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Last Updated: 07/21/2025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

31594155
MA

Mr. President:

There is no need to answer Mr. Quaal's attached letter. Tom Gibson in Al Kingon's office contacted Ward Quaal by phone (per my request) to tell him that you are aware of his recommendation and that it looks pretty good for his friend Mr. McKinney to receive this award. He indicated he would keep in touch with Mr. Quaal and he seemed happy and satisfied with this.

This is just for your information in case he mentions it again in future correspondence.

Kathy

Jun 85

The Ward L. Duval Company

401 North Michigan Avenue

Suite 3140

Chicago, Illinois 60611

Ward L. Duval
President

June 11, 1985

No Reply
RR

Telephone
312/644-6066

The Honorable Kathy Osborne
Personal Secretary to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Kathy:

Enclosed herewith is my communication to our great President regarding the nomination, by Chairman Mark Fowler of the Federal Communications Commission, of James C. McKinney for the Presidential Rank Award of Distinguished Executives.

Kathy, I wanted you to have a copy of the material which Chairman Fowler directed to Ms. Mary M. Rose at the Office of Personnel Management. Needless to say, I did not want to incorporate that in my comments to President Reagan.

Also, Kathy, if there is anyone in government to whom I should talk regarding this matter, I am prepared to do so because Mr. McKinney so richly merits this great Presidential honor. I admire him so much, I just felt impelled to comment about him to President Reagan.

Kathy, I will be so grateful if you will place my communication regarding this fine American before President Reagan. Needless to say, I hope the President will feel as I do about Mr. McKinney and will give him every consideration.

The Honorable Kathy Osborne
June 11, 1985
Page 2

Warmest wishes and thank you so very much, dear friend.

Very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ward", written in dark ink.

Ward L. Quaal

WLQ:cacz

Enclosures:

The Ward L. Duval Company

401 North Michigan Avenue

Suite 3140

Chicago, Illinois 60611

Ward L. Duval

President

Telephone

312/644-6066

June 11, 1985

The President of the United States
The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20505

Re: Presidential Rank Award of
Distinguished Executives

My dear Mr. President:

In prior communications and in conversations I have stressed to you my great respect for and my admiration of Mark S. Fowler, by far the finest Chairman in the history of the Federal Communications Commission.

Several times within the past year I have remarked to Chairman Fowler my very especial respect for James C. McKinney, Chief of the FCC Mass Media Bureau (a unit formerly called the Broadcast Bureau).

Mr. President, each time I am with Jim McKinney in industry-wide matters in which he is taking an active part I am impressed so very much by his great knowledge of all that is before him, his keen insight to problem areas and his seven day, seven night a week schedule, for he is determined to carry forth one hundred and one percent your wishes, Mr. President, that we have before us at the Federal Communications Commission and all areas of government a more productive, better managed, more responsive federal work force.

Los Angeles, California 213/277-9399 714/493-3316

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
June 11, 1985
Page 2

Frequently, I have said to you, Mr. President, that there is no one in government who has acted with more dispatch, more dedication and more imagination than Mark Fowler in carrying out your program for government deregulation and the establishment of a more firm position for the "marketplace." Obviously, to get this job done and to have it as an ongoing, constant hallmark of all that happens at the Federal Communications Commission, Chairman Fowler needs leadership on his fine Staff. In every respect he has it in James C. McKinney.

Each time I am with Jim McKinney I shake my head in wonderment over this fine man and his love for his work, his profound sense of responsibility for doing that which is "right" for this land of ours which he loves so very much. Mr. President, I am profoundly proud as an American that we can have a man such as Jim McKinney in our midst in such a key role of government service. He is a model for everyone, not just at the Federal Communications Commission but in government, in general.

Chairman Fowler has nominated Jim McKinney for the Presidential Rank Award of Distinguished Executives. Detailed information has been supplied to Ms. Mary M. Rose of the Office of Personnel Management.

I am passing along to Kathy all the details which were submitted by Mark Fowler to Ms. Rose.

Mr. President, as I have told you in our discussions regarding the Federal Communications Commission, I have known every Chairman of the FCC since the Communications Act of 1934 became law. Concurrently, I have known all key staff members and in all these years I have never met anyone on the Staff who comes remotely close to James C. McKinney.

Mr. President, for so many reasons, all too numerous to set forth here, I write to you today to support Chairman Fowler in his nomination of Mr. McKinney. In so doing, I am suggesting, very respectfully, Mr. President, your consideration of a man who has given government service an entirely new emphasis upon dignity, total objectivity, productivity and performance in the interest of the people of America. Most important of all, Mr. President, Jim McKinney is a truly great American!

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
June 11, 1985
Page 3

Please know, Mr. President, of my very especial gratitude for any consideration you give these comments of a longtime friend and a veteran of more than fifty years in the broadcasting profession.

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

Very respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Ward L. Quaal', with a horizontal line extending from the end of the signature.

Ward L. Quaal

WLQ:cacz

323421
TR 601

June 11, 1985

Dear Armand:

Thanks very much for your letter and the tape on Ford's Theatre. I'm writing before we've actually seen it but we're both looking forward to seeing it in the next few days. You were very kind and I'm most grateful.

Fred Ryan, who is in charge of scheduling, has found a brief -- very brief, I'm sorry to say slot at 4:00 p.m. June 24. If that's convenient for you he'll set it up. If not, we'll find a later date, but the schedule is filled so far ahead, that this was the earliest we could make it.

It was good to see you and Frances at the theatre. Nancy sends her best and give Frances our regards. Again, our thanks and, believe me, our joy at the cancer cure news.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Armand Hammer
Occidental Petroleum Corporation
Suite 1600
10889 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90024

85 612

RR:AVH:NM:pps

RR Dictation

To Mr. Armand Hammer - Occidental Petroleum Corp.
10889 Wilshire Blvd. Suite 1600
L.A. Calif. 90024

Dear Armand

Thanks very much for your letter and the tape on Ford's Theatre. I'm writing before we've actually seen it but we're both looking forward to seeing it in the next few days. You were very kind & I'm most grateful.

Fred Regan who is in charge of scheduling has found a brief (very brief, I'm sorry to say) slot at 4 P.M. June 24. If that's convenient for you he'll set it up. If not we'll find a later date but the schedule is filled so far ^{ahead} ~~so far~~ this was the earliest we could make it.

It was good to see you & Frances at the theatre. Nancy sends her best and give Frances our regards. Again our thanks and believe me our joy at the Cancer cure news.

Sincerely RR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/10/85

TO: *Don Regan*
FROM: *FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.*
Director
Presidential Appointments and
Scheduling

We are holding
10 minutes for Armand
Hammer on June 24
at 4:00.

After the President
writes back to him, I'll
follow up to arrange it.

Fred

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION

10889 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • SUITE 1600

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

(213) 208-8800

ARMAND HAMMER
CHAIRMAN AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

June 4, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was a great pleasure for Frances and me to be with you and Nancy the other night at Ford's Theatre. I am very pleased that we have been able to be helpful to Frankie Hewitt in preserving such an important part of American history.

-It occurs to me that you both might enjoy the enclosed tape that Armand Hammer Productions had especially made for the Ford's Theatre. It combines history with a series of Galas, including some excellent pictures of you both on other evenings.

As I mentioned to you at Ford's, I am meeting with Jay Keyworth about our cancer efforts, having just returned from chairing the Cancer Panel meeting at Memorial Sloan Kettering in New York. Under the provision of the National Cancer Act, I am supposed to report our progress to you periodically, which primarily can be done through Jay, but a chance to meet with you privately would be a great shot-in-the-arm for all those who work in the field.

In the past four years we have put a whole new push behind the operations of the Panel, broadening its scope and taking it around the country to other major cancer centers to exchange research information. I can tell you without equivocation that in these past four years we have made a quantum jump in cancer research and are now working on the frontiers of breakthrough research which is going to lead to some cures for this disease in this decade.

I believe it should be very helpful to the American people to know of your personal interest in this campaign. Calude Pepper perhaps put it in best words the other day when he said, "We must seize this monster by the throat and grapple with it and begin to choke it."

June 4, 1985

I can assure you that as Chairman of your Panel, I have been devoting myself to doing just that.

With every best wish, I am,

Respectfully,

Reverend

P.S. I very much enjoyed the story about the Polish bartender and have been chuckling over it. The Russian joke you wanted goes something like this:

Two workers with shovels were walking along the edge of a city street, stopping every 5 yards or so and one of them would dig a hole in the dirt. As soon as the hole was dug, his comrade filled the hole back in. Then they went another 5 yards and repeated the same exercise.

A Commisar surveying the scene lost his temper, and called to the two workers. "Comrades", he shouts, "what kind of craziness is this? You dig a hole, then the other fellow fills it right up. Here we are trying to improve our system and you are accomplishing nothing at all! We are wasting good money paying you."

"No, no", one of the workers replies. "You don't understand at all. Usually we work with a third man, Boris, but he is home sick today. I dig the hole, Boris puts in the tree, and Ivan here fills the hole back in. Just because Boris is not here, do you think that we should stop working?"

X1 I think "some success" in this decade is too conservative. Our goal should be "most success" if not all. And you should be known as the President who made it all possible!

Att

End
Case
File

323440
50063

June 12, 1985

Dear Si:

Thank you for the six boo-boos. I'll have a lot of fun with them. I'm especially impressed, as an ex-sports announcer, that one of the six is This Speaker.

I've just had lunch with five space scientists: Thomas O. Paine, Riccardo Giacconi, Gerald K. O'Neill, Laurel L. Wilkening and Edward Teller. I decided not to tell them about your ad. I was afraid they might think I am anti-intellectual.

Thanks again, and best regards.

Sincerely,

Ran

Dr. Simon Ramo
Executive Offices
TRW
One Space Park
Redondo Beach, California 90278

RR:AVH:NМ:pps

RR Dictation

TPW Inc.

Executive Offices
One Space Park
Redondo Beach, CA 90278

June 7, 1985

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

At your luncheon for scientists on February 12, I had the privilege of being at your table where you described some well-chosen examples of leading experts being wrong in saying particular things couldn't be done. I thought you might enjoy the enclosed six beautiful boo-boos that TRW is citing in one of our institutional ads.

Respectfully yours,



Simon Ramo

SR
mr

C. F.

323585
F1010-02

June 12, 1985

Dear Phil:

It was good to hear from you cousin, and thanks for your generous words. I'm more than pleased that you approve of our tax effort. I've gotten away from Washington a few times in these last couple of weeks and spoken to large groups on the subject. Their response, without exception, was an enthusiastic approval. I'm glad to get the word that Mayor Dick Daley has also given his heavenly blessing.

Thanks, too, for your list of church announcements. I'll have a lot of fun with those.

Give my love to your associate.

Best regards,

RUN

Mr. Phil Regan
1123 South Orange Grove Avenue
Pasadena, California 91105

RR:AVH:NM:pps

RR Dictation

PHIL REGAN
HUMAN RELATIONS CONSULTANT

JO B. REGAN
ASSOCIATE

June 4, 1985

Mr. Ronald Reagan
President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

I believe a great many Americans doubted your promise of a simplistic tax reform until last week, when you showed them via TV, in black and white, how understandable your tax reform plan is.

While my friend of many years, the late Mayor Dick Daley, did not speak to me for several years following my support of a guy named Ronald Reagan in his first Gubernatorial campaign, in my mind's eye on the night of your welcome tax reform program to the nation, there was Dick Daley (with tilted halo) beaming over his protege (I was there in the 50s) Dan Rostenskowski's wholehearted endorsement of the Reagan tax reform program. I swear I heard Dick saying to Dan, "Good boy, Danny, thou good and faithful servant -- we're happy over here that at long last you have seen the LIGHT."

May God's light continue to encircle you is the prayer of your friend,



Phil Regan

P.S.: I hope enclosed will give you a minute's laughter.

SENTENCES WHICH HAVE ACTUALLY APPEARED IN CHURCH BULLETINS

1. This afternoon there will be a baptismal in the South and North ends of the Church. Children will be baptised at both ends.
2. Tuesday at 4 p.m. there will be an ice cream social. All ladies giving milk, please come early.
3. Wednesday, the Ladies Literary Society will meet. Mrs. Johnson will sing: "Put Me In My Little Bed" accompanied by the pastor.
4. Thursday at 5 p.m. there will be a meeting of the little Mothers club. All wishing to become little mothers will please meet the minister in his study.
5. This being Easter Sunday, we will ask Mrs. Johnson to come forward and lay an egg on the altar.
6. The service will close with "LITTLE DROPS OF WATER" --- one of the ladies will start quietly and the rest of the congregation will join in.
7. This morning, a special collection will be taken to defray the expenses on the new carpet. All wishing to do something on the carpet, please come forward and get a piece of paper.
8. The ladies of the church have cast off clothing of every kind and they may be seen in the church basement on Friday afternoon.
9. This evening at 7 p.m. there will be a hymn sing in the park across from the church. Bring a blanket and come prepared to sin.

323583
SP938

June 12, 1985

Dear Dale and Kent:

Thank you very much for your letter and for your generous words. I'm relieved to learn that my words caused you no embarrassment, and pleased to be known as your friend among your associates.

I'm also grateful for your prayers. Thanks again, and very best wishes to you and Cain and Abell Inc.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Dale Cain
Mr. Kent Abell
Post Office Box 852
Jeffersonville, Indiana 47131-0852

RR:AVH:NM:pps

RR Dictation



June 5, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Kent and I wanted to drop you a quick letter to thank you for our visit and for the unexpected mention of our company at St. Johns University. Because of your praise we have had much publicity. We have had positive articles about Cain & Abell Inc. in Money magazine, Builder & Contractor, the National Republican Committee monthly magazine First Monday, as well as local papers.

Since our visit to the White House, we find that when we go out in public, people have begun announcing us as "here comes the Reaganauts" to "here's Ronnie's friends", and we have even been referred to as "your biblical buddies". We have had a lot of fun. I did want you to know that many people, probably in the ratio of 20 to 1, have told us that they too agree with you and believe as we do, that you are doing a wonderful job and that it is refreshing to have a President with strength and courage.

Both Kent and I wish there were more we could do for you. Our prayers and love are with you.

Yours respectfully,

Dale Cain

Kent Abell

DC/jp

P.O. Box 852
Jeffersonville, IN 47131-0852

812/283-6815

Electrical Construction
Building Automation Systems
Energy Management
Process Control

To Dr. Simon Ramo Exec. Officer One Space Park
Redondo Beach Calif. 90278

Dear Sir

Thank you for the six boo-boos. I'll have a lot of fun with this. I'm especially impressed, as an ex-sports announcer, that one of the six ~~was~~ is This Speaker.

I've just had lunch with five space scientists Thomas O. Paine, Riccardo Giacconi, Gerard K. O'Neill, ~~Edward K. O'Neill~~ Samuel L. Wilkening & Edward Teller. I decided not to tell them about your ad. I was afraid they might think I ~~was~~ ^{am} anti-intellectual.

Thank again & Best Regards.

Sincerely RR

To Mr. Phil Regan 1123 S. Orange Grove Ave.
Dear Phil. Pasadena Calif. 91105

It was good to hear from you cousin and thanks for your generous words. I'm more than pleased that you approve of our tax effort. I've gotten away from Wash. a few times in these last couple of weeks and spoken to large groups on the subject. Their response without exception was an enthusiastic approval. I'm glad to get the word that Mayor Dick Daley has also given his heavenly blessing.

Thanks too for your list of Church announcements. I'll have a lot of fun with those.

Give my love to your associate.

Best Regards
Ron

(over)

9

Jeffersonville, In. 47131-0852

Thank you very much for your letter and

I'm also grateful for your prayers. Thanks

James

End
Case
File

30282755
F0003-02

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/13/85

NOTE FOR: JACK SVAHN

The President has

seen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
acted upon	<input type="checkbox"/>
commented upon	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

the attached; and it is forwarded to you for your:

information	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
action	<input type="checkbox"/>

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
(x-2702)

cc: Original to files ✓
Don Regan

The President has seen_____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Received SS

June 12, 1985

1985 JUN 12 PM 3:48

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN A. SVAHN *JAS*

SUBJECT: High School History Textbook

*So our kids will
grow up ignorant.
What kind of people
make the decision on this
book. RR*

Attached is a section from a new history book, Our Land, Our Time: A History of the United States, copyright 1985. This book has been written for use in secondary schools nationwide. I thought you might be interested in seeing how the authors characterize the 1980 election and the first three years of your Administration. This textbook is presently under review by the Texas Board of Education for possible adoption in that State. I had the opportunity to review the entire text and the usage instructions to the teacher. The text is pro Democrat, pro liberal, pro civil rights, labor, union and womens' activists, among other things. It is difficult to relate it to our nation's history.

It is two inches thick, but I thought you might be interested in seeing what the author and publisher feel ought to be taught to American high school kids about your first Administration. Should the factual errors in this section bother you, I wouldn't be too alarmed. The author played pretty loose with the facts throughout the text. He gave the Federal Reserve Board credit for setting the prime interest rate, misidentified a picture of President Chester A. Arthur and claimed that it was President James A. Garfield, gave William Reed instead of Walter Reed credit for fighting yellow fever, and identified a Model A Ford as a Rolls Royce.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 12, 1985

TO: DONALD T. REGAN
RE: SCHOOL TEXTBOOK MEMO

I have forwarded the attached memo from Jack Svahn to the President. Since I suspect it will interest the President and he may speak to you about it, I am bringing it to your attention.

David L. Chew

Attachment

UNIT 10

idealism was difficult to put into practice. He could not alienate the undemocratic and sometimes brutal regimes in Latin America and Africa that the United States supported. Many government officials felt that a friendly dictatorship was preferable to an unfriendly dictatorship.

Much more serious was the case of Iran, a rich, powerful neighbor of the Soviet Union, and an OPEC nation. The United States supported the government of Shah Reza Pahlavi (rē' zā pā'la-vē'). The Shah tolerated no dissent and his secret police, the notorious *Savak*, imprisoned and tortured hundreds of political opponents.

The Shah succeeded in alienating almost every segment of Iranian society. The comfortable and modern middle-class of Teheran disapproved of Savak and wanted a voice in governing the country. The industrial working class of the country was inclined to favor socialism or even communism as a means of improving their lot. Most important, the Shah had angered the powerful Moslem priests, mullahs and ayatollahs (holy men), by seizing their property and by bringing western ideas, dress, and culture into Iran. The Moslem clergy still dominated the largest group in the population, rural peasants who had hardly been touched by the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, Carter referred to this powder keg of a nation as "an island of stability" in the Middle East. However, in 1978, Iran burst into rebellion. At first, the Shah kept some control, but then his army deserted him. They refused to fire on their fellow Iranians.

The Hostage Crisis. In January 1979, after months of disorder, the Shah fled Iran. At the same time, the Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini (kō-mān'ē), the hard-line Moslem religious leader who had been exiled by the Shah, returned to Iran. Khomeini began to turn Iran back into a traditional Moslem nation. Consequently, everything that had to do with the Shah, the West, and the United States was condemned as villainous. When Carter admitted the ailing Shah to the United States for treatment in October, Iranian students stormed the American embassy in Iran's capital, Teheran, and took 53 Americans hostage.

This was a blatant violation of international law. But Khomeini's hatred of all Americans put Carter in a helpless position. Every attempt to free the

hostages through intermediaries or negotiation failed. Whipped into a nationalistic frenzy, Iranians held the United States responsible for every misfortune Iran had suffered. The Ayatollah used the hostages as leverage for his religious party to seize control of the country.

On April 24, 1980, Carter secretly ordered a specially trained commando unit to free the hostages by force. The force landed in the desert outside Teheran, but a collision of helicopters caused the complete abandonment of the mission. After the failed rescue attempt, the Iranians moved the hostages to unknown locations. Negotiations were eventually reopened, but not until the day Carter stepped down from the presidency—January 20, 1981—were the hostages released.

The Election of 1980. Ironically, the Iranian hostage crisis won Jimmy Carter the Democratic nomination for president in 1980 and assured his defeat in the general election. In November 1979, before the hostages were taken, Carter's popularity stood at a record low. Not even in the last days of Watergate had so many people disapproved of a president's performance. Polls of Democrats showed that Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, brother of John and Robert, would easily defeat Carter in the Democratic primaries.

After the hostages were seized, however, the natural desire of the people to unite behind a

Ayatollah Khomeini's followers held 53 Americans (one shown below) hostage for over a year.



Discussion Question: Should international politics be allowed to interfere with the Olympics?

president in times of crisis pushed Carter's popularity up. Kennedy continued to campaign, and gained many delegates. But Carter's power as the incumbent president and the voters' anxiety for the hostages gave Carter the Democratic nomination after a hard-fought campaign.

As had happened in 1968 and 1972, the Democrats were badly split. Kennedy backers did not give Carter their full support, and the President's popularity was still not very high. Meanwhile, the conservative Ronald Reagan easily beat back challenges by more moderate Republicans George Bush and Illinois Congressman John Anderson. Reagan took Bush as his vice presidential candidate. Anderson decided to run as an independent candidate.

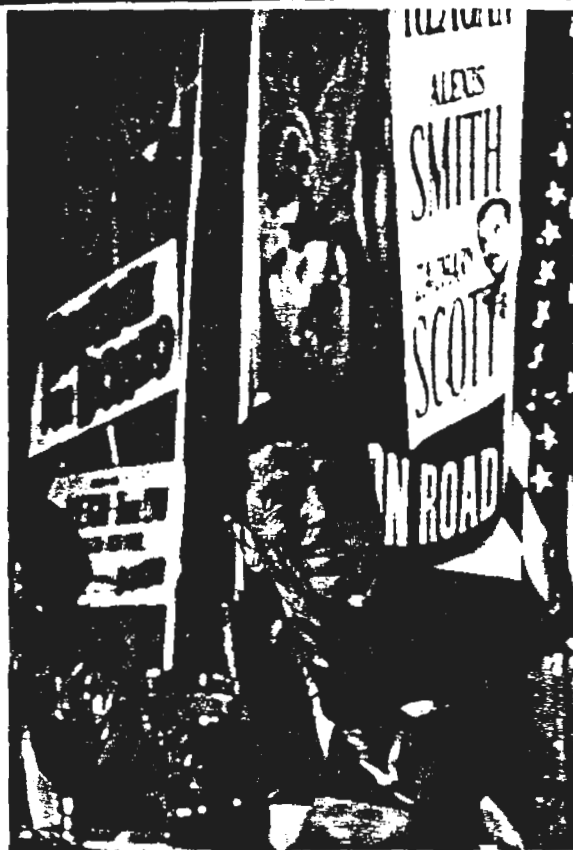
Reagan avoided the hostage question. He said he did not want to interfere with Carter's efforts and only hinted that he would have dealt with the crisis more effectively. Instead he hammered at the failure of Carter's economic policies and promised to break with the New Deal tradition of government intervention in the economy.

Reagan was helped by the hostage issue. By election day the crisis had dragged on for exactly one year. Negotiations to bring the hostages home dragged on, with no end in sight. This added to the belief that he was simply not up to the standards of leadership required of a president.

Reagan also had some formidable political allies. Although federal law put limits on the amount of money a candidate's campaign committee could spend, there was no cap on the amount that other, supposedly independent groups could spend on behalf of the candidates they supported. These *political action committees* (PACs) spent many millions of dollars in 1980 to support Reagan and to oppose certain liberal senators.

One of the leading conservative forces in the campaign was a group known as the *Moral Majority*. Led by such fundamentalist preachers as Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority appealed to voters on moral issues. Its members wanted to have prayer allowed in public schools, to defeat the ERA, and to reinstate what they perceived as traditional American values. They supported Reagan, and they forced many candidates to adopt more conservative positions so as to appeal to those voters who would be inclined to agree with the Moral Majority.

Research Assignment: Have students recount the Iranian hostage situation by compiling copies of news clippings and photographs of the major events.



President Ronald Reagan survived an assassination attempt early in his presidency.

Almost every political expert predicted a very close election, but the outcome was very different. Reagan won a large majority—43.9 million votes to 35.5 million for Carter, with 5.7 million going to John Anderson. In the electoral college, Reagan won 489 votes to only 49 for Carter.

SECTION REVIEW

1. Identify: windfall profits tax, Andrew Young, PLO, solidarity.
2. What was remarkable about Democrat Jimmy Carter's nomination and election to the presidency in 1976? Who was his opponent in the election?
3. Give examples of President Carter's domestic policy problems. Cite one diplomatic triumph that he scored.
4. Explain how the hostage crisis helped and hurt President Carter in the 1980 campaign. Who won the presidential election that year? What was his point of view?

RONALD REAGAN

PROFILES OF THE
PRESIDENCY

1981

The truth about the American economy in the 1980s was not pleasant, Ronald Reagan warned, but had to be faced:

I regret to say that we are in the worst economic mess since the Great Depression. A few days ago I was presented with a report I had asked for—a comprehensive audit of our economic condition. You won't like it, I didn't like it, but we have to face the truth and then go to work to turn things around. And . . . we can turn them around.



Over the years we've let negative economic forces run out of control. We've stalled the judgment day. We no longer have that luxury. We're out of time.

We can leave our children with an unrepayable massive debt and a shattered economy or we can leave them liberty in a land where every individual has the opportunity to be

whatever God intended us to be. All it takes is a little common sense and recognition of our own ability.

—SPEECH, FEBRUARY 5, 1981

2. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

Ronald Reagan had been a popular film actor and television show host before serving two terms as governor of California and making several tries to win the presidency. Democrats scoffed at his lack of administrative ability, but Reagan actually made a better impression than did Jimmy Carter. His popularity held firm and even increased. By 1983, signs of an economic recovery even won broader approval for his economic policies, which many had attacked as being designed to help the rich at the expense of the middle and lower classes.

A Conservative Movement. Reagan's advisers regarded the stunning 1980 victory as a mandate for a conservative revolution in national economic policy. Not only had Ronald Reagan sailed into office, half a dozen of the Senate's leading Democratic liberals were defeated by conservative opponents. For the first time in nearly 30 years, the Republicans had a majority in the Senate. The Democrats maintained a majority in the House of Representatives, but their margin was narrowed. When conservative Democrats, known as "boll-weevils," voted for the President's policies, the Democrats' majority disappeared.

However, there was some evidence that the election results simply indicated rejection of Jimmy Carter. During the campaign, Reagan played down his conservative views and presented himself as a moderate. He even quoted the founder of Democratic Party liberalism, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Moreover, only about half of the nation's eligible voters had cast ballots. Millions of voters had not been moved enough by the campaign to make their wishes known at the polls.

Reagan's Economic Policies. Reagan wasted little time in implementing his policies. With the help of the "boll weevils" in Congress, he introduced the most innovative legislative program since Johnson's Great Society. However, unlike Johnson's attempt to use the government as an equalizer between poor and rich, Reagan felt that the capitalist system could take care of itself if the government kept its hands off.

First, the President argued that huge government expenditures and the resulting deficits were responsible for inflation. He quickly convinced Congress to cut \$35 billion from the budgets of social welfare programs like Medicare, food stamps, and free school lunches for poor children.

Second, Reagan's *supply side* economic theory held that the way to cure unemployment was to

Discussion Question: How are the policies of Presidents Reagan and Carter similar?



cut taxes, particularly for the wealthy. In theory, the untaxed money of the wealthy would be invested in industry, thus creating jobs for working people. Supply side economics resembled the economic policies of Calvin Coolidge and Andrew Mellon in the 1920s. In fact, Reagan dramatized his admiration for Coolidge by hanging his portrait in a conspicuous place in the White House.

In the short run, his policies would cause higher unemployment, the President warned. But he urged Americans to "stay the course." By 1981 the economy would be swinging upward. In fact, unemployment continued to rise though 1983, when it topped 11 percent, higher than at any time since the 1930s. Then, early in 1983, the unemployment rate began to decline.

Federal Deficits. Reagan's reduction of spending on social programs and his tax cuts for potential investors were compatible policies. However, in spending more money on the military, the President destroyed any chance of achieving his announced goal of balancing the federal budget.

Reagan claimed that the increased spending was necessary to restore America's prestige in the world. His arms build-up caused the military budget to soar to such heights that the Reagan administration ran up huge yearly overall budget deficits—close to \$200 billion by 1983. Enormous expenditures on new weapons systems resulted not in balanced budgets but in two increases in the ceiling of the national debt (the legal limit of borrowing the government allows itself).

In 1981, because of the President's spending, the accumulated national debt reached \$998 billion. In 1982, for the first time, the national debt rose to over \$1 trillion. The critic of big government spending had borrowed and spent more money than any president before.

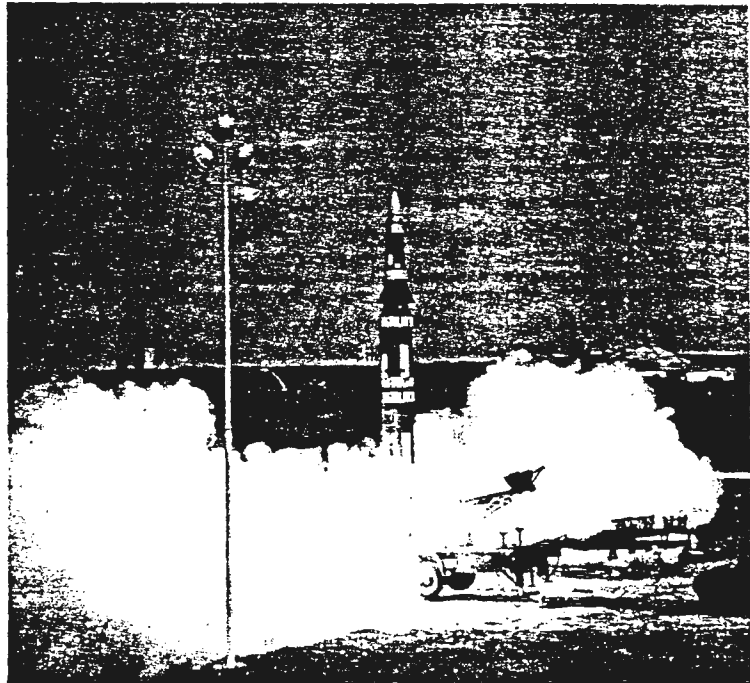
Nevertheless, Reagan continued to depict the Democrats, and not himself, as free spenders with tax revenues. At the beginning of 1984, a majority of Americans agreed. Polls showed that voters thought of the Republican party as more frugal with tax revenues than their opponents.

Hanging Tough With the Communists. President Reagan did not, as he hinted he might, break relations with the People's Republic of China and recognize Nationalist China instead.

However, he was less friendly to the People's Republic than Nixon, Ford, and Carter had been. There were no good-will flights to Peking nor invitations to Chinese leaders to call at the White House when Reagan entered office.

Reagan had been a critic of détente when Henry Kissinger first defined it. He believed that the SALT II treaty had been "a one-way street," with Americans making all the concessions to the Soviets. He used his influence in the Senate to block the treaty's ratification. He consistently described the Soviets in the harshest terms, saying that they were untrustworthy and committed to world domination. The relaxation of East-West tensions that had occurred in the Nixon-Ford years seemed to be coming to an end. When Premier Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union died in November 1982, the world waited to see who would succeed him. Yuri Andropov, who seemed to be a moderate, eventually took Brezhnev's place, but Reagan continued to use anti-Soviet rhetoric, and the American-Soviet relationship remained cool.

The deployment of American Pershing II missiles in NATO countries in Europe triggered emotional debates about arms limitation.



Nervousness in Europe. Reagan's tough talk about the Soviet Union caused uneasiness among America's European allies. Large numbers of people in Western Europe, especially in West Germany, feared that the Reagan policies might precipitate a nuclear war in which they would be the first Soviet targets. Exploiting these anxieties, Andropov proposed several plans for arms reduction in Europe that he knew Reagan would never accept. He hoped to split the NATO alliance, and hoped to have the Soviets appear more friendly to Europe than the United States.

However, European leaders, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain, and even President François Mitterand of France, a socialist, remained loyal to the alliance. Even when antinuclear demonstrations were numerous during the installation of new American nuclear missiles in Europe, these leaders remained firm. Andropov's strategy had misfired, and he, too, began speaking belligerently.

After the new nuclear weapons were installed, however, the European leaders asked Reagan to tone down his rhetoric. Andropov died in early 1984, and the new Soviet leader, Konstantin Chernenko, was not tied to all of the policies of his predecessors. Chernenko used some conciliatory language, and in March 1984, after Chancellor Kohl had visited Washington and urged Reagan to improve Soviet-American relations, the President said that some sort of peaceful arrangement could be made with the Soviet Union. Then, in April, Reagan traveled to China for meetings with Chinese leaders. Reagan had made the point that the United States would no longer back down from difficult confrontations, Reagan would from then on negotiate from a position of strength.

Troubles in Central America. When President Reagan took office, Fidel Castro was still in power in Cuba and still promoting revolution in Central America. In 1979, the armed assistance provided by Cuban "volunteers" was at least partly responsible for the overthrow of a repressive military government in Nicaragua. The victorious rebels in Nicaragua, the *Sandinistas*, established a regime similar to Cuba's.

The presence of a second Communist regime in Latin America alarmed Reagan and his advisers.

They feared that other nations in the region might also fall prey to rebel forces trained and equipped by Cuba. El Salvador, the smallest nation in Central America, seemed particularly vulnerable to a rebellion that had begun several years earlier. The Salvadoran military government made bitter enemies among the peasants by sending armies into the countryside and systematically killing thousands of suspected rebels. Despite the cruel tactics of the El Salvador regime, Reagan decided that the Cuban-supported rebels must be stopped from taking over the government. He won congressional approval for increasing military aid to El Salvador.

Critics of Reagan's policy thought that the United States would be drawn deeper and deeper into a war against El Salvador's peasant guerrillas, as it had been drawn into Vietnam. They believed Americans would be drawn into a fight against a national movement, helping a government whose brutality offended American ideals.

Despite these risks, Reagan was determined to resist Communist pressure anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. In October 1983, he startled the world by announcing that United States Marines and paratroopers had invaded the tiny island nation of Grenada in the southern Caribbean. He explained that a brief civil war in Grenada had endangered the lives and liberties of 700 American medical students residing there. More important, however, was the nature of the civil war. The victorious rebel forces had been supported in their revolt by Cuban soldiers. Reagan could not tolerate the threat of yet another Communist base being established in the Western Hemisphere. The invasion force of 6,000 Americans remained in Grenada just long enough to remove the Cuban-supported government from power and stop the civil war.

Marines in Lebanon. Coincidentally, on the very day that United States Marines invaded Grenada, another force of marines stationed in Lebanon in the Middle East were devastated by a terrorist attack on their barracks. A truck carrying heavy explosives slammed into marine headquarters just outside the Lebanese capital of Beirut. Digging through the wreckage of the headquarters, the stunned survivors of the blast counted 241 dead Americans.





In October 1983, 241 Americans died in a terrorist bombing of the United States Marine headquarters at the Beirut Airport in Lebanon.

The tragedy caused Americans to wonder why Americans had been sent to Lebanon in the first place. As Reagan tried to explain, they were there principally to keep peace in Beirut, a city which for years had been at the center of a bitter civil war between Christian and Moslem Lebanese. In the spring of 1982, the situation had been further complicated when Israeli troops swept through southern Lebanon and forced the evacuation of one of Israel's principal enemies—the Palestine Liberation Organization.

But the marines' mission was never really made clear. They could not be effective peacekeepers, since they were originally instructed to shoot only to defend themselves. Also, Moslem groups in Lebanon regarded them as allied with the Israeli enemy. Their numbers were too few to affect the warring factions.

In February 1984, Reagan evacuated the marines to the fleet of American ships anchored off the Lebanese coast. Although Reagan claimed that the United States still had influence in Lebanon, many Americans interpreted the withdrawal as an admission of ineffective United States foreign policy concerning Lebanon.

Prayer in Schools. In 1984, Reagan spoke out on moral issues. He backed a proposed constitutional amendment that would allow voluntary prayer into public school activities. The issue had been debated ever since school prayer had been banned by the Supreme Court as a violation of the constitutional separation of church and state. For the first time, conservative supporters in the Senate felt they would have a chance to approve the amendment. But when the vote was taken in March 1984, they fell 11 votes short of the required two-thirds majority.

"Reaganomics" Criticized. In the election year 1984, upper and middle income Americans and working people with jobs benefited from the near disappearance of inflation. The economy was recovering, and the nation's international prestige seemed to be rising.

However, unemployment remained at high levels, as did interest rates, and budget deficits and the national debt were hardly reduced. **Organized labor**, and especially the AFL-CIO leadership, backed Democrats and created PACs to support their candidates and counteract the Republican-oriented PACs. They also led voter registration drives in hopes of getting the people who supported liberal policies to vote Democratic.

Another anti-Reagan group was the American black community. Many of the federal programs that blacks had benefited from were cut back or eliminated by Reagan's budget cuts. They had little enthusiasm for "Reaganomics," as Reagan's trickle-down theory of economics was called. Reagan was also widely perceived as being unsympathetic to the concerns of America's minority groups. Consequently, when the Reverend Jesse Jackson, a well-known black civil rights leader, decided to pursue the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984, black voters began to turn out for primary elections in large numbers.

The Gender Gap. Another serious problem facing Reagan was the so-called "gender gap." Careful analysis of the 1980 election results showed that women of nearly all political views were less likely to vote for Reagan than were men. The reason for women's opposition to Reagan was clear insofar as he opposed the ERA, both as a candidate and as president. He also approved

Research Assignment: Have students construct profiles of women in the Reagan administration.

policies that seemed to threaten the social gains women had made in the 1960s and 1970s.

Reagan attempted to answer these criticisms by appointing some women to high government positions. Several women served in his cabinet and in his first year in office, Reagan named the first woman justice ever to sit on the Supreme Court, Sandra Day O'Connor.

SECTION REVIEW

1. Write a sentence to identify: "boll weevils," Beirut, Reaganomics, Jesse Jackson.
2. Explain how President Reagan justified each of the following parts of his economic program: cutting \$35 billion from the budgets of social programs; cutting back income taxes; increasing expenditures for the military.
3. Explain President Reagan's point in "hanging tough" with the Soviet Union.
4. Describe the actions that President Reagan took concerning two Latin American countries.

3. AMERICA IN THE 1980s

As in all previous periods of history, Americans in the 1980s were challenged to make the difficult adjustment to changing circumstances. The pace of change in their time was rapidly accelerating and propelling their society into a future altogether different from what earlier generations had known. The three categories of change that seemed most startling were: (1) changes in the ethnic character of American life, (2) changes in electronic technology, and (3) changes in the world at large.

Rise of Minorities in the Sunbelt. The census of 1980 called attention to a remarkable phenomenon. The racial and ethnic composition of the United States was steadily changing. There was a great influx of new immigrants from Asia and Latin America. The total population of the United States had increased 11.4 percent since 1970 to more than 226 million. But the rate of increase among minority groups was substantially

higher than the population as a whole.

Black Americans numbered 26 million in 1980, an increase of 12.1 percent in ten years. More significant were the numbers of blacks who had risen to positions of prominence in American life. There were black businesspeople and executives numbering in the thousands and black politicians who, by 1984, held 20 seats in Congress. Black mayors governed 19 major cities.

The population of another minority, Hispanic Americans, increased by 61 percent between 1970 and 1980. At this rate, demographers estimated that by 1990, Hispanic Americans would outnumber blacks and become the largest ethnic minority in the United States.

A third minority was increased at the incredible rate of 128 percent in just one decade. Through the 1970s, immigrants from the Asian countries of Korea, Japan, Vietnam, India, Taiwan, and the Philippines took advantage of the immigration law of 1965, which had allowed Asians to enter the United States in numbers equal to Europeans. By 1980, there were 3.5 million people who were Asian or of Asian descent in the cities and suburbs of the United States.

Simultaneously, another shift in population was fast changing the political and economic life of every American community. Throughout the 1970s, old cities of the Northeast and Midwest from Boston to St. Louis witnessed the closing of one factory after another. At the same time, in the South and West, such cities as San Diego, Denver, Houston, and Miami experienced unprecedented growth. Responding to the attraction of lower taxes, major corporations shifted their headquarters from colder and older American regions—the so-called *Frostbelt*—to the warmer and newer regions—the so-called *Sunbelt*. Thousands of those who moved to the Sunbelt cities were new immigrants from Asia and Latin America.

American Indians. American Indians made significant gains during the mid-twentieth century. Since the 1880s, the federal government had followed a wavering policy toward the Native American people. In 1887, the *Dawes Act* advocated the break-up of tribal systems and the redistribution of reservation lands, traditionally held by the tribe, among individuals. This was supposed to make the Indians landowners in the mode of



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WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500
MY DEAR MR PRESIDENT

No Reply

FLYING TO PARIS I WAS STILL UNDER THE IMPRESSION OF THE EXTRAORDINARY
ATTENTION SHOWN TO GALINA AND ME. YOUR GENUINE WARMTH TOWARDS US
GIVES ME STRENGTH AND PRIDE. WITH IMMENSE AFFECTION AND RESPECT FOR A

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 " " " R.C. Lyles
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 " " " Norman Sprogue
 " " " Armand Deutsch
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To Mr. Lynn Knights - 816 So. Hennepin Ave
 Dixon Ill. 61021

To Mr. & Mrs. Tom Jones

~~Don't forget to~~
 To Mrs. Mary Roeding - Muffie Brandon should have her
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~~Who said adding a year is to be regretted? Not when
 it results in a magnificent & very beautiful Cykes sculpture
 gracing the White House.~~

~~No words are adequate to express my deep appreciation
 for such a gift~~

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To Sen. George Murphy 1200 So. Flagler Dr. Apt. 1706
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To Mr. & Mrs. Mike Cowles 12 Indian Creek Isle
 Miami Beach, Fla.

To Mr. & Mrs. Louie Warburton ~~337~~ Walden Astoria Towers
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