

Handwritten initials

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING *Handwritten signature*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Standards of Conduct: Contact with Independent
Regulatory Agencies, Investigative and Intelligence
Departments and Agencies, and Procurement
Agencies

It is important that all members of the staff review periodically the standards of conduct governing contacts with independent agencies and with Executive branch departments and agencies having adjudicative, investigative, intelligence and procurement responsibilities. Given the number of new members of the staff over the past two years, and as a reference for all staff members, I am recirculating prior memoranda on the subject. You should give careful consideration to the guidance contained in the attached memoranda, as well as the other guidelines set forth in the White House Office Staff Manual.

Your cooperation in observing these guidelines is most strongly urged. If you have any questions regarding these procedures, please contact the Counsel's Office.

Thank you.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING 
Counsel to the President

SUBJECT: Standards of Conduct: Contact with Independent
Regulatory Agencies, Investigative and Intelli-
gence Departments and Agencies, and Procurement
Agencies

It is important that you be familiar with the standards of conduct governing the activities of the White House staff in its contacts with the independent agencies and Executive Branch departments and agencies with investigative, intelligence and procurement responsibilities.

Regulatory Agencies: The cases that come before these agencies are of two general types: rule-making and adjudicative. Both are normally extremely complicated, extremely important to the parties concerned, and involve large amounts of money. While there may be exceptional occasions when White House staff contact with agency personnel is justified in rule-making proceedings, there is no justification for involvement in particular adjudicative proceedings. As a general rule, no member of the staff should make an ex parte contact with a regulatory agency in regard to any particular matter pending before that agency, regardless of whether the proceedings are deemed to be rule-making or adjudicative, when such a contact may imply preferential treatment or the use of influence on the decision-making process.

Should you receive inquiries with regard to such matters, you should refer the inquiring party to the agency involved, and express no opinion on the issues raised. In short, White House staff members should avoid even the mere appearance of interest or influence -- and the easiest way to do so is to avoid discussing matters pending before the independent regulatory agencies with interested parties and avoid making ex parte contacts with agency personnel. Should an occasion arise in the course of your duties where it appears necessary to discuss general policy matters with the staff of an independent regulatory agency, to avoid any appearance of impropriety, you should first consult with the Office of the Counsel to the President to determine whether such contact would be appropriate under the circumstances. Such clearance is not required before contacting executive agencies on administrative or purely executive matters where no adjudicative, regulatory or procurement action is involved.

Investigative and Intelligence Agencies: As set forth in my memorandum of February 10, 1981 (attached) the ban on contacts extends to the litigating; investigative and adjudicatory divisions of the Department of Justice. The same rules apply to the Internal Revenue Service, the Inspectors General, the Special Counsel of the Merit Systems Protection Board, and similar components of departments and agencies with authority to investigate charges of misconduct, conduct audits of specific programs, or bring complaints before courts or other adjudicative bodies.

White House staff should also confer with the Counsel's Office before making inquiries of agencies with respect to particular individuals. While the White House Office is not bound by the provisions of the Privacy Act of 1974, 5 USC 552a, federal agencies are restricted by that Act from disclosing information about individuals contained in their files. The White House staff should be sensitive to these constraints.

Agencies in the intelligence community, including CIA, NSA, DIA, the Intelligence Division of the FBI, and the intelligence components of the military services, report to the President through his Assistant for National Security Affairs. These agencies should not be contacted directly without coordinating first with the Assistant for National Security Affairs, and, where issues of individual privacy may be concerned, the Counsel to the President.

Procurement Agencies: In recent years, the public has become increasingly sensitive to the allegations of improper influence in the awarding of government contracts. Obviously, no member of the White House staff should contact any procurement officer about a contract in which he has a personal financial interest or in which a relative, friend, or business associate has a financial interest. This is true not only as to calls or contacts in which influence is directly exerted, but also as to so-called "status" calls or other communications which might direct the attention of the procurement officer to the fact that the White House staff member has an interest.

There are likely to be occasions when the White House has a legitimate interest in information about procurement matters; in such instances, the communication should be made by persons who have no direct interest themselves, and whose friends or associates have no such interests. It is advisable that the lack of such interest be made known to those receiving the communication so that unintended inferences do not arise. To the extent that it can be done, information should be obtained after the contracting procedure is completed, or from persons not involved in the decision-making process. To avoid the appearance of conflict and subsequent embarrassment, White House staff members who feel they must contact procurement agencies with regard to pending matters should also first contact the Office of the Counsel to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Communications with the Department of Justice

As we are all keenly aware, it is imperative that there be public confidence in the effective and impartial administration of the laws. To that end, after consultation between the President and the Attorney General, the following procedures have been established in regard to communications between the White House Staff and the Department of Justice.

1. All inquiries which concern or may concern particular pending investigations or cases being handled by the Department of Justice shall be directed to the Counsel to the President. If appropriate and necessary, the inquiry will then be transmitted to the Office of the Attorney General or the Deputy Attorney General.

2. All requests for formal legal opinions from the Department of Justice shall be directed to the Counsel to the President, who will direct such requests to the Office of the Attorney General or to the Assistant Attorney General -- Office of Legal Counsel.

3. All comments between the White House Office and the Department of Justice in regard to policy, legislation and budgeting should be handled directly between those parties concerned.

Your cooperation in observing these guidelines is most strongly urged. If you have any questions regarding these procedures, please contact this Office.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING



SUBJECT:

Communications with the Treasury Department

My memorandum of July 13, 1981 addressed the general issue of White House staff contacts with regulatory, investigative, intelligence and procurement agencies and attached a specific instruction concerning contacts with the Department of Justice. However, I feel it important that you receive this additional memorandum concerning contacts with the Department of Treasury, in light of the sensitive nature of some of its component agencies, such as, the Office of Comptroller of the Currency, Internal Revenue Service, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and the Secret Service.

The following procedures have been established in regard to communications between the White House Staff and the Treasury Department:

1. All inquiries which concern or may concern particular pending investigations or cases shall be directed to the Counsel to the President. If appropriate and necessary, the inquiry will then be transmitted to the Office of the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.
2. All inquiries which concern or may concern rulings on pending applications, regulatory actions or adjudications shall likewise be directed to the Counsel to the President for transmittal, if appropriate, to the Deputy Secretary.
3. All requests involving tax return information, shall be directed to Counsel to the President. If permitted by the Internal Revenue Code, such requests will be forwarded to the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, except for routine "tax checks" which will be processed under our existing procedures.

4. Requests for information or statistical data of a routine nature and comments regarding policy, legislation and budgeting should continue to be handled directly between White House staff and the appropriate Treasury official.

Your cooperation in observing these guidelines is most strongly urged. If you have any questions regarding these procedures, please contact this Office.

Thank you.



Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

March 30, 1984

MEMORANDUM

TO: Craig L. Fuller
Assistant to the President
for Cabinet Affairs

FROM: Wm. Bradford Reynolds ^{WBR}
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

SUBJECT: Dade County Set Aside Case

In light of apparent misunderstandings regarding our filing as amicus curiae in the Dade County set-aside case, this memorandum should serve to clarify our position regarding minority business enterprise (MBE) programs.

Our filing pointed out several ways in which the Dade County set-aside deviated from constitutionally permissible set-aside programs. Most important, that program, framed exclusively in terms of race, absolutely excluded white and Hispanic contractors from bidding to be prime contractors on the Earlington Heights rapid transit station. Moreover, the County set a "goal" which operated to exclude non-black contractors from 50% of the subcontracts at that station. These features prompted our participation to challenge the content and application of the ordinance which led to the award of contracts based on race.

Our filing in no way suggests or implies any constitutional discomfort with federal programs designed to encourage the participation of MBEs in the federal contracting process, such as Executive Order 12432. We are convinced that the Constitution permits properly designed federal programs, just as it forbids the states to impose racial exclusions on contractors in order to provide racial preferences to other contractors who are not themselves victims of past discrimination. Thus, we fully endorse and support Executive Order 12432, which is designed to encourage efforts to help MBEs obtain contracts.

If Dade County had followed the pattern of federal programs which give special contract opportunities to those contractors who are socially and economically disadvantaged -- regardless of race -- its program would have escaped serious constitutional problems.

In view of the confusion which has been expressed to us, we are undertaking to develop a set of guiding principles for Dade County and others so that they can develop a constitutionally acceptable MBE program that avoids the problems set out in our court filing.

cc: Fred Fielding
Jack Svahn
Lowell Jensen

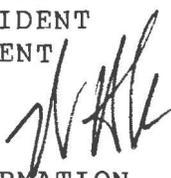
f 020

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JACK SVAHN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

FROM: WILLIAM A. KEYES 
SENIOR POLICY ANALYST
OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION

SUBJECT: LIAISON WITH BLACK COMMUNITY

During one of his news conferences, the President was asked about his prospects for gaining black support. He responded to the reporter's question by saying that he had full confidence that he would win black support -- "if we could get the truth to them."

I agree wholeheartedly with that response. Please find below a short outline of steps that could be taken by White House staff to assist this effort.

o The Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison (Mel Bradley) should:

-- Help determine which states and cities offer the best opportunities to win black cooperation.

* Make contact with black opinion leaders in the key states and cities.

* Work in cooperation with Presidential Advance and other responsible offices to get local black leaders involved with visits into their areas by the President, Vice President or other high-ranking Administration officials.

* Visit these areas personally.

-- Develop the most complete files possible on black civic and business leaders, black religious leaders, and other black opinion makers.

-- Address interested black audiences regarding the President's programs.

-- Recommend prominent black supporters for invitations to State Dinners and other official functions.

-- Organize "truth squads" of black supporters to travel to various strategic locations and make speeches when the Administration has received adverse press on a particular issue.

o The Special Assistant to the President for Policy Development (Bill Keyes) should:

-- Organize working groups of policy specialists to analyze the effects of existing public policy on black Americans and to develop public policy initiatives that will offer benefit to blacks.

-- Send letters and questionnaires to key blacks around the country. The letters should solicit their support while the questionnaires should ask them about their chief concerns.

* After the answers have come in, organize a series of sessions in which top-level Administration officials can brief the questionnaire respondents on the issues they say are important.

-- Arrange White House information briefings for black organizations.

-- Send a regular newsletter to inform supporters about Administration activities that are of greatest interest to them. Also, place black supporters on OPI Issue Update distribution list.

-- Serve as a speakers bureau to have black Administration appointees make speeches at college graduations, civic dinners, conferences, etc.

-- Meet with the heads of conservative membership organizations -- from the American Conservative Union to the National Tax Limitation Committee -- to encourage them to get more blacks involved in their grassroots political activities, thereby getting more blacks involved in supporting the President's current legislative agenda and expanding the conservative base for future benefit.

-- Work with speechwriters to develop language that will enhance black support.

-- Work with communications office to expand opportunities for coverage by the black news media.

cc. Faith Ryan Whittlesey
✓ James W. Cicconi

*might be
problem*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO:

Jina Baker

FROM: FAITH R. WHITTLESEY
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

*Coverage of
Revelo and
Charles only*

Information

Action

3/20

*would it be possible
to open this up to
press? The speakers
are all most effective
advocates for our
position. Bob Reilly of
my staff can supply any
details.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1984

OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON
CHAIRMAN

MEETING OF

Wednesday, March 21, 1984
2:30 p.m., Room 474 OEOB

A G E N D A

- I. HIGHLIGHTS OF ACTIVITIES OF GROUPS BRIEFED BY THE
WHITE HOUSE OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL
AMERICA
- II. Remarks

Speaker: His Excellency Marco Revelo
Bishop of Santa Ana
President of Episcopal Conference
of El Salvador
- III. Remarks

Speaker: The Honorable Eugenia Charles
Prime Minister of Dominica
- IV. "Military Security in Central America"

Speaker: Dr. Joachim Maitre
Center for International Relations
Boston University

NOTE

The next meeting of the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America will be on Wednesday, March 28, 1984, Room 450 OEOB at 2:30 p.m. The speaker will be Colonel John A. Cash, United States Army Former Military Attache at the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador. Colonel Cash will speak on "The Military in El Salvador." For additional information, call Mr. Burgess Laird at (202) 456-2657.

HIS EXCELLENCY MARCO REVELO
BISHOP OF SANTA ANA
PRESIDENT OF EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF EL SALVADOR

HE WAS AN AUXILLARY BISHOP OF SAN SALVADOR UNDER THE
LATE ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. HE IS ALSO FOUNDER OF THE CATHOLIC
UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST, A PONTIFICAL UNIVERSITY IN SAN
SALVADOR.

INTRODUCTION

THE HONORABLE EUGENIA CHARLES

PRIME MINISTER OF DOMINICA

WE ARE GREATLY HONORED TODAY TO HAVE AS A SPEAKER THE
PRIME MINISTER OF DOMINICA, THE HONORABLE EUGENIA CHARLES.

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO INTRODUCE PRIME MINISTER
EUGENIA CHARLES.

INTRODUCTION

DR. H. JOACHIM MAITRE IS PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY'S CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. HE WAS FOR SOME YEARS THE SENIOR EDITOR OF AXEL SPRINGER PUBLISHING COMPANY AND THE MANAGING DIRECTOR OF ULLSTEIN PUBLISHING COMPANY. HE IS A WELL-KNOWN AND HIGHLY RESPECTED JOURNALIST IN GERMANY. HE IS BEST KNOWN FOR HIS IN-DEPTH STUDIES OF CURRENT DEFENSE AND POLITICAL ISSUES.

DR. MAITRE, A FORMER MIG PILOT TRAINEE, DEFECTED AND LEFT EAST GERMANY ILLEGALLY IN 1953, AND EVENTUALLY BECAME A CITIZEN OF CANADA WHERE HE OBTAINED A Ph.D. FROM MC GILL UNIVERSITY.

HE WAS ALSO THE EDITOR OF THE WEEKLY LITERARY SUPPLEMENT OF "DIE WELT" (1971 TO APRIL 1973). WHILE WITH "DIE WELT" NEWSPAPER, HE MADE REPEATED TRIPS TO SOUTH VIETNAM.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1984

TO: JAMES A. BAKER III *JKD*
MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

SUBJECT: Presidential Event
New York State Federation of Catholic School
Parents - Annual Banquet
April 5, 1984

I would like to request that Robert Reilly, Project Officer for this event, as well as the below-named individual, travel with the President on Air Force One to this event:

Virgil Dechant
Supreme Knight
Knights of Columbus
Hartford, CT 06507

This would be a means of expressing our appreciation to Mr. Dechant, a key Catholic layman, who has been of invaluable support on the issues of the tuition tax credit and the school prayer amendment. He also was very helpful in arranging the meeting with the Catholic Bishops.

Many thanks.

TO: JAB III

*ADC
PI file this where we
can retrieve if nec.
w/in next 2 wks.
thanks
JR*

This is purely FYI. Have talked w/ Sittmann and told him this is a Deaver shop decision as far as we're concerned.

(Faith may raise this w/ you; my advice is to defer to MKD -- this request is in addition to a previous one that makes a total of 4 for the trip from OPL.)

*JR
3/22*

*f OPL memo
- Catholic*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1984

TO: JAB III

The attached is from Faith.

I asked Andrea to check with Tom Melady on this, and his thoughts are also attached.

Jim
Jim Cicconi

3/7

JC:

*Let's go with Neil Regan
P.O. handle. Obviously OK*

*for Clark
to go if he wants
but Neil Regan's
to be the P.O.
#1 app.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 29, 1984

Copies sent to
McManus, who is
now handling.
JWC
3/5

MEMORANDUM TO JAMES BAKER III, CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: FAITH WHITTLESEY, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT *JAW*
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: Installation Ceremonies in the Archdiocese
of New York for Bishop John O'Connor and in
the Archdiocese of Boston for Bishop Bernard Law

We expect to receive shortly invitations for the President to attend the installation ceremonies for Bishop O'Connor in New York on Monday, March 19th and for Bishop Law in Boston on Friday, March 23rd. It would be very important for the Administration to have a presence at both these events with Senior Administration officials representing the President. I suggest that Judge Clark and I attend.

These appointments, particularly Bishop O'Connor's, form a counterweight to some of the things we have been hearing from the Church via Chicago. It behooves us, therefore, to ensure that we have open avenues to New York and Boston.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 29, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO JAMES BAKER III, CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: FAITH WHITTLESEY, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT *JRW*
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

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ADC
PI get a number for
Tom Melady = call him
for me and ask if he thinks
this ~~is~~ suggestion is a good
idea, whether it'd be appropriate,
etc. Thanks
JC 3/2

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI

FROM: ANDREA S. DES COTEAUX

SUBJECT: Archdiocese Installation Ceremonies

The following is per your request:

Dr. Melady conveyed that both events were very important developments within the Catholic community, and that there most definitely should be Senior Administration representation. He felt strongly that attendance at both installation ceremonies was the right thing to do as an Administration and excellent to do politically, and would be well received.

He brought an interesting fact to my attention that is not widely known in the Catholic community as well as to anyone else, that fact being that the President's brother Neil is Catholic. If Neil Reagan was a part of the Administration delegation this would bring a natural inquiry within the Catholic community to the fact that he is Catholic.

Another suggestion was for this to surface on the President's trip to Ireland. The down side would be a minimal "Catholic left," and/or those who were totally opposed to the President from the beginning.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 22, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES A. BAKER, III
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: WILLIAM A. KEYES
SENIOR POLICY ANALYST
OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION

SUBJECT: LIAISON WITH BLACK COMMUNITY

William A. Keyes

During one his his news conferences, the President was asked about his prospects for gaining black support. He responded to the reporter's question by saying that he had full confidence that he would win black support -- "if we could get the truth to them."

I agree wholeheartedly with that response. Please find below a short outline of steps that could be taken by White House staff to assist this effort.

o The Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison (Blacks) should:

- Help determine which states and cities offer the best opportunities to win black support, and in which of these areas increased black support would be of the greatest benefit.
- * Make contact with Republican Party leaders, black Republican organizations, key black Republicans, black conservatives, the black press, and opinion makers in the key states and cities.
- * Work in cooperation with Presidential Advance and other responsible offices to get local black Republicans involved with visits into their areas by the President, Vice President or other high-ranking Administration officials.
- * Visit these areas personally to encourage the troops.
- Develop the most complete files possible on black Republicans, black conservatives, black civic and business leaders, black religious leaders, and other black opinion makers.

- Send letters and questionnaires to key blacks around the country. The letters should solicit their support while the questionnaires should ask them about their chief concerns.

- * After the answers have come in, work in cooperation with the Office of Policy Development to organize a session in which top-level Administration officials can brief the questionnaire respondents on the issues they say are important.

- Send a regular newsletter to inform supporters about Administration activities and to tell them what they can do to help the President push his programs.

- Serve as a speakers bureau to have black Administration appointees make speeches at college graduations, civic dinners, conferences, etc.

- Organize "truth squads" of black supporters to travel to various strategic locations and make speeches when the Administration has received adverse press on a particular issue.

- * During the Bob Jones controversy, truth squads could have been dispatched to inform the American people that the President firmly opposed tax exemptions for private schools that discriminate, and was proposing legislation to deny such exemptions. (Few people realize that the Administration's Supreme Court argument regarded the authority of executive agencies to make such decisions on their own.)

- Identify and communicate with black supporters in every key state and city on virtually a precinct-by-precinct basis. This could be done in cooperation with the Republican National Committee.

- Meet with the heads of conservative membership organizations -- from the American Conservative to the National Tax Limitation Committee -- to encourage them to get more blacks involved in their grassroots political activities, thereby getting more blacks involved in supporting the President's current legislative agenda and expanding the conservative base for future benefit.

- Organize briefing sessions through which black appointees may be informed on specific Administration policies, enabling them to communicate these policies better to black audiences.
- Encourage black supporters, especially scholars, to publish articles and op-ed peices in support of Administration policies in strategically-selected publications in the key locations.
- Recommend prominent black supporters for invitations to State Dinners and other official functions.
- Arrange for prominent black Republicans and black Administration appointees to accompany the President on Air Force One and the Vice President on Air Force Two to key areas whenever possible.
- Identify and communicate with black supporters in every key state and city on virtually a precinct-by-precinct basis. This could be done in cooperation with the Office of Political Affairs and the Republican National Committee.
- Encourage black supporters to lobby their Congressmen and Senators on behalf of the Administration's initiatives, especially during the third and fourth years of the President's term, when it is extremely important for his legislative agenda to be successful on Capitol Hill.

Attachments:

- A Resume
- B Selected articles about Bill Keyes
- C Selected articles written by Bill Keyes
- D NBC-TV editorial comment, response by Bill Keyes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 22, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES A. BAKER, III
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: WILLIAM A. KEYES
SENIOR POLICY ANALYST
OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION

SUBJECT: LIAISON WITH BLACK COMMUNITY

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- B Selected articles about Bill Keyes
- C Selected articles written by Bill Keyes
- D NBC-TV editorial comment, response by Bill Keyes

Vitae

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS KEYES

141 Duddington Place, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003
(202) 544-3534 Home
(202) 456-2762 Office

EMPLOYMENT
EXPERIENCE

Present

THE WHITE HOUSE

Senior Policy Analyst.
Office of Policy Information.
Responsible for writing policy documents for internal White House and Administration use. These include Issue Alerts, Issue Updates and briefing books. Also responsible for representing the Administration in selected speaking engagements and media appearances.

October 1982-
November 1982

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Director, Special Concerns Staff,
Office of Civil Rights.
Responsible for directing small office in Congressional, intergovernmental and public relations activities. Also responsible for supervising the preparation of speeches for the Assistant Secretary and official OCR documents.

July 1982-
October 1982

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education.
Responsible for such tasks as reviewing policy initiatives, monitoring program activities and serving as a liaison with the college and university community.

April 1981-
July 1982

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Republican staff economist.
Responsible for urban policy. Also responsible for organizing hearings and writing staff studies on subjects ranging from enterprise zones to employment policy.

August 1980-
April 1981

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Senior Legislative Assistant.
Responsible for monitoring and drafting legislation for Congressman Jon C. Hinson in the areas of government regulation, public works and transportation, welfare reform and education. Also responsible for writing floor statements and Congressional Record inserts. Mr. Hinson resigned from Congress on April 13, 1981.

August 1979-
August 1980

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION
Legislative Assistant.
Lobbying Congress primary on labor issues and welfare reform. Responsibilities included writing position papers, issue briefs and articles for ACU's publication, BattleLine, as well as appearing on various radio and TV public affairs and news shows around the country. Was Director of STOP OSHA Project and the ACU Labor Task Force, which was chaired by Senator Orrin Hatch.

April 1979-
August 1979

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, UNITED STATES SENATE
Research Assistant.
Provided assistance in library shared by the Conference and the Senate Republican Policy Committee.

September 1978-
December 1978

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Worked as full-time volunteer in the office of Congressman Dale E. Kildee while earning salary in House Post Office. Responsibilities included legislative correspondence, research and special projects.

September 1977-
May 1978

LAWRENCE DAVIS FOR U. S. SENATE
Coordinated campaign effort in black communities across the state of North Carolina; researched legislative issues of particular concern to black voters; worked on scheduling; wrote newsletters, letters speeches.

January 1977-
May 1977
PHILIP R. DIXON, ATTORNEY
Conducted research on tax and real
estate matters for Greenville, North
Carolina attorney.

September 1976-
July 1976
FOUNTAINHEAD, East Carolina University
Member of bi-weekly newspaper's
editorial staff.

August 1975-
June 1976
WITN RADIO, Washington, North Carolina
Operator of automatd station;
commentator for high school football and
basketball games; news reporter.

June 1975-
August 1975
FREE-LANCE JOURNALIST
Wrote sports articles for Church Herald,
Young Miss, and Black Sports magazines;
also for newspapers.

SELECTED
PUBLICATIONS

Keyes, Bill. "Obstacle Race," (A review of The State Against Blacks, by Walter E. Williams), Inquiry, Washington, D. C., April 1983.

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SPEECHES

"Educational Freedom of Choice." Presentation at symposium entitled "Black Education and the Inner City: An Urgent Need for Reform": Lincoln Institute for Research and Education, Washington, D. C., September 28, 1983.

"A Nation at Risk: An Examination of Education in the Urban Environment." Falcon Forum: Fellowship of Falcons, Los Angeles, California, July 23, 1983.

"Racism and the Church." National Conference on Racism: Coalition for Human Needs, The Episcopal Church, Atlanta, Georgia, February 3, 1982.

"International Trade and the Domestic Economy." Coppin State College Student Government Association lecture: Baltimore, Maryland, November 19, 1981.

"The Virtues of Foresight, Sacrifice and Hard Work in Business." Howard University Business Week lecture: Washington, D. C., November 18, 1981.

"Revitalizing America." Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) National Convention: Boston, Massachusetts, August 21, 1981.

"Time for a Change." Reagan-Bush Ethnic Rally: Lafayette Park, Washington, D. C., November 1, 1980.

"Freedom and Conservatism: A Post-Election Statement." Maryland Young Americans for Freedom (YAF): College Park, Maryland, December 4, 1980.

"U. S. Domestic Policy in the 1980's." Close-Up Foundation: Washington, D. C., February 23, 1980.

"Statement on Freedom and Conservatism." Maryland College Republican State Convention keynote address: Baltimore, Maryland, February 23, 1980.

"The Role of the Professional Journalist in a Democratic Society." Third Annual Communications Conference: School of Communications, Howard University, Washington, D. C.. February 16, 1980.

INTERVIEWS ON
RADIO,
TELEVISION

CBS Morning News With Charles Kuralt and Diane Sawyer, November 3, 1981. Appeared opposite Mayor of Washington, D. C. to discuss educational tax credit initiative appearing on District ballot that day.

"The Charlie Rose Show."
WRC-TV 4. Washington, D. C., July 31, 1981. Debated the Reverend Jesse Jackson, President of Operation PUSH, on the effects of the Reagan economic program on black America. Argued that a healthy economy and a return to the free market is in the best interest of blacks. This show was syndicated to about 30 cities around the country in two 30-minute segments.

WTOP Radio News.
Washington, D. C., April 13-16.
Interviewed for a 4-day series of news segments regarding local initiative for educational tax credits.

"Conversation Line."
WOL Radio. Washington, D. C., March 14, 1981. Discussed Reagan Administration's welfare reform proposals on hour-long interview/phone-in show.

"News 7 at 5:30."

WJLA TV-7. Washington, D. C., March 9, 1981. Appeared on evening news show via live remote hook-up. Discussed campaign to pass an educational tax credit initiative sponsored by the D. C. Committee for Improved Education. (More than 100 media occurrences followed on this subject through the November election.

"OSHA: Friend or Foe."

WABC TV-7 Eyewitness News. New York, N. Y., September 15-16, 1980. Appeared on two segments of week-long feature on the effectiveness of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, arguing that OSHA has not been as effective as employers and employees themselves were before the agency's establishment a decade before.

"District Reports."

WOOK Radio. Washington, D. C., April 13, 1980. Debated Walter Fauntroy, the District of Columbia's Delegate to Congress, on various domestic policy issues on 30-minute broadcast.

"The Dave Baum Show."

WIND Radio. Chicago, Illinois, March 6, 1980. Debated the merits of affirmative action and quotas with representative of National Urban League on hour-long interview/call-in show.

"The Shelly Tromberg Show."

WRC Radio. Washington, D. C., February 28, 1980. Discussed conservatism and black America on hour-long interview/phone-in show.

"Black Issues and the Black Press."

National Black Network. New York, N. Y., January 19-20, 1980. Discussed the effects of several current public policy initiatives on the black community. The 30-minute public affairs program aired on approximately 150 radio stations around the country. Was interviewed by 3 reporters in the style of NBC's "Meet the Press."

EDUCATION

North Carolina Central University
Three years toward B. S. degree in
Education.

East Carolina University.
One year toward B. S. degree in
Political Science.

REFERENCES

Mr. J. A. Parker
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Research and Education
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Washington, D. C. 20036
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Dr. Walter E. Williams
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The Honorable Orrin Hatch
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President Reagan, Bill Keyes, and Vice President Bush confer on administration policy

THE NEW BREED

Ambitious, Brilliant, Conservative, William A. Keyes Typifies The New Negro Leadership Emerging In The GOP

MORNING:

It is 6:15 a.m. and Bill Keyes is sitting behind his desk at the U. S. Department of Education. He is there at that hour, he says, because that is the only way he can get a head start on his work.

Before members of his staff begin to arrive at eight o'clock, Keyes will complete a number of important tasks. He will complete the first draft of a speech he will deliver on tuition tax credits, put the finishing touches on a briefing book for Vice President George Bush's speech at the Morehouse School of Medicine. (The highlight of the speech is that the Office of Postsecondary Education will award

the black medical school a \$2.6 million grant for development.) and Keyes will outline plans for OPE to make available for 27 historically black colleges and universities some \$9 million of funds which remained unobligated after the major Title III grant recommendations process.

As Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Education, Keyes serves as Chief of Staff for Office of Postsecondary Education, (OPE). In that capacity, he is responsible for initiating and reviewing Federal policies which effect all of the nation's colleges and universities.

He is responsible for the management of hundreds of civil servants who are in-

involved in various areas — from the accreditation of colleges and universities to the administration of student financial aid programs. And if the amount of money government officials are entrusted with is a sign of how well thought of they are, Keyes must be held in high esteem by the Reagan Administration. He is responsible to the Assistant Secretary for a budget which exceeds \$6 billion, more than half of the Department's total.

But when asked about his responsibilities at the Department of Education, he does not speak in terms of budgets and staff size. Instead, he talks about commit-

Continued on page 13

ment to President Reagan and his Administration's programs. Keyes says, "My responsibility, of course, is to serve as Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary. But my ultimate role is to be an advocate and defender of the President's policies. I have to make sure this office operates in a way that reflects what the President wants."

An example of such defense of the Reagan program occurred recently as OPE's 1984 budget priorities were being prepared for submission to Secretary of Education Terrel Bell. According to Keyes, "When I looked at that document, I couldn't believe it. They were asking for more money for every single program. So, I looked at the guy who drafted the document and asked him to rewrite it to reflect reality. I said, 'I want to ask you three simple questions. If you can answer them, you will understand why this document has to be rewritten.' 'First, did you know that there was an election in November of 1980 and that Ronald Reagan won? Secondly, did you know that one of the themes he campaigned on was reducing the size of the Federal Government? Thirdly, and most importantly, do you realize that he even talked about abolishing this damn place (the Department of Education)?"

"I didn't wait for him to answer. I told him to go back and rewrite the document so that it reflected the views of the President. And, for good measure, I informed him of the views of the President."

When the revised document was brought to Keyes, significant changes had been made. For example, one grant program which has drawn criticism from conservatives in the Republican Party was cut, but the portion which helps black colleges improve their science capabilities

was funded at a significantly higher level. Thus, President Reagan's priorities in regard to helping black colleges as well as his concern over the nation's science capacity were both addressed.

LUNCH:

After a morning filled with back to back meetings and endless telephone calls, lunch is not even a time for relaxation for Keyes. Often, he is seen lunching with college presidents, business leaders whom he hopes will work with black colleges, or White House friends to whom he wants to stress the significance of pet projects. On other occasions, he meets with staff members. Otherwise, he has lunch at his office while working.

AFTERNOON:

Back at the office after lunch, he digs into a mountain of paperwork. He is responsible for reviewing every document which is to be signed by the Assistant Secretary or by the Secretary in regard to OPE programs.

On this particular afternoon, Keyes calls in a small group to draft a memorandum to the Secretary. The purpose was to recommend that the Secretary urge President Reagan to host a major event at the White House to commemorate the first anniversary of Executive Order 12320. On September 15 of last year, Reagan ordered every department and agency of the Federal Government to find ways to help black colleges. The Order also directed members of the Cabinet to help black colleges develop relationships with corporations and foundations.

Keyes is in total support for the need to link colleges and universities with private sector supporters. "Why should the government tax money from you and me to give to colleges for the purpose of improving their science laboratories? Since



pharmaceutical companies and other types of corporations benefit from their research, they should help these schools keep up the quality of their labs."

"Along with that, they should set up exchange programs. Their top scientists could spend a year on the campuses and the professors could spend time in the corporate setting. Such relationships as these would be mutually beneficial. There's just no way the government could help the schools norations the way they can help each other. What you and I should be asked to contribute to is student financial aid programs so needy kids can realize the dream of getting into college."

Keyes is proud of the accomplishments he has made since moving to Washington in the fall of 1978. He seems to enjoy telling the story of his meteoric rise in the political establishment.

"I hitch-hiked here four years ago," he says, "with five dollars in my pocket. I had on jeans, sneakers and a T-shirt and I was carrying a bag with two suits, one pair of shoes, a few shirts and ties, and toiletries. This was all I had to my name."

"I was lucky enough to find a job working in the House (of Representatives) Post Office I worked there from 3:00 a.m. to 8:30 a.m. Then I did volunteer work in a Congressman's office from nine o'clock until about three. And from three until five, I walked the halls of the House and Senate office buildings circulating my resume to anyone who'd take one."

"After that, I would usually go to a reception or two around Captiol Hill so I wouldn't have to buy dinner. Then to the library, where I would read everything I could get my hands on about how Con-

Continued on page 24





gress worked and about the big political arguments which were going on at the time.

"After I got my first paycheck from the Post Office, I found a nice little apartment on the Hill and began to live a somewhat normal life."

Since those days, Keyes has worked as a research assistant for the Republican Conference of the United States Senate, as a lobbyist for the American Conservative Union, as Senior Legislative Assistant to a member of Congress, and as a staff economist for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

Moreover, his work has appeared in the *Lincoln Review*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Star*, the Council for Inter-American Security News Analysis series, *Capitol Hill Magazine*, and numerous other publications. He is presently writing a book to present alternative solutions to critical problems in the black community.

On the local scene, he was elected to the D. C. Republican Committee. At 27, he was the youngest member. He was also elected National Committeeman by the D. C. Young Republicans chapter.

Though he hitch-hiked from North Carolina a few years ago as an unknown, he is now recognized wherever he goes around Washington. An articulate spokesman for a number of causes, he has appeared on radio and television many times. Last summer, for example, he had a series of debates with Jesse Jackson of Operations PUSH on a Washington television show. The show was later syndicated for airing in about thirty other cities.

He is quite proud of these accomplishments.

During his first year in Washington, Keyes developed a pattern which he is yet to break. Even when relaxing at home with his wife and daughter, he keeps a little note pad close by so he can add items to his To Do list. Sometimes, he even writes essays or newspaper editorials while stretched out on the couch with his wife. (He suggests that these articles are one of the factors which enabled him to move in less than four years from a \$10,000 a year mail sorter job to a top government position which pays five times more.

Another factor to his success is the fact that he has studied the issues carefully, taken a position, and stuck with that position in spite of what others had to say about it. One illustration of this was his involvement with a local voter initiative on educational tax credits last year.

After agreeing generally on the merits of the case, Keyes worked on a redraft of the initiative. (He wanted to ensure that everyone could benefit, regardless of economic status.) Then he took over the chairmanship of the sponsoring committee and appeared on more than 100 radio and television shows and news interviews to argue the case. He was quoted almost daily in the Washington papers on the issue which — due mainly to his personal campaigning skills — was to become the hottest local election issue of 1981.

He was also quoted in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times* and other papers on the national significance of the initiative.

Before calling it a day, Keyes takes care of a number of important tasks. He

agrees to represent the Department of Education at the National Urban League convention in Los Angeles. He agrees to discuss educational alternatives at a conference sponsored jointly by the conservative Heritage Foundation and the New Coalition for Economic and Social Change. He agrees to appear on a syndicated television show to discuss supply side economics. And he calls a friend at a local education and public policy institute to make his notes on enterprise zones available for their use.

After returning the phone calls he missed during the day, he outlines his agenda for the following morning. (This list is usually two pages in length.)

EVENING:

Having put in at least ten hours at the office, Keyes would like nothing more than to go home and relax with his wife Lola and his daughter Lola Elizabeth. But on this particular evening, he must tape a television show. He discusses the effects of minimum wage and prevailing wage laws on black youth unemployment.

He tells the television audience the same thing he has said many times before. "Certainly, racism is wrong. But the real reason that young black men and women are more likely to be unemployed than whites is that the government — through wage laws — has limited their ability to compete.

"If the government mandates higher and higher wages, employers are going to respond in either of two ways. First, they will start hiring only the most skillful and productive workers. And second, they will begin to reduce the number of jobs altogether. In either case, young blacks are hurt." *Continued on bottom, pg. 25*





\$2.6 million check presented to Moorehouse University School of Medicine by Dr. Thomas Melady (left) Assistant Secretary of Education and William A. Keyes (right) Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education. Accepting for Moorehouse is Dr. Louis Sullivan, Dean.

MAINSTREAM AMERICA

Keyes; Continued from page 24

Not wanting to risk being misunderstood, Keyes concluded, "We need to eliminate the minimum wage. We need to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act. And we need to get rid of occupational licensure laws which are designed to keep people out of certain professions." Having written numerous articles on these subjects, Keyes is recognized as somewhat of an authority.

After completing the show, Keyes dashes out of the studio, jumps into his white Mercedes-Benz, and speeds off to his Captiol Hill home. He knows that the longer he stays out in the evenings, the less time he has to spend with his eleven month old daughter.

When he gets there, he opens the door and signals, "Daddy's home!" Greeted with hugs and kisses from Lola and Lola Elizabeth, the best part of his day begins. ■

Juan Williams

The Tax Credit 'Villain'

Here he sits—the villain. To listen to as varied a cast as the mayor and the League of Women Voters, he is the head of a monster that would ravage little children by destroying the District's public schools. And for what? To help conservatives start a national tuition tax credit movement, it is whispered, by getting a version of it approved in Washington, a mostly black city, so critics can't claim that the tax credits are a tool of white segregationists.

The man accused of being this villainous stooge is William Augustus Keyes, a 27-year-old black Republican and an economist working for Congress. He is head of a committee that has put the question of education tax credits on the District's November ballot. Keyes, who comes across as a quick-witted, ambitious professional—nobody's stooge—laughs at the personal attacks on him and his drive. He thinks they are proof that he has the city's big shots trembling. "Look at Arrington Dixon," says Keyes of the city council chairman who heads the main group opposing the tax credits. "He's an easy target for me to shoot at. He says we can make the public schools work with more commitment, and that it is important to the community to make the public schools work. But he has his kids in private schools. He's selfish. Obviously, he's made the decision that private schools are better.

"It's all right for his kids to have the best education, but not for my kids. . . . My kids should have their school controlled by the crowd at the District building, but not his kids. . . ."

Keyes knows that point won't be lost on voters. It is not the only ace he has in hand:

1. Dixon, Mayor Barry and the school system have no good ideas for making the schools very good any time soon, Keyes says, so why not let the people with the most at stake, the parents, have more financial control? Let the parents try to improve the schools. To parents who have watched politicians use the school board to better their careers and to stage a comedy at the expense of their children's education, Keyes' offer of power over the schools sounds very appealing.

"They [the politicians] don't want my money for the schools," Keyes says. "They don't want your money or J. Willard Marriott's money. You or Marriott might demand something for our money—like having them make the schools work.

No, they want Congress' money because the Congress demands nothing. The Congress doesn't have kids in public school. And the District building crowd can use Congress as a scapegoat. When someone says they want better schools, the District building crowd shouts, "Oh, if Congress would give us more money."

2. The people who really want to leave the District public schools are already gone, Keyes says. The tax credit will help very few people afford to get out.

3. The education tax credit allows credit for private school tuition and for books, special

"Keyes laughs at the personal attacks on him and his drive. He thinks they are proof that he has the city's big shots trembling."

classes or more teachers for public school children.

Parents who don't earn enough money to get the full credit can ask other people and even businesses to donate their tax credit money to the schools. "Parents of children in private schools will get some relief," says Keyes, "but the public schools stand to benefit the most."

Keyes, whose wife is expecting a child in September—a child, he says, who will go to his neighborhood school, Peabody on Capitol Hill—shrugs off the racial implications of the tax credit idea. "This is not 1954," he says. "This is not even 1964. This is not North Carolina or Birmingham or Little Rock with whites opening private academies to avoid integration. This is Washington, D.C., with 70 percent black people and 90 percent blacks in the public schools. People are not going to flee

the public schools to avoid blacks with this thing [the tax credit]."

Nevertheless, Keyes cannot deny that some money would leave the treasury to help out the city's mostly white private schools and that the money may be taken from the budget for the mostly black public schools. His response is that the city budget increases yearly, through inflation—enough to absorb that loss—and that city politicians who "give away downtown development to their friends" cost the city more money than his referendum would.

It is not an adequate response, especially when the school system is already strapped for money and the city is in a financial crisis. No matter what mismanagement of city finances is taking place, the tax credits will cost money, and the city's politicians are likely to take it out of the public school budget to try to force angry parents to repeal the referendum.

There is a second major weakness in Keyes' position. He argues that the tax credit would give parents more power over how public schools are run. But he cannot answer the question of what alternative the parents will have if they don't get their way in a public school and want to spend their \$1,200 elsewhere. That is not enough to pay private tuition, and parochial schools are overcrowded. Would there be a raft of new schools opening, claiming to be able to teach children for \$1,200, but having no record behind them, no guarantee that they are not out for the money alone?

Opponents so far have not addressed these weaknesses. Instead, they argue over whether Keyes has lived in the city long enough (four years); who notarized the petitions for the referendum; whether the people who collected the signatures were District residents, and on and on. They seem afraid to argue the issue.

"It doesn't matter what they say about me or how we got the petitions signed," says Keyes. "It comes down to how the man on the street corner, who wants a better life for his son than he had for himself, sees it. If he thinks the referendum will get his son a better education, then he is going to vote yes."

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

Bill Keyes, A Black Conservative With a Goal

CITY LIMITS

One Man Takes On The Initiative

By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bill Keyes is soft-spoken, yet self-confident, a black conservative by choice, and bold enough to stand up in this town that voted overwhelmingly for Jimmy Carter and declare that "Ronald Reagan and I agree on the issues."

Keyes' name is not a household word in Washington, although his cause — trying to win voter approval of a proposal for an educational tax credit in the city — is becoming an increasingly hot discussion item.

The proposed referendum is usually, and often inaccurately, associated with conservatives. To some, that would make it a sure bet to falter in this proverbially liberal town. But Keyes is the first to disagree.

The secret to his optimistic outlook can be found in his roots in Washington — not this Washington, but Washington, N.C., a small Eastern Carolina town like those Tarheel hamlets that are the old country of so many blacks who live in the back-bone and bootstrap communities of the nation's capital.

"I hitchhiked here from Washington, N.C., four years ago with two suits, wearing sneakers and jeans, and with \$5 in my pocket," said Keyes, the son of two public school teachers. A college dropout from East Carolina University with no connections to insiders' Washington, he landed a night job in the mail room of the Longworth House Office building, and volunteered his daytime hours on the staff of Rep. Dale E. Kildee (D-Mich.). Now he is an economist with the House-Senate Joint Economic Committee.

"I was just a guy who hustled here and succeeded because he had a goal," Keyes said.

Those plain Southern roots and the work ethic mentality give him common ground with many people here, Keyes claims. Here, there is a similar settled middle-class black community steeped in bible-thumping, God-fearing church tradition.

"Washington is perceived by the whole world as being a very liberal place," Keyes said. "I don't think people here are all that liberal. People want crime to be controlled. People want the most that they can get from their taxes. There is a very, very strong moral and religious influence in this city, a very strong church influence. In many cases, the council goes against the wishes of that church-going community."

This is what Keyes, 27, is counting on to prove that he is right and that the city's elected leadership, many of whom are veterans of the civil rights movement and many of whom are opposed to the initiative, are wrong.

Keyes claims that it is middle-class black Washington that supports the initiative, because the hard-working residents of Northeast and Southeast Washington want the chance to be able to send their children to private schools.

But some persons say it is Keyes and his group who are out of step with the voters.

"Everybody I've talked to is against it," said Everett Scott, former president of the D.C. Federation of Civic Associations. "I'd like to know where they got those (27,000) signatures from (to place the question on the ballot)."

"It's going to impose a burden on the District of Columbia without any benefits," said Nelson C. Roots, president of the Pleasant Plains Civic Association in Northwest Washington.

This specific issue has already unified most of the city's leadership, including politicians, community group heads, civic association activists and others who have been spreading the common gospel that this initiative would bring untold havoc to the city government.

But Keyes is undaunted. He said he is hoping the initiative can make it past the legal hurdles to win a spot on the ballot, where he said his side can fare best in a true debate over the issue.

Said Keyes, in his usual measured self-confidence, 27,000 Washingtonians can't be wrong.