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Last Updated: 08/06/2025

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Dear Peggy:

There are so many things I want to say. First is my heartfelt thanks to you for all you have done. It just won't seem the same to look for that "Noonan" on the top right-hand corner of the script and not find it there. It always meant I was going to like what I read.

I wish you well in your new undertaking, but you are going to be missed. Whenever I hear references to the "great communicator," I will think of all the fine work you did for me.

I appreciate your offer of help and will take some comfort from it. Again my thanks, very best wishes, and warmest regard.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

The Honorable Margaret Noonan Special Assistant to the President for Speechwriting The White House Washington, D.C.

cc: Amy Weist - PPO
Ron Geisler - Executive Clerk
Patsy Skidmore - 94 OEOB

RR/DLC/AVH/jfc (6PPO)

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 9, 1986

DONALD T. REGAN:

Attached are final versions of Presidential acceptances to the resignation letters submitted by Ben Elliott and Peggy Noonan. Under normal circumstances I would give them to Pat Buchanan for his review before sending to the President. Do you want me to: do this or do you want to discuss them with Pat or send the letters directly to the President?

Nave me kun them by Pat

DTP will discuss with Pat

Send directly to RR

I normally would send the letters to the President for his signature once everyone has approved them. In this instance, I would write the President a note suggesting that he may want to discuss them with you. Do you want me to send them with such a note or would you like to handle them personally with the President?

Send letters with note ______ to NN with a

DTR will handle ______ note discuss

Sundultus in normaly ______ Henri Hym. or

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Run them by Pat _____ Send directly to RR _____

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David Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1986

Dear Mr. President,

It is with true regret that I let you know that I am resigning my commission and will leave the White House later this month. It has been the honor of my life to serve you here and to contribute the small amount I've contributed to the magic of your Presidency. But I believe I have served you the best I can, Mr. President, within the confines of my current position, and I think it time that I leave to pursue other opportunities.

I hope you don't mind two requests. One is that I would like very much to have a formal exchange of letters with you before I leave, and the second is that if you ever need help on a speech that is of particular concern to you, please know I would be eager to pitch in.

For now thanks for everything, Mr. President, and God bless you.

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Respectfully,

Peggy Noonan

Special Assistant to the President for Presidential Speechwriting

Honorable Ronald Reagan The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 19, 1986

Dear Roy:

Thanks for your letter of April 23. As usual, you know how to get to the point. You also know how I feel. We will win the fight against terrorism and we will not forget those who are its victims.

About your suggestion to share this information with Senator Denton, I have asked one of my trusted officers to discuss with him the substance of your letter. We will see what comes of it.

Sincerely,

Mr. Roy M. Brewer 4230 Jubilo Drive Tarzana, California 91356

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Sincerely,

Roy M. Brewer 4230 Jubilo Drive Tarzana, California 91356

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 18, 1986

The President hes sound MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached for your signature is a proposed response to Roy Brewer's letter concerning American Communists and Gus Hall. The Office of Legislative Affairs will contact Sen. Denton's staff to share the information in Brewer's letter.

David Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

This Ray Excuser letter is recon to be.

Latherine_

Roy M. Brewer 4230 Jubilo Drive Tarzana, California 91356

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April 23, 1986

Dear Ron:

Thank you for your letter. I hope the tear sheet was helpful. It is amazing how many of those persons who entered the political arena in the forties with the help of the red fraternity, are still around to haunt us.

Congratulations on the great success of the Libyan strike. It was a great success as I am sure time will prove. I think in the long run the greatest benefit will be to prove to the free world that the program of appeasement has only made the communists, i.e. terrorists stronger and that a world that accepts them will never be free.

While the reaction of most of our allies was a disappointment, I think as time goes on they will see that they were wrong. It proves they are desperately afraid of the Soviet machine and its propaganda structure as well. The real truth of the matter is that no free nation has control of its government including our own. am enclosing an excerpt from a book published by the communists which is the report of Gus Hall to the 1979 convention of the Communist Party. You will note his reference to the world wide organization of the communist movement and their loyalty to it, which he says is 70 million members in 100 countries. I do not know whether the figures are accurate but I do know that what he says about their loyalty to that organization rather than to the United States is accurate. What I think we must make the free world understand is that this is the structure that we are fighting in the world today. While it includes the Soviet Union, it goes far beyond it. I am sure you are aware that I have always been of the opinion that we would never defeat the communists in the world unless we defeat them at home and this applies to our Allies as well. Britain is our stanuchest ally at the moment but she is also the most vulnerable. Thatcher's hold on that government is most tenuous.

I firmly believe that we must act here in America and show the rest of the free world the way and I have a suggestion that you might consider as a way to begin.

We have knowledge of the meeting on September 29th when Gus Hall told a group of American Communists, including two who were not, that he had just been to Moscow and conferred with Gorbechev; that the Russians were giving the American Government until January 1, 1986 to come to an agreement with the Soviets on "Star Wars" and that if they did not do so, then dire things would happen to America: that they, the communist members should work on their Congressmen to bring this about: that these three months, in view of the Russian threat, would be the most important three months in all of the history of the world. He repeated this statement about this being the most important period in the history of the world three times to emphasize its importance. The fact that the terrorist program began shortly after the first, I think, ties this into his talk, or at least raises a sufficient suspicion to warrant an investigation. What I am suggesting is that we file the report of the meeting with Jeremiah Denton, whom I understand has a Committee on Terrorism in the Senate, and if necessary both Osburn and I will give testimony as to his statements. Then have him subpoena Hall and see what he says. This just might give us the opening that we need. Hall has had it so good lately that it might catch him off guard. You will remember it was the stupidity of the performance of the "Unfriendly Ten" that opened the door for us to really contain them in Hollywood.

+ Des.

Roy M. Brewer

4230 Jubilo Drive Tarzana, California 91356



April 23, 1986 - Page Two

In view of the times and the public sentiment, I don't think we could lose. At least it would call people's attention to the tie between the Local Communists and Moscow. Proof of this man's trips could be obtained from the State Department. At best he might get defiant and really focus attention on their activities which would frighten the Congressmen and Senators who are supporting the Soviets. Also it would make the public aware of the worldwide structure, its size and influence which they could clearly see as they rushed to the attack all over the free world at the time of the Libyan strike. Appropos of this, please note the attached cartoon from the Albuquerque Journal of April 17th.

I don't know whether you ever saw a copy of the report that I prepared for Pat Buchanan in August of last year. If not, I think you will find it interesting.

I am also enclosing a release from Immigration Commissioner Harold Ezell. Can you believe 92,296 persons apprehended in one month. I have met him and he is a terrific guy. We need more like him. He almost single handedly forced the L.A. City Council to rescind their Sanctuary resolution.

Let me know how you feel about the Denton matter. Also see Stan Evans column.

Alyce and I send our best to you and Nancy. God Bless you both and keep you well.

Sincerely

P.S.

At the last minute I mislaid the Stanton Evans column. He wrote a column sometime ago asking for the reinstatement of the Congressional Investigating Committees. Also I wanted to mention that Reed Irvine asked sometime ago about a candidate for the Public Broadcasting Corp who was a registered Democrat.

Yesterday I remembered that Al McDonald was a Democrat and one of our best fighters. He used to do some work for Henry Salvatori so I talked to Henry about it. I think he may speak to you Friday night. I think Al would be a great asset.

End Casc File

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 20, 1986

Dear Strom:

During the campaigns of 1980 and 1984, I made clear to the American people the kind of men and women I would select to fill vacancies on the Federal bench, including the United States Supreme Court.

I promised they would be men and women of demonstrable character and capacity, of practical experience and proven ability in the law. I would nominate, I said, judges and justices who shared my deeply held conviction that the function of America's courts, including the highest court, is not to make laws for the American people, but to interpret the law. Judges in a democratic society should not use their appointed offices to impose their social or political views upon society—in our system of government this is the province of elected officials. This was a view stated again and again in those campaigns.

I believe I have kept faith with that commitment. And these thoughts were very much in mind when I selected Justice Rehnquist to succeed the retiring Chief Justice, and Judge Antonin Scalia to fill the vacancy thus created. Two nominees who better exemplify the qualities I pledged to seek in judicial appointments would be difficult to find.

Which brings me to the point of this letter. I am writing with a sense of profound concern about what is happening with the confirmation of Daniel A. Manion, whom I recently nominated to the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit.

Dan Manion is a capable attorney, with a high reputation for integrity and substantial litigation experience. Colleagues he has faced in court and former Democratic opponents in the Indiana Senate have come forward to attest to his character and competence. Reviewing his record, the American Bar Association declared him fully "qualified" for the appellate judgeship to which he has been nominated.



Nevertheless, in recent weeks, Mr. Manion has become the target of a campaign that has sought to disparage his capabilities and his character, in order to defeat his nomination. Thus, I am writing to make known to you and your Senate colleagues my strongly held views about Dan Manion, and about his qualifications for service on the appellate bench.

First, the rating given to Dan Manion by the ABA, i.e., "qualified" -- though disparaged by his critics -- is the identical rating given almost half the Federal judges nominated by Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter. It is the same rating given two of my previous nominees to the Seventh Circuit, Judges Easterbrook and Posner, both of whom were distinguished professors of law at the time of their nomination. At what point was it that an ABA rating of "qualified" became an impediment to nomination to the Federal bench?

Second, Mr. Manion's legal experience is dismissed because it was gained largely at the State rather than the Federal level. But my own experience, before coming to Washington, was at the State level. It has been, and remains, my belief that our Federal circuit courts should reflect the diversity of the regions they serve. The Seventh Circuit contains Chicago, but it also contains smaller cities and towns, rural areas and farming communities, like Dixon, Illinois. Dan Manion, a country lawyer, would represent that diversity, just as the other judges whom I nominated to the Seventh Circuit bring experience from the academic world and the urban law community.

Moreover, when we recall that Mr. Lincoln himself and the late Senator Sam Ervin were proud to be known as "country lawyers," we ought to be hesitant before considering this kind of law practice a mark of ineligibility for service on the Federal bench. Nor should Mr. Manion's years of political experience in the State Senate and legal experience in Indiana's District Attorney's office be counted as of no consequence. Among the names any President should consider for the Federal courts, including the Supreme Court, when vacancies occur, are those of the most distinguished and experienced lawyers in the Congress of the United States.

Third, it is alleged that Mr. Manion, while serving as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the Indiana Senate, "defied...the Constitution," when he proposed a bill authorizing the posting of the Ten Commandments in Indiana's public schools.

But this distortion is rooted either in ignorance or malice. Where the Supreme Court had disallowed the mandatory posting of the Ten Commandments in the Kentucky public schools, Dan Manion sponsored a bill permitting the voluntary posting in Indiana's schools, and added a provision that should the Supreme Court rule voluntary posting unconstitutional, the postings would immediately be removed. His bill passed the Indiana Senate with strong Democratic support.

Dan Manion is also opposed by some because his father, Clarence Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School, was a member of the John Birch Society. Yet, surely, in 1986, the time has passed when guilt by association is acceptable practice, when an act of political discrimination can be committed against a Federal nominee because his late father held deeply controversial views.

Addressing Mr. Manion during his appearance before the Judiciary Committee, one Senator revealed, I believe, the true and undeclared motivation behind the campaign to defeat my nominee. "I think you are a decent and honorable man," the Senator said to Dan Manion, "but I cannot vote for you because of your political views."

Strom, here we come to the heart of the matter.

Dan Manion's "political views" are close to my political views. In particular, Dan Manion's belief that Federal judges should interpret the law, and not impose from the bench their social or philosophical notions upon society, is my belief. That is the real reason this nomination is encountering such hostility.

So, let me state my position directly. I intend to fight for the nomination of Dan Manion; and I do not accept that there should be a hidden restrictive covenant in the confirmation process that reads: No conservative need apply.

What appears to be taking shape is an attempt by some Senators to use their "advise and consent" power to overturn the mandate of the American people -- as expressed in 1980 and 1984.

This is not an issue of Republican versus Democrat. It is an issue of whether or not a President of the United States has the right to choose Federal judges who share his judicial philosophy, so long as they are qualified by reason of character and competence. Presidents of both parties have asserted that prerogative; and I will not surrender it. In his letter of endorsement, Father Theodore Hesburgh, who has known him since Notre Dame days, said of Dan Manion that his life has been one of "service and commitment to justice," that he would bring to the bench "dedication, integrity and a keen knowledge of the law." This represents my view exactly; and there is one final personal reason I want this nominee confirmed. Dan Manion would be the first of the Vietnam veterans to reach the Federal Appellate Court; and I want the record to show I made that appointment.

Please let me know how I can be of help.

Sincerely,

Ronald Rogan

The Honorable Strom Thurmond Chairman Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

The President has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bob:

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I believe I have kept faith with that commitment. And these thoughts were very much in mind when I selected Justice Rehnquist to succeed the retiring Chief Justice, and Judge Antonin Scalia to fill the vacancy thus created. Two nominees who better exemplify the qualities I pledged to seek in judicial appointments would be difficult to find.

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert Dole Majority Leader United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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The Honorable Strom Thurmond Chairman Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

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49 Chester Street nachus N. H. 03060 June 23 1986 President Ronald Reagan, The White House, Washington, D.C. Dear In Fresident, Mis Budman Joins The were deeply. years as President of our Esuntry be sewarding on and Imacy you and mis Therealter Very sincerely yours, Edward o Therea Sudm 32055

THE WHITE HOUSE washington June 24, 1986

Dear Elsa:

I have your letters in hand and have just learned the Senate passed the tax reform, 97 to 3. And both have made me very happy.

I'm so pleased that your recovery is so complete. It does feel good, doesn't it? Your reference to the public debt and getting voluntary contributions to reduce it is right on, although I'm not sure another "Hands Across America" is the way to go. You know the Treasury Department has such a fund and people do make contributions to it. I know it isn't widely known and I've thought of giving it some publicity but believe we should balance the budget first and then start a drive on the debt. To do this now might lift the pressure for ending deficit spending. The spenders would use contributions to keep on spending too much.

Nancy sends her love, and give our regards to Mark. Again, thanks and best regards.

Sincerely

Mrs. Elsa Sandstrom Number 112 8860 Villa La Jolla Drive La Jolla, California 92037 Mrs. Elsa Sandstrøm (We have her addres)

Den Elsa

I have your letterein hand and have first. Deres the Same of the Same of the S. B. and both have made me very happy.

I'm to pleased that your servery is so complete. It does feel good doesn't it? your represence to the public delet of getting woluntary contintains to the public delet of getting woluntary contintains to the sure and sure another hands across America is the way to go. You know the Treasury Ough. has such a fund and people do make contintation to it. I know it into widely known and dise thought of giving it some published but believe out of the delet. To do This war wight left the drive on the delet. To do This war might left the servery and sure and sure and sure of a sure of the delet. To do This your my the rependence when we have a contribution to great a granding to the them.

Many sense her love & give our rejours to Mark. Begins Thanks & Bret Regues

Smilery Ron

ELSA SANDSTROM

June 14, 1986

President Ronald Reagan The White House Washington, D. C. 200

Dear Mr. President -

You and I and many thousands more have "joined hands across the nation in a rather personal way:

Because of a remark from my son, Marc, I write this rather personal letter to you (quoted below).

A few weeks back, on the final day of a political conference in Sacramento, I became deathly ill. On return home, it was into Emergency at Spripps Memorial for me the next morning. Diagnosis and Xrays found a food blockage. After Marc's consultation with Dr. McReynolds (a personal friend) who performed your brother Neil's operation and a team of doctors, it was decided an immediate operation was necessary.

So, into the operating room they wheeled me, where they helped themselves to perhaps a few more inches than you had to give up; joined the two healthy ends together; and when the anaesthesia wore off, I awakened (surprisingly') a well woman! I really could not believe the quick transformation; but know that God was with me, having surrounded me with so much loving care and skillful surgeons.

When I opened my eyes, son Marc was at my bedside; and he chided me, "Mom, I know you like to"emulate" the President, but I didn't think you would carry it this far!"

ELSA SANDSTROM

Page 2

June 14, 1986

I am completely free, can do anything I wish, eat anything I wish, drive anywhere - and no medication necessary! How grateful I am! Have long since returned to all of my activities; and feel truly blessed for God's loving care.

If "emulation" is the word, you have inspired "emulation" in many in the House and Senate and among your people across the land.

May God continue to bless you and our First Lady -

Sincerely

Elsa Sandstrom (Firs.

ELSA SANDSTROM

June 14, 1986

President Ronald Reagan The White House Washington, D. C. 200 Dear Mr. President -

While observing the maneuvers in Congress as debates on the budget and tax bills move along, you continue to have support and prayers for your endeavors.

Personally, I do not have any great concerns over my taxes, since they would be in the lower bracket; and perhaps, mostly, because I try to live in the belief that "the Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." However, neither have I ever been envious of those who enjoy great wealth (provided it was honestly achieved!). Bless them for their philanthropies!

We were ecstatic in California to have our Prop 51 win with such a large margin - also happy to see you pick up the torch for tort reform.

Kudos to you also for joining hands across the country for private contributions to aid the needy and homeless. This is one more step in directing the thinking of our America that charity can begin with the people and not necessarily with a government already deeply in debt. Wonder if there could be a "hands across the country" with contributions to the national debt!

Bless you for your courage and steadfastness with tax reform -

Sincerely,

Elsa Sandstrom (Mrs.)

Biblical thoughts in the Bible on Budgets:

"For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?

Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him.

Saying, This man began to build and was not able to finish.

Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?"

St. Luke 14, 28-31

Other thoughts:

Thy mercy, O Lord, is in the heavens; and thy faithfulness reacheth unto the clouds.

Thy righteousness is like the great mountains; thy judgments are a great deep: O Lord, thou preservest man and beast.

How excellent is thy lovingkindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings.

They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures.

For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light.

O continue thy loving kindness unto them that know thee and thy righteousness to the upright in heart.

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 20, 1986

Dear Bob:

During the campaigns of 1980 and 1984, I made clear to the American people the kind of men and women I would select to fill vacancies on the Federal bench, including the United States Supreme Court.

I promised they would be men and women of demonstrable character and capacity, of practical experience and proven ability in the law. I would nominate, I said, judges and justices who shared my deeply held conviction that the function of America's courts, including the highest court, is not to make laws for the American people, but to interpret the law. Judges in a democratic society should not use their appointed offices to impose their social or political views upon society—in our system of government this is the province of elected officials. This was a view stated again and again in those campaigns.

I believe I have kept faith with that commitment. And these thoughts were very much in mind when I selected Justice Rehnquist to succeed the retiring Chief Justice, and Judge Antonin Scalia to fill the vacancy thus created. Two nominees who better exemplify the qualities I pledged to seek in judicial appointments would be difficult to find.

Which brings me to the point of this letter. I am writing with a sense of profound concern about what is happening with the confirmation of Daniel A. Manion, whom I recently nominated to the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit.

Dan Manion is a capable attorney, with a high reputation for integrity and substantial litigation experience. Colleagues he has faced in court and former Democratic opponents in the Indiana Senate have come forward to attest to his character and competence. Reviewing his record, the American Bar Association declared him fully "qualified" for the appellate judgeship to which he has been nominated.

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Nevertheless, in recent weeks, Mr. Manion has become the target of a campaign that has sought to disparage his capabilities and his character, in order to defeat his nomination. Thus, I am writing to make known to you and your Senate colleagues my strongly held views about Dan Manion, and about his qualifications for service on the appellate bench.

First, the rating given to Dan Manion by the ABA, i.e., "qualified" -- though disparaged by his critics -- is the identical rating given almost half the Federal judges nominated by Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter. It is the same rating given two of my previous nominees to the Seventh Circuit, Judges Easterbrook and Posner, both of whom were distinguished professors of law at the time of their nomination. At what point was it that an ABA rating of "qualified" became an impediment to nomination to the Federal bench?

Second, Mr. Manion's legal experience is dismissed because it was gained largely at the State rather than the Federal level. But my own experience, before coming to Washington, was at the State level. It has been, and remains, my belief that our Federal circuit courts should reflect the diversity of the regions they serve. The Seventh Circuit contains Chicago, but it also contains smaller cities and towns, rural areas and farming communities, like Dixon, Illinois. Dan Manion, a country lawyer, would represent that diversity, just as the other judges whom I nominated to the Seventh Circuit bring experience from the academic world and the urban law community.

Moreover, when we recall that Mr. Lincoln himself and the late Senator Sam Ervin were proud to be known as "country lawyers," we ought to be hesitant before considering this kind of law practice a mark of ineligibility for service on the Federal bench. Nor should Mr. Manion's years of political experience in the State Senate and legal experience in Indiana's District Attorney's office be counted as of no consequence. Among the names any President should consider for the Federal courts, including the Supreme Court, when vacancies occur, are those of the most distinguished and experienced lawyers in the Congress of the United States.

Third, it is alleged that Mr. Manion, while serving as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the Indiana Senate, "defied...the Constitution," when he proposed a bill authorizing the posting of the Ten Commandments in Indiana's public schools.

But this distortion is rooted either in ignorance or malice. Where the Supreme Court had disallowed the mandatory posting of the Ten Commandments in the Kentucky public schools, Dan Manion sponsored a bill permitting the voluntary posting in Indiana's schools, and added a provision that should the Supreme Court rule voluntary posting unconstitutional, the postings would immediately be removed. His bill passed the Indiana Senate with strong Democratic support.

Dan Manion is also opposed by some because his father, Clarence Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School, was a member of the John Birch Society. Yet, surely, in 1986, the time has passed when guilt by association is acceptable practice, when an act of political discrimination can be committed against a Federal nominee because his late father held deeply controversial views.

Addressing Mr. Manion during his appearance before the Judiciary Committee, one Senator revealed, I believe, the true and undeclared motivation behind the campaign to defeat my nominee. "I think you are a decent and honorable man," the Senator said to Dan Manion, "but I cannot vote for you because of your political views."

Bob, here we come to the heart of the matter.

Dan Manion's "political views" are close to my political views. In particular, Dan Manion's belief that Federal judges should interpret the law, and not impose from the bench their social or philosophical notions upon society, is my belief. That is the real reason this nomination is encountering such hostility.

So, let me state my position directly. I intend to fight for the nomination of Dan Manion; and I do not accept that there should be a hidden restrictive covenant in the confirmation process that reads: No conservative need apply.

What appears to be taking shape is an attempt by some Senators to use their "advise and consent" power to overturn the mandate of the American people -- as expressed in 1980 and 1984.

This is not an issue of Republican versus Democrat. It is an issue of whether or not a President of the United States has the right to choose Federal judges who share his judicial philosophy, so long as they are qualified by reason of character and competence. Presidents of both parties have asserted that prerogative; and I will not surrender it.



In his letter of endorsement, Father Theodore Hesburgh, who has known him since Notre Dame days, said of Dan Manion that his life has been one of "service and commitment to justice," that he would bring to the bench "dedication, integrity and a keen knowledge of the law." This represents my view exactly; and there is one final personal reason I want this nominee confirmed. Dan Manion would be the first of the Vietnam veterans to reach the Federal Appellate Court; and I want the record to show I made that appointment.

Please let me know how I can be of help.

Sincerely,

(Ronald Progon

The Honorable Robert Dole Majority Leader United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 24, 1986

Dear Sammy:

My friend, I have your wire and want you to know we are doing all we can about the tragic situation in South Africa but are as frustrated as you are with our lack of progress.

Sammy, it is a much more complex problem than it appears on the surface. The Botha regime is trying and has made a number of changes for the better. However, there is an opposition party in that government which opposes the things he has done and makes it difficult for him to attack the ultimate problem of apartheid. It's a little like our own situation where in the opposition party, a majority, in one house of Congress can throw roadblocks in our way.

Some of the things proposed here such as all-out sanctions and disinvestment by American firms in South Africa would hurt the very people we are trying to help and would leave us no contact within South Africa to try and bring influence to bear on their government.

The American-owned industries there employ more than 80,000 Blacks. And their employment practices are like they are here with no discrimination. An American Minister named Leon Sullivan, a Black himself, created an employment policy which the American employers adopted and which is very different from the normal South African customs. Sanctions such as the House of Representatives has passed would wind up eliminating thousands and thousands of jobs in the South African-owned mines and industries, and in addition would find us shooting ourselves in the foot. For example, chrome which is essential in our steel-making comes from South Africa. The only other source is the Soviet Union. I'm sure you can see what that would do to us. Not only would we be at the mercy of the Soviets, we would be helping a nation that violates human rights as much or more than any other. Incidentally, one of the products we buy from South Africa and which isn't available anywhere else is essential in the manufacture of the catalytic converters on our automobiles.

Now, Sammy, I don't want you to read this as putting such things before the great moral issue involved in apartheid. Believe me, I see apartheid as an evil that must be eliminated. We must continue our efforts to bring this about. But we have a better chance of doing so if we maintain contact than if we pick up our marbles and walk away. You have my promise, we won't let up.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Mr. Sammy Davis, Jr. 1151 Summit Drive Beverly Hills, California 90210



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PMS PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

WHITE HOUSE DC 20500

DEAR MR PRESIDENT

AS MY FRIEND AND AS MY PRESIDENT, PLEASE DO SOMETHING ABOUT SOUTH

AFRICA.

SAMMY DAVIS JR

1151 SUMMIT DR

REVERLY HILLS CA 90210

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To Mr. Sammy Davis fr. 1151 Sermit Dr. Bound Gills Roll, 90210 Dear Sammy My Friend & have your wire and mont you to larow instantia signal all trose no our see grish ero our in South agrica but are as genetrated as you are withou lack of progress. Sommy it is a much more complex perblem Than it appears on the surface. The Botha go when a shaw and has made a number of changes for the botter. However there is an appointing party in the good which appears the things he had done and make it difficult for him to attack the returnete problem of apartheid. It's a little like on our situation where in an apparation purty, mufrity, in one have of langues can throw road blocks in an my sentine of the transfer of Some of the Things personed have such as all out . a. E in senies mairem by american firms in S.a. mould hust the very people me one trying to help & would leave us no contact within S.a. to try & bring influence to bear on their gent. The american orward industries there employ more than 80,000 Blacks. and their supplement - intriminisable on tain send we prot shill so centered On america Winista Duck memed Sullivon, a Block

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June 23, 1986

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached for your signature is a final version of your hand-written letter to Sammy Davis, Jr. NSC has reviewed the text.

David L. Chew

Dear Sammy:

My friend, I have your wire and want you to know we are doing all we can about the tragic situation in South Africa but are as frustrated as you are with our lack of progress.

Sammy, it is a much more complex problem than it appears on the surface. The Botha regime is trying and has made a number of changes for the better. However there is an opposition party in that government which opposes the things he has done and makes it difficult for him to attack the ultimate problem of apartheid. It's a little like our own situation where in the opposition party, a majority, in one house of Congress can throw road blocks in our way.

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Mr. Sammy Davis, Jr. 1151 Summit Drive Beverly Hills, California

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June 19, 1986

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Mr. Sammy Davis, Jr. 1151 Summit Drive Beverly Hills, California 90210

Best regards,

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