFK attended the national championship Orange Bowl and invited Pablo Casals to the White House. I believe we should consider developing the 1988 equivalents of these events.

Conclusion:

What follows is a compendium of ideas that seek to accomplish these objectives. First is a master, week-by-week calendar that proposes how they might fit in to the schedule of the next fifty days. Then, the major proposals are discussed in one-page "concept papers" for approval or disapproval. Finally, two additional appendices are attached: a list of possible major meetings (again with a space for approval or disapproval), and some somewhat random names for possible inclusion on the National Advisory Committee we are developing for the transition.

The transition is off to a running start; the trick now is to keep up the pace so that it is no less impressive on January 20th -- because as Gergen's memo pointed out, then begins the most important period of the Bush Presidency.

Week of December 11, 1988

SUNDAY 11	MONDAY 12	TUESDAY 13	WEDNESDAY 14	THURSDAY 15	FRIDAY 16	SATURDAY 17
<p>Confirmed Events:</p>	<p><u>Option One</u></p> <p><i>Victory Tour event and Town Meeting (with Quayle)</i></p> <p><i>Small group meeting w/ Senior Citizens, Florida</i></p> <p><u>Option Two</u></p> <p>New Jersey Education speech</p>	<p><i>Drug Meetings: Nat'l Narcotics Border Interdiction Service, DC (all day)</i></p>	<p><i>Mig. w/ Darryl Gates and police chiefs</i></p>	<p><i>Cabinet Appointments</i></p> <p>EPA CEQ; With environment speech</p>	<p><i>Nat'l Symposium on Americans w/ Disabilities, Palo Alto, CA</i></p> <p><i>Victory Tour & "Thank You" rally, Orange County, CA</i></p>	<p><i>Meeting w/ Japanese P.M. Takeshita, San Francisco, CA (suggested by Sec. Baker)</i></p>
<p>Other Events of Interest:</p>	<p>Congressional Ball</p>					

EVENT CONCEPT PAPER: Visit to Florida

Secretary Baker has suggested that as part of our strategic plan for the Transition, we undertake a "victory tour" around different regions of the country.

One of the striking features of the election was that, because of our focus on target states in the middle west and on either coast, we were able to avoid several very important states that were nevertheless in our core base of support. Chief among them was the state of Florida.

It is therefore proposed that the President-Elect make one stop on his victory tour a visit to Florida, or we could hold a major rally, principally with Bush supporters, to thank the people of Florida for their support during the election and to pay a long-overdue visit to this part of the country.

This could be accomplished in one of two ways: A) as either a straight victory, thank-you rally, or B) as a town meeting type forum, in which the Vice President makes opening remarks and then citizens have the opportunity to ask questions.

Victory Tour event in Florida:

Approve: _____ Dissapprove: _____

In conjunction with the Vice President's visit to Florida, a useful add-on might be a visit with a small group of senior citizens, in which the Vice President could discuss the concerns of older Americans. This would obviously be a Photo-opportunity as well. The point here is that senior citizens are one base we did not touch to any great extent during the campaign, and it would certainly be appropriate to address ourselves to their concerns at this time.

Event in Florida with Senior Citizens:

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

Speech Outline Concept: Education (New Jersey)

Option One: To Create a Forum in Trenton

Several times during the campaign, Governor Kean and New Jersey officials suggested that New Jersey would be an appropriate place to deliver an education address. They volunteered to create a forum for such a speech. Since the election, they have re-stated the offer -- the most likely forum being an assembly of state education leaders, teachers and schoolboard officials in Trenton.

Speech/Visit to New Jersey Schools

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

Option Two: Union Township High School

The Union School District is one of 16 school districts in the country participating in a demonstration project created by the U.S. Department of Education and the National Governors Association to implement the recommendations of the NGA's "Time for Results" education report. Secretary Bennett visited the Union Township High School in May 1987 when it received a Presidential Academic Fitness Award. Among its attributes is a system of over 100 computers in use for its vocational and academic programs. On November 28, this high school inaugurated the first micro-wave broadcasting facility in the country, transmitting advanced physics, biology and calculus classes to high schools throughout the New Jersey and New York metropolitan area. Though its application for funding from the Department of Education's Star Schools Program was turned down, it is an exceptional example of high-technology's benefits in education.

Visit to Union Township High School

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

Proposed date: December 15th

SPEECH CONCEPT IDEA: ENVIRONMENTAL PRIORITIES

After scouring the country for appropriate forums in which to deliver a significant statement of environmental priorities, it appears that the consensus of sympathetic members of environmental organizations is that the appointments made by the President-elect to the major environmental posts in the government will be the most closely watched and therefore defining event. Moreover, there are few major gatherings of key environmental organizations around the country during the interregnum between now and January 20th.

This suggests that we may want to use the appointment of a new EPA administrator and director of the Council on Environmental Quality as the occasion to deliver a statement of our environmental priorities. The speech might even include some sense of how the various agencies with some responsibility for environmental affairs will relate to each other, and what will be the role of the CEQ in this interaction. This interagency relationship is emerging as an important issue in the environmental community.

This would also be an appropriate forum to re-state key environmental priorities put forward in the campaign -- an international meeting to attack the problem of global warming, a commitment to stopping acid rain, an intention to improve the operation of Superfund, and a goal of stopping the rapid national loss of wetlands, among others.

Expectations are running high in the environmental community; such a speech might signal that we intend to keep the faith and follow up on our ambitious campaign agenda.

Environmental speech associated with EPA and CEQ announcements:

Approve _____

Disapprove _____ -

Speech Concept Paper: People with Disabilities

General Plan:

To provide the President-Elect the opportunity to address his interest in and concern for people with disabilities, and to follow up on his pledge to "bring them into the economic mainstream" with specific proposals. A key point is that the President-Elect can apply conservative principles to address the problems of the disabled. Disabled people are not looking for patronizing handouts -- they are looking for barriers to be knocked down. Polling data from the election show that disabled citizens reacted very favorably to the President-Elect's mention of this issue in his Convention Address, Second Debate and election eve remarks -- and they moved into the GOP columns in record numbers.

Suggested Forum:

Evan Kemp suggests that the President-Elect attend the National Symposium on Employment of Americans with Disabilities - "Utilizing a National Resource." This will be held at Stanford University, CA on Fri., December 15 or Sat., December 16. This speech could coincide with a visit to California, as part of a more general victory tour. The event is sponsored by:

The President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities

National Council on the Handicapped

California Governor's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities

Stanford University

And corporate sponsors, AT & T; Hewlett Packard, IBM, Pacific Bell, Wells Fargo, Syntex Corp. and Lockheed.

Speech/Visit to National Symposium at Stanford Univ.:

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

Speech Concept Paper: The Economy ·

General Plan:

This speech can set forth the following principles and plans:

1) In electing George Bush, the Country made clear that the way to fiscal responsibility is not through new taxes, but through holding the line on excessive spending. New taxes will inhibit growth, which will exacerbate budget problems.

2) The President-Elect ran on and was heavily supported in a major deficit reducing plan: the line-item veto.

This can be hi-lighted by illustrating examples of where the line-item veto has been successfully employed at the state level. eg. "In Illinois, the legislature attached a bill that [find an example of a frivolous bill that was lined out], Governor Thompson vetoed this one excessive act and saved the state \$XXX. That's why 43 Governors have the line-item veto. Over in New York, [describe a similarly excessive budget item that was vetoed], That's why 43 Governors have the line-item veto!

The President-Elect can then discuss some frivolous pork barrel that have appeared in recent national budgets to illustrate the potential for savings. Perhaps the time has come to stop "asking" for the line-item veto, but to begin convincing the people that it is a necessary power that the President of the United States already has and should implement.

3) By appointing Nicholas Brady as Treasury Secretary, Richard Darman as OMB chief, _____ as head of the President's Economic Council, the President-Elect has shown his commitment to having the most experienced and capable individuals to work on deficit reduction. The President-Elect can name his two appointments to the non-partisan commission during this speech as well.

4) Any serious attempt at deficit reduction must be done in close union with the Congress, and the President-Elect is committed to working closely with the Hill to achieve satisfactory progress.

Possible Forum and Date:

Washington, D.C. -- December 19, 1988

Speech on the Economy to Address Budget/Line-Item Veto:

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

Proposed date: December 20th

EVENT CONCEPT PAPER: MEETING WITH MAYORS

The leadership of the U.S. Conference of Mayors wrote the President-elect on November 9th requesting a meeting any time before Inauguration Day.

They propose a meeting to include both Republican and Democratic Mayors.

The letter was signed by Art Holland, the Democratic Mayor of Trenton, New Jersey, Kathy Whitmire, the Democratic Mayor of Houston, and Bob Isaac, the Republican Mayor of Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Meeting with leadership of U.S. Conference of Mayors:

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

**SPEECH CONCEPT PAPER: Visit to
New York City**

Overview:

Toward the end of the campaign, some reporters criticized us for not taking our message to the inner cities of the United States -- citing specifically our failure to do a major campaign event in the heart of New York City. In light of that criticism, and in line with the more general proposition that we should reach out to all Americans in all regions, it might be worthwhile to pay a high profile visit prior to the Christmas season to New York City. I envision two events as part of such a visit.

Event One:

The Association for a Better New York has emerged as perhaps the most important civic organization in the city. It brings together the major businesses and public institutions in the city and provides a forum for speakers on major subjects of the day. In the past, Governors, the Mayor, business leaders, and others have used this a place to give major addresses. The proposal is that the Vice President schedule an address to this group and use this as a forum for talking about bringing economic growth to all areas of America -- specifically, he could tout his proposal for urban enterprise zones, his commitment to resolving the problems of the homeless, and then to talk at some length about the nature of building economic strength and competitiveness in cities across America -- things like building skills in the educational system, keeping tax rates on corporations low, embracing the concept of free trade, encouraging entrepreneurs and venture investments, and other such elements of the core Bush philosophy. The speech could include a lot of softer and almost cultural references to the holiday season and the role of New York as one of Americas leading cities.

Speech to The Association for a Better New York:

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

Event Two:

As you know, Covenant House is one of the nations leading centers for taking in runaway children and helping them with the problems of the urban homeless. It is run by a Catholic priest, Father Bruce Ritter, who is something of a well-known personality and who, I believe, is a supporter of the President-Elect. A visit to this center would be a perfect way to highlight the President-Elect's compassion for the runaways and homeless it serves, to signal his compassion as the holiday season approaches, and to lend support to one of "the thousand points of light".

Visit to Covenant House:

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

Proposed date: December 21st

Speech/Activity Outline Concept: Homeless

General Plan:

To provide the President-Elect with a forum to address general philosophies and policy initiatives regarding the homeless problem in America. To also allow the President-Elect the opportunity to spend an evening working with a successful program as a regular volunteer.

Suggested Forum: Kentucky Harvest

Kentucky Harvest was modeled after two successful programs - City Harvest and PhilAbundance in New York and Philadelphia. It was established to feed hungry people by taking food donated by hospitals, restaurants, hotels, bakeries, caterers, wholesalers and retailers to hungry men, women and children who eat their meals at centers in their community. Kentucky Harvest does not accept money, only donated food, time and materials. Volunteers, using church vans or their own vehicles, transport food from donors to centers where needy people come to eat.

Suggested Format:

For the President-Elect to meet with Chairman Stan Curtis and address volunteers and donors. He could then actually participate in the program for an evening, collecting donated food, helping in its dissemination and talking with the people at the Centers.

To Work an Evening with Kentucky Harvest

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Event Concept Outline: Cabinet Retreat

General Plan

To organize a several-day long, out-of-Washington planning retreat for the full Bush Cabinet and senior White House staff once all these positions have been decided and announced. Timing will depend on the pace of major personnel decisions, but will probably be best for the week following the Christmas holidays. Texas is a possible and obvious choice, since you will be there anyway that week on your hunting trip. President-elect Carter organized a similar, highly-publicized retreat at Sea Island, Georgia during the final week of 1976.

Such a session might communicate a friendly, informal spirit and help underline the notion that our transition is more than merely a personnel agency -- that we're organizing a government that plans to do things right from the start. And internally, quite apart from public perception, a retreat might establish a tone of unified administration effort for after the Inaugural -- by introducing White House and Cabinet officers to one another, and getting them used to working as a team.

Suggested Format

Details to be determined.

Cabinet Retreat

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Speech Concept Outline: Physical Fitness

General Plan:

The strength, fitness and well-being of our country is directly dependent upon the strength, fitness and well-being of our people. According to the President's Council on Physical Fitness, over half of the 160 million adult Americans never engage in physical activity or exercise. The human and financial losses associated with health problems due to such inactivity are escalating about 18% a year.

The next President can take a leadership role in encouraging the development of health programs in communities throughout the nation (to educate the country about the physical results of inactivity, poor nutrition, abuse of drugs and alcohol; to reemphasize physical education in schools, health clubs, intramural programs and other recreational programs.)

Suggested Forum:

Details are needed to create a specific event. New Years Day is an occasion where many Americans vow to better themselves. Perhaps a forum could be created where the President-Elect address the nation and challenge all Americans to adopt fitness as a New Year's Resolution. A program could incorporate many of the famous athletes who have supported the President-Elect. In January, the President's Council on Physical Fitness is planning a Youth Physical Fitness Symposium. When a date is confirmed, the President-Elect could possibly address this forum, and assert his commitment to physical fitness.

Event to Encourage Physical Fitness

Agree _____

Disagree _____

OK to Go Ahead in Developing Event: Yes _____ No _____

Proposed date: January 2nd

Speech/Activity Outline: The Fiesta Bowl

General Plan:

To provide the President-Elect with a forum to "be with the people." President-Elect Bush gained a great deal of support by simply being himself -- showing his human side "warts and all." Activities like going to movies goes a long way at confirming the belief that he will be an accessible President.

Suggested Forum:

The Fiesta Bowl is one of the most popular football events in the season. This year's match-up between Number One Notre Dame and Number Three West Virginia will be especially exciting - both teams were undefeated, and Notre Dame will be fighting to defend its historical superstar status. The President-Elect visited both schools during the campaign and was very well received. President Kennedy attended the 1961 match-up, and was given active coverage as a down-to-earth man.

Date and Location:

January 2, 1989 -- Tempe, Arizona

Attend the Fiesta Bowl

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

SPEECH CONCEPT PAPER: Columbus NAACP

As you know, the President of the Columbus NAACP publicly endorsed the President-Elect during the course of the campaign. Because of the NAACP's status as a non-partisan body, the national organization required her to rescind the endorsement shortly thereafter. However, the instance suggests that the Columbus NAACP might be an appropriate place to deliver a speech on the subject of civil rights and the efforts of the Republican Party to reach out to all Americans. Depending on the exact nature of the appointment, this might even be the place to announce the appointment of an Assistant Attorney General for civil rights (Although my own recommendation here would be to appoint Evan Kemp, who as you know, is a disabled citizen).

In any event, even if the speech focused on crime or education, it seems that this would be a good forum and communicate effectively the President-Elect's message of inclusion and reaching out.

Speech to the Columbus NAACP:

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

During the same trip, we could proceed with another event on the President-Elect's "Victory Tour" around the country. Ohio, of course, was one of the key states -- perhaps the linchpin -- of our victory.

It would therefore seem an appropriate place to deliver a "thank-you" rally speech -- which could be given in either Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus, or some other major Republican center.

Ohio "Victory Tour" speech:

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

Proposed date: January 6th

Speech Outline Concept: (Illinois)

Suggested Forum: Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy

IMSA is a public, residential school established in 1985 as part of educational reform in Illinois to challenge and inspire gifted students in science and mathematics. While IMSA is one of six public, residential schools for such students in the country, it is the only one to offer a three year program. IMSA's goals are 1) to develop a program for students of rare talent and 2) to serve as a laboratory for curriculum development and the dissemination of innovative programs to students and teachers across the state.

IMSA is located in Aurora, IL (40 miles from Chicago) and as a midwest program, falls within one of our original target areas for an education event.

Speech/Visit to IMSA

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

Proposed date: January 11th

Speech Concept Paper: Agriculture

General:

To provide the President-Elect with an opportunity to 1) address his concern for the future of the American farm and support of issues involving agriculture 2) Reconfirm his belief in free-trade, and opposition to tax-increases.

Suggested Forum: American Farm Bureau Federation

The American Farm Bureau Federation is comprised of 3.6 mm farm families throughout the United States, and is the largest agriculture organization in the world. Its President, Dean Kleckner, was an active and valuable supporter of the President-Elect throughout the campaign. Mr. Kleckner is also a member of the National Economic Commission, and is adamantly against tax increases.

Suggested Event:

70th Annual meeting of AFBF, to be held at the San Antonio Convention Center -- San Antonio, Texas from January 8-12, 1989. 7,000 farm bureau members are expected to attend the major sessions. On November 29, Mr. Kleckner sent an official invitation to the President-Elect

Speech to AFBF Annual Conference

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Proposed date: January 13th

SPEECH CONCEPT PAPER: YOUTH ENTERING SERVICE

One successful initiative launched during the campaign that is part of the "kinder, gentler" agenda is the idea for a national volunteer program, called YES, for Youth Entering Service to America.

We have asked Gretchen Pagel of the Domestic Policy Staff and Peace Corps Director Lorette Ruppe to get together to begin the process of fleshing out the YES proposal. Per Bob Teeter, some specific elements of the program might be:

- a vehicle for allowing young people to participate in conservation programs, like the California Conservation Corps; and
- a vehicle for allowing volunteers, both young and old, to work in schools to help disadvantaged students.

YES is the type of program that lends itself to inspiring rhetoric and a call for national cooperation -- and thus may be particularly appropriate for further discussion and even the launching of a relatively specific proposal during the transition.

Such a speech could be delivered here in Washington, or perhaps in Michigan -- the home not only of Ms. Ruppe, but of several prominent volunteer initiatives.

Proceed with Development of YES program for YES speech during transition:

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Speech Concept Outline: Education

General Plan:

To create a forum which will allow the President-Elect address his campaign commitment of becoming the "Education President." During the campaign, the President-Elect had intended to give a major education speech, but the crowded schedule never allowed for its delivery. Now would be the perfect time to come forward with a visionary statement of specific policy proposals. It is recommended that the President-Elect not address a forum to simply "pat an organization on the head," but to find forums whose philosophies and directions will be embraced by him as President, and will be incorporated in his policy initiatives.

Suggested Format:

The President-Elect can make a major address to the students, families, faculty, public officials and members of private enterprises involved with the particular program, at the school facility. This can be followed by a "sleeves-rolled-up" discussion with the students. Apparently this latter discussion format was very successful when the President-Elect visited a school in Harlem last April.

Option One: Cities in Schools

By pooling the resources of the private sector, local school districts and communities, Cities in Schools has developed schools and programs that allow "at risk" children -- at risk of dropping out -- the opportunity to get a productive education. CIS programs exist in 26 cities throughout the country and both the President-Elect and Mrs. Bush are very familiar and supportive of the program.

Among the specific CIS programs that could be addressed is Rich's Academy, Atlanta -- A six-year old school that exemplifies CIS approach of developing a partnership between local business, public schools and existing social services agencies. Considered a great success by educators and the public, Rich's serves over 100 inner-city school children and is actively supported by store employees and the business community. Foley's Department store is a newer project in Houston, TX based on this model and can also be considered. In Miami, FL there are 13 CIS high schools that are great successes. One or more of these may be especially appropriate for the Vice-President Elect because they are JTPA programs.

Speech/Visit to Cities in Schools:

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

Proposed date: January 18th

EVENT CONCEPT PAPER: VISIT TO TEAMSTERS HEADQUARTERS

As you may know, President Reagan visited the headquarters of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters during his Inaugural week in both 1981 and 1985, the first President-elect to do so. He was received warmly.

The Teamsters have requested, through the IBT President Mr. William McCarthy, that you follow suit this year.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is the largest union in the AFL-CIO, and the only major one to endorse the Bush-Quayle ticket in 1988.

The Executive Board of the IBT (21 members) will be meeting in Washington on January 17, 18, and 19th. They have requested that you visit with them at any time during the Board's stay in Washington.

Visit to Teamsters Headquarters and Board Meeting:

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Speech Concept Paper: High-Technology

General Plan:

To provide the President-Elect with an opportunity to signal his interest not only in SDI, but also in science and technology and the benefits this can produce for private industry and taxpayers.

Suggested Forum: SDI-Medical Free Electron Laser Program

This program at Wellman Laboratories in Boston Massachusetts was created by Congress in 1984 to encourage the private sector to develop technological advances in free electron lasers-- which is crucial to defense and offers important, cost-efficient alternatives to major surgery and other treatments and the medical field. The major funding for this center has come from SDI - Medical Free Electron laser programs. Strong cooperation with industrial partners exists. Additionally, MIT and Lincoln Laboratories and Mass. Eye and Ear Infirmary, work closely with Wellman Labs.

Suggested Format:

To be determined.

Suggested Date:

To be determined.

Speech/Visit for Hi-Technology and Medicine

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

Memorandum for Craig Fuller
and Bob Teeter

From: Bob Grady

Date: 12/1/88

Re: Important meetings to be scheduled for the President-Elect

Here are the ten top priority meetings I think the President-Elect should have during the Transition period. If you agree, we can work with Hector Irastorza in the White House to get them on the Vice President's schedule,

- o Irene Natividad
National Women's Political Caucus
Possibly accompanied by members of the women's appointment group.
 approve disapprove
- o Ben Hooks
NAACP
 approve disapprove
- o Vernon Jordan
National Urban League
 approve disapprove
- o Entreprenurial Group
Including: Scott McNealy of Sun Microsystems
Bill Gates of Microsoft
John Scully of Apple
 approve disapprove
- o Billy Graham
 approve disapprove
- o Prime Minister Takeshita of Japan
Secretary Baker suggested this meeting. Perhaps it could be done in San Fransisco in conjunction with a visit to California.
 approve disapprove
- o Darryl Gates
Chief of the LAPD
 approve disapprove
- o Ed Fuelner
Heritage Foundation
 approve disapprove
- o Mayors of the ten largest cities in the U.S.
 approve disapprove
- o The fifty Republican State Charirmen
 approve disapprove

P.S. Demarest has seen and agrees with this list.

Memorandum to Robert M. Teeter
and Craig Fuller

From: Bob Grady *RB*

Date: December 1, 1988

SOME POSSIBLE NAMES FOR THE TRANSITION ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Hal Riney	Advertising Executive
Robert Dugan	Washington Director, National Association of Evangelicals
Peter Ueberroth	Baseball Commissioner
Jack Kemp	Soon-to-be-former Congressman
William Safire	Columnist
Millicent Fenwick	Former Congresswoman
John Young	Chairman, Hewlet Packard
Congressman Sonny Montgomery	(D-Mississippi)
Dr. Stephanie Marshall	Director, Illinois Math and Science Academy
Ann McLaughlin	Secretary of Labor
Congresswoman Nancy Johnson	(R-Connecticut)
Dean Kleckner	American Farm Bureau
Jaime Escelante	Teacher
Len Coleman	Former Commissioner of Community Affairs, State of New Jersey
Grant Ujufusa	Editor, <u>Almanac of American Politics</u>
Leonard Sipes	National Crime Prevention Council
Bill Gates	Chairman, Microsoft Corporation, Seattle

Phyllis Schafly	Eagle Forum
Irene Natividad	National Women's Political Caucus
Congressman Tom Campbell	(R-California) Freshman Representative and former Stanford Law Professor
Jack Hennessey	Chairman, Credit Suisse - First Boston
Scott McNealy	CEO, Sun Microsystems
Ben Hooks	President, NAACP (Democrat)
Vernan Jordan	President, National Urban League (Democrat)
Darryl Gates	Chief, LAPD
John McArthur	Dean, Harvard Business School
Bill Hoenig	Superintendent of Intstruction, California Department of Education (Democrat)
Robert Jaedicke	Dean, Stanford Business School
Father Bruce Ritter	Director, Covenant House, New York
Kimi Gray	Housing Advocate
Guido Calabresi	Dean, Yale Law School
Geoffrey Stone	Dean, University of Chicago Law School
Reverend Pat Robertson	
Dr. John Wilkie	President, National Right to Life
Evan Kemp	Commissioner, Equal Opportunity Commission
John Sloan	National Federation of Independent Business
Billy Graham	Religious Leader
Robert Bartley	Editor, <u>Wall Street Journal</u> , Editorial Page

W. Glenn Campbell	Hoover Institute
Dr. Anthony Fauci	Director, National Institute of Alergic and Diseases
Rudolph Guiliani	U.S. Attorney, New York City
Charles Krauthammer	Contributing Editor, <u>The New Republic</u> , (disabled)
Doanld Peterson	Ford Motor Company
T. Boone Pickens	Businessman
Richard Rahn	U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Armando Valladares	Former Cuban Prisoner

POSSIBLE MEMBERS FROM ATHLETES WHO WERE FOR GEORGE BUSH

Evelyn Ashford
Jim Bunning
George Brett
Gary Carter
Jose Cruz
Ron Darling
Chris Evert
Janet Evans
Joe Gibbs
Scott Hamilton
Dorothy Hamill
Dick Kazmeier
Steve Lundquist
Joe Paterno
Arnold Palmer
Al Unser

Herschel Walker

Bud Wilkinson

Ted Williams

POSSIBLE MEMBERS FROM ENTERTAINERS WHO WERE FOR GEORGE BUSH

Chet Atkins

Pat Boone

Crystal Gayle

Amy Grant

Lionel Hampton

Helen Hayes

Cheryl Ladd

Mike Love

Loretta Lynn

Tito Puente

Joan Rivers

Patrick Swayze

Chuck Yeager

Stephanie Zimbalist

cc: David Demarest
Chase Untermeyer