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AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

	<u>OPD</u>	<u>OPL</u>
Abortion	Uhlmann/Galebach	Jepsen <i>Blackwell</i>
ACTION	Carleson/Bradley	Jepsen
Agriculture (Not Food Stamps)	Boggs/B. Leonard	Burgess
Antitrust & Trade Regulation	Uhlmann	Burgess
Auto Industry	Gunn/ Smith <i>garbriel</i>	Valis <i>Jacobi</i>
Banking	Porter/Denend	Valis
Black Colleges	Carleson/Bradley	Duggin
Block Grants	Carleson/Bradley	
Civil Aeronautics Board	Uhlmann	<i>Jacobi</i>
Commerce	Gunn/ Smith <i>garbriel</i>	Valis <i>Jacobi</i>
Communications	Uhlmann/Gunn	<i>Jacobi</i>
Community Development (HUD)	Carleson	
Corporation for Public Broadcasting	Uhlmann	<i>Jacobi</i>
Consumer Product Safety Commission	Uhlmann	Knauer
Civil Rights Commission	Uhlmann/Bradley/ <i>HOBSON</i>	Duggin
Civil Rights Policy	Uhlmann/Bradley/ <i>HOBSON</i>	Duggin
Crime	Uhlmann	Triplett
Depository Institutions Deregulation Comm.	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	
Disaster/Emergency Preparedness	Uhlmann/Denend	
Drug Abuse Policy	Turner/D. Leonard, Uhlmann/Carleson	Triplett
Economics	Porter/Denend	<i>Jacobi</i> Caveney
Education	Carleson Bradley/ Bauer <i>Barr</i>	Triplett
Equal Employment Opportunity Comm.	Uhlmann/Bradley/ <i>HOBSON</i>	Duggin
Equal Employment for Women	Uhlmann/Bradley/ <i>HOBSON</i>	Jepsen

Returned to Leah with MCB corrections/additions. 6/3/82

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATIONOPDOPL

Energy	Boggs	Bonitati
Enterprise Zones	Carleson/Bradley	Zuniga
Environment and (EPA)	Boggs/M. Smith	Valis <i>Jacobi</i>
Environment Protection Agency	Boggs/M. Smith	Valis <i>Jacobi</i>
Export/Import Bank	Gunn/Porter/Denend	Valis <i>Jacobi</i>
Federal Budget Process	Porter/Denend	Caveney
Federal Emergency Management Administration	Uhlmann/Denend	
Federal Communications Commission	Uhlmann/Gunn	<i>Jacobi</i>
Federal Credit Policy	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	Caveney
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission	Uhlmann/Gunn/Boggs	<i>Jacobi</i>
Federal Home Loan Bank Board	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	
Federalism (Including ACIR)	Carleson	Triplett
Federal National Mortgage Assn.	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	
Federal Reserve and Monetary Policy	Porter/Denend	Caveney
Federal Savings & Loan Insurance Co.	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	
Federal Trade Commission	Uhlmann	Knauer <i>Jacobi</i>
Finance (Corporate & Government)	Porter/ Hemel ^{Denend} /Gunn	Caveney
Food and Drug Administration	Uhlmann/Leonard	Knauer
Food Stamps	Carleson	Burgess
General Services Administration	Uhlmann/Bradley	
Government National Mortgage Assoc.	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	
Gun Control	Uhlmann/Barr/Galebach	Blackwell
Health	Carleson/Roper	Knauer
Housing Production and Finance	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	Valis
Immigration	Uhlmann/Bradley	Zuniga

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATIONOPDOPL

Indians	Uhlmann	not at OPL Blackwell
Interior	Boggs/M. Smith	Jacobi Bonitati
Interstate Commerce Commission	Uhlmann	Jacobi Bonitati
International Law	Uhlmann	Triplett
International Trade Commission	Gunn	Jacobi
Justice	Uhlmann	Triplett
Labor	Porter/Denend	Bonitati
Law of the Sea	Uhlmann	Jacobi
Legal Services	Uhlmann	Blackwell Triplett
Maritime Policy	Gunn/Uhlmann	Jacobi Bonitati
Military Manpower	Uhlmann	
Minority Business Development Agency	Gunn/Bradley/ Blackwell	Zuniga
NASA	Boggs	Burgess
National Credit Union Administration	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	
National Endowment for the Arts	Uhlmann	
National Endowment for the Humanities	Uhlmann	
National Science Foundation	Boggs	Jacobi
National Security (Impacting Domestic Excluding Selective Service)	Porter/Denend	Blackwell
Natural Resources	Boggs/M. Smith	Jacobi Bonitati
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	Boggs/M. Smith	
Pension Policy	Porter/Denend	Lozano
Postal Issues	Uhlmann	
Poverty Issues Generally	Carleson/Bradley/ Hobson	Lozano
Puerto Rico	Carleson/Bradley	Zuniga
Refugee and Immigration	Uhlmann/Bradley	Zuniga
Regulatory Reform	Uhlmann/Boggs	Valis Jacobi
Revenue Sharing	Carleson	
School Prayer	Uhlmann/Galebach	Blackwell

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATIONOPDOPL

Security (OPD)	Uhlmann	Blackwell
Securities Exchange Commission	Uhlmann	<i>Jacobi</i>
Selective Service	Uhlmann	
Science and Technology	Boggs	<i>Jacobi</i>
Small Business Administration	Gunn/ Uhlmann /Bradley	Valis
Social Security	Carleson/Ferrara	Lozano
Tax Policy	Porter/Denend	Caveney
Telecommunications Policy	Gunn/Uhlmann	<i>Jacobi</i>
Thrift Industry	Porter/Denend/Fairbanks	Valis
Trade	Gunn/ Uhlmann /Porter	Valis <i>Jacobi</i>
Transportation(Except Auto Industry)	Gunn/Porter	<i>Jacobi</i> Bonitati
Treasury (Except Revenue Sharing & Tax)	Porter/Denend	Valis
Tuition Tax Credits	Carleson/Porter/ Fairbanks/Barr	<i>Blackwell</i> Burgess
Urban Affairs	Carleson/Bradley	Zuniga
Veterans Affairs	Carleson	Blackwell
Voluntary Organizations	Uhlmann/Galebach/Bradley	Duggin
Welfare	Carleson/Bradley	Duggin
Womens Issues	Uhlmann/Bradley/ <i>Hobson</i>	Jepsen/ <i>Jacobi</i> <i>Buckley</i>

*Diana Lozano coordinates all policy work for OPL.



CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY
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June 6, 1981

file OPL

REC'D
PRES
JUN 9 2 21 PM '81

Reagan Saleswoman

Elizabeth Dole

(975)



**Education
Block Grants**
(1005)

**Senate GOP
Conference**
(993)



Part Cheerleader, Part Listening Post:

Public Liaison Chief Dole Reaches to Outside Groups To Sell Reagan's Programs

In the frescoed "hall of states" at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce headquarters in Washington, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, President Reagan's public liaison chief, was preaching to the converted.

Scores of Washington representatives for trade associations savored a champagne toast to the victory of the first fiscal 1982 budget resolution, which was to be voted on in the House the next day. (*Weekly Report* p. 783)

The May 6 audience listened appreciatively as Dole invited them to bring their ideas and problems to her White House Public Liaison Office. Part cheerleader, part listening post, Dole is charged with building support for Reagan and his policies, and defusing criticism.

She thanked her audience for the effort they already had put into lobbying for the budget resolution. Their support included lavish newspaper and television advertisements, messages mailed to stockholders and visits paid to members of Congress by corporate executives.

"We're in the same business," Dole assured the assembled lobbyists, "communication, coalition-building, outreach."

Indirect Pressure

Like the White House's legislative liaison operation, headed by Max L. Friedersdorf, Dole's office brings pressure to bear on Congress to pass the president's programs. But she does it in an indirect fashion, going to members' constituent groups, never to the lawmakers themselves. Many members say they are not familiar with her office. (*Legislative liaison, Weekly Report* p. 747)

Her stock in trade includes invitations to White House briefings by the

president, Cabinet members and staff for business and community leaders, farm groups and others. Dole herself gives numerous speeches. And it is her office that arranges for presidential greetings, on film or tape, for a fledgling Hispanic radio service or a Teamsters' convention.

Her assets include impeccable professional and political credentials and her own contagious enthusiasm.

As a one-time member of the Fed-

eral Trade Commission, she has an insider's knowledge of business and government. And she is married to one of the most well-placed men in Congress, Robert Dole, R-Kan., chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. It is a connection she plays up. (*Dole background, box, p. 976*)

For example, Dole, with a sparkling smile, confided to the lobbyists assembled by the Chamber of Commerce, "I heard something interesting at home last night." Thanks to "great leadership," she said, the Finance Committee had just given Reagan substantially larger budget cuts than requested. (*Weekly Report* p. 795)

"She is very bright and very good," said one prominent labor lobbyist who does not support Reagan policies.

But Dole's impact is difficult to measure. It is inseparable from such



"We're in the same business — communication, coalition-building, outreach," Elizabeth Dole told a group of lobbyists assembled by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

—By Elizabeth Wehr

Dole Well Backgrounded For Post

Official Washington's high regard for Elizabeth Hanford Dole has not flagged since she showed up at the White House in 1968 as a legislative aide for President Johnson's consumer affairs adviser, Betty Furness.

She was, Furness once told an interviewer, "dandy."

Colleagues at the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) lapse into superlatives when asked to recall her tenure as a commissioner from 1973 to 1979.

Hard work, keen intelligence and North Carolina charm made Dole, 44, "very, very easy to work with and very good," said David Clanton, acting FTC chairman.

Her involvement in controversial FTC actions on children's television advertising, and the funeral and housing industries have prompted some questions about whether Dole fits into the conservative Reagan administration.

But fellow commissioners such as Lewis A. Engman, now president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association, say Dole cannot be categorized easily.

A former FTC staff attorney recalls that Dole approached each issue with a fresh perspective and "a healthy skepticism about the limits of government regulation."

Dole led commission efforts to translate its reservoir of technical information into broadcast advertisements and readable brochures for consumers on such subjects as women's credit rights. She spoke out firmly against what she viewed as abuses in the nursing home industry.

Dole brought a strong consumer orientation to the FTC from assignments as executive director of a presidential commission on consumer interests (1968-71) and deputy director of the White House office of consumer affairs (1971-73).

In 1979 Dole resigned her FTC position to assist her husband, Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kan., in his brief, unsuccessful presidential campaign. She later toured the country for Reagan, and during his transition chaired a task force on human services. After her 1975 marriage to Dole, she had taken a leave of absence from the FTC during his vice presidential campaign.

Of her marriage and well established career, Dole once observed that "there's a lot of interest, but no conflict."

She believes that she and her husband "may be the only two lawyers in Washington that trust each other."

factors as Reagan's personal popularity, residual momentum from last November's election and the work of other White House officials such as Lyn Nofziger, presidential assistant for political affairs, and Friedersdorf.

And White House efforts clearly are having an impact.

"Public opinion and attitude play an enormous part in what Congress does," says House Majority Whip Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., citing the indications members received during the Easter recess that their constituencies were strongly in favor of Reagan. Those constituent signals were credited with bringing some House Democrats around to the GOP position on the budget resolution.

Like Friedersdorf and some other White House officials, Dole has to be careful not to step outside the bounds of a federal law that prohibits federal

employees from seeking to influence Congress.

Like the others, too, she says she is in the information business. "The more information we provide, the more people will understand President Reagan's program," she says.

However, some observers, like Rep. Tony Coelho, D-Calif., chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, perceive Dole's operation as "wholly political."

Being an Insider

Essential to Dole's credibility with outside groups is her ability to appear as a White House insider. Only then will they turn to her office in their quest for presidential access.

If such groups like their welcome, they can offer a president either sophisticated Washington lobbying for his programs or the funds and net-

works essential to spur grass-roots support — or both.

For example, the chamber, with a \$70-million-a-year annual budget, has done little else this year but promote Reagan's economic program, according to Jeffrey H. Joseph, manager of the chamber's business and governmental affairs division.

Reagan economics received favorable coverage — to the virtual exclusion of other topics — in the chamber's weekly television show, syndicated to 140 stations, its weekly radio program for 400 stations and its weekly newspaper with 800,000 subscribers.

Dole says her work is to pave a "two-way street" by creating understanding for the president outside the White House while making sure that Reagan and his advisers are aware of groups' priorities.

She counts as an early accomplishment the removal of bilingual education funding from the administration's block grants proposal. That decision, made after Education Secretary T. H. Bell met with Hispanic groups at Dole's urging, meant continued separate funding for that program, which would have had to compete with others within the block grant.

A February session between Reagan and farm group leaders, meant to soften farm anger at the Soviet grain embargo, was less successful in heading off a Senate vote to force Reagan's hand on the issue. An anti-embargo Senate vote did occur on March 24, and Reagan lifted the embargo a month later. (*Weekly Report* p. 561)

Good Marks

Anne Wexler, Dole's predecessor in the Carter administration, finds Dole's early work impressive. "Before you could blink, there were a series of groups in to meet the president," Wexler noted. "They got everybody on record in favor of the economic program and locked in early."

By the end of April, Dole's office had engineered 19 meetings at which the president or vice president spoke, 89 White House sessions with Cabinet and staff members, 148 follow-up talks and nine large-scale East Room briefings. Dole's outside speaking engagements numbered 29. She collected general endorsements of the economic program from nearly 200 groups and corporations.

Those endorsements generally came from organizations that had sup-

ported candidate Reagan — business groups, the Teamsters, the Moral Majority and others. The conservative American Farm Bureau Federation, for instance, endorsed the program while the National Farmers Union, did not.

Dole plans out-of-town meetings for the president and Cabinet members with interested groups. Like Wexler, she also plans to solicit opinions on legislation "early on, not after the fact from interested parties."

But the president's Social Security proposal, which elicited almost instant objections from interest groups and Congress, did not move through Dole's office. (*Weekly Report* p. 936)

And it is clear that her office is not the only route into or out of the Reagan administration.

Some Washington insiders, like one influential health lobbyist, say they have not altered their normal routines to include Dole. "I talk to [White House Counselor Edwin] Meese, and I talk to the people I know at the Office of Management and Budget and the department" of Health and Human Services, the lobbyist said.

Officials at The Independent Sector, a coalition of voluntary service groups and donors to such groups, also approached Meese when seeking a Reagan endorsement of a bill to encourage tax deductible contributions.

Chamber of Commerce officials, on the other hand, speak highly of their contacts with Dole's office.

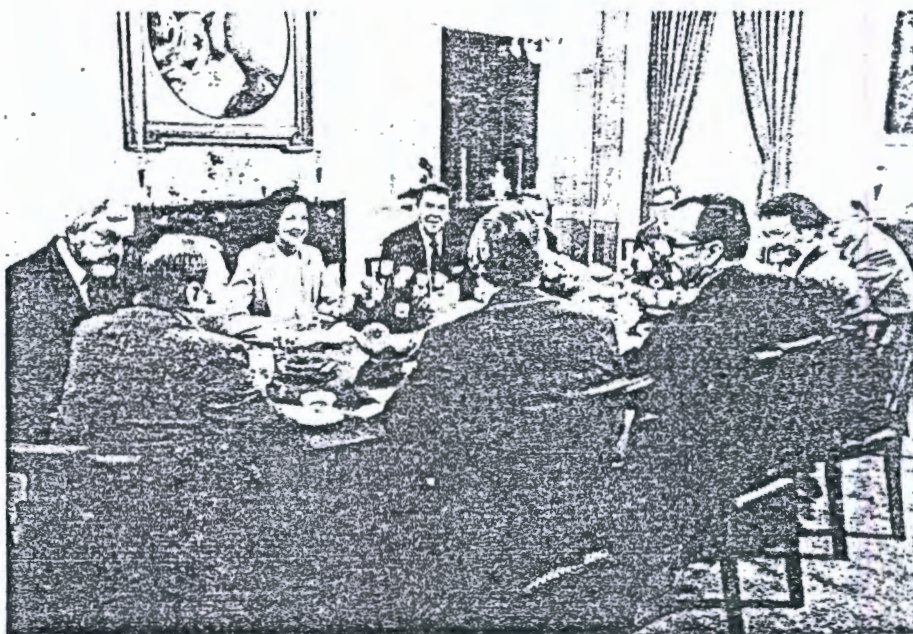
Because the internal structure of Reagan's White House differs significantly from that of Carter's, it is not clear whether Dole's involvement in policy decisions will be as deep as Wexler's.

The triumvirate of Meese, chief of staff James A. Baker III and deputy chief of staff Michael Deaver, combined with a Cabinet arranged into issue-oriented councils, mean a "tighter grasp of policy-making," said John Post, executive director of The Business Roundtable, a lobbying group of corporate executives.

Still, Dole is one of the top White House officials to meet daily at 8 a.m. to discuss what should be taken up with the president. The sessions, Dole says, "provide a great deal of insight. We're all going over the big picture at least once a day."

Development of the Office

The position that Dole holds is a relatively new one. The first person to



Elizabeth Dole has breakfast at the White House with President Reagan, Vice President George Bush, presidential counselor Edwin Meese III, Labor Secretary Raymond J. Donovan and labor leaders.

occupy a similar slot was William Baroody Jr., who served in the Ford administration as the first official public liaison chief.

But appealing to non-government sources of support is far from new to the White House, although the task has become increasingly specialized.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's free-wheeling aides often had such broad responsibilities that people who sought them out knew they were talking indirectly to the president — and directly to the person who wrote legislation, ran programs and lobbied in Congress.

Thomas G. Corcoran, for example, drafted major 1933 and 1934 securities bills and also marshaled his extraordinarily wide contacts in and out of government on behalf of Roosevelt's programs, according to Patrick Anderson's 1968 study of presidential aides, *The President's Men*.

Louis Howe, a close aide and permanent house guest at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., supervised several New Deal programs and occasionally took to the radio for "spontaneous" pro-Roosevelt question-and-answer sessions — that he had carefully written out in advance.

In the administration of Harry S. Truman, adviser Clark Clifford suggested what has become a standard ingredient for modern public liaison operations — capitalizing on the glamour of the White House.

In a lengthy memo quoted by An-

derson, Clifford proposed that Truman invite "labor leaders ... to the White House to flatter them." But he warned that such consultations should be "on general issues. To invite advice on specifics, and then not follow it, is to court trouble," he said.

Charles Colson, eventually snared in the Watergate affair, began his White House career in 1969 as a coalition-builder for President Richard M. Nixon.

Late in Nixon's second term, Baroody, now president of the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute, a policy research center, proposed creation of a separate office for interest group contacts.

First in the Job

It was President Gerald R. Ford who carried out the suggestion, appointing Baroody to the new position.

Baroody launched what is now the most visible part of the public liaison operation: meetings, large and small and often publicized, between the president and top administration officials and various organizations and leaders. The sessions were held both at the White House and outside Washington.

Baroody's goal was to end the president's isolation and to counter Watergate-generated distrust of the president and government, according to the newly-published study, *Portraying the President*, by Michael Grossman and Martha Kumar.

Private Funds Sought to Offset Budget Cuts

As the federal government retrenches, Elizabeth Dole hopes that corporations, churches, other private groups and individuals will "take up the slack" with more *pro bono* legal work, more philanthropy, perhaps free medical services.

For Dole, such private involvement in social services is the other side of the coin of federal budget reductions. But she does not expect private efforts to replace government programs: "Obviously, they're not going to be able to step in completely."

Still, she is encouraged by the fact that at the same time she began to think about more volunteerism, groups began contacting her White House Public Liaison Office suggesting it.

Some 13 West Coast corporations already have begun a pilot project of pledging jobs to individuals on federal disability rolls who can be trained by cooperating community service groups. Dole's office will try to stimulate and coordinate such activities.

Little Increase in Corporate Giving

Brian O'Connell, president of the Independent Sector, also thinks that private sources cannot replace federal funds dollar-for-dollar. O'Connell's group is a coalition of nearly 300 donors and recipients, including the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, Equitable Life Assur-

ance Society, the National Conference of Catholic Charities and the American Red Cross.

O'Connell doubts that "foundation and corporate philanthropy will make up for a good part of the anticipated government cutbacks."

He cites figures showing that corporate giving — just 1/20th of the nation's philanthropy — grew only 4 percent in 1980. Individual giving was going down even before the advent of double-digit inflation. Between 1976 and 1980, the nation's total annual level of donations, \$48 billion, did not grow at all when adjusted for inflation.

Reagan's budget cuts not only mean substantially less money for services, according to a just-released Urban Institute study commissioned by O'Connell's group and the National Society of Fund Raising Executives. The cuts also would shrink the network of organizations that deliver services, since many non-profit groups depend on federal as well as private sources for operating expenses, the study found.

The coalition hopes that the Reagan administration's interest in volunteerism will translate into active support of legislation (HR 501, S 170) to permit taxpayers to deduct their charitable contributions even if they do not itemize their other deductions, as is now required.

In a recent interview, Baroody stressed his intention to assure the public equal access to the White House with Congress and the press. He also originated "town hall" meetings outside Washington that had some unanticipated benefits.

Typically, Baroody sought sponsorship of such meetings from a dozen or so groups representing a range of community loyalties, such as local chambers of commerce, labor unions, and ethnic and minority organizations. For speakers at the daylong, question-and-answer sessions, he occasionally chose Cabinet-level officials, such as those for energy and environmental policies, with potentially conflicting points of view.

"If you had to address the same questions, in the same forum, in public, it kind of forced some unity on issues," Baroody remarked.

President Carter's first public liaison chief, the outspoken Midge Costanza, occasionally gave the appearance of opposing Carter rather than building support for him, and by 1978 she had been replaced by Wexler, a respected nuts-and-bolts political operative.

Wexler stressed coalition-building, and her efforts were viewed as a

highly professional assist to Carter's relations with Congress.

Casting a broad net, she sought to demonstrate benefits of a given piece of legislation to as many groups as possible — "including those that were not necessarily Carter loyalists," she said.

Wexler believed that interest groups had to be involved "in the development of policy at the earliest stages" and that they should be kept involved. Publicity was an important ingredient; Wexler made sure that newspapers and television stations were alerted to upcoming White House visits of local citizens.

For Wexler, the payoff was twofold. Within the White House, "our input was often critical on what was going to fly" in Congress. And, "we were able to present Congress with pretty good evidence that certain issues had broad-based support."

Democrats Left Behind

The public liaison offices generally are assets for a president. And Dole's office appears to fit into that mold.

But duplicating the prestige or financial resources of the White House always is difficult for the party out of

power. And congressional Democrats concede that they have nothing comparable.

Coelho launched a "congressional news service" at the campaign committee, mailing releases to home-district newspapers of Republicans who cast votes for higher spending levels on specific programs than they had voted for on the first budget resolution.

House Budget Committee Chairman James R. Jones, D-Okla., met personally with business groups during the Easter recess, unsuccessfully seeking support for his alternative budget.

But Foley and Coelho admit that even if they had an apparatus similar to Dole's, the Democrats still remain divided on policy and strategy.

"It's never going to be possible for all the Democrats, under any leadership, to march out ... Wehrmacht-like, taking a single position," Foley told NBC's "Meet the Press" after the House budget vote.

More recently, Foley said, "There is a great reverence for the office of the presidency, and the opportunity to invite people to the White House is very potent. ... It's impossible to replicate."

O PL
memo

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1982

This is a weak speech.

It is largely defensive, and indicates that the President neither has a plan nor is developing a plan to cure our economic problems.

There should be no such speeches now. We should be doing everything possible to recapture the themes of the 1980 elections. Neighboring Idaho had as its state GOP convention theme this summer: "We've Only just begun!" That's the spirit which will lead to further victories.

If we play "statesman" and avoid controversy, we will lose.

Morton C. Blackwell

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 8/6/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: MONDAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO BILLINGS, MONTANA, CENTENNIAL

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	GERGEN	☒	☐
MEESE	☐	☒	HARPER	☒	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	JAMES	☐	☐
DEAVER	☐	☒	JENKINS	☐	☐
STOCKMAN	☒	☐	MURPHY	☐	☐
CLARK	☐	☐	ROLLINS	☒	☐
DARMAN	☐ P	☒ SS	WILLIAMSON	☒	☐
DOLE →	☒	☐	WEIDENBAUM	☐	☐
DUBERSTEIN	☒	☐	BRADY/SPEAKES	☐	☒
FIELDING	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☐
FULLER	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐

Remarks:

Please provide any comments directly to Aram Bakshian by Noon Monday, 8/9, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
(x2702)

Response:

August 6, 1982
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BILLINGS, MONTANA CENTENNIAL
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1982

Thank you, the stage was on time today.* I am very happy to be here in Billings for your centennial celebration. By the way, save the candles on the cake; I'll be able to use them in a few years.

I'm told that an Indian chief once said of Billings, "The Great Spirit has put it exactly in the right place: while you are in it you fare well." Wish the chief had said that about Washington.

But I think I know why Billings has fared better than Washington. The people of Billings, Montana, have remained true to the values of their ancestors. You still admire independence, resourcefulness, and determination. You have the legacy of those ideals, and you have a history so colorful, well, even your sunsets cannot match it. Proud Indian peoples, explorers like Lewis and Clark, trappers and traders, miners, ranchers, even what we might politely call the soiled doves who worked the dance halls, have all contributed to Montana's rich past. Later came the homesteaders who ploughed the plains and, according to the Indians, left the sod "wrong side up."

Of course, you can still feel the openness of the land and the expanse of the sky out here. This is a place, as one man put

* The President will enter the arena in a stagecoach pulled by a team of horses.

to all Spec. Assistants
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SEPTEMBER 16, 1982

FOR: ALL WHITE HOUSE AND EOB STAFF
FROM: MICHAEL EVANS
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO OFFICE *M.E.*
SUBJECT: VIEWING PRESIDENTIAL CONTACT SHEETS

The White House Photo Office is becoming increasingly congested with staff members and visitors who are looking at contact sheet books. Because the photographs need access to their desks, equipment and supplies as well as some freedom of movement, it is necessary that we once again remind everyone that viewing of contact sheets MUST be done in Room 473 OEOb. In addition to having a full set of contact books and extra viewers, there is more space and comfort for viewing.

This policy will be strictly enforced. To avoid wasting your time, please call Room 473 (6505) before your arrival to make certain that someone is available to assist you.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/22/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Monday, 7/26/82

SUBJECT: S. J. Res. 95 - FDR MEMORIAL

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	GERGEN	☒	☐
MEESE	☐	☒	HARPER	☒	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	JAMES	☐	☐
DEAVER	☐	☒	JENKINS	☐	☐
STOCKMAN	☐	☐	MURPHY	☒	☐
CLARK	☐	☐	ROLLINS	☒	☐
DARMAN	☐ P	☒ SS	WILLIAMSON	☒	☐
DOLE	☒	☐	WEIDENBAUM	☐	☐
DUBERSTEIN	☒	☐	BRADY/SPEAKES	☐	☒
FIELDING	☒	☐	ROGERS	☐	☐
FULLER	☒	☐		☐	☐

Remarks:

Please provide any comments/recommendations by Monday, 7/26/82.

Thank you.

I suggest a veto.
A. \$30 million is too costly; so is \$1 million/year operation.
B. It is on ugly design.

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
(x2702)

Response:

C. Roosevelt once told Justice
Black he wanted a memorial
that would be no larger than his desk
M. Blechwell



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JUL 22 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Enrolled Resolution S. J. Res. 95 - FDR Memorial
Sponsors - Sen. Hatfield (D) Oregon and seven others

Last Day for Action

July 28, 1982 - Wednesday

Purpose

Authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior to construct the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial.

Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget

Approval

Department of the Interior

No objection

Discussion

S. J. Res. 95 authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior, under the supervision of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, to construct the FDR Memorial in West Potomac Park in the District of Columbia, according to the design developed by the Commission. The enrolled bill, which passed both houses of the Congress by voice vote, also directs the Secretary of the Interior to operate and maintain the memorial as part of the National Park System, and authorizes appropriations of such sums as are necessary for such construction and operation, beginning with fiscal year 1983. We expect construction to cost some \$28,625,000 and annual operating costs to exceed \$763,000. During congressional consideration of the resolution, the Administration took no position with regard to enactment of the proposal, and deferred to the Congress to determine what would be an appropriate memorial for FDR.

(Signed) James M. Frey

Assistant Director for
Legislative Reference

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1982

OPC
memo
file

MEMORANDUM FOR KEVIN HOPKINS

FROM: MORTON BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Domestic Policy Briefing Papers

Attached are the amendments that I suggest for the above papers.

Suggested amendments to Domestic Policy Briefing papers.

1. EDUCATION

- (i) Page 2, paragraph 2:

Delete " 466 verbal/482 math in 1967 "
Insert " 478 verbal/502 math in 1963 "

- (ii) Page 2, paragraph 2:

Insert new paragraph after "... (SAT scores) .

" -- SAT test scores increased last year for the first time in 19 years despite a reduction in the Department's funding and a cut in its programs from 150 to 120 under this administration."

2. ABORTION

- (i) Page 1, paragraph 3:

Insert after ...Roe v. Wade, "

" invalidated state abortion laws and "

3. SCHOOL PRAYER

- (i) Final Page, paragraph 1:

Delete "...before adjournment October 2."
Insert "...before the Congress adjourns in October."

4. TUITION TAX CREDITS

- (i) Page 10, paragraph 4;

Delete entire paragraph beginning " * Tax Credits cannot be disallowed... "

- (ii) Page 10, paragraph 5:

Delete "In the past, federal aid to schools..."
Insert "In the past, federal aid to education..."



White House Office of Policy Information

MEMORANDUM

Document No. _____ PI

Date 9/21/82

Time _____

Due By 9/23/82

Time 6 pm

☐ Staffing Memorandum

☒ Clearance Memorandum

Please respond whether or not you have comments
and/or corrections

Subject _____

ACTION			FYI		
OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION			OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT		
HOPKINS	☐	☐	HARPER	☐	☐
COBB	☐	☐	PORTER	☐	☐
DUFF	☐	☐	BARR	☐	☐
LAMBERTON	☐	☐	BOGGS	☐	☐
SCHUETTINGER	☐	☐	BRADLEY	☐	☐
SMITH	☐	☐	CARLESON	☐	☐
_____			DENEND	☐	☐
JENKINS	☐	☐	FAIRBANKS	☐	☐
KEYWORTH	☐	☐	FERRARA	☐	☐
ROLLINS	☐	☐	GALEBACH	☐	☐
MUSS (PRB)	☐	☐	GARFINKEL	☐	☐
CRIBB	☐	☐	GUNN	☐	☐
BLACKWELL	☒	☐	LEONARD, B.	☐	☐
DUNLOP	☐	☐	LEONARD, D.	☐	☐
GERSON	☐	☐	MONTOYA	☐	☐
HEMEL	☐	☐	ROCK	☐	☐
THOMPSON	☐	☐	TURNER	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	UHLMANN	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	ADMINISTRATION	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please return this tracking
sheet with your response

Kevin R. Hopkins
Director, Office of Policy Information
Special Assistant to the President
(x6556)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MORTON C. BLACKWELL
FROM: KEVIN R. HOPKINS *KRH/hrs*
SUBJECT: DOMESTIC POLICY BRIEFING PAPERS

Attached are five of a set of documents OPI is preparing that describe, in briefing format, the President's rationale and record with respect to key domestic policy issues. Each brief is divided into five sections:

- I. The Problem
- II. Past Approaches
- III. The President's Answer
- IV. How It Works
- V. The Record

Please review the attached briefs for:

- 1. Accuracy of information.
- 2. Comprehensiveness.

If any points in the briefs can be documented more cogently with additional arguments or statistics, please make any suggestions.

We would appreciate your response by 6 p.m. Thursday, September 23. Thanks!

Attachments:
Department of Education
Abortion
Busing
School Prayer
Tuition Tax Credits

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

I. The Problem

- o The existence of a cabinet-level Department of Education is unnecessary.
 - Education is primarily a state and local responsibility; the federal role should be strictly limited, and does not justify a cabinet-level department.
 - Federal education programs can be coordinated without the coordinating agency having Cabinet status.
- o The existence of a cabinet-level Department of Education is harmful.
 - It promotes the notion that education is a federal responsibility, unnecessarily stimulating counterproductive federal "solutions" to education problems.
 - It encourages intrusive federal intervention into education decisions which are more properly -- and more beneficially -- the province of states, localities, parents, and teachers.

o Greater federal intervention in education has not, on the whole, materially improved the quality of education for most students.

-- Although the federal education budget has increased from \$____ billion in 1965 to \$____ billion in 1982, test scores have declined virtually every year -- from ⁴⁷⁸~~466~~ verbal/⁵⁰²~~482~~ math in 196~~3~~ to 424 verbal/466 math in 1981 (SAT scores).

* *Insert new text (see attached sheet)*

II. Past Approaches

o The Department of Education was established in 1979 to coordinate federal education programs.

o The establishment of the Department was the key element of the previous president's education program.

III. The President's Answer

o Dismantle the Department of Education.

o Replace it with a sub-cabinet level Foundation for Education Assistance (FEA).

IV. How It Works

- o The FEA would be headed by a director, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.
- o The FEA would have responsibility for:
 - Block grants and consolidated aid for state and local education agencies.
 - Student loans and grants.
 - Support for compensatory and equal educational opportunity programs, and a core of informational, statistical, and research services for education.
- o Activities not directly associated with education support functions would be reallocated, as appropriate, to other agencies.
- o For these reasons, the FEA proposal would be of significant benefit:
 - Would be less costly:
 - * Reduce agency employment levels by 22%.
 - * Reduce budget costs by \$56 million.

-- It would be more efficient.

- * Ninety-six federal programs would be consolidated into 38 programs.

- * Regional activities would be abolished.

- * Eleven unnecessary federal boards and commissions would be eliminated.

- * Twenty-three unproductive federal education programs would be terminated.

-- Twenty-eight Federal programs would be transferred to other federal agencies where they can be more efficiently operated.

- * Rehabilitation and other programs for the disabled would be transferred to the Department of Health and Human Services where they could be coordinated with other federal programs for the disabled.

- * Indian education programs would be transferred to the Department of the Interior to improve the coordination of federal programs serving American Indians.

V. The Record

o The President introduced the FEA proposal as part of his FY 1983 budget.

ABORTION

I. The Problem

Each year, 1.5 million abortions take place in the United States.

- o One out of every _____ human beings conceived is aborted.

II. Past Approaches

- o The 1973 Supreme Court decision, Roe v. Wade, *invalidated state abortion laws and* effectively legalized abortion throughout the country.
- o Previous administrations have attempted to avoid this controversial issue.
 - Expressions of "personal opposition" to abortion.
 - No support given for legislation or constitutional amendment to end abortion.
 - Opposition to congressional initiatives to eliminate, federal funding for abortion.

III. The President's Answer

o Recognizes that "all human life has intrinsic value."

o Supports constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion except in cases where mother's life is in danger.

o Support of legislation that would:

-- Affirm the humanity of the unborn child.

-- Permanently ban federal funding and support for the taking of life of an unborn child except to save the life of the mother.

-- Provide an opportunity for the Supreme Court to reconsider its previous rulings on abortion.

☆ ?

better to say

amendment to reverse the Roe v.

Wade decision.

Peter Gemma

considers

original

wording is

OK.

IV. The Record

o President Reagan is the first president to support a constitutional amendment to end abortion.

o The President has repeatedly expressed his support for legislation to restrict the practice of abortion and to submit a constitutional amendment to the states for ratification.

o The President signed legislation to help provide aid

for unwed mothers, reducing economic motivations for many abortions.

- o The President directed federal agencies to apply legal measures on behalf of severely handicapped newborn babies so that there are no recurrences of the Bloomington baby case, in which a severely handicapped baby was permitted to starve to death.
- o On September 8, 1982, the President urged members of the Senate to end a filibuster against legislation to ban abortion funding.

BUSING

I. The Problem

- o Intentional racial segregation in public schools prevents minority children from attaining equal educational opportunity. Americans justifiably abhor such practices, and want them eliminated.
- o At the same time, Americans want the remedies to school segregation to be consistent with the important principles of local control of schools and quality education for all children, regardless of race.

II. Past Approaches

Mandatory busing has become the most widespread approach to desegregation. It is also one of the most ineffective and harmful:

- o Priorities are wrong.
 - Concern of most mandatory busing remedies is not educational quality or even so much racial desegregation as it is the attainment of a numerical "racial balance."

-- Provided there is no intentional school segregation, the foremost goal of school system should be educating students, not shuffling them from school to school like tokens in a parlor game just to meet an arbitrary assignment quota.

o Parents oppose mandatory busing.

-- A 19__ survey by _____ showed that ____% of white parents and ____% of black parents opposed busing.

-- Parents in Los Angeles in 19__ voted to eliminate the mandatory busing scheme which had been imposed by the courts on their school system.

-- In 1979 black parents and school board members in Nashville, Tennessee urged that busing be scaled back to prevent closing of black inner-city schools.

o Mandatory busing does not effectively desegregate; whites move or leave the public school system.

-- In the Los Angeles schools, white enrollment dropped from 37% to 24% after busing had been in place for ____ years.

-- In Boston, white enrollment dropped from 57% to

35%; in Dayton, from 53% to 43%; in Denver, from 57% to 41%.

-- Similar histories in Cleveland, Atlanta, Memphis, Detroit, and others.

o Mandatory busing does not improve educational quality.

-- There is no statistically significant evidence that racial mixing by itself contributes to academic growth by black children.

* Recent Coleman Report-II supports this view.

-- Children bused for hours each day lose valuable study time and chance to participate in extra curricular activities.

-- In Los Angeles, educational scores declined for blacks overall in the first year of busing.

o Mandatory busing hurts inner-city schools.

-- The flight from urban schools has eroded the tax base in many cities, which has in turn made it more difficult to provide high-quality education to students, both white and black.

-- Loss of parental support and involvement has robbed many public school systems of a critical component in successful educational programs.

III. The President's Answer

- o President Reagan strongly supports the elimination of intentional segregation by race in the nation's public schools.
- o However, he rejects mandatory busing as a tool of desegregation.
- o He supports, instead, more effective voluntary alternatives to ending desegregation, such as magnet schools and voluntary incentive transfer plans.

IV. How It Works

- o Voluntary plans permit students to transfer to other schools in order to alleviate desegregation, while maintaining parental choice and local control.
- o Examples of alternatives:
 - Magnet schools are schools with special programs and curriculum designed to attract students of all races from throughout a school system.
 - Majority to minority transfer programs permit students of majority race at one school to transfer to schools where they will be in the minority.

- Open enrollment plans permit students to attend any school in the district they and their parents choose.

V. The Record

- o The Administration has strongly supported voluntary desegregation plans.
 - The Department of Justice proposed a metropolitan wide plan of voluntary busing for St. Louis, a key feature of which was the offering of free state public college attendance for students who transferred.
 - The Department proposed establishment of a desegregation plan for Caddo Parrish in Louisiana that included the establishment of magnet schools and voluntary majority to minority transfer.
- o Through the Emergency School Aid Act, the Administration in 1981 assisted 482 school districts and 800 projects in the elimination of desegregation.
 - As part of a block grant, this program allows significant local flexibility.
 - Voluntary desegregation through magnet schools is

a priority of the program.

SCHOOL PRAYER

I. The Problem

o Freedom of expression -- especially religious expression -- has deep roots in American heritage.
For two centuries, free exercise of religion, public prayer and acknowledgment of a Supreme Being have been an important part of American life.

-- American religious heritage:

- * America began as a refuge for those persecuted because of their religious beliefs.
- * Declaration of Independence recognizes that it is man's Creator which endows him with inalienable rights.
- * Pledge of Allegiance: "One nation, under God."
- * Coins and currency: "In God We Trust."
- * Supreme Court has observed, "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being."

-- Prayer is an especially important part of this

heritage:

- * Sessions of Congress and many State legislatures open with prayer.
 - * Military retains chaplains, chapels, hymn books.
 - * President, many governors and mayors hold annual prayer breakfasts.
 - * Each new session of Supreme Court opens with "God save the United States and this honorable Court."
- o Supreme Court's 1962 and 1963 rulings prohibited prayer in public schools on the premise that allowing prayer violated separation between church and state. Subsequent decisions have removed virtually all forms of voluntary worship from the nation's public schools.
- In one case, courts allowed the school principal to forbid kindergarten students from saying grace, even on their own initiative, before meals.
 - The Supreme Court approved a lower court decision barring students from participating, upon their own request and with their parents' consent, in a one-minute prayer meditation at the start of the

school day.

- Courts have also forbidden the accomodation of students' desires to join in prayer or religious study on school property even outside regular class hours.

o These decisions:

- Violate the intent of the framers of the First Amendment.
- Place a discriminatory burden on students in their exercise of religious beliefs.

- o As long as the government requires its citizens to attend school, the school should not be prohibited from accommodating those citizens' freedom to worship as they choose.

II. Past Approaches

Since the Supreme Court decisions in the early 1960s, no U.S. President has proposed a constitutional amendment to restore school prayer.

III. The President's Answer

- o President Reagan wants to restore Americans' right to

participate in voluntary school prayer. He believes that individuals should be allowed to decide for themselves whether to join in such prayers.

- o The President has proposed this ammendment: "Nothing in this constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No person shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer."

IV. How It Works

- o The amendment would allow the restoration of school prayer.
 - Under the proposed language the courts could not construe the First Amendment so as to ban individual or group prayer in public schools.
 - School authorities would be allowed to accommodate individual or group prayer at appropriate times, such as prior to class or before meals.
- o The amendment would not limit the types of prayers that would be constitutionally permissible.
 - The amendment is not limited to "non-denominational prayer."
 - Such a limitation might be construed by the courts to rule out virtually any prayer except when practically devoid of religious content.

- o The amendment would also protect the right not to pray.

- The amendment would prevent the establishment of a uniform national rule on the conduct of voluntary prayer; it would allow state and local authorities to decide these issues.

- The second sentence of the proposed amendment would assure that no one need pray against his will nor make a vow to religious beliefs he or she does not hold.

- o The key issue: Should the presence of one or more students, who do not wish to participate in prayer, be allowed to prevent the remainder of students from praying? The President does not believe it should. Thus, the President's amendment, while protecting the rights of those who do not wish to pray, would restore the freedom to pray to those who want to.

V. The Record

- o The President transmitted legislation proposing the School Prayer Amendment on May 17, 1982.

- o Congressional action:

-- The Senate held hearings on July 29, August 18,
and September 16 -- with a vote expected before
adjournment October 2.

*the
Congress
adjourning in
October.*

-- The House has not held hearings. The House
Judiciary Committee has conducted hearings on
similar proposals in previous sessions of
Congress, but is likely to await Senate action
before holding hearings on the President's
proposal.

TUITION TAX CREDITS

I. The Problem

o Quality and diversity of our educational system have become threatened.

-- Educational performance has declined.

* SAT verbal scores down from ____ in 1967 to ____ in 1980.

* SAT math scores down from ____ in 1967 to ____ in 1980.

-- Crime rates up in public schools.

-- Yet costs have continued to climb -- often beyond what inflation and enrollment levels would seem to justify.

o Result: growing numbers of Americans want a greater choice in education, but many -- middle-income Americans as well as low-income families -- cannot afford to make a choice.

-- Parents are faced with double burden of paying state and local taxes to support public schools

rising tuition payments for their children who attend private schools.

-- Those who desire alternatives to public education often have no real choice.

II. Past Approaches

No previous president has offered legislation to establish tuition tax credits.

III. The President's Answer

"The Educational Opportunity and Equity Act of 1982" would provide tuition tax credits to parents whose children attend private elementary and secondary schools.

o The credits.

-- Individual taxpayers could take a credit against their income taxes of 50% of the cost of tuition and fees for each child in non-public elementary and secondary schools up to a maximum amount established in the legislation.

-- As proposed, the maximum credit would be phased in over a three-year period, rising from \$100 in 1983, to \$300 in 1984, and ultimately to \$500 in

1985 (Senate bill: \$100; \$200; and \$300).

-- For taxpayers with adjusted gross incomes over \$50,000, the amount of credit would be proportionately reduced; for families with incomes of \$75,000 and above, the credit would not be available. (Senate bill: \$40,000 and \$50,000).

o Conditions for use of credits. Taxpayers could qualify for tuition tax credits only if the schools their children attend are:

-- Not-for-profit tax exempt institutions.

-- Provide a full-time elementary or secondary school program for eligible students.

-- Do not discriminate on the grounds of race or national origin.

IV. How It Works

o Promoting educational freedom of choice.

-- Tuition tax credits would help give parents the financial means to make a genuine choice in deciding what kind of education they wish to provide their children.

- * At present, many parents' choice is limited by the combination of high state and local tax payments (used to finance local public schools) and the similarly high costs of private tuition.
- * Thus, the typical low- or middle-income family may have no real option but to send its children to the local public school.
- * While many public schools provide high quality education, parents who are not satisfied should be able to send their children to schools elsewhere.
 - The ability to make this choice should be widely available, and not an option open solely to the wealthy.
 - A tuition tax credit would help expand this choice by permitting a working family to keep more of its income to devote to the education of its children.
- Tuition tax credits would provide the greatest benefit to those who need it most -- low- and middle-income families.
- * Fixed-dollar credit is of greater proportional value to someone with a relatively lower income.

* Lower- and middle-income families are proportionately the largest users of non-public schools, even with the financial constraints.

- In 1979, fully 54% of the students in private schools came from families with incomes below \$25,000.

- Indicates how much people are willing to sacrifice for children's education -- a strong reason to expect they would take advantage of a credit.

* Members of minority groups and the disadvantaged would also benefit significantly.

- A 1978-79 survey by the National Catholic Education Association, for instance, showed that 18.6% of the students in Catholic schools -- the nation's largest private school system -- were minority group members.

o Providing tax equity.

-- Low- and middle-income families who are able to send their children to private schools not only pay for the education of their own children, but

education of the children of other families,
including the wealthy.

-- In addition, public school students now receive
substantial financial benefits from federal
programs.

-

* Parents who choose public schools receive an
average of more than \$600 per pupil in direct
and indirect federal aid, a total of as much as
\$25 billion.

* By contrast, children who attend private schools
receive very little federal assistance.

-- Tax credits will reduce this unfairness.

- * Parents should receive some financial relief from, in effect, having to "pay twice" -- relief which the tax credits would provide.

- Parents who send their children to private schools relieve the public schools of the costs of educating their children, yet still pay property and other taxes to support these schools.

- o Restoring competition to our educational system.

- Competition important in education just as it is in providing quality goods and services at affordable prices.

- * If a school has little or no competition, it may lack the incentive to improve its educational quality since its students, as virtual "captives," have to attend the school regardless of its educational standards.

- * If, however, the students have additional options, the school would face the choice of either suffering an undesired drain on its enrollment to other institutions, or upgrading its standards in order to maintain its level of student attendance.

- This improvement in quality through competition

would provide the greatest help to those very poor families who could not afford, in any case, to send their children to other than the local public school.

o Protecting against discrimination.

-- The President's bill ensures that no credits will be permitted to taxpayers who enroll their children in schools that discriminate on the basis of race or national origin.

* Any school that wishes the parents of its students to be eligible for a tuition tax credit must file a statement with the Treasury Department each year attesting that it has not followed a racially discriminatory policy.

* The bill authorizes the Attorney General, upon complaint by a person who believes he has been discriminated against by a school, to bring a law suit against the school.

* If the federal court then finds the school discriminates, tax credits available to parents of those attending the school are automatically taken away for three years, retroactive to the year the discrimination suit was filed.

-- The bill also protects the legitimate interests of private schools.

* A school cannot be found racially discriminatory merely because it fails to pursue or achieve

racial quotas.

* A school is free not to file an annual non-discrimination statement if it does not wish the parents of its students to be eligible for tuition tax credits.

* The Attorney General cannot bring an action against a school until the school has had an opportunity to comment on allegations made against it.

* The Attorney General must give the school a chance to show that it has abandoned a racially discriminatory policy.

~~* Tax credits cannot be disallowed until all court appeals have been exhausted.~~

omit

o Safeguarding against additional federal interference.

education
-- In the past, federal aid to ~~schools~~ has all too frequently been used as a means of infringing, either directly or indirectly, on the operation of local schools in areas that should properly be of no concern to the federal government.

* These federal dictates have done little to improve the quality of education.

- * They have instead done a great deal to undermine local autonomy.

-- The President's legislation specifically precludes an increase in federal interference by affirming that the tax credits are provided as tax relief to individuals rather than as aid to institutions. As such, they are not to be construed as federal assistance to schools.

V. The Record

- o President Reagan submitted to Congress "The Educational Opportunity and Equity Act of 1982" on June 22, 1982.
- o Other legislation: