

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

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**Collection:** White House Office of Records Management:  
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**Series II:** Presidential Records

**Folder Title:** Folder 41 (05/26/1982-06/08/1982)

**Box:** 3

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*Last Updated: 06/18/2025*

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** PRESIDENTIAL HANDWRITING: Presidential Records **Archivist:** srj

**OA/Box:**

**FOIA ID:**

**File Folder:** Folder 41 (5/26/82-6/8/82) Box 4

**Date:** 1/02/01

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. letter	Pres. Reagan to Buckley. 1p.	6/1/82	P6/B6 R 3/4/19 <sup>5m</sup>
2. letter	same as above handwritten 1p.	<del>6/1/82</del> n.d.	P6/B6

### RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].  
P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].

P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].

P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].

P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].

B-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

June 1, 1982

Dear Bill:

It's remarkable how mail reaches you there on the Afghan front with no APO number -- native runners I presume is the answer.

I appreciate your sending me the advance on the column and your closing line. Such faith will be rewarded. Come to think of it it has -- an ambassadorship in gay, mad Kabul isn't chopped liver.

I read your column then grabbed the incoming National Review to read the Hadley Arkes article in its entirety. Bill, I'm a little confused. First of all his treatise reminded me of some of the diplomatic essays I'm forced to read. One comes away with a question as to whether the author's point has been clearly understood by the reader.

I think I've been spanked but I'm not sure I deserve it. According to my reading I've deserted basic beliefs and fundamental principles while I play around with things economic. But looking back on all that I've tried to stand for at a million banquets and rallies, sound economic policy has always ranked up there with all the so-called social issues. Right now there are some crackpots in the fiscal fireworks factory playing with matches. It doesn't make much difference if they are arsonists or d--n fools, they can do a lot of damage if they aren't stopped.

If this letter sounds a little like those diplomatic essays I mentioned, forgive me. I've just received word of Tip O'Neill's game-playing and how it wiped out our chance to get a reasonable budget. How does one get to be a dictator? I know why, now all I need is the how.

Love to Pat and Nancy sends hers to you both.

Sincerely,

WFB

The Honorable William F. Buckley, Jr.  
150 East 35th Street  
New York, New York 10016

RR/emu

5/11/84  
Dear Mr. President:

I enclose something you ought to see before it's published. No further comment at this point, besides which I am in a foxhole ducking Afghan bullets, which I venture are not all the bullets I'll be ducking after the enclosed appears. Pat sends love to everyone.

As ever,

*Bill*

The Hon. Ronald Reagan  
The White House

[SPECIAL NOTE TO EDITORS: NORMALLY WHEN I ALLUDE TO AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN NATIONAL REVIEW I EITHER OMIT MENTION OF THE MAGAZINE OR GIVE TO THE EDITORS HANDY ALTERNATIVE PASSAGES SHOULD MENTION OF THE MAGAZINE NOT BE DESIRED. IN THE COLUMN BELOW, FOR REASONS THAT ARE OBVIOUS, IT IS ADVISABLE TO MENTION THE SOURCE. REGARDS -- WFB]

#### ASKING MR. REAGAN THE BIG QUESTIONS

In the current issue of National Review, the journal most prominently associated with the rise of the Reagan movement in America, comes now a striking article called "A Lover's Lament for the Reagan Administration." It is written by Hadley Arkes, a young professor from Amherst serving as visiting professor at Georgetown. In between, he serves the Reagan political campaign, and the Reagan Administration, as a speechwriter. It is relevant in this particular context to point out that Mr. Arkes is Jewish.

Relevant because Mr. Arkes tells us that the conservative movement stands in great jeopardy because Mr. Reagan gradually elected, during the past year, virtually to single out for public attention not that which he <sup>actually</sup> believed as principles, for instance that abortion was wrong, that affirmative action was wrong, that discriminatory taxation was wrong -- but what he believed as fact. Namely how the economy would respond to this or that supply-side inducements. Imagine, moans Arkes, a situation in which the fate of the Reagan Administration, and to a certain extent of the Conservative movement will "turn on a decline in interest rates and the recovery of the economy" sometime between now and November. But that is a preposterous situation towards which we are now headed. "Not for <sup>no</sup> thing has it been said that Hitler received better advice from his astrologers than recent Presidents have received from their advisors on economics," Arkes comments.

It isn't that Arkes doesn't believe in the principles of supply-side. But its apostles, he points out, are talking about continent

TRUTHS, NOT ABOUT PRINCIPLES; AND A POLITICAL LEADER MUST DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THAT WHICH IS TRUE BECAUSE IT CAN BE PREDICTED TO BRING ON ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR, WHICH NO ONE CAN FORECAST WITH ABSOLUTE CERTAINTY; AND THAT WHICH IS TRUE IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER IT BRINGS ON IMMEDIATELY THE DESIRED RESULTS.

CONSIDER SEVERAL QUESTIONS, ARKES SAYS. SUPPOSE THAT OUR LEGISLATORS, IN YEARS GONE BY, HAD DECREED THAT AMERICANS SHOULD PAY A TAX OF 20 PER CENT, "EXCEPT FOR AMERICANS OF ORIENTAL EXTRACTION, WHO WILL PAY AT A RATE OF 50 PER CENT." IF AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT HAD COME TO POWER INSISTING ON THE PROPOSITION THAT "NO MORAL INFERENCE CAN BE MADE ABOUT A MAN MERELY FROM KNOWING HIS RACE," THEN THEREFORE NOT ONLY WOULD HE BE BOUND TO DISAVOW AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, HE WOULD BE BOUND TO DISAVOW HIGH TAXATION FOR ORIENTALS. AND IF IT HAPPENS THAT, LIBERATED FROM THEIR SPECIAL GUILT, RESULTING LOSSES IN REVENUE HAD THE EFFECT OF RAISING INTEREST RATES, THE CRITICS OF THE REFORM WOULD HAVE BEEN AWKWARDLY SITUATED TO CRITICIZE THE PRESIDENT. YET ONLY LAST WEEK WHEN THE QUESTION WAS ASKED OF MR. REAGAN WHAT WERE HIS VIEWS ON A TOP FLAT TAX RATE, HE TURNED THE QUESTION ASIDE, WITH A COMMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT HE HAD NOT GIVEN IT MUCH THOUGHT.

OR CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF ABORTION. "IF INFANTICIDE IS IN PRINCIPLE WRONG" -- AS RONALD REAGAN HAS SEVERAL TIMES AFFIRMED -- "IT WOULD BE WRONG EVEN IF IT COULD BE SHOWN THAT THE EFFORT TO REPRESS THE KILLING OF INFANTS WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF RAISING INTEREST RATES AND DEPRESSING THE ECONOMY."

*Insert "A"*

~~PROFESSOR ARKES~~ <sup>He</sup> APPLAUDS THE PRESIDENT'S INSISTANCE<sup>c</sup> ON REPAIRING OUR MILITARY INFERIORITY. BUT ARKES IS INDISPUTABLY RIGHT THAT THERE IS A SINGLE ISSUE ON WHICH MR. REAGAN'S FORTUNES NOW SEEM TO HANG. "ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S CLOSEST AIDES 'CONFIDED' RECENTLY IN AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. DAVID BRODER, THAT THE NEXT NINE MONTHS WOULD BE THE 'MAKE OR BREAK' TIME FOR THE ADMINISTRATION."

VIEW 3  
ARKES ESPECIALLY LAMENTS THE DILUTION OF MR. REAGAN'S OWN PROFOUNDLY-HELD SENTIMENT,<sup>S</sup>  
AND GIVES AN ILLUSTRATION. IN AN EARLY JOINT ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, MR. REAGAN ENDORSED THE  
ELIMINATION OF THE SPECIAL ASSISTANCE THAT WAS BEING FURNISHED TO WORKERS WHO LOST THEIR  
JOBS AS A RESULT OF COMPETITION WITH FOREIGN FIRMS. MR. REAGAN SINGLED OUT AN INEQUITY:  
THERE WAS NO SUCH PROVISION IN THE LAW TO HELP AMERICAN WORKERS WHO LOST THEIR JOBS AS THE  
RESULT OF DOMESTIC COMPETITION. "A SHORT WHILE LATER I WAS AT LUNCH WITH A FRIEND WHO WAS  
WORKING ON SPEECHES IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND I POINTED OUT THAT THIS PARTICULAR PASSAGE IN  
THE SPEECH WAS A REFLECTION OF REAGAN IN HIS TRUEST VOICE: IT WAS REAGAN, ONCE AGAIN,  
POINTING OUT THE PARTS OF OUR LAWS THAT HAD NO PRINCIPLED FOUNDATION." WHO, ARKES ASKED  
THE INSIDER, HAD ACTUALLY COMPOSED THAT PASSAGE? "HE REPLIED THAT (IT WAS) THE PRESIDENT  
HIMSELF."

ARKES IS RIGHT ON SEVERAL COUNTS. THE FUTURE CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO REST ON THE  
RELATIVE EMPIRICAL ACCURACY OF DIFFERENT SETS OF SOCIAL STATISTICIANS. MR. REAGAN NEEDS TO  
COMMUNE WITH -- HIMSELF.

Insert "A"

Professor Arkes gratefully acknowledges that Mr. Reagan has asked the Congress not to fund tortured demands by the judiciary to distribute the public school population.



End  
Case  
File

June 1, 1982

Dear George:

This is belated but nonetheless sincere.  
Thank you very much for your help with  
regard to my oratorical efforts in Europe.  
It was darned kind of you, what with all  
that you have to come up with each week.

But not only did you graciously do it, you  
provided me with excellent material which  
will turn up in more than one speech. Some  
of the "speech by committee" efforts have  
to be used to meet diplomatic requirements,  
so I can't (I regret to say) stick com-  
pletely to your script in the one speech.  
But since there are several, I hope you  
won't mind my using it as source material  
for all of them.

Again, my heartfelt thanks. Nancy sends  
her love.

Sincerely,

Mr. George F. Will  
4 West Melrose Street  
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

RR:rs--

082597  
SP629

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: *Quinn*

DATE: *6-1*

*Please make me a  
copy & mail*

*Thanks*

FROM: Kathy Osborne  
Personal Secretary  
to the President

*K*

Ext. 2858

~~George F. Will~~

To George F. Will 4 West Melrose St.

Cherry Chase Maryland 20015

Dear George

This is belated but none the less sincere. Thank you very much for your help with regard to my editorial efforts in Europe. It was damned kind of you what with all that you have to come up with each week. ~~Not~~

But not only did you graciously do it, you provided me with excellent material which will turn up in more than one speech. Some of the "speech by committee" efforts have to be used to meet diplomatic requirements so I can't (I regret to say) stick completely to your script in the one speech. But since there are several, I hope you won't mind my using it as source material for all of them.

Again my heartfelt thanks. Nancy sends her love. ~~My love to you and your family~~

Sincerely Ron

Show this to Mike D. D'd like his  
O.K. RR

MR. PRESIDENT :

MIKE HAS OK'D THIS.

DICK LARMAN

GEORGE F. WILL

4 West Melrose St.  
Cherry Chase Maryland 20015

18 May, 1982

Dear Mr. President:

I disregarded the State Department draft of your speech. It called to mind the old axiom: A camel is a horse designed by a committee. It reflected the State Department, where everyone has interests and no one has ideas.

That draft lacked a sense of this great occasion offered to you. Why talk about Costa Rica in the House of Commons? Why deliver that banal catchism on page nine of the State draft? ("Is democracy incompatible with economic growth and greater equality for all? Is the pursuit of democracy so volatile that it could hinder the search for peace?")

I have included, but abbreviated, references to the new initiative to study and foster democracy.

The initiative is, I think, a dubious idea, for three reasons. First, another study of democracy will invite derision. Second, involving the Democratic National Committee is asking for trouble. Third, involving the press will ignite a destructive debate about compromising journalistic independence.

Whether to proceed with the initiative is, of course, your decision. But I urge you to consider not announcing it in this speech.

Such an announcement will control the editorial judgments of newspapers and networks. As a result, the real message of the speech may be lost. Lincoln had no new government initiative to announce when he dedicated the cemetery at Gettysburg.

Sincerely,



The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Enclosure

End  
Case  
File

MEMORANDUM

065315 SS  
DI 002

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

June 3, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK DARMAN

FROM: BILL CLARK

SUBJECT: Mitigating the Effects of Mt. Saint Helens

Cap Weinberger has written the President (Tab A) reporting that the actions he directed in his memo of May 18 have been set in motion.

Cap reports that the study is underway, that it will be completed by November 1983, and that the necessary funds are being reprogrammed.

## Attachments

Tab A Incoming memorandum from Cap Weinberger  
Tab B President's May 18 memo to SecDef



## THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

RECEIVED WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

3685

02 MAY 26 P 3: 43

24 MAY 1982

*ok*

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Your memorandum of May 18, 1982 concerning Mount St. Helens has been received. I have been in touch with Army Secretary Marsh and Assistant Secretary for Civil Works Gianelli, and I assure you they are moving ahead to carry out your directions. The comprehensive plan you requested to manage the long-term threat caused by the eruption of Mount St. Helens will be completed and transmitted to you by November 15, 1983, in accordance with the conclusions and recommendations of the group that met with Jim Jenkins.

The actions you have directed to be taken, marking the second anniversary of the May 18, 1980 eruption of Mount St. Helens, will reassure the residents of the affected area that the Government is committed to finding a solution to the long-term threat caused by the eruption, and that it will continue to respond promptly to any emergency which threatens life and property.

As you know, the Corps of Engineers has spent about \$250,000,000 since the eruption on various emergency actions related to flood control and navigation.

The Office of Management and Budget has given approval to the Department of the Army to inform Congress of our proposal to reprogram, within available Fiscal Year 1982 funds and budgeted Fiscal Year 1983 funds, a sufficient amount to permit completion of the comprehensive plan within the 18-month period you established.

You have my assurance that responsible officials of the Department of the Army will give their highest priority to formulation of the comprehensive plan you have requested.

*Sup*



End  
Case  
File

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE  
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

June 7, 1982

065303SS  
FI 004

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD DARMAN

FROM: ERIC HEMEL EH

Subject: Comparisons between the Kennedy and Reagan Programs

The President should not rely on Paul Mannheim's letter to Senator Kennedy (attached) for comparisons between the Kennedy and Reagan budget and tax programs. The statistics that Mannheim cites are incomplete and inaccurate.

Budget Comparisons

For budget comparisons, the following are correct statements:

"Social Services -- JFK devoted 29 percent of his budget in 1963 to social services. Reagan proposes to spend 51 percent of his 1983 budget."

"National Defense -- JFK devoted 45 percent of his budget to National Defense. Reagan proposes to spend 29 percent."

The concept of "social services" is inherently ambiguous, and there is no single definition of the term. The figures above reflect one reasonable and readily available definition -- the sum of Federal spending on the budget functions for: education, training, employment, welfare services, health, income security (including social security); and veterans benefits and services. The defense figures are straightforward since there is a separate budget function for defense. The separation of the social security and other trust funds from the budget in the Kennedy years presents no problems for making these comparisons, since OMB has revised the historical figures to make them consistent with the current consolidated budget.

Tax Comparisons

CEA staff simply cannot determine how Mannheim arrived at his conclusion that Kennedy directed 29 percent of his total tax cut to corporations, compared to Reagan's 22 percent. A correct comparison would show that 31 percent of the tax cuts of 1962 and 1964 combined went to corporations, while 1984 only 19 percent of the Reagan tax cuts will accrue to corporations.

Mannheim's final point -- that the share of tax cuts going to the top five tax brackets was higher under Kennedy than under Reagan -- is both false and misleading. The share of any tax cut going to a given number of brackets conveys information which is meaningless. Tax brackets associated with particular marginal tax rates have changed significantly over the last several decades, and do not correspond to any fixed position in the distribution of income. Furthermore, CEA staff has determined that at most 6 percent of the Kennedy tax cut could have accrued to taxpayers in the top five brackets, nowhere near the 29 percent that Mannheim uses. Unfortunately, the correct comparisons would not prove politically flattering to the Reagan tax program, since the 1981 tax cut reduced rates proportionately and across the board, whereas the 1964 tax cut was progressive and tilted towards the lower end of the income spectrum.

PAUL E. MANHEIM  
660 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

May 17, 1982

Senator Edward M. Kennedy  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I have been most interested in your comments about President Reagan's proposed budget which points up the great contrast between your brother's social philosophy when he was President and that of Reagan.

As you remember, your brother faced similar problems of allocating spending between social services and national defense, and it is enlightening to see the emphasis placed by each President. The magnitude of their budgets is of course different (\$100 billion then versus \$750 billion now), but it is the percentage of the budget that reflects their priorities. Thus:

Social Services

JFK devoted 25% of his budget to Social Services.  
Reagan proposes to spend 53%.

National Defense

JFK devoted 48% of his budget to National Defense.  
Reagan proposes to spend 26%.

\* \* \* \* \*

Both Presidents advocated and effected a reduction of tax rates to stimulate the economy---the prerequisite to full employment. It is interesting to see how each fashioned these reductions:

To Corporations

JFK directed 29% of his total tax cut to Corporations.  
Reagan 22%.

To Individuals

Of the rate reduction for individuals, the share going to the top 5 income brackets:  
JFK 29%  
Reagan 23%

I recognize it is unlikely that JFK's approach can be fully restored, but his success in reviving the economy prompts the hope you can get your liberal-minded colleagues in the Senate and the House to move closer to JFK's social philosophy than their present position.

This need not inhibit your criticism of Reagan's proposals. You can still criticize him--if not for inadequate spending for Social Services, then for excessive such spending. And certainly for spending only half as much for national defense as JFK did.

I look forward to reading more of your comments.

Sincerely,



Paul E. Manheim



RONALD REAGAN

HUMAN RESOURCES.

53% - OUR BUD. - 12% - GNP.

GOES - HUMAN RESOURCES.

J.F.K. - 25% - BUD. - 5% - GNP.

DEFENSE

LESS - 30% - OUR BUD. - 6% - GNP.

J.F.K. 48% - 62 BUD. - 9% - GNP.

CASE  
FILE

WHORM: Presidential Handwriting File

FILE TRANSFER  
BY THE REAGAN LIBRARY STAFF

*Political Affairs (QPL)*

Previously filed: *June 1982*

*Presidential Records*

New file location: *Folder 26*

Date of transfer: *MJP 10/7/88*



083459  
PR003

June 11, 1982

Dear Jus:

Just a line in response to your good letter of May 20th which I carried to Europe with me. In fact, I'm dictating this reply on Air Force I somewhere over the Atlantic -- homeward bound.

We didn't get to see the Prices, but had some time with the Louis'. This has been a hard and tiring trip, but I believe a most successful one.

It didn't hurt last night to get word our budget had finally passed the House.

Nancy sends her love, and from both of us to Punky.

Regards,

Ron

Mr. Justin Dart  
8480 Beverly Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90048

820611

## JUSTIN DART

May 20, 1982  
London

Dear Nancy and Ron:

We are in London now but we are leaving the end of this month so will not be here when you arrive.

We spent a weekend with the Prices in Brussels. Certainly looks to me that he is doing a fine job. We have already seen the Louis', but we are going to Winfield House for dinner with them on Sunday evening. I don't think you could have picked a more intelligent, gracious or attractive couple for the Court of St. James.

Will never forget the nice time we had at X Culross when Ron was Governor. I also remember with great appreciation your taking me with you for your private visit with Margaret Thatcher. In my judgment she is a gallant lady doing a gutsy job. I wish we could get in and give them active help in the Falklands, but am well aware that the American people would not back such a move. They haven't forgotten VietNam.

Am terribly disappointed to see that the Congress will not back you on the reduction of indexing, including social security and pensions. This must be done to start the trend in the right direction to reduce expenses dramatically.

I hope in your radio and TV chats you will keep reminding the American people that we cannot go on indefinitely spending more than we take in, and that the heavy weight of over-spending will damage the poor much more than the rich. Please put the blame on the Congress of the United States as an offset to the refrain that Reagonomics doesn't work.

We are sorry indeed to miss your speech in Los Angeles next week but unfortunately we can't get back in time. We have, of course, given the maximum in money and that's what counts.

Punky joins me in sending our love to you both,

*JD*

The President and Mrs. Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

To Mr. Justin Dart

Dear Jus

Just a line in response to your good letter of May 20<sup>th</sup> which I carried to Europe with me. In fact I'm dictating this reply on airforce 1 somewhere over the Atlantic - ~~home~~ homebound bound.

We didn't get to see the Pines but had some time with the Louie's. This has been a hard & tiring trip but I believe a most successful one.

It didn't hurt last night to get word our budget had finally passed the House.

Nancy sends her love & from both of us to Penny.

Ryardo Rom

End  
Case  
File

083422  
PR014-05

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1982

Dear Mrs. Billings:

Please forgive me for being so late in replying to your letter of late April, but it only reached my desk several days ago, so I've brought it with me on the trip to Europe.

I assure you, my remark which you quoted from the New York Times was in no way intended to make women a scapegoat for our unemployment situation. Nor was it in any way a criticism of women for being in the work force where they have every right to be.

My intent was to point out that unlike the great depression of the '30's, unemployment will not just go away when the wheels of industry start turning again. Our society is faced with creating more jobs than perhaps we are aware of. Recession alone is not responsible for unemployment.

With our 9½% unemployment rate, we still have a higher percentage of working age men and women employed than has ever been true before. Granted, some of this may be due to wives forced to work because of the high cost of living. If so, better times might result in their leaving the work force. But we both know that the composition of the work force has changed because of the great growth of service industries as compared to manufacturing. Career women in the work force in such numbers is fairly recent, and I'm sure is a permanent change.

820611

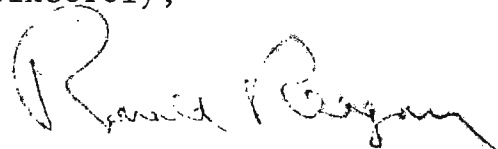
Believe me, I have no quarrel with that and, if you'll allow me to get in a plug for myself, we are recruiting women in our administration at a faster rate than has ever been done by government before.

Roughly 58% of all the working age people in America are presently employed. If you add the 9.5% unemployed, this means 67.5% of working age Americans are in the labor pool. This is far and away a greater percentage than was true only a few years ago. It is a challenge we must meet, and I'm sure we can.

You might be interested to know there were a million more people in the work force in May than in April. Of that number 800,000 found jobs, and 200,000 became part of the unemployed. Believe it or not, those figures resulted in an increase of unemployment from 9.3% to 9.5%.

Statistics can be confusing, but unemployment is more than statistics; it has to do with people -- men and women. I'll do my best to see they have an equal opportunity in the job market.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ronald Reagan". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "R" and a long, sweeping underline.

Ms. Peggy Billings  
Assistant General Secretary  
General Board of Global Ministries  
The United Methodist Church  
475 Riverside Drive  
New York, New York 10115

Dear Mr. Bellings

I'm terribly late in replying to your letter of late April. Please forgive me but it has only just reached my desk. I'm taking it with me on the trip to Europe.

I assure you my remark which you quoted from the N.Y. Times was in no way intended to make women a scapegoat for our unemployment situation. Nor was it in any way a criticism of women for being in the work force where they have every right to be.

My intent was to point out that unlike the great depression of the '30's unemployment will not just go away when the wheels of industry start turning again. Our society is faced with creating more jobs than perhaps we are aware of. Recession alone is not responsible for <sup>unemployment</sup>

With our  $9\frac{1}{2}\%$  unemployment rate we ~~will~~ have a higher percentage of ~~the~~ working age ~~men & women~~ <sup>people</sup> employed than has ever been true before. ~~Indeed~~ ~~It is a sad~~ ~~fact~~. Granted some of this may be due to wives forced to work because of the high cost of living. If so

2

better times might result in their leaving the work force. But we both know that the composition of the work force has changed because of the great growth of service industries as compared to manufacturing. ~~the~~ Career women in the work force <sup>in such</sup> is fairly recent and I'm sure ~~that~~ is a permanent change.

Believe me I have no quarrel with that and if you'll allow me to get in a plug for myself; we are recruiting ~~women~~ women in our admin at a faster rate ~~than any former admin.~~ <sup>EVER</sup> than has been done by govt. before.

Roughly 58% of all the working age people in America are presently employed. If you add the 9.5% unemployed this means 67.5% of working age Americans are in the labor force. This is far & away a greater percentage than was true only a few years ago. It is a challenge we must meet & I'm sure we can.

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Believe it or not those figures resulted in an increase of unemployment from 9.3% to 9.5%.



Statistics can be confusing but <sup>3</sup>  
unemployment is more than statistics, it  
has to do with people — men & women.  
I'll do my best to see they have an  
equal opportunity in the job market.

Sincerely

RR

End  
case  
File

433982CU  
JL 001

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1982

*Thanks  
BB*

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING *[Signature]*  
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Wayne Cryts

I am responding to your inquiry concerning the possibility of a pardon for Wayne Cryts, the Missouri farmer who broke into a sealed storage elevator to reclaim soybeans that had been impounded by a federal bankruptcy judge. Although Cryts owned the soybeans, he was prevented from legally removing them because the storage facility was the subject of a bankruptcy proceeding. Cryts, who has become something of a folk hero, was assisted by approximately two thousand farmers from across the country.

You should know that Cryts was not jailed for taking back his soybeans; rather, the court put him in prison for civil contempt for refusing to testify in the bankruptcy proceeding after having been granted immunity. Specifically, Cryts refused to provide the names of those who helped him reclaim the soybeans. He was found in contempt of court and incarcerated solely for refusing to testify -- not for removing the soybeans.

Subsequent to your inquiry, the bankruptcy judge released Mr. Cryts from jail, thus rendering the issue of a pardon "moot". The judge's action came after the Department of Justice denied that court's application for grants of immunity for Cryts' wife and son, and upon the realization that the continued incarceration of Cryts was unlikely to produce the desired testimony.

Had the court not taken that action, I probably would have recommended against a pardon because the power to grant pardons for civil contempt in proceedings such as this is not clear. At least two federal courts have suggested that

the pardon powers do not extend to civil contempt. Moreover, as a matter of policy, it is my view that it would be inappropriate to exercise clemency powers in a civil contempt proceeding. Such action would be interpreted as interference with the administration of justice by preventing a court from enforcing its own orders.

With respect to the underlying problem -- grain elevator bankruptcies -- Secretary Block has expressed Administration support for proposed legislation amending the federal bankruptcy laws to help alleviate the problems now encountered by farmers who have commodities stored in facilities subject to bankruptcy proceedings.

Please let me know if you wish any additional information.

MAY 22-25 1982

PRESIDENTIAL LOG OF SELECTED HOUSE MAIL

MEMBER

SUBJECT

COMMENTS

PAUL SIMON

EXPRESSES CONCERN ON BEHALF OF WAYNE CRYTS,  
THE MISSOURI FARMER NOW IN JAIL FOR  
ATTEMPTING TO RECOVER HIS SOYBEANS FROM A  
BANKRUPT GRAIN ELEVATOR. URGES YOU TO SECURE  
THE PARDON AND RELEASE OF MR. CRYTS "BOTH  
IN SUPPORT OF HIS INDIVIDUAL COURAGE AND  
IN SUPPORT OF THE SERIOUS PLIGHT OF FARMERS  
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY"

*I've asked about  
this & not heard as  
I'd like to know  
situation because  
is as it appears I  
to pardon him.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1982

MR. PRESIDENT:

Per your request, attached  
is information on Wayne  
Cryts.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Rich", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Richard G. Darman

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/1/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/4/82

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL NOTE ON CONGRESSIONAL MAIL LOG FOR WEEK OF MAY 22-25

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JAMES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input type="checkbox"/> SS	WILLIAMSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DOLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WEIDENBAUM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
* FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Please coordinate response to the President's question re Wayne Cryts -- see attached note -- by June 4, Friday.

Thank you.

\* per Bill Hauser, Cryts is now out of jail -- Hauser will send a memo of explanation for the P next week. 6/4

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
(x2702)

Response:

End  
Case  
File



The President has seen \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1982

*I hope we're right*  
*RL*  
065365SS  
FG026

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER *CS*  
SUBJECT: National Institute of Education

Early this month, you received a proposal from Ed Curran, the Director of the National Institute of Education (NIE) indicating that it was his view that NIE should be abolished. As part of the process of reviewing the proposal before forwarding it to you, my office asked for comments from the Office of Management and Budget and the Department of Education.

The views of OMB are attached. They correctly indicate that this issue had been previously considered during last year's budget review process. They also indicate that the Secretary of Education believes that the NIE function should be retained even in a reorganized Education Foundation that replaces the Department of Education.

Secretary Bell called me with his views and indicated that he had received a copy of the NIE proposal only after it had been sent to you. He objected to the proposal being acted on since the issue, in his view, had already been determined when it was decided to retain the NIE function in the administration's plan for a dismantled Department of Education. After receiving the proposal from internal sources at Education, Secretary Bell took steps to encourage Ed Curran to resign on the theory that Ed Curran was seriously at odds with administration policy in this area. Ed Curran did resign last week.

I have attached the letter from NIE and OMB's comments. This matter will be reviewed by OMB during the budget review process. Unless you wish to handle this differently, no further action is necessary.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION  
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20208

May 26, 1982

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Ever since you appointed me to head this agency, I have been determined to work for the goals affirmed by your election. After seven months here, I have concluded that the best way to advance those goals is to abolish the agency, as was proposed by your Office of Management and Budget and Domestic Council staffs last December. I make this proposal for the following reasons:

1. Research on education would continue without Federal funding through the thousands of university departments, private foundations, scholarly journals, and other institutions which flourished before NIE was born. In fact, I would submit, the most daring and interesting studies of American education have been pioneered outside the government-funded research establishment.
2. NIE is based on the premise that education is a science, whose progress depends on systematic "research and development." As a professional educator, I know that this premise is false.

Education does not begin to have the conceptual rigor and compelling explanatory power of a genuine science. Its most fundamental questions are inescapably value-laden, and I would assert that federal agencies should not be in the business of formulating values.

America's schools are in sad shape not because we don't know how to make them effective, but because we lack the will to apply what we already know. Effective schools are actually harder to sustain today than they were a generation ago. One reason is that federal agencies like NIE have mobilized an army of outside "experts" with a license to tinker but with no responsibility for results.

3. This agency wastes money. As Donald Lambro observed in his book Fat City, NIE "is still throwing its money into vague, often esoteric research and experimental education projects which have nothing whatsoever to do with the everyday reality of educating our children." Taxpayers simply do not need a \$99,000 survey on professors' political attitudes, or a \$37,000

study of New York City School Board elections--especially not in today's climate of budgetary restraint.

Obviously, I intend to use my authority as Director to eliminate wasteful projects wherever I can. At present, however, more than half of NIE's budget lies outside my direct control and in the hands of seventeen "labs and centers" located in various sections of the country. These institutions are curious hybrids of the public and private sectors which in many ways combine the worst of both worlds: they are shielded not only from free-market competition, but also from accountability to elected officials. Their lobbying has succeeded to the point where Congress treats them like so many dams and bridges--public-works projects which receive favored treatment in Washington as long as they provide employment back home. Just last month the Senate Appropriations Committee voted to continue such favored treatment.

4. All government agencies are subject to political pressures, but the pressures on NIE seem to work overwhelmingly in only one direction: toward the left.

Under President Carter, NIE produced and marketed a television series explicitly designed to change children's values about traditional sex roles. NIE's studies on desegregation have historically been heavily tilted toward the pro-busing and pro-reverse discrimination camp, both in the choice of scholars to subsidize and in the conclusions those scholars have reached. Even some nine months after your Inauguration, the agency hosted a seminar on tuition tax credits in which the overwhelming majority of the invited lecturers were anti-tax credit.

I have taken only some of the steps needed to restore balance, but I have already been publicly accused of trying to turn the agency into a conservative propaganda mill. My successor, if there is one, will know from the day he arrives that the easiest way to pacify the Washington-based interest groups is to encourage, or at least tolerate, the ideological agenda which flourished under President Carter.

In the long run, the public interest will be better served if the Federal Government simply drops NIE's mission and concentrates on the neutral collection of factual and statistical data on education. The interest groups would lose, but the values of pluralism, democracy, and freedom would all gain.

If you would care to discuss any of these issues at greater length, I would be honored to do so.

Sincerely,

  
Edward A. Curran



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JUN 4 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Craig Fuller  
FROM: Ken Clarkson  
SUBJECT: Abolition of NIE

Enclosed you will find a one and one-half page briefing on the recommended abolition of the National Institute of Education. OMB is generally sympathetic with Curran's view and plans to carefully examine NIE in its FY 1984 budget review.

attachment

National Institute of Education (NIE)  
Briefing Material

Status of NIE

- NIE was created in 1972 by congressional action, with an initial appropriation of \$143 million.
- Current funding for NIE in 1982: \$53.4 million, down from \$65.4 million in 1981.
- NIE employs approximately 300 people, many of whom are researchers appointed by the Director for renewable three year contracts, and are outside the regular civil service.
- NIE is organized into three major program areas:
  - ° Teaching and Learning (focuses on problems of literacy and basic skills);
  - ° Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (helps teachers, schools and administrators obtain and use knowledge about education);
  - ° Educational Policy and Organization (examines issues of educational finance, law, governance, organization and management).

NIE Research Activities

NIE legislation severely constrains the Director of NIE through the following provisions:

- requires 90% of any appropriation to be spent on grants and contracts;
- requires the funding of institutional arrangements with regional educational laboratories and research and development centers (the labs and centers);
- requires the funding of the National Assessment of Educational Progress;
- establishes the following research priorities:
  - ° improving basic skills achievement;
  - ° overcoming problems of school finance and management;
  - ° encouraging equal opportunity;
  - ° preparing youth and adults for work;
  - ° overcoming the problems of non-traditional students;
  - ° encouraging foreign language study;
  - ° dissemination of results.

NIE has completed several congressionally mandated studies:

- a study of the effectiveness and operation of Title I ESEA used extensively in the 1978 reauthorization of Title I;

- a study of violence and vandalism in schools and what to do about it (completed in 1979);
- a study, completed in 1981, of the implementation of the 1976 Vocational Education Act which has already been the subject of congressional hearings;
- a study of school finance due to be completed in 1983.

After a shaky start, NIE has produced a number of materials used by education practitioners and administrators.

- The first major study of rural education policy; the resulting book is now being sold commercially.
- A series of publications making research findings useful to classroom teachers, including one on reading instruction distributed by the International Reading Association to its 70,000 members.
- NIE supported communications satellite systems are used in Alaska and Appalachia to deliver educational services to 500,000 people in isolated rural areas.
- Findings from NIE research on effective schools are being incorporated into school improvements programs in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, California and New York City.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dick Darman:

For you to see before I show  
to the President.

Craig Fuller —  
Pls. prepare approx.  
cover note

Kathy Osborne  
6-1-82

for RR before  
I send this in.  
Thans  
DD



**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 6/1/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/4/82SUBJECT: LETTER FROM EDWARD CURRAN OF MAY 26 RE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JAMES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input type="checkbox"/> SS	WILLIAMSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DOLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WEIDENBAUM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Please prepare appropriate cover note for the President before I send this in. Thanks.

*6/11 Curran fired. CCF will respond tomorrow. \**

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
(x2702)

Response:

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 4, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ED MEESE

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER

SUBJECT: Abolition of NIE

I have discussed this matter with Secretary Bell by phone and know how concerned he is about the fact that Ed Curran's letter was sent to the White House. I indicated, however, that the system had worked in this case since I had asked for Education's views before sending the letter forward to the President.

I also asked for OMB's views which are attached. I thought you would find them interesting. I will tell Curran and indicated to Bell that this is an issue which must logically fall into the Fall Review Process.

National Institute of Education (NIE)  
Briefing Material

I. Curran Letter

NIE Director Edward Curran has recommended that NIE be abolished for the following reasons:

- NIE is not essential to the continuation of quality educational research in America.
- The Federal Government should not be in the business of investigating the "inescapably value-laden" questions about how to improve education.
- NIE wastes money on projects that have nothing to do with educating children and much of NIE funds are tied up in long-term institutional arrangements outside the control of the Director.
- The substantial political pressures on NIE seem to work to push the agency only to the left.

For these reasons, Curran recommends that the Federal Government get out of educational research and concentrate its efforts only on "the neutral collection of factual and statistical information."

II. Response to Curran

- The FY 1984 budget review is the best time to settle this issue since:
  - ° we have already considered and rejected abolishing NIE in the 1983 budget;
  - ° Secretary Bell feels strongly that the promotion and conduct of educational research is an appropriate Federal role;
  - ° the new Administration appointees to the National Commission on Educational Research (which has a statutory role in developing NIE research policy) should be given an opportunity to provide views on the subject.
- The issue raised by Curran of enhancing the NIE Director's control of the NIE budget is a substantial one that must be resolved.
  - ° The problem results from the multi-year institutional arrangements with the labs and centers that account for \$28 million of the NIE annual budget.
  - ° 15 of the 17 existing arrangements with labs and centers will end in October 1984; the remaining two in 1985.

- ° Curran tried (apparently unsuccessfully) to end the arrangements in December 1983.
  - ° Because of widespread political support for the labs and centers, NIE must proceed now to develop and implement an acceptable plan to abolish or alter substantially these institutional arrangements.
- To the extent that the problems cited by Curran are inherent in the NIE organization, structure and operating procedures, the Secretary of Education has the authority to reorganize and restructure the agency.

Attached is additional information on NIE activities.

End  
case  
Fil