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Mar 87

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Exom. D.L. Chew

FOR THE PRESIDENT

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The President has seen 3/2
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

March 2, 1987

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

Dear Mr. President:

To reiterate something you already know -- Howard Baker was an inspired choice. He is not only smart and experienced, but everyone likes him enough so they want to help him.

Faithfully yours,

Malcolm Baldrige

We'll all bendover backwards

for him

464212

Ful (4x File Merch 3, 1987

Dear Brute:

It was good to hear from you and, as usual, to be rewarded by reading your column. You are right, too, about our friend's aim at SDI. I assure you I won't cave on that.

We're working on his latest proposal, which, incidentally, is what I proposed three years ago and again at Geneva and most recently at Reykjavik. I hope we can get together on it, and will, if he will meet us on verification. Without that there can be no deal.

Thanks for your encouraging words about what people are feeling when you get away from these puzzle palaces on the Potomac. You warmed my heart.

Sincerely,

HON

LtGen Victor A. Krulak, USMC, Ret. 3665 Carleton Street San Diego, California 92106

RR: AVH: pps

RR Dictation

VICTOR H. KRULAK San Dreger Creix. 92106 25 February 1987 The Honorable Ronald Reagan President of the United States The White House Washington, D.C. 20510 Dear Mr. President: Gorbachev, with his "Peace Forum" circus, made fools of a lot of Americans. His prime target is your Strategic Defense Initiative, and it escapes me why everyone cannot see it. I hope, close as you are to the day-to-day action, that you do not minimize the immense reservoir of trust and respect borne you by the American people. It is they, sometimes despite the editorial pages and six o'clock news, who sustain you, support your and believe in you. With all my good wishes always. Sincerely, Buiz VHK: im Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

March 3, 1987

Dear Barney:

Thanks for the addition to my Russian joke file. In return, do you know the one about the Russian fellow on the street in Moscow one night? A soldier yelled, "Halt!" The fellow began to run and the soldier shot him. Another man said, "Why did you do that?" The soldier said, "Curfew." "But it isn't curfew yet," the man said. The soldier said: "I know, but he's a friend of mine; I know where he lives. He couldn't have made it."

I didn't know you'd made that Russian trip, and in such high-powered diplomatic company. You know it's funny -- maybe I'm stale on traveling, but I have no desire to leave town unless it's to go to California!

Well, all the best to you.

Sincerely,

RON

Col Barney Oldfield, USAF, Ret. 360 North Crescent Drive Beverly Hills, California 90210



Col. Barney Oldfield, USAF (Ret) (Consultant)

February 26, 1987

Dear President Ron:

When I was in Moscow, they told me this joke which you can use to fatten your file:

A Soviet was asked to explain his idea of "job satisfaction", and he said that each morning he rode the Metro to work, full of enthusiasm to further the Soviet ideal, and two stops down the line a beautiful girl gets on. "I think I must meet her, must get close to her, must make love to her, and then three stops later she gets off and I go on to work." At the end of the day, tired, frustrated, he gets on the Metro to go home, and at the usual stop, the girl gets on, too. "I look at her, and I don'to want to have anything to do with her, and I'm relieved when she gets off at her station." He said he concluded that his job "satisfied" him.

You have no idea what a thrill it is to ride into Moscow with such disarmament dandies as Chris Christofferson, Norman Mailer, and Admiral Gene LaRocque and to see Yoko Lennon in the airport complete with dark glasses when it was already too dark to see except by lamplight. The business roundtable, the one of the eight that included me, was pretty clean of propaganda except that one of the delegation finally surfaced with a long diatribe about how wasteful it was to expend money on armaments when there were so many other of humanity's problems it could serve better. He was a Cuban! Who says these Soviet things are not laid on by some guy with a sense of humor?

I have to make a presentation at the Defense Information School of Ft. Benjamin Harrison, Indiana and I'm using that story, maybe apochryphal about how on the way to your first inauguration Carter told you "with no sadness at all, I bequeath you Menochem Begin and Sam Donaldson."

Don't tell me not to do it. I'm gonna say the Devil made me do it, anyway.

May all go well with you and Nancy, always,

President Ronald Reagan, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20500

JOH LT. GEN. VICTOR A, KRUCAK -3665 Carleton st. Don Dieger Caril. 92106 Dem Brute It was good to have from you and as were to be severally by bearing your column. you are right to about our friends arm at 5.D.I. I come you I want come on that, Ware morting on his latter proposes, which incidentally is what I perspect 3 years again at Genera & unet wently at Reysfaril. I hope Ilim ah ji shim som ti no ratteget teg me som meet us on weefication. Without that there can be Thoubs for your encouraging mores about what people are greatly when you get away from three fraggle palaces on the Blance. you Trock you bearing Junearly 17 on To Col. Barney Osesfield - 360 No. Crescent Or. Berney Kiels Calif. 90210 Dear Borney Thombs for the addition to my Russian John file to seture de you lever the one about the Russin Balan on the start in Motor one wift? a wearin yould hast. The Below Ingon to som o The redici shat him. Queter man said, why aid you do that? The waves said; Curpon. But it wint curlem yet, the mound. The median haid: " blemm, but he's a friend of mine, I beam where he live, the . Ti show mad tuberos A didn't lanow you'd made That Rossen This ,

in such high permend deformatie company We to go to crepantion and and my desire to live to live to the contract of th Were all the best to you. Sminy Rom

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

TO: Biff Henley

FROM: KATHY OSBORNE

DATE: 3-4-87

Please have the Oldfield letter autopenned "Ron"

Thanks.

P.S. David Chew is aware of the slight change.

FROM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C.

いる意思を変なるという

472257 PR005-01

Joseph Lamagna 98 Maple Street Yonkers, NY 10701

870303



To Joseph Lemagne - With every good wish a Vory Bent Cagons of Roses Region





WRITER-PHOTOGRAPHER

JOSEPH LAMAGNA

98 MAPLE STREET YONKERS, N.Y. 10701



Jan. 19, 1987

Ronald Reagan President of the United States The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. Washington, D C. 20500

Dear President Reagan,

I have enclosed a 1966 photograph of you and my brother Frank taken when he ran unsuccessfully for the 34th. Congressional District in Orange County, California and you won for Governor then.

I would appreciate your autograph on this photo inscribed to Frank so that I can mail it to him as a gift.

I would also appreciate receiving an autographed photo of you and Mrs. Reagan (if possible) personally inscribed to me from both of you.

Many noted figures utilize secretaries or automatic autographing machines as auto-pens. However, I would warmly prefer only your personal touch instead.

Enclosed is a self addressed stamped envelope for your convenience in replying. Thanking you in advance for this courtesy, I remain...

Patriotically yours,

P.S. I hope this envelope makes it to your personal hands through all the necessary clearances.

Please accept my apologies for intruding on your obviously busy schedule. Thanks again and God Bless You.

AUTHOR

End case File

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46445255 EP

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

March 3, 1987

NOTE FOR SECRETARY BENNETT

FROM:

NANCY J. RISQUE

The President has asked me to forward the attached note and article to you.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

| | | | DATE: | 3/3/87 | |
|--|--------------------|--------|--------|---------------|--|
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| NOT | E FOR: | NANCY | RISQUE | E | |
| The President has | | | | | |
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| David L. Chew Staff Secretary (x-2702) | | | | | |
| cc: | Senator Origina | | | r | |

NO MORE MR. NICE GUY

Bill 7. y.d., to more

Bill 7. y.d., to more

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MARCH 13, 1987

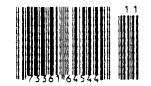
Media Power & Glory

NO MORE MR. NICE GUY

630500 © RPP, Inc.

MICHAEL FUMENTO: SOME DARE CALL THEM:

OBBER BA



LAWRENCE UZZELL UNCOVERS THE DOE RIGHTS SCAM JOHN MCLAUGHLIN SCOPES OUT THE NEW CHIEF SPOOK **JOHN SIMON WASTES PLATOON**

THE NUMBERS GAME / LAWRENCE UZZELL

RUNNING THE RIGHTS SCAM AT DOE

MERICA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS give higher status to the value of "equality" than do schools in countries run by avowed Marxists. It is easier here than anywhere else in the world to use equality as an excuse for mediocrity. One reason is that we have established entire educational institutions that specialize in disguising education issues as civil-rights issues. Probably the most important of these is an obscure but powerful unit of the U.S. Department of Education called the Office for Civil Rights (OCR).

With 832 staffers, OCR commands about one-fifth of the department's total manpower, strategically deployed in ten regional offices that investigate and "advise" schools and colleges. Many of this unit's decisions would never survive referenda among the very groups it claims to protect. Ignoring the "back to basics" preferences of most black and Hispanic families, it has tried to mandate bilingual instruction, outlaw father-son social events, forbid school dress codes that distinguish between boys and girls, and crack down on standardized tests and on schools that group children by academic ability. It intimidates principals who suspend unruly students, prohibits singlesex gym classes-and forces colleges to finance abortions.

With all this, OCR has never yet fully exercised the powers it theoretically claims. But its advances outnumber its retreats. The test for the Reagan Administration is not whether it is enforcing OCR's regulations more "reasonably," but whether it is preventing future excesses by dismantling regulations that grossly distort the civil-rights laws. Except for one overrated court decision, the Administration flunks that test. OCR is ready for a

Hart or Cuomo Administration to continue the agenda that Jimmy Carter left unfinished.

OCR's hunting license is Title 34, Subtitle B, Chapter I of the Code of Federal Regulations—eighty-odd fine-print pages that purport to interpret about four paragraphs of civil-rights law. Every word of this text was written in the 1960s or 1970s—mostly by OCR lawyers committed to feminism and racial quotas. Ronald Reagan's appointees have made only one substantive change; even that one was initiated by the Carter Administration when Joseph Califano decided that regulating school dress codes was "nonsense."

OCR's regulations are extraordinarily detailed—especially in pushing what Cornell political scientist Jeremy Rabkin calls "unisex totalitarianism." A foreigner reading these regulations could easily conclude that Americans fought a civil war over sex, not slavery.

F ENFORCED to the hilt, the regulations would bar any community. outside of a few enclaves such as Greenwich Village, from running schools that reflect its cultural preferences. The regulations forbid schools to separate the sexes in any course, except for contact sports, sex education, and choruses "based on vocal range or quality." They command schools and colleges to provide "equal athletic opportunity" for both sexes, and they insist that colleges treat "termination of pregnancy . . . in the same manner . . . as any other temporary disability."

On racial questions, lawyer and psychologist Barbara Lerner of Princeton, New Jersey, observes that OCR "did some good work in the 1960s, when the issue was real, hard-core segregation in the South." But its current writ, composed by what she calls "a biracial gang of bureaucrats, poli-

ticians, and street hustlers who make their livings off rhetoric about racist America," embraces the "race-conscious" strategies that became fashionable in the late 1960s and 1970s. It openly invites schools to engage in preferential treatment: "Even though an applicant or recipient [of Department of Education grants] has never used discriminatory policies . . . [its] services and benefits . . . may not in fact be equally available to some racial or nationality groups. In such circumstances . . . [it] may properly give special consideration to race, color, or national origin."

OCR is "obsessed with numbers," says one Reaganite official in the Department of Education. Its regulations show it: "A vocational education center . . . will be presumed unlawfully segregated if . . . it has since its construction been attended primarily by members of one race, national origin, or sex." Are the students' choices free? Do authorities deliberately steer them by race? The regulations do not even acknowledge such issues: Both implicitly and explicitly, they reduce justice to statistics. The official likens OCR to Robert McNamara's Pentagon: Its "best and brightest" are "caught in their own machinery" of body counts.

Some civil-rights veterans now seem to agree. Charles Glenn of the Mussachusetts Department of Education one of the principal architects of busing in Boston-observes that "we keep trying to repeat our successes, when the payoff is smaller and smaller . . you can't batter down the doors when the doors are already down." Now a supporter of parental choice in education, he suggests that "the time has come for those of us who are committed to racial justice and to the interests of poor children to consider laving to rest the strategies which served us well in the 1960s and even more recently." But Glenn's message has 55 to reach egalitarian zealots such as

Mr. Uzzell, an editorial writer for Scripps Howard newspapers, has been covering education issues from inside and outside the government for more than a decade. Last year a Weiss subcommittee issued a report condemning even the Reagan Administration's modest changes in OCR for "refusing to fully use its authorized powers of enforcement."

In one sense Weiss is right. OCR has never fully enforced its own regulations—which go far beyond the scope "authorized" by law—for if it did, parents and educators would revolt. Consider, for example, the OCR re-

calls "negotiation." To outsiders this looks a lot more like "intimidation"; Barbara Lerner calls it "bullying totally innocent institutions." Educators must take time away from running their own programs to placate outsiders. Often they are caught in squeeze plays between OCR and their own zealots, such as faculty members who file discrimination complaints just before they come up for tenure. And at every moment their treasuries and

Though it can withhold subsidies, OCR prefers what it calls 'negotiation.' To outsiders this looks more like 'intimidation.' The path of least resistance is to convert to the OCR mentality

quirement that gym classes be co-ed. Once assured that her identity will remain concealed, a Rocky Mountain school official cheerfully reports that her state does not obey and never has obeyed OCR's 11-year-old regulation. She says that in the 1970s the agency was "Gestapo-like" on other issues, but apparently never foolhardy enough to insist on this one.

Sometimes, however, OCR wins without firing a shot. The Arlington, Virginia, school district, for instance, did co-educate its gym classes even though OCR had made no attempt to enforce its regulation. When parents sought to restore all-boy and all-girl gym classes, the school board refused -despite a poll showing that most gym teachers favored at least letting children choose between mixed and unmixed sessions. Some suggested grouping children by athletic abilitywhich would not have violated OCR's regulations—but the school board used the regulations as an excuse for doing nothing.

The Arlington experience shows how hard it is to reverse OCR's "reforms" once they are entrenched. The agency has forced schools to build elaborate systems based on its ultraegalitarian assumptions, and those systems now have their own momentum. Every Department of Education grantee, for example, must appoint an affirmative-action officer—whose power and status depend on perpetuating the OCR mentality.

Though empowered to withhold federal subsidies, OCR prefers what it

reputations are threatened by the prospect of losing their federal grants. The path of least resistance is to convert to the OCR mentality—to start thinking like a lawyer or statistician, not like an educator.

Some of Reagan's appointees have challenged that mentality. William Bradford Reynolds, civil-rights chief at the Department of Justice, has pushed hard to restore the "color-blind" philosophy that originally inspired the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But his counterparts at the Department of Education—such as Harry Singleton, head of OCR for most of Reagan's first term—have proved unwilling to push equally hard. Reynolds and Singleton repeatedly clashed over cases of alleged discrimination.

NE SUCH case involved elementary schools in Dillon, South Carolina. Singleton asked the Department of Justice to sue Dillon "because a considerable number of regular school classes are racially identifiable, due to the method used by the district for ability grouping." Though later OCR memos conceded that the district "has not intentionally resegregated its classrooms" and that its practices were based on "valid educational and administrative reasons," OCR wanted to make Dillon use "less racially disproportionate methods." Reynolds rejected Singleton's recommendation, but OCR is still trying to cut off federal aid through administrative proceedings.

Singleton's OCR ruled California's

community-college system guilty discriminating against women and norities in apprenticeship training agents did not try to prove that state deliberately excluded minority plicants, but relied purely on statist. Since "minority students made up 20 per cent of the 20,268 apprentices the community colleges, compar with 33.1 per cent of the general stapopulation," OCR demanded that Ca fornia establish quotas to eliminate th "under-representation."

The California case directly unde mined Reynolds's campaign againnumerical "effects tests." OCR's ar proach to integrating state universitie undermined his opposition to preferen tial treatment. In 1983 Singleton sen letters to the governors of Florida and Georgia demanding "additional measures" beyond those their university systems had already accepted. He enclosed a document suggesting "sample measures for increasing black enrollment," such as designating a fixed sum every year "for scholarships for black graduate and professional students. At least 50 per cent of this money will be earmarked for students pursuing degrees in fields in which black students are under-represented . . ."

As Reynolds observed in a blistering memo to the Department of Education, "Such a set-aside of scholarship funds, available only to members of one race without regard to whether they are victims of discrimination, is . . . offensive to the principle of nondiscrimination that this Administration has so staunchly defended."

OCR demands in Florida and Georgia were particularly serious because they strengthened an assault on academic freedom that has been under way for nearly two decades. The key tool of this assault has been a legal action called the Adams case, which exploited a paradox of contemporary jurisprudence: If you want to make big government bigger, sue it. In 1970, the Adams plaintiffs claimed to be victims of discrimination in schooling, but instead of suing schools they sued the Federal Government-arguing that OCR was not doing enough to enforce the civil-rights laws. With the NAACP Legal Defense Fund on one side and the feds on the other, the court's attention was virtually monopolized by those who wanted a more interventionist OCR, shielded from the democratic process. From 1973 to 1983 District Judge John Pratt issued a series of orders with just that effect. In Rabkin's words, these orders placed an all-too-willing OCR in "judicial receivership."

In 1978, OCR "obeyed" one of the orders by publishing one of the most dishonest documents ever to appear in the *F. deral Register*. This document, entitled "Revised criteria specifying the ingredients of acceptable plans to desegregate state systems of public higher

"the proportion of black faculty . . . in positions requiring the doctoral degree shall at least equal the proportion of black individuals with the credentials required for such positions in the relevant labor market area."

These supposedly non-arbitrary non-quotas have never had the same legal force as full-fledged regulations, but OCR has never formally withdrawn them. The Reagan Administration has not yet certified one Adams state as

tect private schools from detailed reulation under voucher or tuition-tacredit plans. "It is nearly impossible avoid becoming a federal beneficiar even when you deliberately try not be," he observes. "Another outcome the pushing of people who do no practice the social religion of the government farther and farther out of th mainstream of society by barring ther from anything the government fundregulates, or influences."

But on this first question the Reagar Administration took the same position in court as the Carter Administration Only on the second question did the Administration break with its predecessors: It agreed with Grove City that a federal research grant to a university's physics department does not automatically entangle, say, that university's sports program.

The Supreme Court ruled 9 to 0 against Grove City College on the first question, but 6 to 3 in its favor on the second. The Reagan Administration, having ceded the most important principle from the start, claimed a total victory.

Will the Reagan years leave OCR completely unreformed? No. The Administration has moved in court to dismiss the Adams case and may thus win new opportunities to move away from quotas. It already has discretion to pronounce that a state university system is finally desegregated: Its verdicts on Adams states coming up for review will help show how far its commitment to "academic excellence" goes beyond rhetoric. So will its willingness to rewrite OCR's hitherto sacrosanct regulations: One Administration source says that "reasonable regs could be just a few pages long," not eighty.

Reagan's appointees have improved OCR's day-to-day operations—though often in ways a new Administration could easily reverse. The agency no longer subsidizes advocacy groups to advise schools about real or alleged discrimination. Some of its standardized forms demanding information from schools have become shorter and less burdensome. Its backlog of unresolved cases has been trimmed.

Like most of the Department of Education, OCR has become more efficient since 1980. But the Reagan Revolution was supposed to mean more than doing a better job of managing the social revolution imposed by statists.

If the feds can regulate a school that merely enrolls students who get subsidies, then they can also regulate grocers whose customers get Social Security checks

education," assured educators that "these criteria seek to preserve and protect academic standards of excellence" and that they "need not and should not lead to lowering academic standards." But in the very same paragraph, OCR decreed that "under these criteria and the goals they set, all applicants must be able to compete successfully . . . States may need to innovate in seeking out talented students who will profit from higher education. They may need to broaden definitions of potential; to discount the effects of early disadvantage on the development of academic competence; and to broaden the talents measured in admissions tests. But new and different yardsticks for measuring potential are not lower yardsticks. They can be more valid measures of true potential and talent."

The "revised criteria" insisted that "these goals are not quotas. The department is opposed to arbitrary quotas." But three pages later OCR filled in the details: The proportion of black high-school graduates entering a state's four-year colleges shall equal the proportion of white graduates. An individual campus that would have three thousand black freshmen if enrollments were perfectly proportional, but now has only one thousand, shall raise the number to two thousand within five vears. Graduate schools shall enroll black alumni of the state's colleges in the same proportions as whites—and this goal "shall be separately stated for each major field of graduate and professional study." At each institution,

having completed "the desegregation process"—even though these states stopped excluding blacks from their campuses a generation ago.

What the Adams case was to Jimmy Carter's OCR, the Supreme Court's 1984 Grove City ruling was to Ronald Reagan's—a chance to change key policies while pleading, "The judge made us do it." But Reagan's people failed to take full advantage of their opportunity.

ROVE CITY COLLEGE, a private liberal-arts institution in Pennsylvania, challenged OCR on two crucial principles. First: Can the feds regulate a school that gets no direct federal subsidies, but merely enrolls students who get such subsidies? Second: Can they regulate every program at a school, not just the programs that get federal subsidies?

Though it affects fewer schools in the short run, the first of these questions is by far the more important. If the answer is yes—as OCR has always assumed—then in principle Washington can also regulate grocers whose customers receive Social Security checks, and perhaps even churches that enjoy tax exemptions. If the government can treat its indirect beneficiaries just like its direct beneficiaries, the public and private sectors become indistinguishable—as in totalitarian regimes.

One Reaganite alumnus of the Department of Education warns that this principle could make it harder to pro-

Endl (as ? File

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THE WHITE HOUSE

March 4, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT H. TUTTLE 1

SUBJECT:

PAS Withdrawl

Attached for your signature is a document withdrawing the nomination of ROBERT M. GATES to be Director of Central Intelligence.

To Secretary Billie Sounte shops

Mary

March 10, 1987

Received from the White House a sealed envelope said to contain a withdrawal by the President for the following-named person:

Robert M. Gates, of Virginia

This sealed envelope is also said to contain a nomination by the President for the following-named person:

James Abdnor, of South Dakota

(Secretary of the Senate)

G:30 pm
(Time received)

The President has seen The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

Colone Colone

2 March 1987

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. President:

It is apparent that there is strong sentiment in the Senate to await completion, at minimum, of the work of the Senate Select Committee on Iran before acting on my nomination. I believe a prolonged period of uncertainty would be harmful to the Central Intelligence Agency, the Intelligence Community and potentially to our national security. Accordingly, I respectfully request that you withdraw my nomination to be Director of Central Intelligence. I am deeply honored that you chose me for this high position and I pledge my full support and assistance to whomever you select, and the Senate confirms, as the next Director.

Sincerely,

Robert M./ Gates

3/3/87

Amy Weist has been asked to prepare an undated Tuttle memo relating to this withdrawal.

w/o to OC - 3/5/87 (11:150)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1987.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

With great regret I have agreed to Robert Gates' request that his name be withdrawn as the nominee to be Director of Central Intelligence. I met with Bob this afternoon. He asked me to withdraw his nomination rather than proceed with extended consideration by the Senate.

I have asked Bob to continue serving as Deputy Director of Central Intelligence under the new director, and I look forward to working with him during the next two years. He is a remarkably talented and dedicated man who has served five Presidents with great professional skill and integrity. I have been impressed with the class he has shown under the enormous pressures of recent weeks. At any other time, I am certain that he would easily have been confirmed without delay.

It is clear that at this point confirmation proceedings would not be in the interest of the CIA or the Nation. Mr. Gates has done an outstanding job as Acting Director and will continue to serve in this capacity until a new Director is confirmed.

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