

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1984

Dear Newt:

Thank you for your recent letter containing your analysis of the "Dear Commandante" letter sent to Nicaraguan head of state Daniel Ortega by ten members of the House of Representatives.

I obviously take no exception to the expressed interest of the signers of the letter to Mr. Ortega in seeing the implementation of genuine democracy in Nicaragua. However, I would note that serious questions remain concerning the elections planned by the Sandinistas. Moreover, other important differences remain between Nicaragua and the U.S. that the "Dear Commandante" letter does not address: export of subversion, Nicaragua's unprecedented military build-up, and the continued presence in Nicaragua of some 3,000 Cuban military and security advisers. Thus far the Sandinistas have refused to take concrete steps to respond to our concerns in these areas, even though we have made clear to them that we would be responsive to any positive steps on their part.

As a result of this Sandinista intransigence, Nicaragua remains a security threat to us and our friends in Central America. To cope with this threat we need, more than ever, congressional and popular support for our approach toward Central America. We must continue to uphold forces of democracy and moderation, and oppose forces of totalitarianism and extremism. You should know that this Administration is grateful for your continued help in this endeavor, and particularly grateful for bringing this problem to the attention of the American people.

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

DCSITT

8412526

- O - OUTGOING
 - H - INTERNAL
 - I - INCOMING
- Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD)

8410418

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT:

Newt Gingrich

DC Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT:

letter to MKD regarding Jim Wright's letter to A. Carafan dictatorial ship

ROUTE TO: Office/Agency (Staff Name)	ACTION		DISPOSITION		
	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
DC S, H	C	8410418			8410418
NSC KIMM		8410418			8410510 C840702

ACTION CODES: A - Appropriate Action C - Comment/Recommendation D - Draft Response F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be	I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary R - Direct Reply w/Copy S - For Signature X - Interim Reply	DISPOSITION CODES: A - Answered B - Non-Special Referral C - Completed S - Suspended	FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE: Type of Response = Initials of Signer Code = "A" Completion Date = Date of Outgoing
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COMMENTS: NSC ID 8403382

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S# 8412526
Date July 2, 1984

FOR: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: Mr. Mike Deaver FROM: Cong. Newt Gingrich
DATE: April 16, 1984 SUBJECT: Letter to Deaver FM Rep.
Gingrich RE Nicaragua

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: 4/26/84 NSC ID# 8403382

 The attached item was sent directly to the Department
of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other

REMARKS:

CH Hill
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear ^{Newt}~~Mr. Gingrich~~:

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I obviously take no exception to the expressed interest of the signers of the letter to Mr. Ortega in seeing the implementation of genuine democracy in Nicaragua. However, I would note that serious questions remain concerning the elections planned by the Sandinistas. Moreover, other important differences remain between Nicaragua and the U.S. that the "Dear Commandante" letter does not address: export of subversion, Nicaragua's unprecedented military build-up, and the continued presence in Nicaragua of some 3,000 Cuban military and security advisers. Thus far the Sandinistas have refused to take concrete steps to respond to our concerns in these areas, even though we have made clear to them that we would be responsive to any positive steps on their part.

The Honorable

Newt Gingrich,

U.S. House of Representatives.

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Sincerely,

MKD

REFERRAL

DATE: 26 APR 84

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPT OF STATE

8412526

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION.

TO: DEEVER, M

SOURCE: GINGRICH, NEWT

DATE: 16 APR 84

KEYWORDS: NICARAGUA

CONGRESSIONAL

SUBJ: LTR TO DEEVER FM REP GINGRICH RE NICARAGUA

REQUIRED ACTION DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE DATE: 03 MAY 84

COMMENTS.

Letter Deaton
6870

FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

84 APR 27 09:49

NEWT GINGRICH
SIXTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEES:
PUBLIC WORKS AND
TRANSPORTATION
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1005 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-4501



8412526

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

April 16, 1984

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NEWNAN, GEORGIA 30263
(404) 253-8355

222951

Mr. Mike Deaver
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mike:

[REDACTED]

In the debate on Nicaragua last Thursday night, House
Speaker Jim Wright admitted that he and nine other
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

the Nicaraguan dictatorship on March 20, 1984.

While this letter so far has received little press
attention, it may prove to be a decisive turning point in the
post-Vietnam Congressional involvement in the daily execution
of foreign policy.

There are five Congressmen who with this "Dear
[REDACTED]

1. In stating "We have been, and remain, opposed to U.S.
support for military action directed against the people or
government of Nicaragua," these Congressmen step across the
boundary from opposition to a policy, to undercutting that
policy.

As Americans, we all have the right to publicly and
vigorously oppose the policies of our government. We don't
have the right to undercut such policies. The covert actions
against Nicaragua had been authorized by Congress and paid
for by Congressional appropriations.

These men wrote a letter to a foreign government and the
effect can only be to make U.S. policy more difficult to
implement. That's clearly wrong.

2. The letter concludes with the Members saying "(We)
pledge our willingness to discuss these or other matters of
concern with you or officials of your government at any
time." This clearly violates the Executive Branch's
exclusive prerogative of negotiating with a foreign
government.

The Founding Fathers learned the hard way, under the
Articles of Confederation, that multiple players in foreign
policy and especially legislators getting involved, would

lead to a nightmare of foreign governments manipulating and playing off different American factions.

3. There's a clear and consistent pattern of opposition to legislative involvement with foreign governments from Alexander Hamilton's Federalists Papers essay, to Thomas Jefferson's statements as Secretary of State in the Citizens Genet case in 1790, to the Logan Act of 1798 protecting the Executive Branch's exclusive right to negotiate.

4. This letter clearly violates the Constitutional separation of powers. It's at best unwise, and at worst illegal.

5. By suggesting that the Marxist leader can act in ways which would "significantly strengthen the hands of those in our country who desire better relations based upon true equality, self-determination, and mutual good will," these ten Congressmen invite foreign powers to manipulate the American political system. In an election year, they are teaching our adversaries how to act to influence our political elections.

If this letter had been written by a radical, junior Member of Congress, it would still be a fairly remarkable document. However, this letter is on the stationary of the Democratic Majority Leader and is also signed by the Chairman of the Intelligence Committee, chairmen of three Foreign Affairs Subcommittees, two members of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, the Democratic Deputy Whip, and two junior members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Not only are these ten men powerful in the House, all are in position to have been briefed on the policies of the U.S. Government and the extent of Soviet-Cuban domination of the Nicaraguan dictatorship.

For these ten knowledgeable men to have written a letter to a foreign regime stating their opposition to their own government's policies, offering to talk directly with the Head of State or his officials, and telling the Head of State

Page Three

how he could influence American politics, is one of the most remarkable documents our age has produced.

Historians will look upon this letter as a model of how Congress undercut and crippled the capacity of the U.S. Government to pursue a stable foreign policy.

I am enclosing a text of the letter and a copy of the speech I made on the House floor outlining some of the historical precedents and problems this letter creates.

I look forward to hearing your reaction to this letter. I urge you to make its contents and dangers as widely known as possible.

Sincerely,



Newt Gingrich

NG/jv
Enclosures

House of Representatives
Office of the Majority Leader
Washington, D.C. 20515

March 20, 1984

Comandante Daniel Ortega
Coordinador de la Junta de Gobierno
Case de Gobierno
Managua, NICARAGUA

Dear Comandante: ①

We address this letter to you in a spirit of hopefulness and good will.

As Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, we regret the fact that better relations do not exist between the United States and your country. We have been, and remain, opposed to U.S. support for military action directed against the people or government of Nicaragua. ②

We want to commend you and the members of your government for taking steps to open up the political process in your country. The Nicaraguan people have not had the opportunity to participate in a genuinely free election for over fifty years. We support your decision to schedule elections this year, to reduce press censorship, and to allow greater freedom of assembly for political parties. Finally, we recognize that you have taken these steps in the midst of ongoing military hostilities on the borders of Nicaragua. ③

We write with the hope that the initial steps you have taken will be followed by others designed to guarantee a fully open and democratic electoral process. We note that some who have become exiles from Nicaragua have expressed a willingness to return to participate in the elections, if assurances are provided that their security will be protected, and their political rights recognized. Among these exiles are some who have taken up arms against your government, and who have stated their willingness to lay down those arms to participate in a truly democratic process.

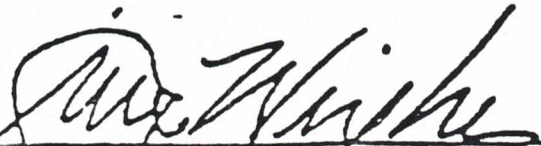
If this were to occur, the prospects for peace and stability throughout Central America would be dramatically enhanced. Those responsible for supporting violence against your government, and for obstructing serious negotiations for broad political participation in El Salvador would have far greater difficulty winning support for their policies than they do today.

We believe that you have it in your power to establish an example for Central America that can be of enormous historical importance. For this to occur, you have only to lend real force and meaning to concepts your leadership has already endorsed concerning the rules by which political parties may compete openly and equitably for political power.

A decision on your part to provide these reasonable assurances and conduct truly free and open elections would significantly improve the prospect of better relations between our two countries and significantly strengthen the hands of those in our country who desire better relations based upon true equality, self-determination and mutual good will.

We re-affirm to you our continuing respect and friendship for the Nicaraguan people, and pledge our willingness to discuss these or other matters of concern with you or officials of your government at any time.


Very sincerely yours,



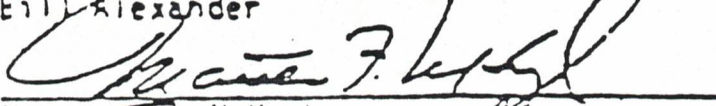
Dan Wright




Michael P. Barnes



Bill Alexander



Matthew P. McHugh



Robert G. Torricelli




Edward P. Boland



Stephen J. Solari



David R. Oney



Robert Garcia



Lee H. Hamilton

Congressional Record



United States
of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 98th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

United States
Government
Printing Office

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OF DOCUMENTS
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375

SECOND CLASS NEWSPAPER

The second is the impact of the Congress interfering capriciously and randomly in foreign policy.

And the third is the way in which our misperception of the Soviets and our misunderstanding of the dangers of congressional involvement interact with a modern global instantaneous news media to maximize the damage we cause ourselves.

Let me first of all focus on the nature of the Soviet Communist threat. I was really stunned, as this debate developed over the last few days, and I stopped and I looked at Central America and I began to realize some things that frankly amazed me.

All of the focus in the House of Representatives, particularly by the liberal Democrats, is on the United States. What is America doing? Why are we down there? What is happening on our side?

So I tried to go and look at the entire picture. The Soviet Union has sent \$112 million worth of arms to Nicaragua in the last year, all the way from the Soviet Union to Nicaragua. \$112 million just for the equipment. That does not count the cost for trainers and the like. The Soviet amount is just for arms.

The \$44 million the United States spent in El Salvador includes everything, right down to food for the trainers.

So in our backyard, as the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. LIVINGSTON) was saying, in an area that is closer to Miami than Miami is to Washington, we are spending \$44 million last year in El Salvador while the Soviet Union is spending \$112 million just for the arms going to Nicaragua. These are not for defensive weapons. The only country in Central America that has tank battalions is Nicaragua, and the primary purpose of tank battalions is to launch an offensive, to attack your neighbors.

The Soviets have helped build over 40 new military bases in Nicaragua. We heard a great deal of talk from the liberal Democrats on this floor as it related to Honduras and whether or not the United States was building airfields in Honduras, in our backyard, in our part of the world. Are we helping an ally in Honduras?

The liberal Democrats were very shocked at the thought that we would be out there actually building airfields or developing effective bases in Honduras. Yet the Soviet Union and its Cuban allies have built over 40 new military bases, including airfields, some of which are being developed to withstand bombing and to provide hardened sites to protect jet fighter planes.

Between the Soviet Union and their Cuban puppet, there are between 2,500 and 3,500 advisers in Nicaragua. We get exercised, and the liberal Democrats in this House raise questions about 55 American advisers in El Salvador. Yet in our backyard, relatively close to the United States, there are

between 2,500 and 3,500 Communist-bloc advisers turning the country into a dictatorship.

How do the Soviet arms get to Nicaragua? Most of them come in ships. There are more ships landing in Nicaragua today from the Warsaw Pact than landed in Nicaragua in the 20 years before the Communists took over.

Furthermore, future signs of development in the Caribbean were obvious in the last week when the Soviet Union sent the *Leningrad*, an aircraft carrier, along with a guided missile destroyer and a fleet oiler and a submarine, to practice for the very first time with the Cuban Navy. The Cubans provided two frigates and a landing ship which is designed specifically to carry marines for amphibious assaults.

So what is the image you have? Partially, the less threatening image is that the Soviets and their Cuban allies are practicing to block the lanes which we would ship help to Europe. They were practicing in the area precisely where equipment would come out of Texas and Louisiana in order to go to Europe. That is the less threatening example.

The more threatening example is that they were showing the flag, that they were there to say to the Latin Americans, to Mexico, to Guatemala, to Honduras, to Costa Rica and Panama, that the Soviet Navy will go wherever it wants; that it now has a local base in the Western Hemisphere in Cuba and that the Soviets have every right to exert power and, by combining Soviet and Cuban marines on the Cuban landing ship, they will be able to land more forces and provide more power to any country in that area than that country could possibly provide by itself.

□ 2420

Now, what is frightening about all this is, first of all, the absolute reality. When I was a kid growing up, people used to laugh about someday they will talk about Communists in the Rio Grande or rightwing conservations will tell us there will be Communists in the Western Hemisphere. Well, there are. There are Communists 90 miles off our shores in Cuba. There are now Communists in Nicaragua and the guerrillas say openly that this is a war on a regional basis beyond national boundaries, that after El Salvador comes Guatemala; after Guatemala comes Honduras and then comes Mexico.

The guerrillas say this. They are not kidding us, just as Adolf Hitler said what he wanted to do, just as Lenin and Stalin said what they wanted to do, just as Mao Tse-tung explained what he wanted to do.

The guerrillas in Nicaragua, the El Salvadoran guerrillas are trained, equipped, and directed from Nicaragua. Those guerrillas are very comfortable in saying flatly that they intend

THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST THREAT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGRICH) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I want to take just a few minutes as we approach the recess to talk about three themes in American foreign policy as they relate to what we have done today and what has been happening recently.

The first is the consistent American misunderstanding of the nature of the Communist threat and the nature of what is happening around the world, and particularly as it relates to Central America.

to wage a regional war across the whole area.

Furthermore, as a recent article in the New York Times indicated clearly, our Western European allies are very willing to state that the guerrillas are being supplied directly from Nicaragua, that the war in El Salvador probably could not be sustained by the guerrillas if they did not have help from Nicaragua and that as a consequence, Nicaragua is directly involved in an action of attack upon El Salvador.

Now, if one of the Latin American countries is under attack, there is every reason to believe under the Organization of American States, and under the U.N. Charter that we have every right to try to help the country that is being attacked.

The fact is that for the last 5 years Nicaragua has systematically been building a base and has been building a guerrilla movement and has been involved in attacking its neighbors. If you talk to people from Honduras or people from Costa Rica or people from Guatemala, they will tell you that they are terrified of the scale of the Soviet buildup in Nicaragua which has made Nicaragua the most powerful military force in Central America. The Nicaraguan military has more tanks than all the other governments in Central America combined. The Nicaraguan dictatorship has more airfields prepared to accept jet aircraft, they have more artillery pieces and they have a larger army than all their neighbors combined.

In this setting, with 5 years of history, with 5 years of a Communist dictatorship slowly and steadily increasing the pressure that it puts both on its own people, with just last week censoring 65 percent of what was once the freest newspaper in that country, La Prensa, with a record in which the Catholic Church now opposes the dictatorship, in which there is increasing anger against the dictatorship, in which there are thousands of people fleeing the country prepared to fight for their freedom, opposing the dictatorship, in this setting we are told to focus only on El Salvador and to forget history.

It is as though somebody were being mugged and as they fought back, the policeman arrested the victim on the grounds that the victim was now fighting.

It is a sign of the tragic unwillingness of the American left to accept the reality of a Communist danger, that we could be here this week with Soviet troops in the Western Hemisphere, Soviet naval ships practicing off our coast, Soviet equipment going into Nicaragua, a Nicaraguan Communist dictatorship, guerrillas openly attacking and claiming they are fighting a regional war and our emphasis would be on American activities.

It is as though during World War II in fighting Nazi Germany, the major issue has been whether or not Eisen-

hower was doing the right things instead of how are we going to defeat the enemy.

The fact is that Nicaraguan dictatorship is a threat to every American city. It is a threat to all of us, because the best evidence we have is that if the Communists succeed in destabilizing Central America, we can expect something on the order of 16 million refugees by the end of the decade.

Now, compared to the number of boat people, it is important to remember first that El Salvador can reach America by land. You have just foot people, not boat people.

Second, it is not very far away. It is 2 days car ride from the Texas border to El Salvador. It is less than that to southern Mexico.

Already I think it is fair to say that the second largest city of El Salvador is after the capital of San Salvador is Los Angeles, Calif., and we are faced with a constant flow from El Salvador, from Guatemala, from Honduras and from Mexico which will increase dramatically, as I said, I think 16 million is a reasonable estimate of the number of refugees if all the countries in Central America end up as Communist dictatorships.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GINGRICH. I would be glad to yield to my friend, the gentleman from California.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and I thank the articulate gentleman from Georgia for coming out to remind us of these truths that were lost somewhere in the flak of the debate that we just finished.

I would like to respond to one question or one theme that came up recurrently in the Democrat presentation of their proposition, that it was completely illegal and unlawful for the United States to permit the mining of the harbors in Nicaragua.

You know, the question kept coming up, under what law, under what right do we do this? As I heard the Democrats come forth with this statement and this question time and again, I thought back to another time and another Democrat. His name was John Kennedy and in his inaugural address in 1961, and he was referring to Central America, he said these words, he enunciated what I call the Kennedy Doctrine. He said:

To our sister Republic south of our border we offer a special pledge, to convert our good works into good deeds and into a new alliance for progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty; but this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas and let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

Now, I think if John F. Kennedy were here today and saw in Nicaragua what Jeane Kirkpatrick calls a terror-

ist internationale, composed of Soviet soldiers, Cuban soldiers, Bulgarian soldiers, North Vietnamese soldiers, and North Korean soldiers, he would ask of his Democrat successors in the House of Representatives, "When did you forget this doctrine? Where did we go wrong? Where did we stop believing in the security of the Americas in this doctrine that I enunciated in 1961?"

One other point was brought up that I thought was interesting. We talked and spoke about the World Court and how terrible it was not to submit to the jurisdiction of the World Court. It occurred to me—and I think Mr. Descoto was very successful in changing the subject and making this a subject that the American media has focused on for the last week, but the Soviets do not submit to the jurisdiction of the World Court.

A number of our allies who would have us submit to their jurisdiction, such as Great Britain, have oftentimes declined jurisdiction legally, and in listening to several of the legal scholars of this Nation, we did exactly what was required of us in declining jurisdiction before the case was brought before us; but the idea that has been advanced by some of my Democrat colleagues, to the effect that somehow we should surrender our Central American policy to the jurisdiction of a court, when Nicaragua is host to a band, again, of North Vietnamese, Bulgarians, North Koreans, Russians, and Cubans, who are not there to get a suntan, is incredible; but once again John Kennedy said:

Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas.

I would presume that that includes mining harbors. When you have a nation that is in the business of selling destabilization, there is nothing wrong with stopping their inventory from coming in.

So I thank the gentleman for taking this time and for taking this late hour to summarize what occurred in the debate today. I hope that the debate continues. I think it has been very good for the American people to hear this subject aired tonight, even though it was, I think, injurious to us as Members of Congress, to us as an institution, for us to pass this resolution, which in a sense is Mr. Descoto's resolution, a resolution that he sought when he came to Washington this week.

I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman makes a very strong point here and I want to go back to it, because it is crucial.

If in fact it matters to the United States that El Salvador be free, then we have to face the fact that there is no case since World War II in which the Western free world has successfully defeated communism, as long as there is a neighboring country which is able to harbor the guerrillas.

When we were able to defeat the Communists in Greece, it was because Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and Albania cut off their supplies. When we were able to defeat the Communists ultimately in Malaya, it was because they could not get any supplies. When you look at the case, for example, of South Vietnam, it is impossible when there is a sanctuary to defeat guerrillas.

□ 0030

We are now faced with a situation in which there is now, for all practical purposes, a Communist force on the Central American land: Nicaragua. That Communist force is determined to export revolution.

If we try simply to defend freedom in El Salvador we will fail. It is impossible to defeat a Communist guerrilla movement as long as it can receive weapons and training and directions from a neighboring sanctuary.

One of the lessons in Vietnam was that when we finally mined Haiphong Harbor in 1972 it had a tremendous impact on the North Vietnamese Government and led directly to the peace negotiations, because we were strangling them at the source of their supplies.

I would point out that the mines we are talking about here tonight are nonlethal. They do not kill people. They are small. They are the puniest, the weakest weapon that you could use to scare people.

Our liberal friends who talk about compassion and who talk about avoiding any kind of harm to human beings are saying, seemingly with a straight face, that while it was all right to provide millions of dollars in aid to the freedom fighters who would use it on land to kill people, that putting mines in the water that would scare people—they were too small to kill anyone, they were too small to sink ships, but they were very effectively choking off the flow of Communist supplies into Nicaragua by scaring them.

Mr. HUNTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GINGRICH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HUNTER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I think one of our colleagues from the Democrat side did say in fact there would be some damage to a water skier and so you might have some case for personal injury.

Mr. GINGRICH. Then I would advise that they should be very cautious if they want to water ski in our hemisphere.

Mr. HUNTER. I think the gentleman makes a very important point in that many Members of this House missed the point that the alternative to mining a harbor and to tearing boats that would come in bearing large loads of arms, the alternative to that is to kill people in jungle patrols who were bearing those arms. If you want to kill a soldier, if you want to take a weapon from a soldier on a jungle

trail, you have to kill him. It is kind of a messy business. There is no easy alternative.

In fact, the much more humane alternative is to stop those arms from coming in to deter those nations who would bring arms to Nicaragua.

You know, I am reminded of a time when we conducted the war in Vietnam, when we had a number of nations in this world who were receiving American aid. They were receiving foreign aid from this country and yet they persisted in selling arms to the people, to the North Vietnamese who were using those arms to kill Americans. I always thought that policy did not make sense.

Perhaps for some of our Democratic friends they have explained why that is a perfectly rational policy. When I was in Vietnam in 1970 and 1971 it just did not make any sense that we would allow nations who were supposedly friends of the United States to sell equipment to our adversaries that would be used to kill our young men and we would continue to give foreign aid to those nations.

Some of my colleagues have made it very clear why that is apparently a rational thing to do. So I appreciate the gentleman taking out this special order and bringing up again the fact that this Congress has acted very unwisely in passing this resolution.

Mr. GINGRICH. As I said, the first failing of the Congress was a failing to understand the nature of the Communist threat and the nature of the Communist regime in Nicaragua and the fact that we are trapped now into a struggle to restore freedom and stability in Central America.

The second failure of this Congress I think is a fundamental failure to understand the enormous danger of a legislative branch meddling in politics.

I quote from Alexander Hamilton in the Federalist No. 22 who said in describing the chaos under the articles of the original Continental Congress:

... acting under the authority of those Legislatures. The faith, the reputation, the peace of the whole Union, are thus continually at the mercy of the prejudices, the passions, and the interests of every member of which it is composed. Is it possible that foreign nations can either respect or confide in such a government? Is it possible that the people of America will longer consent to trust their honor, their happiness, their safety, on so precarious a foundation?

Let me just say that if I were a potential American ally, and I looked at the spectacle that if you come to Washington and you see the President and you visit the Congress and you leave, you have no assurance what will happen next.

I do not have any idea what this Congress will do because we saw here tonight that men who are supposedly responsible figures in this Congress, once a policy starts to fail, cut and run. People who knew about the mining, who knew about it several months ago said nothing until it blew up in their face and then suddenly it

was not their fault. They were not responsible. They had nothing to do with it. It was all the administration's fault.

We saw the same thing happen in Lebanon where people who last fall voted for one resolution suddenly washed their hands and walked over and said, "I never really meant for it to happen like that."

If you were anywhere in the Third World and you had seen the collapse of American power in Lebanon and you were watching the collapse of American power in Nicaragua, and you were watching the Soviets pour 7,000 advisers into Syria, hundreds of millions of dollars of equipment into Syria, replace the entire Syrian Air Force after they lost the last one to the Israelis, and then you looked at the American response, if you looked at Nicaragua and saw the Soviets flaunt the establishment of a dictatorship in the New World, and you saw that Congress totally divided and totally impotent, which side would you bet on?

What frightens me is that this Congress has learned none of the fundamental lessons of the Founding Fathers. Let me quote Thomas Jefferson, a man who did not normally believe in a strong Executive. He wrote in 1790:

The transaction of business with foreign nations is Executive altogether. It belongs, then, to the head of that department, except as to such portions of it as are specially submitted to the Senate. Exceptions are to be construed strictly.

At the time, it was the famous event of Citizen Genet, the French envoy from the First French Republic, and Jefferson bluntly informed him:

As the President was the only channel of communication between the United States and foreign nations, it was from him alone "that foreign nations or their agents are to learn what is or has been the will of the Nation;" that whatever he communicated as such, they had a right and were bound to consider "as the expression of the Nation;" and that no foreign agent could be "allowed to question it," or "to interpose between him and any other branch of government . . ."

I think it is important to notice what Jefferson was saying, that the United States, in order to be effective in the world, had to speak with one voice.

Now, I am all for dissent. We have every right in this body to raise cane. We have every right to go back home and make political speeches and we have every right to appear on American television and argue. But as long as Congress has passed a law, as long as Congress is paying for covert actions, and we are paying for it, you cannot spend a dime in this Government that we do not pay for, we have no right to randomly have 535 Secretaries of State—100 from the other body and 435 from the House—making their own foreign policy.

Let me say that we are at the edge of a very, very dangerous environment, a situation in which recently a

Democratic Presidential candidate wandered off to Syria to meet with a dictator to bring home an American aviator. It was wonderful that the aviator came home, but it was a terrible precedent for the future.

Are we now to say that any American who wants to can go off into any country?

It has happened. In fact, under the Founding Fathers in 1798 a Philadelphia Quaker named Logan went to Paris on his own to undertake a negotiation with the French Government in order to stop a war between France and the United States. Congress was so frightened at the spectacle of American citizens randomly wandering around the world negotiating on their own with governments that they passed "an act to prevent usurpation of Executive functions," the Logan Act, which is still in the law. And the Logan Act said it is illegal for Americans to wander around the planet and negotiate with foreign governments because if you end up with hundreds of people visiting the Soviet Union, hundreds of people visiting Nicaragua and doing whatever they want to, and saying "Hi, I would like to negotiate for America," you are going to lead to absolute chaos.

The year following the Logan Act in 1799, John Marshall, at that time a Member of the House of Representatives, defended President John Adams. He said:

The President is the sole organ of the Nation in its relations, and its sole representative with foreign nations. Of consequence, the demand of a foreign nation can only be made on him. He possesses the whole Executive power. He holds and directs the force of the Nation. Of consequence, any act to be performed by the force of the Nation is to be performed through him.

Ninety-nine years later, the U.S. Senate in its Foreign Relations Committee took occasion to reiterate Marshall's doctrine and to elaborate on it.

Why is this so important? It is important because not only do we have the spectacle of one Democratic candidate for the Presidency wandering off negotiating on his own, we now have other spectacles. We have the spectacle of 10 Members of this body, as mentioned earlier and as named by the majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WRIGHT), sending a letter to a dictator in Nicaragua.

We all have a right to send letters, and we often send letters to a variety of countries.

□ 2440

But in this case, sending a letter which specifically said, and I quote, "We have been, and remain, opposed to United States support for military action directed against the people or Government of Nicaragua," and I ask that this letter be appended in its full to the very end of the special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GINGRICH. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HUNTER. I thank the gentleman for yielding. He has made an excellent point in saying that foreign policy should leave these shores with one voice. That brings up, I guess, a final point for myself. This resolution was not necessary. I cannot believe that if the Intelligence Committee had told the administration "we are not going to put up with this and we really think you should not participate in any mining and if you do not desist, we are going to bring a resolution to the floor," they could have done that.

Instead, this thing was brought out, it was aired on the House floor, and it is evident to anybody in the world who has a television set that the Congress at least has torn itself apart over this issue. And if you go along with the idea and the proposition that morale is a very important thing in the fighting of a war, perhaps as important as guns and personnel, then I think you have to accept the idea that if what we did tonight has been communicated to the people who run Nicaragua and to their military people, then they have received a tremendous boost in morale by watching this Congress tear itself apart and perhaps a few elections will be won because of things that were said tonight and maybe we can cut a few people down in the polls.

Although I think the American people still have a much greater faith in this President than they do in this Congress. But we did ourselves a real disservice tonight. This little miserable resolution did not have to come up. This matter could have been taken care of without the circus that occurred today.

I think it goes back to what the gentleman has said, that the foreign policy of this Nation should leave the shores with one voice and again when the U.S. Congress appropriates money to assist in the interdiction of arms coming out of Nicaragua, I do not see the distinction between interdicting those arms and stopping them before they come into the harbor as opposed to America ambushing a patrol on a jungle trail and killing the people who are carrying them and taking the arms away from them.

Mr. GINGRICH. The gentleman raises two different points. First of all, his last point, we ought to be tired of losing. The longer we focus on the details of war fighting, the more this Congress meddles in this action and that action, the worse off we are. We lost in Vietnam. We lost in Iran, with Desert I. How many times do we want to get this Congress involved in messing around in details?

Either you want to do something or you do not. If we do not want to do anything at all, then let us cut it off. If communism wins in Central America, at least we have been decisive. But this kind of absolutely irresponsible saying "yes" but then meaning "no," saying you will accept it but then disowning it, the kind of behavior which had one senior Member of the other

body admit in the New York Times today that he actually had been briefed but had not noticed it, that it was only on going back and looking that he guessed well, yes, they really did tell him. He just did not pay enough attention.

Now this is a business for serious people. To have the chairman of the Intelligence Committee come on this floor tonight and tell us he knew for months what was going on, but he did not say anything, he did not go and raise cane, he did not tell the administration to quit. But once it was on page 1, now we have all sorts of self-righteous speeches.

Two points should be made here: First, if the United States is going to be effective, it must decide what it wants to do, and go do it. If it is going to be messy and clumsy and difficult—which, by nature, these things are—then they are going to be messy and clumsy and difficult. So let us roll up our sleeves and get it over with.

On the other hand, if we are not going to do it, let us get out. But this kind of nonsensical, day after day, week after week, killing our allies with a little knicks, letting them bleed to death, while this Congress plays political games, is despicable; it is immoral and it is inhumane.

Let me go back again to the central reason the Founding Fathers did not want the Congress involved in the daily processes of foreign policy. Prof. Edwin Corwin, one of the leading constitutional scholars of recent decades, wrote in his "The President: Office and Powers" (4th rev. ed. 1957), page 184, that:

There is no more securely established principle of constitutional practice than the exclusive right of the President to be the nation's intermediary in its dealing with other nations.

It says exclusive. Exclusive does not mean that while approving covert actions against Nicaragua, Members of the House have the right then to write their own letters to dictatorships.

The 1972 study by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation" (S. Doc. No. 92-82), notes on page 537 that the President's power to receive "Ambassadors and other public ministers" makes the President "the sole mouthpiece of the Nation in its dealing with other nations."

The sole mouthpiece of the Nation.

Prof. Louis Henkin, of Columbia Law School, writes in his book, "Foreign Affairs and the Constitution":

For many years now, Congress has not seriously doubted . . . that the President is the sole organ of communications with foreign governments: Congress may not give or receive communications on behalf of the United States, or negotiate with foreign governments, or conduct foreign relations.—Henkin, "Foreign Affairs and the Constitution," p. 93 (1972).

The U.S. Supreme Court, in the United States against Curtiss-Wright Export Corp., 1936, said:

The President alone has the power to speak or listen as a representative of the nation. He makes treaties with the advise and consent of the Senate; but he alone negotiates. Into the field of negotiation the Senate cannot intrude; and Congress itself is powerless to invade it. . . . It is important to bear in mind that we are here dealing not alone with an authority vested in the President by an exertion of legislative power, but with such an authority plus the very delicate, plenary and exclusive power of the President as the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.

Let me repeat that last part: "the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations." The U.S. Supreme Court, interpreting the American Constitution. Why did the Founding Fathers limit negotiating powers to the executive branch?

Because the Founding Fathers had had the experience of the Continental Congress; they had had the experience of 13 independent States negotiating. They understood the nightmare of having every random legislator, who wanted to, wander off on his or her own and do whatever they felt like that week.

The Founding Fathers lived in a constant horror. If you go back and read what Hamilton said about passion, they believed it was very likely that elected politicians, particularly in the House elected every 2 years, would randomly zigzag, would do whatever worked.

We have seen it recently when the Mayaguez incident occurred, the Members of Congress began to complain until the public liked it. Then they shut up. When Vietnam began, Members of Congress liked it as long as the public opinion polls were good; then they suddenly discovered they did not like it when opinion polls got bad.

You can literally track some Members during that decade who, as the polls changed, so did they.

Recently, we had the example of liberation of Grenada. In the first 24 hours after liberation, many liberal Democrats got up and attacked it. Suddenly, it turned out to be massively popular and you did not hear anyone complain.

When we first went into Lebanon, many people were willing to give the President the benefit of the doubt. As the policy decayed, as it clearly was not going to work very well, the country decided they did not trust it, as the administration failed to explain it, as the polls went down, so did the Congress.

Now it is perfectly appropriate for the Congress on a regular basis to decide not to spend money. It is perfectly appropriate for the Congress at a strategic level to say to the executive branch, "You cannot be in Lebanon; we will not pay for it." But for us, on an everyday basis, to inflict on ourselves the wounds that we do in this

House is inexcusable. That carries me to my third point, which is the absolute revolution in communications.

You know, if back in the age of sailing ships when messages traveled slowly, when ambassadors were tremendously powerful because they were the only people who could make decisions within 3 months, if back then, the Founding Fathers were afraid of Congress capriciously and randomly getting involved in foreign policy, then how much more dangerous is it in the age of instant television?

Every embassy of every Communist dictatorship on this planet sits in Washington and watches C-Span. Every embassy reads the morning American newspaper and watches the American television news.

And I asked tonight a question which the distinguished majority leader refused to answer. I said to him: If you were the Soviet KGB adviser to the dictator of Nicaragua or you were the Cuban adviser to the dictator of Nicaragua and you received a letter signed by the majority leader of the Democratic Party, the chairman of the Intelligence Committee, three subcommittee chairmen on the International Relations Committee, two Appropriations Committee Foreign Operations Subcommittee members, two International Relations Committee members, and the deputy whip of the Democratic Party and that letter said:

We have been and remain opposed to U.S. support for military action directed against the people and Government of Nicaragua.

What would your advice be to the dictator of Nicaragua?

Let me offer you my guess. And we know a great deal of this. We have years of experience now. We have all of the North Vietnamese boasting of how they captured South Vietnam. We have North Vietnamese generals who have written their memoirs. This stuff is not hidden away. It is not secret. It just does not get much publicity. But we know for a fact what many of their plans have been over the last 30 years.

If I were the Cuban or Soviet KGB adviser to the Nicaraguan Communist dictatorship, I would say to them: "Hang tough. Be firm."

As the dictator of Syria, Assad, said publicly, slapping us in the face with his arrogance, "The American Nation has no staying power. It is a sprinter, not a marathon runner."

Now how did Assad know that? Because he watches us. He sees us. He knows that this Congress will destory our foreign policy every time it gets a chance. He knows there is no firmness in the body beyond the next poll, or the next news program.

And so what would I say if I were the Communist adviser to Nicaragua? I would say that if you were tough enough and you last long enough, the Americans will quit. They have not got the staying power. They cannot take it.

And what does this letter say? It says just that.

The major leaders are willing to break a 200-year tradition.

Maybe there have been other letters to a country we are actively trying to pressure. I do not know of any. Maybe there have been other times in our history where Members of the House felt they could write the dictator of a foreign government and side with him against their own country. I do not know of any.

The fact is the Congress of the United States has authorized and paid for actions against Nicaragua. We can talk about how covert they are. This is the most open society in the world. We do not do anything covertly. It is hard to keep the most secret things secret for very long.

So there is no secret about it. The U.S. Government is openly doing as much as it can to cause pain to Nicaragua. It is totally wrong in that setting for American political leaders to write a letter to the dictator of Nicaragua which will then be basically helping the dictator of Nicaragua. If I were the dictator of Nicaragua, I would show this letter all around. I would make sure my people saw that key sentence and I would say to them: "Here are some friends of Nicaragua who are against what the American Government is doing."

That is wrong. I do not object, as I said earlier. I glory in the freedom of the American Nation. I glory in the right of any American politician to say anything they want to in America. I glory in our right to fight vigorously among ourselves, but we should not be communicating directly to a dictator who is Communist inspired, Communist supplied, Communist trained, and who is systematically undermining one of our allies. Not at a time when every single person who signed this letter knows what we are doing.

It was not as though this was some secret operation and these guys did not know they were messing it up. They knew when they signed the letter that we had men and women actively working to put pressure on Nicaragua.

Now in that setting I think we face three crises:

The first crisis is that as long as we lie to ourselves about the nature of communism and the nature of the Soviet threat and as long as we kid ourselves about what is happening, it is going to get worse. And if we go down that route, I think we better start figuring out where those 16 million refugees are going, because they are going to be here by 1990.

The second crisis is we better rethink the role of the U.S. Congress in foreign policy. The U.S. Congress should set major strategic goals. We should pay for the goals we believe in and we should get out of the way of the actual daily operations. And if we are not going to do that, we should not

do anything We should declare our impotence and come home and accept the isolationism that the leftwing of the Democratic Party seems to embrace.

The third problem is a brand new one. We need a serious intellectual effort to understand how do you deal with dictatorships in the age of television. How should we behave responsibly? We have to debate on this floor. We have to say things that we are going to disagree about. How do we do it in a way that other countries, who have no real understanding of our system, can understand that once we have made a decision we will stand firm. And part of that, frankly, requires we learn to stand firm once we make a decision.

But we badly need serious intellectual studies and a serious effort on the part of this Congress to rethink how do we debate foreign policy issues when we are negotiating with dictatorships which literally monitor our subcommittees, monitor our committees, watch the House in session, read the newspapers, watch the television news, and pay attention to every detail. Because if we cannot recognize the nature of communism and we cannot develop a responsible Congress and we cannot learn to adapt to the age of television and mass media, then this country is in real trouble. Freedom, in fact, faces a very grim future indeed.

I think that is the real message of the disasters of this week.

The letter referred to follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER,
Washington, D.C., March 20, 1984.

Commandante DANIEL ORTEGA,
Coordinator de la Junta de Gobierno, Casa de Gobierno, Managua, Nicaragua.

DEAR COMMANDANTE: We address this letter to you in a spirit of hopefulness and good will.

We want to commend you and the members of your government for taking steps to open up the political process in your country. The Nicaraguan people have not had the opportunity to participate in a genuinely free election for over fifty years. We support your decision to schedule elections this year, to reduce press censorship, and to allow greater freedom of assembly for political parties. Finally, we recognize that you have taken these steps in the midst of ongoing military hostilities on the borders of Nicaragua.

We write with the hope that the initial steps you have taken will be followed by others designed to guarantee a fully open and democratic electoral process. We note that some who have become exiles from Nicaragua have expressed a willingness to return to participate in the elections, if assurances are provided that their security will be protected, and their political rights recognized. Among these exiles are some who have taken up arms against your government, and who have stated their willingness to lay down those arms to participate in a truly democratic process.

If this were to occur, the prospects for peace and stability throughout Central America would be dramatically enhanced. Those responsible for supporting violence against your government, and for obstructing serious negotiations for broad political

participation in El Salvador would have far greater difficulty winning support for their policies than they do today.

We believe that you have it in your power to establish an example for Central America that can be of enormous historical importance. For this to occur, you have only to lend real force and meaning to concepts your leadership has already endorsed concerning the rules by which political parties may compete openly and equitably for political power.

A decision on your part to provide these reasonable assurances and conduct truly free and open elections would significantly improve the prospect of better relations between our two countries and significantly strengthen the hands of those in our country who desire better relations based upon true equality, self-determination and mutual good will.

We re-affirm to you our continuing respect and friendship for the Nicaraguan people, and pledge our willingness to discuss these or other matters of concern with you or officials of your government at any time.

Very sincerely yours,

Jim Wright, Michael D. Barnes, Bill Alexander, Matthew P. McHugh, Robert G. Torricelli, Howard P. Boland, Stephen J. Solarz, David R. Obey, Robert Garcia, Lee H. Hamilton.

RECEIVED 26 APR 84 14

TO DEEVER, M

FROM GINGRICH, NEWT

DOCDATE 16 APR 84

SUSPENSE

KEYWORDS NICARAGUA

CONGRESSIONAL

SUBJECT: LTR TO DEEVER FM REP GINGRICH RE NICARAGUA

ACTION: DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE: 03 MAY 85 STATUS D FILES

FOR ACTION
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COMMENTS

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<i>C</i>	<i>7/20</i>	<i>ON R</i>		

DISPATCH _____

W/ATTCH FILE *[Signature]* (C)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

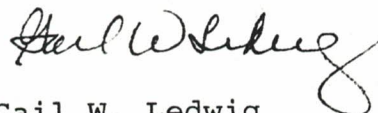
August 15, 1984

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In the absence of Mr. Deaver I am taking the liberty of responding to your August 13, 1984 letter in which you strongly endorse the invitation of Mr. Krakel of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame to induct President Reagan into their Hall of Fame on November 12, 1984. I will bring your letter to Mr. Deaver's attention upon his return to Washington. In the meantime, I am taking the liberty of passing a copy of your letter to Fred Ryan, Director of Scheduling so he can give your worthwhile suggestion his utmost consideration in the absence of Mr. Deaver. You can be assured your recommendation will be valued.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Gail W. Ledwig
Staff Assistant to
Michael K. Deaver

The Honorable Malcolm Baldrige
Secretary of Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20230

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

August 13, 1984

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mike,

Dean Krakel, Executive Vice President of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City, called to say that they have voted to induct President Reagan into the Hall of Fame of Great Westerners and wish to induct him on November 12 at the Premium Hotel in Universal City, California. They will be having a large show on a major network for the induction and are going to invite a lot of the President's friends -- Joel McRae, etc.

I could recommend this if there's a chance of the President doing it. This is the recognized Hall of Fame for Westerners and has included the likes of Kit Carson and Teddy Roosevelt. The Directors are all leading ranchers and businessmen from the Western states. Ed Gaylord, from Colorado, is the current President. They have a beautiful building in Oklahoma City with Western art exhibits.

Sincerely,



Malcolm Baldrige

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1984

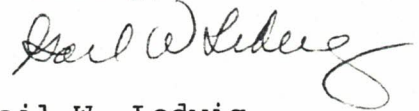
Dear Mr. Ried:

In the absence of Mr. Deaver, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging receipt of the book entitled The Orator -- Guy Vander Jagt on the Hustings you so thoughtfully have sent to him.

I know that Mr. Deaver will be most interested in reading through it, and I know he would want me to thank you for taking your time to send it to him.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Gail W. Ledwig
Staff Assistant to
Michael K. Deaver

Dr. Paul E. Ried
Associate Professor of Speech Communications
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York 13210

DR. PAUL E. RIED
Associate Professor of Speech Communications
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York 13210

August 9, 1984

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

It is a pleasure and honor to present you with the enclosed book -- The Orator -- Guy Vander Jagt On the Hustings.

You know of Guy's contributions to Republican Members of the House of Representatives, to thousands of Republican candidates over the years, to Presidents Ford and Reagan and, of course, to the Republican Party. This book represents an attempt to detail his contributions in specific ways. The nearly two years that I have spent on this book loom as two of the most exciting, unique and, yes, pleasurable, in my lifetime.

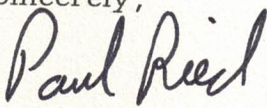
In my conclusion in the book I wrote:

In a way, what is written here as a conclusion is really an afterthought, a postscript to a report in progress. Vander Jagt is fifty-three years of age with many years of potential service ahead, so no conclusions about his influence can be drawn. The future remains to fill in a final summary and evaluation of his life in politics.

His earliest speech, the last one in this collection, "The Price of the Best," it seems, is the most appropriate stopping place for now. As a student in college, he paid the price to become so persuasive as a speaker that the speech profession in higher education will probably never see his equal again. Although the arena of his activities is now immeasurably enlarged and his responsibilities are so very much heavier, he is still paying the price.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,



Paul E. Ried

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 16, 1984

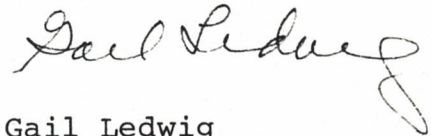
Dear Ms. Sundheimer:

Thank you for your letter of August 14 to Mr. Deaver in support of Judge Richard M. Markus.

I am taking the liberty of responding in Mr. Deaver's absence and will be sure to bring your letter to his attention upon his return.

Thank you very much for taking the time to write. I am sure that Mr. Deaver will appreciate your interest and concern.

Sincerely,



Gail Ledwig
Staff Assistant to
Michael K. Deaver

Ms. Marlene Sundheimer
President, Cleveland Women
Lawyers Association
Cleveland, Ohio

CLEVELAND WOMEN LAWYERS ASSOCIATION
AFFILIATE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN LAWYERS
CLEVELAND, OHIO

August 14, 1984

Mr. Michael Deaver
Assistant to President
The White House Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I am writing on behalf of Judge Richard M. Markus, a candidate for the position of United States District Court Judge for the Northern District of Ohio.

The Cleveland Women Lawyers Association, an organization that reaches out to over two hundred women attorneys in the Greater Cleveland area, proudly supports Judge Markus in his candidacy for this appointment.

Speaking as a practicing attorney and as President of Cleveland Women Lawyers Association, I would say that Judge Markus is most qualified and seasoned to accept the responsibilities of the Federal Bench. He is known in our legal community as a superior jurist. He is a man who possesses a character of such high caliber as brings respect and honor to the bench.

I would hope that Judge Markus will be given the utmost consideration based upon his fine reputation and excellent qualifications.

Respectfully submitted,


Marlene Sundheimer
President, Cleveland Women
Lawyers Association

MS/mb

cc: Harold Legar,
Assistant Attorney General

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 16, 1984

Dear Mrs. Stevenson:

In the absence of Mr. Deaver, I wish to acknowledge your August 12, 1984 letter to him. I will bring your correspondence to his attention upon his return to Washington.

I know he would want me to thank you for taking your time to write and let him know of your thoughts.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Gail W. Ledwig
Staff Assistant to
Michael K. Deaver

Mrs. Stevenson
8124 Eagle Drive
Brooksville, Florida 33512

Aug. 12, 1984

Dear Sirs,

I'll try to make my letter short
& to the point. I am a teacher
(former) (45 1/2 yrs.) only 78 yrs old.
I have a suggestion for the
president which may win
him the election. I believe
Mondale has not bothered
with Jackson. So why
not have Mr. Reagan
decide to have 2 Sec'y
of States? One for our
Caucasian nations and

(over)

~~one~~ one for the black, brown &
yellow? Jackson would be
accepted with open arms & ca
speak their language.

Jackson hasn't given his
sign yet. Mr. ~~Reagan~~^{Reagan} can
in his nice way polish
the apple (so to speak) with
Jackson then ask him

"If I'm re-elected will
you take that job?"

I believe Jackson would
give the sign. If I
hear & you want me to
I'll let you know. I
taught a lot of blacks &
they will tell me.

Hope you take this letter in
kindness as I meant it.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Stevenson,

8124 Eagle Dr
Brooksville, Fla. 33572



Personal Please
Mr. Weaver
Mrs. Speaks
White House
Washington D. C.
20510

PRESERVATION COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 16, 1984

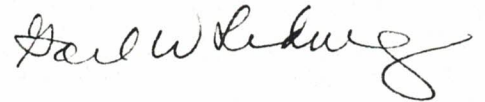
Dear Mr. Wischer:

In the absence of Mr. Deaver, I wish to acknowledge your August 14, 1984 letter to him. I will bring your correspondence to his attention upon his return to Washington.

I know he would want me to thank you for taking your time to write and let him know of your thoughts.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Gail W. Ledwig
Staff Assistant to
Michael K. Deaver

Mr. Terry Wischer
3249 Turkeyfoot Road
Edgewood, KY 41017

8117100
MR. MICHAEL DEEVER
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20500

DEAR MR DEEVER

I AM DISMAYED BY THE WAY THE MEDIA IS HANDLING THE 'RADIO BOMB JOKE' AND I THINK THAT I HAVE AN IDEA WHICH WOULD IN SOME WAY DEFUSE OR TAKE A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF STEAM OUT OF THE CONTROVERSEY.

THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE CUMBERSOME TO INCORPORATE INTO THIS LETTER, AND FOR THAT REASON I AM CORRESPONDING WITH THE HOPE THAT A SHORT MEETING COULD BE SET UP HERE IN THE CINCINNATI AREA WHEN YOU VISIT ON THE 19TH OF THIS MONTH. IT ALSO MAY BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO COME TO WASHINGTON ON A WEEKEND WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS.

PLEASE ADVISE.

SINCERELY

Terry R Wischer

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