

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached for your review is a draft of the prefatory letter that will appear at the beginning of the Health Care book that Bob Boorstin is preparing.

I have circulated a copy to the Vice President, Mack, Roy, Gergen, Gearan, George, Maggie and Ira.

TDS
Todd Stern

*Metzger
after only 2
hours only
Boorstin is
sum on this*

Letter from President Clinton

2 P7:40

My Fellow Americans:

Every American must have the security of comprehensive health benefits that can never be taken away. That is what the Health Security Act is all about.

Americans are blessed with the world's finest doctors and nurses, the best hospitals, the most advanced medical technology, and the most promising research on the face of the earth. We cherish -- and we will never surrender -- our right to choose who treats us and how and where we get our health care.

But today our health care system is badly broken.

Insurance has become a contest of finding only the healthiest people to cover. Millions of Americans are just a pink slip away from losing their health coverage, one serious illness away from losing their savings. Millions more are locked into jobs just because they or someone in their family has once been sick. And small business owners throughout our nation want to provide health care for their employees and families but can't get it or can't afford it.

Next year we will spend more than one trillion dollars on health care -- and still leave 37 million Americans without health insurance, and 25 million more with inadequate coverage. Skyrocketing health care costs have forced workers to trade wage

increases to maintain health benefits and crippled our nation's manufacturers in global competition. And every month that passes without health care reform adds billions to our national deficit.

*choice
won't work
long*

In short, all the things that are wrong with our health care system threaten everything that's right. To preserve what's right and fix what's wrong, we must get the system under control -- and put people first.

The Health Security plan is grounded in six basic principles: security, simplicity and savings; quality, choice and responsibility.

Security means providing every American with comprehensive health benefits that can never be taken away. We must -- and we will -- outlaw insurance company practices that discriminate against consumers and small businesses, and make care available to all Americans, no matter where they live or how old or sick they are.

Simplicity means reducing the paperwork that frustrates all of us and wastes countless hours and billions of dollars. We must cut through the red tape and free doctors and nurses to return to what they do best -- care for patients.

Achieving savings starts with the idea that giving groups of consumers and small businesses the same buying clout as large employers will bring fair prices. Com-

4

munities, companies and health plans across the nation are learning to discipline health costs. We must follow their lead.

Quality means improving what is already the highest-quality care in the world. It means a new emphasis on keeping people healthy rather than waiting until we get sick, and giving consumers and providers the information they need to judge for themselves.

Choice means preserving your right to choose your doctor and increasing your choice of health plan.⁵ We must protect the doctor-patient relationship that lies at the heart of good health care.

Responsibility starts with those who profit from our current system, but carries on to each and every one of us. It means every employer and employee must contribute something to the cost of health care, even if that contribution is small.

These principles are the guiding stars that we should follow on our journey toward health care reform. I am convinced that if we agree on these basic values, we can preserve all that is right with American health care, and fix what is wrong. Our history -- the history of challenges met, obstacles overcome and new horizons secured -- teaches us that we can succeed. After decades of false starts, we must make this our most urgent priority and find the courage to change. And when our work is done

-- when we provide every American with true health security -- we will know that we have answered the call of history and met the challenge of our time.

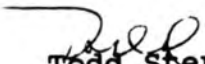
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

As you may recall, I prepared a
condolence letter to Michael Jordan for
your signature after Michael's father
was murdered.

The attached letter to you and the
First Lady was sent to my attention (my
family is a part owner of the team) and
I thought you'd both be interested in
seeing it.


Todd Stern

CO: HRC



10/25
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

MICHAEL JORDAN

SUITE 2930
676 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

October 18, 1993

President & Mrs. Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington

Dear President & Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you for your prayers and kind words regarding
the passing of my father.

Your expression of concern, in addition to meaning
a lot to my family and me, will without a doubt
give "Pops" bragging rights in the place we refer
to as the here-after.

Again, please know that the Jordan Family is most
appreciative of your well wishes.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1993

Mr. Michael Jordan
The Chicago Bulls
Suite 1600
980 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Michael:

I wanted to tell you how sorry Hillary and I are about the tragic death of your father and to convey to you, your mother Deloris, and your whole family our deepest sympathy.

Although I never had the privilege of meeting him, I understand that your father was a fine and decent man, whose good-natured kindness to those around him and whose love for and devotion to his family were evident for all to see.

I know that losing him in this cruel way must be a terribly difficult blow for you and your family. But I hope that, in the days and months and years ahead, you can take comfort in remembering the richness of the life he led and the joy and love he brought to you all. Hillary and I wish you well and want you and your family to know that all of you are in our prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Chen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: October 23, 1993

NOTE FOR: Mack McLarty, Roy Neel, Marsha Scott

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1993

Jody Agre Splann
100 Vale
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71901

Dear Jody:

Mother gave me the letter you wrote me last year and also told me of your recent illness.

Your moving words are a testament to what you've dedicated your life to--educating our young people--and I want to thank you for that. You've been eminently successful as evidenced by your Presidential Award for Excellence in Science Teaching nomination. Your support of what I seek to do here means an awful lot to me.

I just wanted you to know how much I appreciate your letter. I'll be thinking of you and praying for you in the days to come.

Sincerely,

Bill

I can't tell you how moved I was by your letter - I'll see what I can do about the connection but with emergencies everywhere it's hard to commit far ahead. Thanks

Dear President Clinton,

During the early eighties, Tavia Loyd and I had a children's shop in Hot Springs. You would occasionally drop by to see her, and that is how I first met you. When Tavia and I realized we were not going to make it in business, I knew I would have to find another job. At first I assumed I would return to my original profession in medical technology. However, the louder you screamed educational reform, the more I thought about teaching in general, and about teaching at Hot Springs High in particular.

I kept your pamphlet with the outline of your plans close by me. When I found out that Mr. Duncan, our old chemistry teacher, was retiring, I went back to school to obtain my teaching certificate. Even though I was in my forties, you had inspired me to try to make a difference in the education of the young people of Arkansas.

When I applied for the job, I had not completed my requirements. The school district took a chance and hired me even though I had only a provisional certificate. For the first couple of years I kept it pretty quiet that I was there because of you, and not in spite of you. As class sizes came down and pay checks went up, my peers had to find something other than you to complain about.

This is my eighth year to teach chemistry at Hot Springs High School. Three years ago I was nominated for a Presidential Award for Excellence in Science Teaching and last year I was Teacher of the Year for our district. I am proud to say you and I have made a difference.

My first check for your campaign went to your mother almost immediately after you announced your candidacy. Susan Goodrum and I hosted a New Hampshire primary watching party even though most of our friends doubted our sanity. From that time on I became one of those little people who was there for you any time you asked. Now I am asking you to keep a promise you made.

Please honor your commitment to the National Science Teachers Association convention in Kansas City in April. You are absolutely correct when you say the path to economic recovery must run through a classroom. We as teachers know it

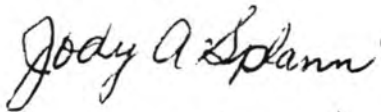
To whom was the gun?

too, but we must be reminded how important our role in the future of America really is.

With terrible violence in our schools on one hand, and miraculous technology on the other, we are at such a critical crossroads. Just as you needed the teachers of this country in those early days of your campaign, we need you now as an inspiration to do what we can and must do. You probably cannot make a difference in Europe, Africa, or the Middle East on that one evening in April, but you just might help us turn the corner in this country.

Because you asked those of us who could, to teach, I will be there in Kansas City. Please be there with me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jody A. Splann". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Jody Agre Splann

10-11-'93

Dear Alice,

Judy Spahn wrote this letter to
you almost a year ago -

She's been diagnosed with
terminal cancer ^{and} when I visited
her yesterday she asked that I send
her letter.

I'm feeling great. Stronger ^{and}
stronger. I'll try to keep up the good
work.

My love to Hilary ^{and} Chelsea.

I sure love you,

Judy Spahn

Mother

100 Vale

Hot Springs, Ar.

71901

The Washington Post Writers Group

YODE19 10/22/93

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/22/93 db

Gugen/65

is interesting

^bc-yoder-column advIMMEDIATE<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--Normally advance for Monday, October 25, 1993)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--When foreign-policy crises are defined more by pictures--fickle, flickering television pictures at that--than by words weighed, or thoughts carefully thought, almost anything can happen.

It is hardly surprising, given the recent pictures from Somalia and Haiti, that the old inter-branch quarrel over the war powers has reappeared. Though recently dormant, that quarrel is always latent and has its recent roots in the Vietnam disaster.

In their wisdom, the framers of the Constitution distributed the war powers with an even hand, confiding the now nearly defunct power to declare war to Congress and the still active power to make it by the deployment of American forces in far-flung places, to presidents acting as commanders in chief. The ambivalence of the Constitution on this score is, as Edward Corwin put it many years ago, "an invitation to struggle for the privilege of determining the foreign policy of the United States."

A dubious privilege, some would say. But still to be fought over. Last week two scarifying television images--one of the body of an American soldier being dragged gleefully through the dusty streets of Mogadishu, the other of an American transport ship sailing away from Haiti--have reignited the old struggle.

With his mind on another shot at the presidency, the Senate Republican minority leader, Bob Dole, has tossed aside his usual stout defense of presidential prerogative in foreign military matters. Having defended what Reagan did without congressional leave in Grenada and what Bush did without it in Panama, and almost without it, in

(more)

Kuwait, Dole now proposes legislation requiring President Clinton to toe certain congressional markers as a precondition of acting in Haiti.

Dole's legislation, given the prestige of its sponsor, is as assertive a congressional attack on the foreign-policy presidency as any since the 1972 War Powers Resolution. If it passed, it would handcuff the president in the face of thuggery, and force President Clinton to choose between ignoring it (as an unconstitutional intrusion on his powers) and submitting to a drastic enfeeblement of his office.

Maybe it won't come to that; negotiations are said to be afoot. But President Clinton has had a rude awakening. His gentlemanly foreign policy team left his political flanks exposed as he concentrated on health reform and other domestic issues. Congress, much emboldened, is moving to pick his pockets of the currency of executive power.

The merits of the war powers issue have little to do, by the way, with the issue in Somalia and Haiti, both of them poor candidates for a U.S.-assisted turn to "democracy" or even to law and order. These two small headaches, legacies from the Bush years, do provide an occasion for the sort of showdown most presidents must sooner or later have with Congress.

And the irony is rich. Most recent presidents have quickly tired of wrestling with a dysfunctional Congress for domestic reform and turned, with relief, to foreign policy. After the spartan diet of domestic politics it is always pleasant, as the late David K.E. Bruce used to say, to bite into "the lush melon of foreign policy." Clinton, so far, has been the exception. He really is determined, in his energetic way, to redeem his pledges in domestic policy and seems startled by the sudden squall of congressional panic over Haiti and Somalia.

He'd better get used to the feeling. Congress in the television age no longer even pretends to be much more than an instant sounding board for public reaction to the latest foreign crisis, which is usually

(more)

presented in the powerful and disconcerting imagery of the evening news.

In the face of this skittishness, President Clinton can do no less than his predecessors. He has given notice that he intends to stand by customary presidential authority and prerogative in the face of congressional bids to seize control of foreign policy. Give him the benefit of the doubt. If you think one presidential foreign policy is occasionally stupid and confusing, try 535 foreign policies, all at once, as an alternative.

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TOTAL PAGES: 3 (incl this cover sheet)

Military Toxics Project

P. O. BOX 845

SABATTUS, ME 04280

VOICE (207)268-4071

MODEM/FAX (207)268-9258

OCT 22 12:55

DATE 10/20/93fax to: John Podesta, Staff Secretary White Housefrom: Tara Gilmartinsubject: EPA Restructuring

Christine Varney

These people are
tenacious.
or her COS
from to consider
their views?
Can Carol
meet with

John

October 20, 1993

Administrator Carol Browner
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
401 M Street, SW
Washington, DC 20460

Dear Administrator Browner:

We represent national, state and local environmental organizations and Labor Unions working for cleanup, environmental compliance, and pollution prevention at Federal facilities. As you know, contamination at and from these facilities poses an enormous threat to the nation's public health, environmental security, and economic recovery. Furthermore, the cost of environmental programs at the Energy and Defense Departments now exceeds \$11 billion a year.

We have been pleased by recent progress in dealing with these issues, with the passage and implementation of the Federal Facilities Compliance Act, the initial implementation of the recommendations of the Federal Facilities Environmental Restoration Dialogue Committee, and the issuance of Executive Order 12856 mandating toxic release reporting and pollution prevention at Federal facilities.

Acting Deputy Assistant Administrator Tad McCall and the Office of Federal Facilities Enforcement have played a key role in charting this forward path. We are concerned to learn that an EPA reorganization plan may abolish this position and the entire OFFE.

We recognize that the administration is seeking new efficiencies throughout the Federal bureaucracy, and we understand the need to reverse some of the designed-in ineffectiveness left over from previous administrations.

However, we are not convinced that the proposed new structure will ensure the continuation of the current OFFE's approach to Federal facilities oversight and enforcement. We also believe that the magnitude of contamination at Federal facilities, its unique technical challenges, and the political role of other Federal agencies requires a continued high-level focus on Federal facilities at EPA. In particular, the Clinton Administration's highly regarded response to the economic and environmental challenges of military base closure could be undermined by the proposed reorganization.

We ask, therefore, that you modify the organizational changes to retain the thrust and status of Federal Facilities Enforcement programs. To that end, we ask you meet with a delegation representing our groups before you finalize the new structure.

We remain confident that this Administration wants to do the right thing to clean up government facilities. We believe that your effectiveness in dealing with these issues will be strengthened if you continue to build your partnership with environmental, environmental justice, labor, and other community organizations that share your commitment.

Administrator Browner

October 20, 1993

Page 2

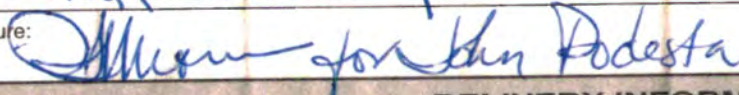
Sincerely,

American Friends Service Committee/ Denver, CO
Citizen Alert/ Nevada
Citizens for Alternatives to Radioactive Dumping/ Albuquerque, NM
Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety/ Santa Fe, NM
Economist Allied for Arms Reduction/ New York, NY
Energy Research Foundation/ Columbia, SC
Environment and Energy Studies Institute/ Washington DC
Fernald Residents for Environment, safety and Health/ Ross, OH
Friends of the Earth/ Washington DC
Greenpeace/ Washington DC
Hanford Education Action League/ Spokane, WA
Heart of America NW/ Seattle, WA
Nuclear Safety Campaign/ Seattle, WA
Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance/ Knoxville, TN
Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union
Pacific Studies Center/ Mountainview, CA
Panhandle Area Neighbors and Land Owners/ Panhandle, TX
Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Washington DC
Portsmouth/Piketon Residents for Environmental Safety and Security/ McDermott, OH
Serious Texans Against Nuclear Dumping/ Amarillo, TX
Sierra Club/ Washington DC
Snake River Alliance/ Idaho
Southwest Research and Information Center/ Albuquerque, NM
Tri-Valley Cares/ Livermore, CA
20/20 Vision/ Washington DC
Western States Legal Foundation/ Oakland, CA
Womens Action for New Directions/ Washington DC
And
The Military Toxics Project - which represents over 100 grassroots groups in over 32 states active around Department of Defense Facilities.

PC: * Katy McGinty, Deputy Assistant to the President
 and Director of Office on Environmental policy
 * John Podesta, Staff Secretary for the White House
 * Sherri Wasserman Goodman, Deputy Under Secretary of Defense
 for Environmental Security
 * Thomas P. Grumbly, Assistant Secretary of Environmental Restoration
 and Waste Management
 * Representative Dellums, Chair, House Armed Services Committee
 * Senator Nunn, Chair, Senate Armed Services Committee
 * Senator Baucus, Chair, Senate Environment and Public Works Committee
 * Representative Dingell, Chair, House Energy and Commerce Committee

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Agency:	Staff Secretary	Room:	GF/WW	Extension:
				2702
Signature:				
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Organization:	Hilfman & Fogel		Bill Recipient Account No.:	
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/21}
CLOSE HOLD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10/19 14:18

October 19, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO MACK McLARTY

FROM: BILL BURTON *Bill Burton*

SUBJECT: Mainstream Forum

Craig Smith of the DNC called to urge us to push forward a meeting between the President and Dave McCurdy's Mainstream Forum on NAFTA. Craig says that because Foley doesn't get along with McCurdy, Howard Paster has thrown a roadblock up to the Mainstream Forum meeting. I have not checked with Howard on this.

? - Craig says that McCurdy feels we can lock in some 50-60 votes by gathering these moderate Democrats in a room and have the President tell them that NAFTA is about who is driving the Democratic Party these days (similar to the message that Al From gave us yesterday).

Please advise how you would like to handle.

Mr. President -

We should discuss

ASAP.

*Thom -
Wol*

*cc: Cusv
RSL*

Wes Davis



Sued to
Linda & Cady
Ask her to listen
to this

✓ JW
10/21



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1993

The Honorable Mark White
Three Remington Lane
Houston, Texas 77005

Dear Mark:

Thanks for your note and for sending a tape of
Ed Young's sermon following his visit here.

I look forward to listening to it. Thanks for
thinking of me.

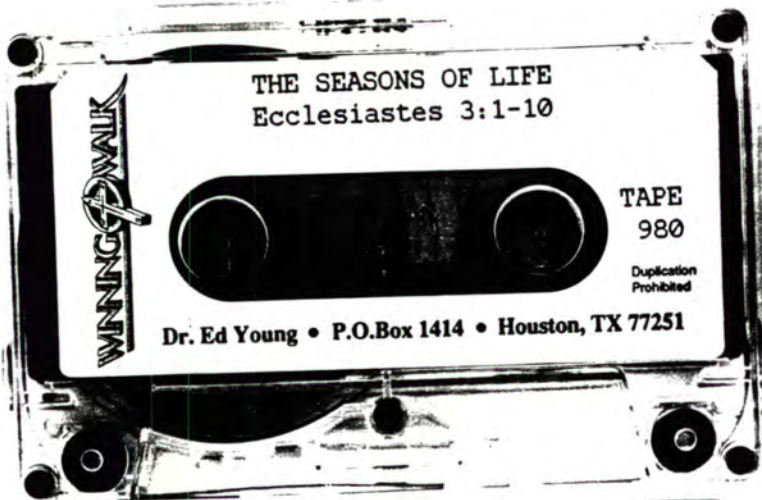
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

MARK WHITE

Dear Mr. President

I thought you might like to
hear the sermon Dr. Ed Young
preached after returning from his
visit with you. He seems to be
mellowing some; however he pushed
to his majority — Mark



To Mack/GS

— we need to meet on
this w/ Maggitt perhaps
Hose & wherever else you
need - ~~to~~ B. & M. for
Taylor but important
to do soon —

Mack / B.S.

I would like to
be in the meeting

NH

10/20

cc: [unclear]
 Aug 6 11
 [unclear]

July 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: George Stephanopoulos
 Maggie Williams

FROM: Robert B. Barnett

RE: Clinton Administration History

Following up on our meeting on June 30, 1993, this Memorandum will summarize the options that we discussed to begin the preservation of an historical record of the Clinton Administration. Two preliminary points must be noted.

First, these measures are designed to preserve the thoughts and feelings of the President and Hillary Rodham Clinton. They are additions to -- and not substitutes for -- the careful preservation of relevant documents. However, document preservation measures must be discussed and implemented in the near future.

Second, the President and HRC might well choose different systems. A particular set of procedures may not be right for both of them.

* * *

1. Daily Calendars/Presidential Diarist - We agreed that we would determine what sorts of daily calendars are currently maintained with respect to the President's and HRC's meetings and telephone conversations. Depending upon the state of these records, we might wish to improve their detail. We might also want to have the President, HRC, or appropriate staff members annotate these records with brief commentary. Attached to this Memorandum behind Tab A are examples of the diary format used by President Johnson.

2. Meeting Notes - We might consider the possibility of assigning one or more staff members who regularly attends most of the major meetings (perhaps one individual for domestic policy

and one individual for foreign policy) to take detailed notes of these meetings. Attached to this Memorandum behind Tab B are examples of the types of notes kept for President Johnson by his aides Tom Johnson (designated notetaker) and Jack Valenti (a participant).

3. Periodic Interviews - We might consider the possibility of having an individual on the staff of the White House or from outside the White House interview the President and HRC on a periodic basis (perhaps weekly). These interviews would cause the President and HRC to memorialize their contemporaneous thoughts and feelings about major events.

4. Personal Dictation - The President and HRC might be asked by a designated, close aide to record reflections on a periodic basis. For instance, Andrew Friendly and Capricia Marshall could carry a small dictaphone and ask the President and HRC to dictate their reflections. The success of such a system would, of course, depend upon the President's and HRC's willingness to take the time to do this.

5. Taping - We also discussed the possibility of taping various important meetings -- with the full knowledge of all of those present. This suggestion was rejected.

Taylor Branch does not believe (and I agree) that we can or should defer our efforts to record primary historic materials. He believes that the Administration is already terribly late in getting started. We should make the necessary choices and get started immediately.

* * *

With respect to the question of establishing a relationship with an historian to record the activities of the Administration -- either as a member of the staff or as an independent historian --, we decided that we should focus on the immediate goal of preserving the record. If we implement satisfactory measures to preserve the thoughts and reflections of the President and HRC, there will be less pressure to bring on an historian immediately.

Taylor Branch notes that, while one option would be to contract with a "house" historian or an independent historian now, it is also a viable alternative to defer that decision until later in the Administration. If the thoughts and records of the Administration are being preserved as events go forth, a good historian could enter the picture at a much later date and still be able to build an acceptable historical record.

We should, however, address this issue and decide whether the President and HRC want to make a decision on an historian now or withhold that decision for the time being.

Attachments

cc: Taylor Branch

The President began his day at (place)

Date 6-10-64

White House

Exp. No. 1123
Code 1123

Time	Telephone For t		Activity (include visited by)*	Expense Code
	Lo	ID		
			To Holy Cross College	
8:00a			Departed Ellipse by Helicopter for Washington Nat'l Airport with: JV, Mr. John C. McNally, -Sgt Paul Glynn, Lem Johns, Kellerman - USSS	
8:05a			Arrived Washington National Airport - for Worcester Municipal Airport in Massachusetts with: Bill Moyers; JV, Geo. Reedy, Cong. Philip J. Philburn, Cong. Harold D. Donohue, Father Bunn, Rev. Anthony J. Zintz, Ken O'Donnell & Mrs. O'Donnell, Justine O'Donnell, Richard Goodwin, Lt. Col. James M. Connell, John McNally, Judge Matthew McGuire, Dr. George Burkley, Capt Cecil Stoughton, Chief Thomas C. Mills, Sgt Paul Glynn, Kellerman, Johns, Payne, Olsson, McIntyre, McCarthy - all USSS - CWO David Secor Al Spivak - Press, Frank Cormier - Brass, Tom Wicker - Press and Sid David - Press.	
9:40a			Arrived Worcester Municipal Airport, Mass. - Greeted by: Gov. E. Peabody, Mayor Paul V. Mullaney, John Davoren, Dist. Atty Wm. Buckley, City Mgr. Francis McGrath, Maurice Donahue, Sheriff Joseph Smith, Edward C. Maher, Joseph C. Benedict, Herbert B. Cohan, Wm. B. Collins, Cosmos Mingolla, Joseph McGuire, Bernard Brusco, John C. Manoog, John M. Shea, Gustav Coontz, James B. O'Brien, John B. Melican, Daniel Foley, Andrew Holmstrom, Joseph C. Casdin, George Wells. The All City Military band played "Ruffles and "Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief".	
10:00a			Departed via motorcade with Gov. Peabody, Cong. Harold D. Donohue, Mayor Paul V. Mullaney, JV and two Secret Service men, Rybka and Lem Johns. Stopped the motorcade at the intersection of Airport Drive and Pleasant Street and shook hands with the public.	
10:34a			Arrived Holy Cross College Football Stadium. Greeted by Very Rev. Raymond J. Swords, S.J. (President of Holy Cross) and Associate Trustees: Dr. Alexander F. Carson, Mr. Edward L. Clifford, Mr. Edwin B. Coghlin, Mr. James A. Crotty, Mr. William T. Earle, Hon. John E. Fenton, Mr. Charles J. Fleming, Mr. Raymond P. Harold, Mr. Ray W. Hoffmann, Mr. Henry M. Hogan, (Cont'd page 2 back side)	

DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

The President began his day at (place)

Da y

Date _____

Activity (include visited by)	Time	Telephone for t		Expenditure Code
		Lo	ID	
Report, all day	2:35			
In house	2:41			
W.D. (for man)	2:55	+		
Rest in bedroom	3:15			
In bedroom w/ Judge Townsend, Mrs. Johnson	4:00			
B. Rudy (for man)	4:31	+		
Lee White (for man)	4:36	+		
Cong. Adam Clayton Powell (for man) - Nevada, Puerto Rico	4:40	+		
Senator Hayden (for man) - (returning his call)	4:46	+		
Mrs. Geo. Bundy (for man)	5:00	+		
(Reception)				
To East Room to receive Presidential Scholars (121 boys and girls selected by the Commission on Presidential Scholars) (See Page 3)	5:30			
Remarks by the President				
To the office of TV	6:20			
Mr. George Bundy	6:23			
The Attorney General - He walks in the door, and the President says, "Hello, here!" The AG replies, "Wasn't that good?" -- referring to cloture vote curbing civil rights debate - until 6:54	6:30			
Larry O'Brien (b.i.)	6:40	+		
B. Rudy (for)	6:55	+		
B. Rudy (for)	6:58	+		

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

The President began his day at (place)

Day

Date

6-10-64

Time	Telephone for		Activity (include visited by)*	Exp
	Lo	LD		
7:03			Received word from Claude Daaantel through mf that the House just passed the foreign aid bill. 230-175	
7:05			Confers with George Reedy re statement on passage	
7:20			The Attorney General briefly, then goes with him to Lyndon's hamburger party for his presidential scholars thing held in South Lawn	
7:25			In lounge w/ tailors Tom Nickey, Gino Porro	
7:40	+		Spoken to McCormack (mr) - on plane lounge	
7:50	+		Sen. Humphrey (mr)	
7:55	+		Cong. Albright (mr)	
8:00	+		Sen. Mansfield (mr)	
8:02	+		McGee Bundy (b.2)	
8:06	+		Senator Dickson (mr) on plane lounge	
8:20	+		mf "You want to see if there's any more press attention before I leave?" Will stay till 8:22	
8:26	+		Miss J (mr)	
8:30	+		(Cong Thomas E. Morgan) - (on plane lounge)	
8:50			To second floor	
9:25			Miner w/ Mrs J. Mrs Hugh Powell, Judge and Mrs Marmont	
9:45	+		Sen. Hartman (france)	
9:25	+		At 11th St. N.Y.C. (france)	
1:30			To South Grounds w/ Mrs Johnson to say goodnight to Presidential Sch. L.	

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

The President began his day at (place)

Day WEDNESDAY

Date June 10, 1964

City	Time	Telephone		Activity (include visited by)*	Expenditure Cost
		Lo	LD		
				Dr. Charles J. E. Kickham, Dr. Charles S. Horgan, Hon. Matthew F. McGuire, Rev. Msgr Edward G. Murray, S.T.D., Rev. Msgr, John F. Reilly, Mr. Richard J. Rutherford, Mr. Francis J. Vaas, and Dr. Arthur J. Wallingford. The President shook hands with all the above Holy Cross Welcoming Committee. Walked to Robing Room. Posed for pics with graduate student Robert Smith of Washington, D. C. then posed for pics with six other recipients of Honorary Degrees: Rev. Edward B. Bunn, S. J., President of Georgetown Univ. (Doctor of Laws) Rev. Dr. John Coleman Bennett, Pres. of Union Theological Seminary (Doctor of Laws) Dr. James D. Collins, Professor of Philosophy, St. Louis University (Doctor of Letters) Dr. J. Englebert Dunphy '29, Pres. of the American College of Surgeons (Doctor of Science) Dr. Harry J. Goett '31, Director, Goddard Space Flight Center, Greenbelt, Md. (Doc of Science) Francis W. Speight, Artist-in-Residence, East Carolina College. (Doctor of Fine Arts)	
	11:25a			Pres. Johnson and Rev. Swords entered the stadium field and walked to Speakers Platform. Catholic Youth Council Band played "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief." followed by the National Anthem. Welcome address made by Gov. Endicott Peabody.	
	11:32			ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT.	
	12:10			Departed Holy Cross Football Stadium via motorcade - stopped to shake hands with some crippled children (with Gov. Peabody, Cong. Donohue, Mayor Mullaney, JV & two SS men.	
	12:31			Arrived 96XX Worcester Municipal Airport.	
	12:38			Departed Worcester Municipal Airport for Washington Nat'l Airport (Air Force One) with: JV, Geo. Reedy, Cong. Philip J. Philburn, Cong. Harold D. Donohue, Father Bunn, Rev. Anthony J. Zintz, Lt. Col. James M. Connell, John McNally, Judge Matthew McGuire, Frank Dooley, John Frana, Dr. Geo. Burkley, Capt. Stoughton, Chief Thomas G. Mills, Sgt Glynn, Kellerman, Johns, Payne, Olsson, McIntyre, McCarthy - all USSS, CWO David Secor, Al Spivak - Press, Frank Cormier - Press, Bob Clark - Press, Howard - Press. Arr'g 2:28 pm.	
	2:31			To Helicopter for Ellipse with JV, John McNally, Sgt Glynn, Johns & Kellerman - USSS.	

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

Day WEDNESDAY

The President began his day at (place) White House

Date June 10, 1964

try	Time	Telephone		Activity (include visited by)*	Expe
		Lo	ID		
	5:31p			<u>5:30 pm Entry - Presidential Scholars Reception</u> Introduced by Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education. <u>ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT</u> - concluded @ 5:43p Students and parents filed by and the Pres. handed each student an appropriate medal. Present were: George Balanchine, Director, School of American Ballet Herbert Block, Cartoonist Gwendolyn Brooks, Poet Jules Feiffer, Cartoonist Jose Ferrer Abe Fortas Martha Graham, Director, Martha Graham School of Contemporary Dancers Dr. Leland Haworth, Director, Nat'l Science Foundation Helen Hayes John Hersey, Novelist J. Edgar Hoover Dr. Donald Horning Kingston Trio Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher Willem de Kooning, Painter Joseph Kraft Harper Lee, Novelist Walter Lippmann Marya Mannes, Writer Judge Thurgood Marshall Wm H. Mauldin, Cartoonist Gerry Mulligan Quartet Stan Musial Ogden Nash Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer	

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

The President began his day at (place) _____

Day _____

Date _____

LIBRARY

Day	Time	Telephone for t		Activity (include visited by)* (Cont'd)	Expense Code
		Lo	ID		
				Sidney Poitier	
				Dr. I. I. Rabi, Physicist	
				James Reston	
				David Riesman, Professor at Harvard	
				Philip Roth, Novelist	
				Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg	
				Ben Shahn, Artist	
				Alan B. Shepard, Jr.	
				Roger L. Stevens	
				Edward Durrell Stone	
				Nicholas de Virgilio, Tenor, Met Opera Co.	
				John Walker, Director, Nat'l Gallery of Art	
				Robert Penn Warren, Novelist	
				William S. White-Author	
				<u>MEMBERS OF PRESIDENTIAL SCHOLAR COMM.-</u>	
				Melvin W. Barnes, Portland, Oregon	
				Leonard Bernstein, New York	
				Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.	
				J. W. Fulbright, U. S. Senator	
				Wm W. Hagerty, Pres., Drexel Institute of Technology	
				Dr. Jeanne L. Noble, New York Univ.	
				Mrs. Katherine Anne Porter, Author	
				Mrs. Lawana Trout, Teacher of the Year 1964	
				The Rev. Michael P. Walsh, Pres., Boston College	
				Eric Goldman	Wendy Marcus
				Walter Jenkins	Bill Moyers
				McGeorge Bundy	Dick Nelson
				Horace Busby	George Reedy
				Liz Carpenter	Jack Valenti
				Douglas Cater	

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

The President began his day at (place) White House

Day Tuesday

Date 6-16-64

Time	Telephone		Activity (include visited by)	Expenditure
	Lo	ID		
7:00			awake, tea and fruit for breakfast, met w/ J. Valenti	
8:45			Legislative Leaders' Breakfast - w/ Speaker McCormack, Senator Carl Hayden, Humphrey, Cong. Carl Albert, Cong. Hale Boggs, Messrs. Jenkins, Moyers, O'Brien, O'Donnell, Reedy and Valenti	Senator Hubert
9:30			To office w/ leaders	
9:36	+		Mr. George Buckley (pl)	
9:44	+		Elmer Staats (b.1)	
9:45			Senator Mike Mansfield	
9:55	+		Sen. W. Mansfield (b.1)	
10:06	+		mf - "Excuse me, I mashed the wrong button."	
10:07	+		J. Valenti (pl)	
10:13	+		Reed White (b.1)	
10:35	+		J. Valenti (pl)	
10:46	+		Sen. O'Brien (b.2)	
10:48	+		Walter Jenkins (pl)	
10:55			Back to office	
10:56	+		D. Reedy (pl)	
10:58			Walter Jenkins (pl) (went to office)	
11:10			Senators Christian Bowles and Bob Kasten - out at 11:36 -	
11:32	+		Senators McCormack (b.2)	
11:37			Mr. Harold G. Jenkins (b.1) out @ 12:50	
11:40			Chairman of the Board, Development Resources Corp. - he is re-	
11:40			Stephen Amode, NYC (b.2)	
11:53	+		Walter Jenkins (pl)	
11:55			Walter Jenkins out @ 12:05	
11:56			Walter Jenkins out @ 12:05	
12:06			Spoke in inter. by J. Valenti w/ J. D. Bundy on agenda	
			Headline: "Are you ready Mac?"	

The President began his day at (place).

Day

Date _____

Country	Time	Telephone		Activity (include visited by)	Expense Co.
		Lo	ID		
	12:07			To Cabinet Room w/ Mr. H. Busby & Mr. Busby	
	1:07			With Security Council Meeting (see page 12 for attendance)	
				14. Meeting for lunch w/ Mr. Busby, Secretary Bush, Secy. McManis (Off R)	
	2:56	T		Secretary Johnson (Washington) (returning his call)	
	2:56	T		Sec. Johnson (Wash)	
	3:51		f	By. to Bird (Hawaii) (longer)	
				Announced his intention to nominate Randolph Appleton Kidder of the District of Columbia as the United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Cambodia	
				Nominations Sent to the Senate on June 16, 1964:	
				Randolph A. Kidder, of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service Officer of Class one, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USA of the Kingdom of Cambodia	
				Wilson Cowen, of Maryland, to be Chief Judge of the U. S. Court of Claims, vice Marvin Jones	
				Philip Nichols, Jr., of Massachusetts, to be Judge of the United States Customs Court	
				George Henry Hearn, of New York, to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner for the term expiring June 30, 1968.	
				Withdrawal Sent to the Senate on June 16, 1964:	
				Murat W. Williams, of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service Officer, for promotion from Class one to the Class of Career Minister which was sent to the Senate on April 3, 1964	

The President began his day at (place)

White House

Date Tuesday

Time	Telephone for t		Activity (include visited by)*	Expend Code
	Lo	LD		
4:36	+		Walter Jenkins (Mr.)	
4:37	+		J. Valenti (Mr.)	
4:38	+		Secretary Rusk (Mr. for news) (returning his call)	
5:30	+		Walter Jenkins (Mr.)	
5:42			Go to White House for Special Counsel (see other side) Arry 5:51	
5:51			Return from White House for NF-1 (see other side)	
6:00	+		Go to White House for NF-1	
NSC Attendance:				
Speaker McCormack				
AEC: Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman; General Delmar L. Crowson; John Kelly; Commissioner				
Gerald F. Tape, Commissioner John Palfrey				
CIA: General Marshall S. Carter				
DEFENSE: Secretary McNamara, Secretary Vance, W. J. Howard, General Donnelly,				
Harold Brown				
JCS: General Maxwell D. Taylor, USA, Chairman				
OEP: Edward A. McDermott, Director				
STATE: Dean Rusk, Secretary and U. Alexis Johnson, Deputy Under Secy. for Political Affairs				
USIA: Donald Wilson, Acting Director				
BUDGET: Kermit Gordon, Director				
WHITE HOUSE: McGeorge Bundy, Jack Valenti, W Jenkins, George Reedy, Major Clifton,				
Dr. Hornig, Spurgeon Keeny, Charles E. Johnson				

PRESIDENT LINDON B. JOHNSON

DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

The President began his day at (place) _____

Day Thursday

Date June 16, 1964

Entry No.	Time	Telephone r or t		Activity, (include visited by)*	Experi- ence
		Lo	ID		
				Issued statement on favorable employment figures	
	5:42 pm			To Andrews AFB via Helicopter from W. Hse Lawn with: Mrs. Johnson, Senator Edward Kennedy, Chief Justice Earl Warren XXXXXXXXXXXX Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg and Mrs. Goldberg, CDR Josephson, Sgt. Ken Gaddis, Kivett, Kellerman, Elmer Moore. Arr'g 5:51 pm	
	5:59 pm			Airborne from Andrews AFB for JFK Int'l Airport, NYC - Air Force One with: Mrs. Johnson, Justice Earl Warren, Justice Arthur J. Goldberg and Mrs. Goldberg, Mr. O. Roy Chalk, Secy Orville Freeman and Mrs. Freeman, Secy Robert McNamara, Secy Anthony J. Celebrezze and Mrs. Celebrezze, Sen. Edward F. Kennedy, Mr. Fred Dutton, Richard Goodwin, Geo. Reedy, Elmer Moore, Mrs. Edwin O. Guthman, Mrs. Burke Marshall, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Mrs. Schlesinger, CMDR Joseph Josephson, Chief Willie Martinell, Sgt Daniel R. Lewis, CWO Geo. A. Desautels, Sgt Robert Recco, Sgt Marshall K. Gaddis, Boring, Kellerman, Kivett, Stout, Pontius, O'Rourke - all USSS, Ivan Ford, Wm Greer, USSS, Helen Thomas - Press, Phillip Potter - Press, Bob Goralski - Press, Frank Cormier - Press,	
	6:40 pm			Arrived JFK Int'l Airport - Hangar #17, met by Deputy Mayor Cavanaugh of NYC - escorted to Presidential limousine.	
	6:50 pm			Departed by limousine accompanied by Chief Justice Earl Warren, Mr. Burke Marshall and Deputy Mayor Cavanaugh - Mrs. Johnson and motored to the St. Regis Hotel in NYC.	
	7:22 p			Arrived St. Regis Hotel - met by Mr. Stephen Smith and Mr. Marcel Hernand, Mgr of Hotel and escorted to 20th Floor Ballroom where he attended RECEPTION. (Cont'd) on Page 3)	

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
DAILY DIARY (Worksheet)

Day TUESDAY

The President began his day at (place)

Date June 16, 1964

Time	Telephone for t		Activity (include visited by)*	Expense Code
	Lo	LD		
8:10 pm			* The Pres. and Mrs. Johnson served DINNER. (Given by Mr. and Mrs. Stephen E. Smith and the Board of Trustees of the JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY MEMORIAL LIBRARY in honor of Mrs. John F. Kennedy) (approx 200 people) (St. Regis)	
10:50p			Departed via limousine for JFK Int'l Airport with: Mrs. Johnson, Chief Justice Warren, Atty General Robert R. Kennedy, and Mr. Burke Marshall - arr'g 11:17 pm	
11:29p			Departed JFK Int'l Airport, NYC via Air Force One for Andrews AFB with: Mrs. Johnson, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Justice Arthur J. Goldberg and Mrs. Goldberg, Secy Robt McNamara, Gov. Averill Harriman, Mr. Fred Dutton, Richard Goodwin, Secy Anthony J. Celebrezze and Mrs., Mr. Burke Marshall, Dr. Geo. Burkley, Mr. Elmer Moore, Geo. Reedy, CDR Josephson, Chief Willie Martinell, Sgt Daniel R. Lee, CWO Geo. A. Desautels, CWO Bales, Sgt Recco, Sgt Gaddis, Boring, Kellerman, Kivett, Stout, Pontius, O'Rourke, Ford, Greer - all USSS and Helen Thomas - Press, Frank Cormier - Press, Bill Downs - Press and Win Wyant - Press. Arr'g 12:05 am	
12:11a			Took Helicopter from Andrews AFB to W. House with: Mrs. Johnson, Secy McNamara, Chief Justice Warren, Justice Goldberg and Mrs., Gov. Averill Harriman, Sgt Gaddis, Kellerman, Moore and Kivett - USSS	
12:11a			Took Helicopter from Andrews AFB to W. House with: Mrs. Johnson, Secy McNamara, Chief Justice Warren, Justice Goldberg and Mrs., Gov. Averill Harriman, Sgt Gaddis, Kellerman, Moore and Kivett - USSS	
12:24a			Arrived White House 12:24a TX 5540X	
			Event was given by Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Smith "to thank the trustees of the proposed JFK Library and other friends in the NYC area." Dinner consisted of "fillet of beef, strawberries and artichokes." U.N. Amb. Adlai Stevenson arrived at the St. Regis w/Wm. Blair, Ambassador-designate to the Philippines and Mrs. Blair. Undersecy Harriman & Mrs. Harriman were accompanied by Mrs. Ernest Hemingway and Artist, Wm. Walton, long-time friend of K. John.	

Date June 16, 1961

Time	Telephone		Activity (include visited by)*	Expense Collection
	Lo	ID		
			 Pres. Johnson sat at Mrs. John F. Kennedy's right at important "Table Ten". Also within this magic circle were Andre Meyer, fabulously wealthy French banker, John L. Loeb, who donated \$100,000 to furnish the Oval Dining Room at the White House, Mrs. John R. Fell, New York socialite, Mrs. Stephen Smith was at the same table as was Mrs. Arthur Schlesinger. Among those seated at the table with Mrs. Johnson were the Attorney General, Charlotte Ford, dtr of Henry Ford, Mrs. Ernest Hemingway, Actor Frederic March and his wife, Florence Eldridge, Stephen Smith and Eugene Black of World Bank. Other prominent guests were Judge Wilfred Feinberg and members of his family, Jerry Finkelstein, publisher of NY Law Journal and one-time aide to former Mayor Wm. O'Dwyer, Dept store magnate Bernard Gimbel and Mrs. Gimbel, Norman Winston, renowned jeweler, Mary Lasker and Mary Roebling, Trenton, N.J. banking tycoon. Still more who came were John A. Coleman, former Pres. of NY Stock Exchange, Composer Samuel Barber, David Dubinsky, Christian Hohenlohe, son of the late Mrs. Moton Downey R. During the evening in place of speeches, Actor Frederic March read favorite selections of Pres. Kennedy and excerpts from his inaugural address. Mrs. March read Mrs. Kennedy's annotations explaining why each particular passage was chosen. Table favors were blue-bound copies of the late President's books, "The Burden and the Glory," "To Turn the Tide" and "The Strategy of Peace." The volumes were wrapped in white paper, tied with white ribbons and distributed one title to each guest.	

MEETING NOTES
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Meeting began: 1:15 p.m.
Meeting ended: 2:35 p.m.

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NOTES OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING
WITH
SECRETARY McNAMARA
SECRETARY KATZENBACH
CIA DIRECTOR HELMS
MR. WALT ROSTOW
MR. GEORGE CHRISTIAN

September 26, 1967
Second floor dining room

President: Walt, did you get the information to Senator Dirksen and Senator Mansfield? They are battling with Senator Case today.

Rostow: Yes sir.

President: Nick, did you get that information on the Tonkin Gulf Resolution? I want the opinions and precedents on this. If Senator Russell were able, he could present this case very effectively. Russell said it was hypocritical to say they did not understand the resolution when it was passed.

I had an interesting conversation with [REDACTED] 1-2c(b)(3)
[REDACTED] He said he did not see how we could win the war without more public statements. He said there is a need to repeat statements over and over. He thinks we should repeat again how we got into Vietnam, why we are there, and what our purpose is. The luncheon group agreed that more of this needed to be done.

Nick, isn't it bad for those newspapers to be closed down in Saigon?

Katzenbach: There are many newspapers out there. These are all small circulation papers, but yes, it does have some negative effects -- more here in the U. S. than out there.

Helms: It's what our newspapers do to it that is critical.

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Authority NLI 82-6C
By [REDACTED] HARS, Date 8-13-84

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- 2 -

President: What about peace negotiations? How are the contacts doing?

Katzenbach: The last message sounded more plaintiff than negative. The channel is still there. The question is will they talk to Henry while bombing continues. He will talk to a non-official rather than to officials.

We suggest they start talking about either substance of stopping or how we get together for talks.

The odds are against talks at this time. I think there is a possibility, although not a very good one. The chances of getting Vietnam resolved before November, 1968, depends on our ability to get talks going.

We should try even if there is little hope for success. Even if you were to get them started and nothing happened it would be good. We would step down some if secret talks began. I do not see a better channel at the moment. I do not see anything better.

In South Vietnam, Helms' people have picked up a man and let him go. This also may work.

Rostow: Interrupted to mention that Senator Muskie had called concerned over a CBS report that 85% of the Vietnamese election overseeing group thought the Thieu-Ky election was a fraud. The President asked Director Helms to check this and if it is not true, get the information to the Senator.

Secretary Katzenbach:



1-3-68

3-5

~~TOP SECRET~~~~EYES ONLY~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~EYES ONLY~~

- 3 -

President: Is there anything new on General Wheeler's condition?

Secretary McNamara: He is doing fine. He is in the hospital today for an examination.

Secretary McNamara: On targets, the JCS recommends elimination of restrictions around Hanoi. They recommend a strike on Phuc Yen air-base, and they want restrike authority on targets previously hit inside the 10-mile circle. There are 25 targets which have been authorized but not struck.

In my opinion, it would be harmful to the Paris talks if we were to intensify the bombing. It is unlikely that the military progress which they would produce would be great enough to change attitudes toward negotiations.

There have been two questions sent to Hanoi:

1. Do we understand that if we stop the bombing that within two days you will go to the conference table?
2. Will you talk to Kissinger if we hold the current level of bombing?

While there are these discussions I would recommend against additional bombing. We have enough targets for another week.

We have only lost three aircraft to MIGs, yet we have downed seven of theirs. There are only 27 MIGs in North Vietnam at the present time.

I talked to Ambassador Thompson. He doubted that the Soviets would respond at this time. If we hit it once, we will have to hit it again.

Rostow: We are keeping them busy for the moment repairing the bridges and the thermal power plant. Let's give them another week to play out the string.

President: I see nothing coming from this.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

~~EYES ONLY~~

- 4 -

Rostow: I do not see any connection between bombing and negotiations.

Katzenbach: I do not think we are going to get negotiations by bombing.

President: I do not see holding off again. What have we gotten out of this so far.

Katzenbach: We have gotten into communications with them. There have been no communications since February of this year.

The tone of the communications was less strident than before.

It is important to try to get them to talk.

It's worth doing, even at the price of not hitting within the Hanoi circle.

If you measure bombing against the possibilities of the channels, they have a better public stance than we do.

President: What are the arguments of the Joint Chiefs of Staff?

McNamara: The power plant is 50% operative and they are rebuilding it. The two Hanoi bridges are again being used for traffic. They believe it is important to hit the industrial targets to help the war effort.

In my opinion, none of these are strong arguments.

President: Who is influencing Hanoi?

Katzenbach: We are making them believe they can't achieve their goals in the way they wanted.

The difficulty has been in bombing limited targets. There is enough destructions to make it look like we are trying to defeat Hanoi and can't.

I do not think we should stop bombing the North unless we can get to the bargaining table. A pause may help publicly.

I favor a pause between now and February.

President: I do too. But we are too quick to pick up what any professor may get going. I think we should get those targets now.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~EYES ONLY~~

~~TOP SECRET~~~~EYES ONLY~~

- 5 -

A pause won't change the political situation. It will give them an answer though that we are prepared to go the last mile.

But I do want to get all those targets before a pause.

McNamara: We are not going to be able to have a pause without the military saying there still are targets to be hit.

Katzenbach: Don't step up the bombing and then pause.

Helms: I do not agree that by not bombing in a particular location it will have any effect on talks.

President: History may make us look silly on this whole thing.

We pull out of Hanoi any bombing for six weeks to let people get in. Then they never go in.

McNamara: The serious problem is that you must show the American people that you are willing to walk that last mile. You sent a good formula. No American President could expect you to do more.

But we do not pay much for keeping this going.

President: I think they are playing us for suckers. They have no more intention of talking than we have of surrendering. In my judgment everything you hit is important. It makes them hurt more.

Relatively few men are holding down a lot of men. I think we should get them down and keep them down. We will give them an opportunity to speak and talk if they will.

If we believe that we should bomb, then we should hit their bridges, their power plants, and other strategic targets outside the ones which we have ruled off-limits.

We get nothing in return for giving all we have got. But I guess a pause won't hurt because the weather is bad anyway. But I do want to get all

~~TOP SECRET~~~~EYES ONLY~~

~~TOP SECRET~~~~EYES ONLY~~

- 6 -

the targets hit that we dare approve. Then we will make public the pause that Thieu had mentioned. If they do not talk we will have to go to more drastic steps.

We are losing support in this country. The people just do not understand the war. But nobody can justify holding off for five weeks. We must look at this thing very carefully.

I agree with Dick Helms. It makes no difference in their minds where we hit.

Hanoi alone will not do it. They still want permanent cessation, their four points, and what they have said.

How do you wrap up the channel if it is getting us nowhere.

McNamara: I would suggest, in that case, that the President authorize Phuc Yen today, then watch all replies from Bo or M & A so you can terminate the exchange if nothing comes of it.

President: I am ready to do that. Wait a week. If they give any indication I am ready to do it.

Katzenbach: Bo could say I'll talk with K^Singer. It makes a difference what we do and say. We should adjust our messages so they can do something or call it off.

President: Nick, give me a paper on what hopes you and State see in this thing. I just do not see them. But I want a paper on this. You already have given them five weeks.

Katzenbach: But it did not cost us anything.

President: You built a big umbrella which gives them a chance to rebuild. I would deny them that. But let me see it. Write down what we have to gain.

Helms: I do not think it will pay to continue holding off hitting Hanoi. Let's get the public relations aspect out. Let Bob go ahead and tell his people that we will destroy every military target in North Vietnam with the exception of Hanoi and China restricted areas.

~~TOP SECRET~~~~EYES ONLY~~

~~TOP SECRET~~~~EYES ONLY~~

- 7 -

We have offered a formula related to bombing. This was unconditional. This could lead to talks. They said no. We regard this as their answer for the time being.

We must design a scenario that would lead to a pause.

President: I want Katzenbach to prepare me a memo on why he thinks we should continue this channel, a scenario for wrapping it up, because we have met twice with a firm no.

We owe it to our men to do everything we can. We're not.

Katzenbach: We are talking about a very small area in exchange for what we are doing.

President: But all of this adds up. It is a question of which one of us can last the longest.

McNamara: On the day we gave a message to them we hit Hanoi harder that day than ever before. It was 21-22-23 of August when we hit Hanoi hard. It was the same time as the message was sent. Your formula was excellent. You have a good record since this.

President: We see nothing coming out of it.

McNamara: If the resumption of bombing does not terminate the talks you would want to keep it going in Paris.

Katzenbach: The tone of these talks is better than ever before.

[REDACTED] Bo has been careful not to slam the door. He has not been permitted to talk to an official American while the bombing is going on. He said to tell A & M.

There then was a discussion of signing the space treaty on October 10. Question was whether or not it should be in Washington or New York. President expressed interest in signing it in Washington because it shows that progress can be made while Vietnam is going on.

#

~~TOP SECRET~~~~EYES ONLY~~

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 23, 1966
Time: 1:20 p.m. to 3:45 p.m.
Subject: Resumption of Bombing

E
(p. 9)

Present: President, Vice President, Rusk, McNamara, Harriman, Mac Bundy, Bill Bundy, General Taylor, General Wheeler, Ball, Goldberg, Marks, Valenti. Also the Wise Men -- McCloy, Dulles, Dean, Clifford.

President: Because of large range of judgment and experience you have, I want your evaluation of this. Fresh approaches can do much sometime. The President's difficulty is not doing what is right -- but knowing what is right.

I see each day serious difficulties, mounting of pressure. It may result in deep divisions in our government.

A year ago, by 504-2 the President told the Congress to do what was necessary in Vietnam. Today they could muster probably 40 votes. The Majority Leader and the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee are against the general policy of that resolution.

Bundy: Situation not essentially different from what is in the press. While we did not expect any serious response to the pause, we have no answer -- only ripples of an undefined source to confuse the record.

We have comprehensive evidence of continuing reinforcement from the North.

Clear that PAVN units continue in VN. True, there have been no large-scale operations initiated by the VC.

The President is not disposed to do anything in a hurry. We need your comments.

McNamara: (President asked McNamara to give military assessment of situation)

Objective of VC to conquer in 1965 and 1966. US troops defeated this. VC has 27 battalions of PAVN. Capable of infiltrating 4,500 men a month, about three times the rate of last year.

Our bombing objectives:

1. Lift morale of South Vietnam.
2. Cost the NVN and reduce and supply route.

Office of the P
Box 13 / Valenti Notes
LBJ

SANITIZED

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Authority: NSC 3-24-22 re NL
By: DCH, Date: 4-19-82

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 28, 1966

2

Perhaps we have reduced the flow by 50 per cent.

600 trucks in four week period beginning December 27. Twice the level of a year ago. Records don't show, because of lack of accuracy, if this is (unreadable) over before the pause.

President: Assuming we were bombing NVN, is it your opinion that fewer trucks would be coming through?

McNamara: We would eliminate some trucks -- but they would probably use human backs.

Ceiling on movement is about 200 tons a day. Can't tell you if air attacks limit movements in toto. They are reactivating routes, roads through reconstruction. Camouflaging trails and routes. (McNamara used a number of photographs to show evidence of substantial infiltration.)

We do know they are steadily expanding forces in the South.

President: Any questions for Bob?

Dean: Resume bombing? As we were before or step it up to deter their supply movement?

McNamara: Don't think we can affect their will through bombing. The pressure on VC in the South will affect their willingness to talk. What kind of bombing should we have. Did have 700 sorties a week. We could direct more sorties against supply lines by doubling the sorties. No matter what bombing we do we need more men.

Dean: Assuming not bombing large centers of population. Would we bomb POL? Power stations? etc.

McNamara: Right now that's not as important as infiltration routes.

McClow: What can we accomplish by doubling sorties? Would this bring us victory?

McNamara: To avoid a weakness, we'll need to increase our forces. A chance that doubling our force over a period of six months might be sufficient to break their will.

COPIES
1-2-66

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 28, 1966

SANITIZED

3

McCloy: Are we on offensive?

McNamara: Yes, we are on offensive.

McCloy: Would this kind of thrust bring about pacification?

McNamara: No, this can't make peace until Vietnam has organized a pacification effort.

Rusk: If there was general drift toward Hanoi, we'd know about it.

McCloy: How about morale of Vietnamese Army?

McNamara: High desertion rate of about one sixth. But they go back to their farms -- and not to VC. Rand Corporation report shows VC morale problems.

Goldberg: What is meant by "increased cost of bombing?"

McNamara: This does not include China. It does mean...

Dean: What effect on bombing installations near Hanoi -- mine the harbor of Haiphong?

McNamara: If we mined Haiphong, we would cut off petroleum supplies -- don't know if we would markedly cut down supplies to the South.

Dulles: How do you appraise the Vietnamese Government?

McNamara: Evidence we have is good.

Rusk: Government draws strength from the fact most of the country doesn't want Communism.

Dean: Would it be possible to carry out Gavin's theory?

McNamara: -- unstable military situation
-- (unreadable) proposed by men who believe it is not against communists taking over Southeast Asia.

Carrying on a bombing program against North Vietnam carries risks. Could escalate. And response from China. Think it is danger that can be avoided -- but must consider it.

COPIES
JAN 29 1966
JAN 29 1966

Meeting in Cabinet Room

4

January 28, 1966

RN

If not bomb, it is risk. Don't think the American people will long support a government which will not support by bombing 400,000 troops there.

South Vietnam will not understand why we don't bomb the enemy supplying enemy troops.

Telegraphs the wrong signal to Hanoi, China. Universal opinion of our estimators that cessation of bombing would cause the enemy to believe their cause was right.

At some appropriate time, we should resume carefully controlled bombing.

Wheeler: We should resume. Reasons about the same as McNamara -- although I would place greater weight on the part bombing would reduce supplies. Campaign against North should be increased or substantially. I think POL should be attacked. Basic to ability to move trucks and water craft.

Westmoreland reports a continuing buildup in VC forces in the North area.

President: Is it because of the pause?

Wheeler: Can't tell. On other hand, infiltration has continued. Pause permitted them to move more freely.

President: Did the infiltration go up?

Wheeler: Don't know.

President: I'm trying to find out if this infiltration has increased.

Wheeler: I think so. But can't tell. But they are moving in daylight now -- and before the pause we didn't see any daylight moving.

President: And if we bomb again, would daylight movement end?

Wheeler: Yes.

President: What proof do you have that our bombing has been affected?

(Source of answer not identified): The very stridency of the screams from the enemy is pretty good evidence. Diverted large number of laborers to

COPY
COPY

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 23, 1966

5

fix up lines of communication.

You estimate 150,000 to 200,000 repairing bomb damage:

We know two Chinese construction companies are in Vietnam to do construction. They would accept Chinese only under dire circumstances. Reports from defectors indicate disruption to transportation and general havoc because of bombing.

Figures of actual destruction are impressive.

Vice President: Do I gather that bombing targets should be enlarged from the report of the Secretary?

McNamara: You hear a lot about industrial targets. There are no worthy industrial targets except for one steel and iron works. But even that (unreadable) return item in bombing.

Others that are worthy:

1. POL system. Most located at Haiphong.
2. Next storage area near Hanoi.

In my judgment these are vital. Also have thermal power plant system that is not too vital. In Haiphong and Hanoi area (within 30 miles) certain ammo and other terminals.

Clifford: Can you bomb every target you want to bomb without endangering civilians?

Wheeler: Yes. POL in Haiphong is located on the outskirts of the city. Great majority of bridges can be attacked without danger to civilians.

President: On the theory that "a hit dog howls" is that evidence that we are hurting?

Wheeler: Yes, Sir.

President: What (do) prisoners tell you?

Wheeler: One thing they cite for defection -- the bombing. Afraid of B-52s because they don't know about it until the bombs fall.

C O PRC

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 28, 1966

6

President: If you stopped in North Vietnam, do you think the next step will be to stop in South Vietnam and finally stop fighting?

Wheeler: Yes, Sir. This always happens.

President: Assuming not bombing civilians, what is argument against bombing in North Vietnam that wouldn't be true for the South?

Wheeler: Don't know of any.

Rusk: In terms of (unreadable) pose to North Vietnam and Moscow and China, there is difference. Russia feels there is no problem in bombing in South Vietnam.

President: I agree. But if we refrain, will not peace lovers exhibit same instincts towards South Vietnam as they do towards North Vietnam?

Goldberg: If bombing has caused Chinese construction workers, will not more come in with more bombing?

Wheeler: Not necessarily. They are there because the railroad they are rebuilding is important to the Chinese.

Vice President: Considering Moscow's concern over bombing in the North and not in the South, how many North Vietnamese do you estimate now in South Vietnam?

Wheeler: At least nine regiments -- about 12,000-15,000 men. But we are not sure this is all. These are the only ones positively identified.

Vice President: Then there is little punishment being inflicted in North Vietnam but only in South Vietnam -- which means, what pressures are we bringing on North Vietnam?

Wheeler: I think this is true. Until North Vietnam introduced his own men, Ho was fighting this war cheaply. No trouble in North Vietnam.

Goldberg: Can you bring about an interdiction in Haiphong without retaliation in Saigon port?

Wheeler: They have capability of doing this -- and have already caused trouble in this respect. We are on alert against this kind of attack.

CONFIDENTIAL

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 23, 1966

7

In December we had 87 ships waiting to be unloaded. Now down to 76.

We think we will be out of the woods by end of year.

President: What are U.S. casualties in a month?

Wheeler: Last week 28 or 29 killed. Heaviest month was November -- 250 plus.

President: How many lost last year?

Wheeler: 1300 plus in 1965.

20,000 VC killed -- Vietnam lost about 9,000.

President: How long can they take such losses?

Wheeler: Not too long -- or indefinitely. Morale of troops won't stand up to it. VC are having substantial trouble on their part.

President: Think possible it will break this year?

Wheeler: Don't think so. People in the South want to continue, might (break) it next year. Within the next two years we ought to get favorable results.

President: That means continuing the bombing and doubling the forces.

Taylor: I was with you on the pause, I was against length.

I don't think Hanoi will ever come forward unless our home front is strengthened. It works against all our efforts in the war.

President: Our enemy gets great encouragement from the opposition voices here. Is that right?

Taylor: Yes. ~~It's true. Hanoi lives in another world. They really believe we have lost 1200 planes.~~

President: We've lost 1400 to 1500 men in five years?

Wheeler: Yes.

McCloy: Anything developing in the way of tactics or weapons that ~~we can use~~

Wheeler: Yes, Sir. From a flat start, we inserted 100,000 in Vietnam in three months. No other country in the world could do this.

Airlift, Red Ball Express to bring vital items quickly. Ask every commander if any shortages. -- and in every case, no shortages were evident.

Counting on weapons:

1. Choppers
In late May, 400 plus
Today, 1800
At end of year, 2000
2. Using fighter bombers for close support
3. Artillery in quantities North Vietnam have never run into before
4. B-52s running close support missions

-- Vice President: Next argument will be noises to quit using B-52s.

President: Do you think cessation will prolong the war?

Wheeler: Yes.

Rusk: If it were not for the Chinese dispute, Russians would settle for the Geneva Accords. But they are immobilized. Greatly complicates their problem with China. Peking is completely adamant on this. They will not talk or do anything. Peking has actively intruded on any talks between Hanoi and U.S. Hanoi appears to be somewhere between Moscow and Peking -- but closer to Peking.

Sufficient differences among them to make them look over their shoulders at each other -- so that other nations find it difficult to bring about a consensus. We've asked every nation, "Have you heard anything?" The answer is no.

Dulles: If they are willing to stop the subversion, would the bombing cease.

Rusk: This has been talked ad nauseum. But if they respond in some way, we can respond likewise.

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CONFIDENTIAL

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 28, 1966

9

McCloy: Puzzled Hanoi hasn't thrown us off balance with some phony probe.

Rusk: We were prepared for this but they haven't been as imaginative as they might have been.

President: Allen, what is your reaction to the pause?

Dulles: Helpful to have -- but I'm not sure about the other side.

President: What about others? Will they say it is too short?

Dulles: Don't think they can make a case out of it.

McCloy: In convincing we are eager to talk. But paid a price abroad. Thought this was done largely for political purpose.

Hasn't been conducive to bringing about talks -- we've been too excited, too panicky -- an indication of weakness to the enemy.

General impression abroad is we overdid it. But I'm not criticizing it. It helped us here at home.

I think I would resume the bombing after having made these efforts -- and saying we would if we didn't get response -- talks would be diminished if we don't resume.

Insofar as Hanoi is concerned, they are confirmed in their estimate that we are weak and feeling the pressures at home.

Dean: I would resume without question. If you don't American people won't support you -- and casualties will rise. In Korea, we lost more men after truce than before. I would (unreadable) move them, bomb infiltration points -- and at same time keep up peace moves.

Clifford: Only way to get out of Vietnam is to persuade Hanoi we are too brave to be frightened and too strong to be defeated. We must persuade them we cannot lose -- and they will never talk until they are so convinced.

1-3
(5)

Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 28, 1966

10

U.S. attitude is misunderstood in Hanoi. They hear Senators and protests and they are convinced we are losing the support of our people. War must be made more costly to Vietnam. If we can accelerate military pressures to the point where the North Vietnamese people wonder if it is all worth it.

I want to resume the bombing -- before we get a phony peace bid.

If we don't bomb, China will be more bolder than us. If we keep the strength of our Air Force before them and make them feel we can destroy them if we come in.

We must fight the war where we are strongest and we are strongest in the air.

Dulles: I would resume the bombing -- but we have left impression that bombing has been ineffective.

Our bombing did two things:

- Limited forces VC could put into the field
- Limited momentum of their attacks

Goldberg: Am in disagreement with Clifford.

We have been helped overseas with the pause.

The pause has not been an indication of weakness -- we have strengthened our position, particularly in the communist world. That would not have been done without the Soviets.

Accelerating military pressure in the North has advantages -- and great risks -- involving China and Russia. And this would defeat one of our objectives: to keep the split open with (meaning between) Russia and China. I suggest: Don't bomb tomorrow. Think there is a way to handle public opinion. Therefore, out of deference to world opinion, continue deliberations and have decided to give another short period -- but not under the setting of this one. Think would have great impact on the Hill.

Vice President: The Congress is without leadership. We must take a firm position. The longer you delay, Congress will run all over the lot.

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Meeting in Cabinet Room
January 23, 1966

11

President: I was the first Congressman to speak up for the Truman Doctrine.

I am not happy about Vietnam but we cannot run out -- we have to resume bombing.

END OF MEETING

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALLS

10 20 93

To: ✓ Senator Bill Bradley

Recommended by: (202) 224-3224
Bruce Lindsey

Date: September 21, 1993

Timing:

Purpose: To discuss the Third Circuit vacancy

Background: You indicated that you wanted to speak to Senator Bradley again and "really nail this with him, probably face-to-face, at least by phone." Bradley urged you to appoint Sarokin now and Raymar in 1995.

Topic of Discussion: Third Circuit vacancy

Action: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-20-93

3 7 7 P7:55

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: David Geffen
310/285-2767 (Friday, October 8 or after October 11)
212/688-8222 (October 9-10)

DATE: As soon as possible, preferably by October 10

RECOMMENDED BY: Tom Epstein

PURPOSE: To thank him for hosting a reception designed to recruit sponsors for the DNC fundraising events scheduled for December in Los Angeles.

BACKGROUND: Geffen personally telephoned two dozen of the most prominent business and entertainment executives in L.A. to invite them to the October 4 reception at the Beverly Hilton. He will soon ask them to sponsor the December fundraising events.

DISCUSSION TOPICS: 1. Thank him for the reception.
2. Tell him you're looking forward to the December event.
3. Ask what else is on his mind.

CONTACT PERSON & PHONE NUMBERS: Andy Spahn
310/285-7962(work) or 310/397-2443(home)

SUBMISSION DATE: October 7, 1993

ACTION:

*in that brief talk
said I didn't have
to call him -
B.*

Chron

Stop Secretary

Please do cc to John
Emerson & Martha Scott 10/21/93.

Can you make sure
other items are taken
care of? - NH

SE

Martha

cc all this to Guinn/
Martha - Is he
happy now?

- showed said
on Cal Hiteck/Vent
capital supporter the
article from the Big Easy
etc. ~~is~~ raising it -
- could send to
Comment Bureau old mail list.

R.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 19, 1993

Sanford R. Robertson
Chairman
Robertson Stephens & Company
555 California Street
San Francisco, California 94104

Dear Sandy:

Thank you for your letter of October 12.

I do appreciate your invitation to moderate a town hall meeting at the University of California at San Francisco on November 20. I am looking forward to my upcoming visit to San Francisco, but, of course, don't exactly know what my schedule will hold. I've shared your letter with my scheduling office.

I hope to see you next month.

Sincerely,

Bill

*cc scheduling
no town
meeting but maybe
come visit -*

rw

ROBERTSON
STEPHENS &
COMPANY

October 12, 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton,

I am delighted to hear that you are coming to San Francisco during the weekend of November 20 to support the candidacy of Dianne Feinstein. Jeanne and I are having an event at our home on the 19th for Dianne and one of your cabinet members (as yet unnamed).

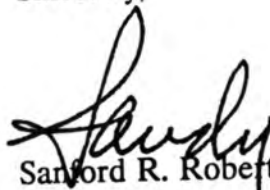
I am writing to reinforce the invitation to spend an hour on the 20th to moderate a town hall meeting at the University of California at San Francisco. UCSF is our renowned medical school and has a history of sponsoring outstanding public forums.

I believe this could be an ideal platform for you to promote some aspect of your health care policy.

Jeanne and I look forward to your visit to San Francisco. We were sorry we could not accept your invitation a couple weeks ago when you were in town.

We send our best regards and continued support.

Sincerely,


Sanford R. Robertson
Chairman

SRR/jh

cc: Senator Dianne Feinstein
Dr. Harold E. Varmus

Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1993

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Chairman
Robertson Stephens & Company
555 California Street
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Sincerely,

Bill

CC scheduling
~~from no town~~
meeting but maybe
come first -

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STEPHENS &
COMPANY

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Washington, DC 20500-2000

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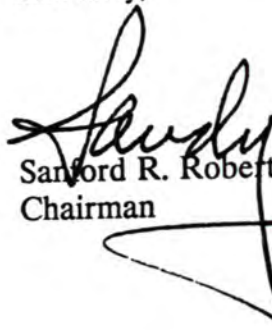
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Sincerely,


Sanford R. Robertson
Chairman

SRR/jh

cc: Senator Dianne Feinstein
Dr. Harold E. Varmus

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1993

93 OCT 20 P9:11

041016

OK'd by
Signature
for
John P.ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Report to Congress, Consistent with the War Powers Resolution, on the Introduction of U.S. Armed Forces into the Waters of Haiti

Purpose

To report to Congress, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, on the introduction of U.S. Armed Forces into Haitian waters.

Background

The War Powers Resolution requires that you report to Congress within 48 hours of introducing U.S. Armed Forces into the "territory, airspace or waters" of a foreign nation while equipped for combat. U.S. Navy vessels began participating in the implementation of the petroleum and arms embargo in the waters around Haiti, consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 875, at 11:59 p.m. E.S.T. on October 18.

The report has been cleared by the White House Counsel as well as by the Departments of State, Justice and Defense (including JCS).

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tabs A and B.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to the Speaker of the House
Tab B Letter to the President pro tempore of the Senate

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I have directed the deployment of U.S. Naval Forces to participate in the implementation of the petroleum and arms embargo of Haiti. At 11:59 p.m. E.S.T., October 18, units under the command of the Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Command, began enforcement operations in the waters around Haiti, including the territorial sea of that country, pursuant to my direction and consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 841, 873, and 875. I am providing this report, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to ensure that the Congress is kept fully informed about this important U.S. action to support multilateral efforts to restore democracy in Haiti and thereby promote democracy throughout the hemisphere.

During the past week, the world has witnessed lawless, brutal actions by Haiti's military and police authorities to thwart the Haitian people's manifest desire for democracy to be returned to their country. With our full support, the United Nations Security Council has responded resolutely to these events. On October 16, the Security Council, acting under Chapters VII and VIII of the United Nations Charter, adopted Resolution 875. This resolution calls upon Member States, "acting nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, cooperating with the legitimate Government of Haiti, to use such measures commensurate with the specific circumstances as may be necessary" to ensure strict implementation of sanctions imposed by Resolutions 841 and 873. The maritime interception operations I have directed are conducted under U.S. command and control. In concert with allied navies, U.S. Naval Forces will ensure that merchant vessels proceeding to Haiti are in compliance with the embargo provisions set forth in the Security Council resolutions.

The initial deployment includes six U.S. Navy ships and supporting elements under the command of the U.S. Atlantic Command. These U.S. forces and others as may be necessary, combined with those forces that other Member States have committed to this operation, will conduct intercept operations to ensure that merchant ships proceeding to Haiti are in compliance with United Nations Security Council sanctions. On the first day of the operation, one of our ships, with U.S. Navy and Coast Guard personnel aboard, carried out an interception of a Belize-flag vessel and allowed it to proceed to its destination after determining that it was in compliance with the embargo. In addition, the forces of the U.S. Atlantic Command will remain

prepared to protect U.S. citizens in Haiti and, acting in cooperation with U.S. Coast Guard, to support the Haitian Alien Migrant Interdiction Operations (AMIO) of the United States, as may be necessary.

✓ The United States strongly supports the Governor's Island Agreement and the restoration of democracy in Haiti. The measures I have taken to deploy U.S. Armed Forces in "Operation Restore Democracy" are consistent with United States goals and interests and constitute crucial support for the world community's strategy to overcome the persistent refusal of Haitian military and police authorities to fulfill their commitments under the Governor's Island Agreement. I have ordered the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces for these purposes pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

Close cooperation between the President and the Congress is imperative for effective U.S. foreign policy and especially when the United States commits our Armed Forces abroad. I remain committed to consulting closely with Congress on our foreign policy, and I will continue to keep Congress fully informed about significant deployments of our Nation's Armed Forces.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
President pro tempore
of the Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1993

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
President pro tempore
of the Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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WASHINGTON

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Dear Mr. Speaker:

I have directed the deployment of U.S. Naval Forces to participate in the implementation of the petroleum and arms embargo of Haiti. At 11:59 p.m. E.S.T., October 18, units under the command of the Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Command, began enforcement operations in the waters around Haiti, including the territorial sea of that country, pursuant to my direction and consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 841, 873, and 875. I am providing this report, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to ensure that the Congress is kept fully informed about this important U.S. action to support multilateral efforts to restore democracy in Haiti and thereby promote democracy throughout the hemisphere.

During the past week, the world has witnessed lawless, brutal actions by Haiti's military and police authorities to thwart the Haitian people's manifest desire for democracy to be returned to their country. With our full support, the United Nations Security Council has responded resolutely to these events. On October 16, the Security Council, acting under Chapters VII and VIII of the United Nations Charter, adopted Resolution 875. This resolution calls upon Member States, "acting nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, cooperating with the legitimate Government of Haiti, to use such measures commensurate with the specific circumstances as may be necessary" to ensure strict implementation of sanctions imposed by Resolutions 841 and 873. The maritime interception operations I have directed are conducted under U.S. command and control. In concert with allied navies, U.S. Naval Forces will ensure that merchant vessels proceeding to Haiti are in compliance with the embargo provisions set forth in the Security Council resolutions.

The initial deployment includes six U.S. Navy ships and supporting elements under the command of the U.S. Atlantic Command. These U.S. forces and others as may be necessary, combined with those forces that other Member States have committed to this operation, will conduct intercept operations to ensure that merchant ships proceeding to Haiti are in

compliance with United Nations Security Council sanctions. On the first day of the operation, one of our ships, with U.S. Navy and Coast Guard personnel aboard, carried out an interception of a Belize-flag vessel and allowed it to proceed to its destination after determining that it was in compliance with the embargo. In addition, the forces of the U.S. Atlantic Command will remain prepared to protect U.S. citizens in Haiti and, acting in cooperation with U.S. Coast Guard, to support the Haitian Alien Migrant Interdiction Operations (AMIO) of the United States, as may be necessary.

The United States strongly supports the Governor's Island Agreement and restoration of democracy in Haiti. The measures I have taken to deploy U.S. Armed Forces in "Operation Restore Democracy" are consistent with United States goals and interests and constitute crucial support for the world community's strategy to overcome the persistent refusal of Haitian military and police authorities to fulfill their commitments under the Governor's Island Agreement. I have ordered the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces for these purposes pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

Close cooperation between the President and the Congress is imperative for effective U.S. foreign policy and especially when the United States commits our Armed Forces abroad. I remain committed to consulting closely with Congress on our foreign policy, and I will continue to keep Congress fully informed about significant deployments of our Nation's Armed Forces.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc XH
Ann Gock
HLC

Trinner

~~B. H. H. H.~~

~~A. G. B. B.~~

~~(H. H. H. H. H. H.)~~

David H. H. H.

Dennis + Helen Baker

D.

93 OCT 20 PG: 43

Who?
Emerson, Maesha Scott
+ other 2
Tom Epstein

After the riots, Los Angeles is on the mend

Rebuild LA deserves much of the credit for lifting the city out of the ashes.

LOS ANGELES — A year ago, the intersection of Manchester and Western looked like a war zone. Buildings in every direction, gutted by fire and three days of rioting, resembled those of Sarajevo.

Today, that destruction is all gone. A mix of new and renovated structures has erased much of the physical evidence of the devastation the century's worst civil disturbance brought to this crossroad in south central Los Angeles.

Despite the still smoldering emotions tied to the ongoing trial of two black men accused of viciously beating white truck driver Reginald Denny, Los Angeles is on the mend.

Spurred by Rebuild LA, the much-maligned, private-sector consortium created in the wake of last year's disturbance, this city is rapidly transforming riot-scarred

neighborhoods into showcases of urban renewal.

Such an assessment may come as a surprise to many — both in and out of Los Angeles — who know the work that remains to be done. That's understandable. But it's hard for anyone who takes a dispassionate look at Los Angeles to deny the progress that's been made in salving its physical wounds.

Nearly half of the 1,118 buildings damaged in last year's uprising have been rebuilt — and many others are in some phase of reconstruction. If this kind of progress doesn't impress you, then you've forgotten how long it took cities like Detroit, Newark and Washington to repair their riot-torn corridors.

"We've come through the storm and this



By DeWayne Wickham, a columnist for Gannett News Service and USA TODAY.

thing is now moving in the right direction," says Bernard Kinsey, RLA's co-chair. To be sure, all of the credit for this recovery does not belong to RLA alone. A good number of projects have been started without its direct involvement. Some have come about as the result of the efforts of others. But RLA is the straw that stirs the drink.

With a board whose membership list reads like a who's who of this city's movers and shakers, RLA has at times encouraged, cajoled and nudged businesses to expand into the riot-scarred areas of Los Angeles. At other times it's been like a cheerleader urging on those who had already made the decision to do so — but always its presence is felt.

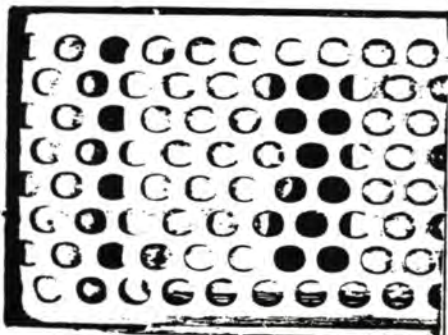
"We have gotten over \$700 million in commitments to the neglected areas" since last year's riot, Kinsey says.

Sure, the need (estimated at \$5 billion) is a lot larger. But given the fiscal crisis that threatens to collapse California's economy, what RLA has accomplished in the short span of 17 months is damn near a miracle.

murder / Mandy / Tom

Ryl -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10.20.93



But now bickering and speculation that the panel hasn't even started deliberations could mean a long haul.

Hints of dissension surfaced Thursday, when participants in another trial said they heard shouting from the jury room.

Friday, two jurors sent notes at the same time asking Ouderkirk whether one juror can accuse another of not deliberating even if that person stated reasons for the decision.

Saturday morning, a juror fired off another note saying that "a very serious problem has surfaced" and asking to speak to the judge.

After a closed session, Ouderkirk called jurors in and suggested they adjourn early. Most jurors, who seemed worn out, gladly accepted the offer.

But Juror No. 373, a black woman in her 50s, asked if she could take notes to the hotel.

"We haven't had time to work on the essentials," she said. "It's detailed. ... None of us want to make a mistake."

Ouderkirk ordered all the jurors to take a break and "recharge your batteries." As planned, jurors met with friends and relatives Sunday.

Prosecutors hope the jurors have agreed that Watson and Williams are the men shown beating Denny on a videotape.

Jurors must also focus on whether mob participants can be held responsible for their actions — a theory disputed in trial testimony and that now seems to be partly the cause of the tension in the jury room.



Cooled-off Denny jury goes back to work

By Haya El Nasser
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — Feuding jurors in the Reginald Denny beating trial go back to work today after the judge ordered a cooling-off period.

The racially mixed panel of 10 women and two men has been sequestered since Oct. 3 to decide the fate of two black men accused of beating white trucker Denny during last year's riots.

The deliberations grew so heated Saturday that a juror sent out a note for help — and Superior Court Judge John Ouderkirk had to play referee.

"The honeymoon's over, and now we're down to the marriage," says Robert Pugsley, professor at Southwestern University School of Law.

The jury already faced a difficult task in reviewing the charges against Damian Monroe Williams, 20, and Henry Keith Watson, 29.

They are accused of beating Denny and robbing or assaulting seven others in riots triggered by the acquittals of four white police officers who beat black motorist Rodney King.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/20/93

THE VICE PRESIDENT
CAROL RASCO

NOTE FOR:

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐
Action ☒x

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc: Kumiki Gibson
Marcia Hale

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached memo from Carol Rasco and the Vice President discusses the need to develop an Administration proposal on unfunded mandates that would serve as a viable alternative to a draconian unfunded mandate bill that Senator Kempthorne of Idaho apparently plans to offer as an amendment to the Administration's October package of budget cuts and rescissions.

Carol and the Vice President would like to be able to announce an Administration alternative by October 27 -- Unfunded Mandates Day.

The memo sets forth five suggestions, some or all of which could make up, or be included in, the Administration alternative.

Carol and the Vice President do not make specific recommendations concerning the five suggestions. Rather, they are seeking your guidance on which of the five to include in an Administration package.

Marcia Hale has also reviewed this memo.

John Podesta *JP*
Todd Stern *TS*

cc: George Stephanopoulos
Leon Panetta
Mack McLarty

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

710 P5:26

October 19, 1993

*Brig
win UGA, UCL
UCL, Mayors
Support Bill?*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT
CAROL RASCO

SUBJECT: Unfunded Mandates and Waiver Authority

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On Tuesday, October 7, 1993, representatives from our staff met with staff from the Senate Committee on Government Affairs; its Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management; its Subcommittee on General Services, Federalism, and the District of Columbia; and its Subcommittee on Regulation and Government Information. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the issue of unfunded mandates and the upcoming Unfunded Mandates Day on October 27, 1993. These staffers are concerned that when the Administration's package of budget cuts and rescissions is considered on the floor of the Senate, Senator Kempthorne of Idaho will offer as an amendment his legislation on unfunded mandates. The Kempthorne bill would require the Federal Government to pay to State and local governments the direct costs incurred by these governmental entities in complying with (future) Federal mandates. Needless to say, Senator Kempthorne's legislation would make the passage of health, safety, and environmental initiatives difficult because of prohibitive costs.

Because of the obvious problems with Kempthorne's bill and the desire of many in Congress to address the issue of unfunded mandates, these Senate staffers urged the Administration to develop a reasonable alternative to the Kempthorne bill. These staffers believe the leadership will be unable to prevent Kempthorne from offering his legislation as an amendment to the Administration's budget reduction bill and that the Kempthorne bill is likely to pass unless the Administration and the leadership can offer an alternative.

We think that Kempthorne's impending legislation presents us with an opportunity to promote the passage of some of the recommendations of the National Performance Review (NPR) on empowering State and local governments as well as the proposal on waiver authority crafted by the working group on community empowerment. Specifically, we may now be able to obtain, among other things, legislative authority to grant temporary, programmatic waivers for empowerment zones and for States and localities seeking relief from unfunded mandates. Last spring, Democrats in the Senate and the House were not

interested in such legislation. According to the staffers with whom we met, the environment on the Hill has changed and as a result of Kempthorne's (extreme) legislation, they believe a waiver proposal, as part of a bigger strategy to address unfunded mandates, would be welcome in the Senate. It is unclear at this juncture, however, the extent to which Members of the House will welcome such legislation.

Background

When the working group on community empowerment first introduced the Administration's empowerment zone legislation, we included language that would have provided to the Community Enterprise Board broad waiver authority for all localities designated as empowerment zones and enterprise communities. Under our proposal, the Board would have been authorized to waive any provision of Federal law or regulation, administered by the Secretaries of HUD, Agriculture, HHS, Labor, or Education, where the Board determined such waiver to be necessary for the successful implementation of a designated community's strategic plan. Under our proposal, the Board would consult with the relevant agency before granting any waivers. We excluded from this waiver authority rules for eligibility and benefits under the Social Security Act and Food Stamp Act, and laws and regulations concerning public or individual health, safety, civil rights, environmental protection, labor relations, labor standards, occupational health or safety, pensions, taxation, and any other law specifically excluded by the Attorney General.

Unfortunately, this piece of the your empowerment legislation was not included in the final version of the bill adopted by Congress. Without such legislation, it will be difficult to effectively respond to the needs of empowerment zones and enterprise communities, as well as to the problems created by unfunded mandates. Most existing waiver authority is focused in the areas of welfare and health care, not economic development or spending flexibility.

Discussion

The Senate staff discussed several alternatives that they believed should be considered as part of an unfunded mandates package, including the following:

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Issue a **presidential directive limiting the use of unfunded mandates** -- In its report, the NPR recommends that you issue a directive limiting the use of unfunded mandates by the Administration. To this end, NPR is drafting an Executive Order that will underscore this Administration's commitment to addressing State and local governments' concerns in this area. Specifically, this Executive Order will, among other things, (1) assign each agency's Chief Operating Officer the responsibility of ensuring agency compliance with the federalism considerations and requirements contained in the Executive Order; (2) direct agencies to look for opportunities, to the extent permitted by law, to make their waiver process less burdensome and more flexible; and (3) identify an appropriate forum -- perhaps the Community Enterprise Board or the

President's Management Council -- to hear federalism concerns presented by representatives of State and local governments about particular administration policy initiatives.

Give Cabinet secretaries and agency heads authority to grant States and localities selective waivers from Federal regulations or mandates -- In its report, NPR also recommends that Cabinet secretaries and agency heads be given legislative authority to waive selected Federal mandates. This proposal would provide the Executive branch with broad programmatic waiver authority. In order for such legislation to pass, the authority may have to be limited to waivers from unfunded mandates and for the purpose of community empowerment. The waiver authority should include a sunset provision and some level of performance measures. Finally, we believe the following areas should be excluded from waiver authority: rules for eligibility and benefits under the Social Security Act and Food Stamp Act, and laws and regulations concerning public or individual health, safety, civil rights, environmental protection, labor relations, labor standards, occupational health or safety, pensions, taxation, and any other law excluded specifically by the Attorney General.

Allow States and localities to consolidate separate grant programs from the bottom up -- NPR also has recommended that we seek legislation that would allow States and localities to consolidate separate grant programs. The Senate staffers with whom we met appeared to be sympathetic to the idea of allowing States to consolidate grant programs under \$10 million into one block grant. This would permit States and localities to more flexibly, and efficiently, use their Federal funds, allowing them to shift dollars to areas where there is a need to cover the costs of Federal unfunded mandates.

Targeted Federal assistance -- Senator Sasser is apparently considering establishing a targeted assistance program for States and localities burdened by direct unfunded mandates, authorized at \$1 or \$2 billion per year. The Sasser legislation would allocate funds based on the financial needs of the State or locality and on the extent of the direct mandate. The problem with this approach is its cost, which may be higher than the costs associated with the Kempthorne bill. In order to pay for such a new program, OMB would have to find some off-sets.

Federal technical assistance for implementing new regulation imposing unfunded mandates -- Another approach, which would be less costly than targeted assistance, would be to provide to States and localities technical assistance for the implementation of new Federal regulations imposing unfunded mandates.

Obviously, these staffers represent only a few senior Democratic Members. Before taking any action, including developing recommendations, the Office of Legislative Affairs will discuss this issue with the Majority Leader to see if the views presented to us on October 7, 1993 are consistent with those of the Senate Leadership. The Office of legislative Affairs will also need to conduct the same consultation with the Speaker of the House.

Recommendation

Provided that the leadership in the House and Senate agree, we would like to develop by Unfunded Mandates Day a strategy encompassing some or all of the recommendations outlined above. Please indicate below how you would like us to proceed:

☒ Develop entire package -- Presidential directive, legislative authority for waivers, consolidate grant programs, etc. -- for your review

☒ Develop presidential directive to limit use of unfunded mandates

☒ Develop legislation regarding waivers

☒ Develop legislation regarding grant programs

☒ Develop legislation regarding targeted Federal assistance

☒ Develop legislation regarding technical assistance

☐ Discuss further

→ May 1994

→ serious PS
→ ser. may
→ notes

THE WHITE HOUSE

Can be autographed

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-20-93

Rubin/Lama

interesting idea

He's onto

something

if we can figure
out how to pay

for —

B.

**Remarks of Senator Paul Simon
On His Support For
The North American Free Trade Agreement
Brookings Institution Auditorium
Washington, D.C.
October 20, 1993**

[EMBARGOED until delivered at 12:15 p.m. E.D.T.]

The proposal for a North American Free Trade agreement has evoked a greater barrage of surveys and analyses than any issue I can recall in my eighteen years in Congress, though I am sure the health care proposal will eventually surpass it.

People whose judgment I trust draw directly contradictory conclusions. The issue inspires fear on the part of many and hope for others. My study of the NAFTA agreement began skeptically. I voted against the fast track authority passed two years ago, fearful that the administration then in power would not adequately protect the interests of our nation's working men and women.

Three members of my staff who have primarily worked on this knew that I would spend the past weekend pounding on my old manual typewriter, formulating a position. I asked them where they felt the merits of this issue rest, and all three said it would be good for the nation. But all three advised me that politically the advantage is on the side of opposition.

That seems to me an accurate summary of where we are. And if that is correct, those of us in the Senate who believe NAFTA will be good for the United States need to provide leadership so that our colleagues in the House who are wavering know that they are not alone. Political prudence for Senators requires silence. Political leadership requires a stand. Illinois is an economic microcosm of the nation. By studying its impact in Illinois, I have come to believe that NAFTA will strengthen the nation's economy. I have concluded that NAFTA's overall benefits to this generation and to future generations make this a fight worth spending political capital to win.

Here is how I arrived at my position.

First, the unspoken premise of some opponents is clearly that there are only so many riches to spread around this region of the world, and if we permit our neighbors to the south to have more, we will have less. It is the same false assumption that those who wrote about population two centuries ago had: There are only so many goods to be divided, and if you increase the population, gradually everyone will become poorer. The average person in the world today has a much higher standard of living than in those days, and our population has grown tenfold. After World War II,

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the United States was by far the wealthiest nation, and Western Europe and Japan were miserably poor. I can remember staying at a small hotel in Spain where, for one American dollar, I received my room and three meals, including steak for dinner. Today the average American income is two and one-half times greater than it was then, after adjusting for inflation, and many of our friends in Western Europe now have average wages higher than ours. We have moved ahead economically and so have they. Clearly the economic prosperity of Western Europe did not come at the expense of the United States.

I start, then, from a different premise than some who oppose the agreement. I recognize that both Mexico and the United States can benefit, but reciprocal gains are not automatic. If they were, we would not between us have the greatest disparity in the standard of living of any two neighboring nations.

There are several questions that need to be answered:

What will be the job impact of such an agreement on the United States?

The short-term impact is clear. It will create jobs in the United States and raise the standard of living of most people in both nations slightly. With an average Mexican tariff on U.S. goods of between ten and twelve percent, and an average U.S. tariff on Mexican goods of four percent, when the tariffs on both sides are removed, the United States is the larger immediate job beneficiary. On auto parts, for example, the U.S. has a tariff of less than one-half of one percent, but Mexico has a tariff that averages thirteen percent. When you drop both tariffs, Mexico gains with cheaper auto parts, and the United States benefits in jobs. Even though Mexican tariffs are higher than ours, in 1992, we had a trade surplus with Mexico of \$5.4 billion, the largest trade surplus we have with any nation other than the Netherlands. Our primary trade deficits are not with low-wage countries but with high-wage trading partners, Japan being the number one example. As Secretary of Labor Robert Reich has written, "If low wages were the key to where manufacturers locate, Bangladesh and Haiti would become the manufacturing capitals of the world." George Fisher of Motorola speaks for many of today's and tomorrow's industries when he says, "The days of chasing low-cost labor are over." Of the ten nations with whom we have the largest trade deficits, our highest deficit with Japan is more than the next seven nations combined, and when the three oil-exporting countries are eliminated from the ten big deficit nations, of the remaining seven, five are high-wage nations, and two are low-wage countries."

The myth that NAFTA will result in a huge transfer of plants to Mexico is exactly that: a myth. There are economic advantages for that transfer now that will not be there after NAFTA is approved. There will be U.S. investments in infrastructure there -- in telephones, for example -- that will create jobs in Mexico, but should not result in job loss here. And generally, U.S. companies -- like all companies -- invest primarily where there are skilled workers, not where there are low wages. Three-fourths of our foreign investment is in developed countries, primarily Canada and Europe, where wages are often higher than ours.

The NAFTA agreement may temporarily stem the flow of some plants to Mexico.

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Gatorade, made by an Illinois corporation, Quaker Oats, has major sales in Mexico, but Mexico has an eighteen percent tariff on Gatorade made in the United States. If the NAFTA agreement is approved, the Gatorade plant will remain in the United States. If it is not approved, they will build a plant in Mexico.

General Motors faces a similar decision. Our tariff on Mexican-made cars is 2.2 percent. Their tariff on our cars is twenty percent. The American Automobile Manufacturers Association says that if Congress approves NAFTA, that will boost exports to Mexico of U.S.-built cars and parts by \$1 billion the first year, increasing U.S. jobs by 15,000. Only one of sixteen Mexicans owns a car. As their standard of living rises in coming years, this will be a huge market for us. There are those who argue that Mexican citizens are too poor to afford any significant amount of U.S. goods, that NAFTA will open a market that does not exist. The facts are that of Mexico's 90 million people, many are poor, but with its growing middle class, Mexico is buying seventy percent of their imports from the United States. As a nation, Mexico purchases more U.S. goods than any of our trading partners in Europe or Japan.

Caterpillar says signing the agreement will mean 1,200 more jobs in Illinois. If NAFTA is approved, the ten to twenty percent Mexican tariffs on Caterpillar products will be dropped but not on Caterpillar's principal competitor in Japan, with clear benefits to our country. A sample of my mail from other Illinois companies illustrates the potential: L.R. Gross of Nalco Chemical in Naperville writes: "NAFTA will help Nalco create high-skill jobs in the area of production, distribution, sales, marketing and research. Every additional \$1,000,000 in sales creates four to five new Nalco jobs. The majority of these jobs will be in the United States." Lauren S. Williams of the NutraSweet Company of Deerfield says: "NAFTA will have significant positive benefits for the NutraSweet Company. . . . We have no plans to manufacture our products in Mexico when NAFTA is implemented. Our ingredients are imported into Mexico and incorporated into products by local food manufacturers. And we see great potential for growth in this market. For example, while Mexico has per capita soft drink consumption second only to the United States, the diet portion of the market is only about two percent, compared to almost thirty percent in the U.S." John Kennedy of James Electronics in Chicago: "NAFTA will have no effect on a manufacturer's decision on opening plants in Mexico. We can do it today with or without the treaty. . . . I established a sister plant in Mexico in 1989. . . 125 miles south of the border. It has not taken jobs from Chicago, but has added over 100 jobs here." John Bryan of Sara Lee, based in Chicago: NAFTA will "create additional higher-paying jobs in U.S.-based yarn and textile operations." Richard White of Flexible Steel Lacing in Downers Grove: "The elimination of Mexican tariff barriers will greatly improve our access to the fastest growing market in North America. Our sales in Mexico have grown 60 percent since 1992, and with NAFTA could triple between 1991 and 1995. 95 percent of Flexco products sold in Mexico are made in the U.S. . . . Additional unit sales volume to Mexico will help to lower our overall operating costs and enable further employment growth in Downers Grove, as well as providing us a stronger competitive position in other world markets." Charles T. Wegner IV of Jel Sert in West Chicago says that they

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"have achieved only a modest presence in Mexico. . . . The economic and regulatory unpredictability make it imprudent to commit to any significant or long-term activity." But he writes that if NAFTA is approved, they expect a major effort in Mexico and additional jobs in our country. Sundstrand of Rockford has 2,900 Illinois employees and a total of 11,000 employees. James F. Ricketts writes: "NAFTA will have a positive impact upon employment levels both in the Sundstrand United States' facilities and in the joint venture operation in Mexico." John Thompson of IBM's Chicago office: "In 1992, IBM did approximately \$1 billion worth of business in Mexico. This was a 53 percent growth rate over 1991. . . which is occurring in an environment of 10 percent to 20 percent tariffs on those exports. With the elimination of Tariffs under NAFTA, IBM will have an even greater opportunity for exports, which translates into stronger demand for IBM's U.S. manufacturing facilities." Stuart Scheyer of the Decorel Company in Mundelein, the world's largest manufacturer of picture frames, writes: "We recently made a significant investment in Mexico, a 60,000-foot factory in Durango, Mexico with 200 employees. . . . The 200 jobs that we have in Mexico are in addition to an increase in workers that we have in the Chicago area. We have not transferred a single job from the United States to Mexico." He notes that he is moving jobs from Asia to Mexico and the United States and adds: "A Mexican worker purchases U.S. products. A Far East worker does not." Illinois is the nation's leading candy manufacturing state. The National Confectioners Association estimates that the elimination of the twenty percent candy tariff by Mexico will create 750 additional jobs in Illinois. Kent Kleinschmidt of the Illinois Corngrowers expects an increase of twenty cents per bushel in the price of corn because of NAFTA and a savings to taxpayers of \$1.2 billion in farm subsidies. All agriculture, with the exception of fruit and vegetable farming, is expected to benefit. Other industries that will benefit from NAFTA include machine tools and auto parts, major factors in our nation and in my state.

Illinois exports to Mexico increased 384 percent between 1987 and 1992. In terms of short-term job creation, NAFTA is a plus, but some industries and people will be hurt, and we must not ignore that reality. Much of the American middle class is in agony over the economic changes and dislocations of recent years. Families have seen their economic security slip, and many have become bitter and cynical toward a government that has seemed to do nothing to come to their aid.

NAFTA will not address the economic pain of the middle class in a meaningful way. This is not a reason to oppose NAFTA; but it places a moral obligation on NAFTA's supporters to develop a coherent plan and policy to restore economic opportunity and security.

In the medium-term, Mexico will experience more job growth than the United States as a result of the NAFTA agreement. As it becomes clear under NAFTA that there is an increasingly stable political and economic situation in Mexico, there will be more Mexican money invested in Mexico, and more money will be invested by Asian, Western European and U.S. interests. There will be some shifting of plants, particularly from Asia, to Mexico. Zenith has already announced that it will shift some television production from Taiwan to Mexico. As NAFTA increases the standard of

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living for people in the large U.S.-Canada-Mexico market, corporations around the world will want to sell in this market. The U.S. and Canada now have an edge over Mexico in skilled workers, but that advantage is likely to diminish over the coming years as Mexico stresses education. The United States has significant transportation advantages that will bring many of these new businesses to us, but Mexico is likely to be experiencing greater growth a decade from now, both in numbers of jobs and in its standard of living. As the General Accounting Office report accurately summarizes: "Economic researchers in general agree that NAFTA would bring a small overall economic benefit to the U.S. and Canadian economies, and a larger benefit to the Mexican economy." Under NAFTA, what helps Mexico in the medium-term ultimately helps the U.S.

Long-term -- thirty years from now -- all three nations are likely to experience significant growth if all three stress developing a more skilled work force and put their fiscal houses in order. The standard of living in Mexico is not likely to be as high as we have in the United States, but the gap in the quality of life will have diminished markedly. That will make Mexico a significantly larger purchaser of U.S. products. That means jobs.

The closest comparison to the NAFTA agreement that might provide insights is the affiliation of Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Greece with the European Community -- four poorer nations joining a wealthier central body. The average growth rate of the four exceeded the growth rate of the other nations of the European Community by 3.7 percent to 2.8 percent. The affiliation of the four nations did not harm the central body.

However, it is easy to exaggerate -- on both sides -- the impact of NAFTA. It will have an impact that is generally positive, but it is not a patent-medicine cure-all for what ails us. The International Trade Commission estimates that by the end of the first year of NAFTA, there will be a net increase of 171,000 jobs in the United States, not a huge number in a nation of 240 million people. That would reduce our unemployment rate less than two-tenths of one percent. One important fact should be remembered: Whether NAFTA is approved or not, if we don't improve the skills of our work force and pay attention to the nation's fiscal problems, we will suffer a continued gradual decline in our standard of living. If we do a better job of preparing our work force and have the courage to face our fiscal deficit, we will experience an increase in our quality of life. No elixir of NAFTA or anything else is a substitute for addressing our education and fiscal problems.

What about illegal immigration?

Mexico today has a population of approximately ninety million people. Despite a declining birth rate, eventually, Mexico will achieve a total population of more than 200 million. Nothing speeds a decline in a national birth rate as much as an increase in the standard of living. Lifting the quality of life through NAFTA, therefore, will relieve population pressures and lessen the expected growth of illegal immigration. And the growth in job opportunities and wages reduces the attraction of employment in the north. The commission to look at illegal immigration, established by Congress in

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1986, urged a free trade agreement between the United States and Mexico, calling it "the single most important long-term remedy to the problem." Few Mexicans come into the United States illegally because they like our cultural life; they come because they have little opportunity to earn a decent living in the country of their birth. NAFTA will not solve the illegal immigration problem, but it will assist in its solution.

Are there U.S. foreign policy considerations in this vote?

The United States has been fortunate to be bordered by two oceans, by a nation to the north we generally do not regard as a foreign nation, and a nation to the south that we have largely ignored. To continue down that path of indifference increasingly will be as difficult as it is wrong. A rebuff to NAFTA would hurt us in Mexico and in all of Latin America. Our historic cold shoulder to Mexico has been a burden to Mexico but will be a burden to us if it is continued. Former Speaker Jim Wright of Texas has written: "Not in the past 75 years has Mexico's elected leadership been so staunchly and outspokenly pro-U.S." However if NAFTA is turned down, Mexico is not likely to simply smile and docilely accept our position. If we miff this opportunity, Mexico is likely to enter into a free trade agreement with Japan or some other major economic entity. That would not be good for the United States and not as good for Mexico as a trade agreement with us, but we should be aware that you can wound the pride of a nation only so many times before it looks for other friends. If Henry Kissinger is correct that this nation "has never had a neighbor of the importance Mexico will acquire in the next century," we should weigh NAFTA carefully, recognizing that approving it will help Mexico achieve greater stability in both politics and economics. That is in our self-interest.

What about the environmental factors?

Environmental groups are split on this. Improvement would come in the border area; right now that is a mess. NAFTA would cause a significant increase in the use of natural gas in Mexico, reducing the emission of carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide and carbon dioxide. How effectively and strictly Mexico would enforce the environmental side agreement is not clear, though it is a good enough gamble that the National Wildlife Federation, the World Wildlife Fund, the Nature Conservancy, the Audubon Society, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Natural Resources Defense Council and Defenders of Wildlife have all endorsed NAFTA. What is indisputable historically is that as democracies have increased their living standards, they have become more sensitive to environmental factors, and NAFTA will increase the standard of living in Mexico.

What about those working men and women and businesses who will be hurt by NAFTA?

It is both morally right and smart policy to provide assistance to those harmed by NAFTA.

Assistance to businesses should be planned through loans that are not available through conventional credit sources. The Small Business Administration can help, though most businesses should find assistance from the traditional thrift institutions.

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The problem of working men and women is more complex. It is a problem with or without NAFTA. Economic dislocations -- and the absence of any serious policy response from the federal government -- have created an enormous need for a program of economic relief and revitalization. This is complicated by an increasing bitterness and cynicism toward government that has seemed to sit idly by while our living standard has declined.

Such a program must include a serious retraining program for dislocated workers. Our economy is too dynamic, too globally linked for us to afford not to provide life-long training and retraining for our workers. That will only work if there are jobs waiting for those trained. We need to invest more in technologies; expand and accelerate improvements in our highways, water and sewer systems; promote high-speed rail and the information superhighway, and insist that our trading partners expand access to their markets for our products. We also must get our fiscal house in order: stop running huge deficits, and reduce the growth in our national debt, lowering the cost of capital and lifting our overall economy.

We need to demonstrate to middle-class Americans that government is on their side.

But this problem goes beyond just the middle class. More than one-fifth of the children of this nation now live in poverty, and the number is growing. No other Western industrialized country has such a miserable record. This is not the result of an act of God but the result of flawed policy. We have increasingly segregated the nation economically, and as fewer and fewer of the poor are our neighbors, it is easier and easier to ignore them. And our system of financing election to public office makes political leaders more and more responsive to the economically powerful and less and less responsive to our poorer citizens. NAFTA gives us an opportunity to reexamine our policies.

President Clinton says he wants welfare reform. So should we all. But there is no short-term, inexpensive way of achieving genuine reform. What we need is a federal jobs program similar to the old WPA. Anyone out of work five weeks or longer should have an opportunity to work on local projects four days a week at the minimum wage, and the fifth day, he or she should be trying to find a job in the private sector. At the current minimum wage, four days a week would mean \$535 a month -- not a great deal of money -- but the average family on welfare in Illinois receives \$367 a month; in Mississippi, \$122 a month. Then, screen people as they come into the program, and if they cannot read and write, get them help; if they have no high school equivalency, enroll them where they can receive assistance; if they have no marketable skills, get them into a community college or a training program that gives them a marketable skill. We have a choice of paying people for doing nothing or for doing something, and we have made the wrong choice, both for them and for our society. We need to invest in our people. In every community of unemployed, we have large unmet needs. Why not convert the liability of unemployment into a great national asset as the nation did almost six decades ago? Such a program would have one additional, huge advantage over the present welfare

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programs. Our colleague Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has written eloquently about the breakdown of the family among the poor. Our present welfare programs reward parents of children for not living together. A modified WPA program would do the opposite. Not only would one member of the household be eligible for the \$535-a-month job, two members would be eligible, bringing the family income to a more livable \$1,070 a month.

Business leaders who are promoting NAFTA would find a more receptive congressional audience if they combined their NAFTA support with support for those who are hurting in our society. A Band-Aid training program is not enough. President Clinton would find it easier to sell a combined program of NAFTA and jobs to selling NAFTA alone.

* * * *

Columnist Carl Rowan, four weeks ago, wrote: "When fear is at war with promises and hopes, fear almost always triumphs. And NAFTA is being assailed by some very potent peddlers of fear. . . . Twelve Nobel Prize-winning economists have endorsed this free trade agreement. . . . I don't believe anyone will suffer in the long run from a trade pact that makes Mexico a more prosperous country and offers reasons for its citizens to stay home." (Chicago Sun-Times, September 19, 1993.)

We cannot reinvent yesterday. The world's economy is moving on. We can hunker down and let it pass over us as we see our standard of living decline, or we can welcome the challenge of tomorrow and the opportunity to work with other nations as we rebuild our own. NAFTA offers us an opportunity to follow the wiser course. Let us work with Mexico -- and also with the underdeveloped nation within our borders.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10.20.93

Handwritten: I think we should be asked to help up the rest, any other members of Congress know Hill to go

The Remarks of the Honorable Gerald L. Baliles

Former Governor of Virginia

and

Head of the International Practice Group
Hunton & Williams

Tower Club
Tysons Corner, Virginia

September 24, 1993

CAN TRADE BE EXPANDED BY RESTRICTING IT?

I am pleased to be here with you today. I think it is especially significant and important that this meeting is cosponsored by the International Practice Section of the Virginia Bar, the George Mason University International Institute and the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. That these three groups are working together in this way is good news for those who want to see Virginia become even more globally competitive in the future.

At the outset, I want to congratulate Dr. Stuart Malawar on his having received the Hardy Cross Dillard Award. The International Transactions Program he has developed and seen grow is a major success story in Virginia higher education. I have supported it from the earliest days with my words, with my actions, and now -- with my son having just enrolled in the program -- with my wallet!

In most of the speeches I have given over the years, regardless of the topic, I have found a way to focus on the importance of the global economy. Our ability to create jobs, expand opportunity and serve our citizens depends increasingly on our ability to compete and trade globally.

I always find a receptive audience for that message here in Northern Virginia. I know some of you have heard me expound on some of these subjects before. In fact, many of you could probably give this speech yourselves. You need no education on the importance of trade.

The fact of the matter, however, is that most Americans do. There is perhaps no better example of that fact than the current debate, now reaching almost fever pitch, over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

You have all seen the polls in the nation's major newspapers. While the public is closely divided on whether NAFTA should be approved, the astounding fact is that so many people have no idea what it is. Even among those with an opinion, there is very little knowledge about what is actually in the agreement, how trade with Mexico has grown over the past several years, or what is at stake should the Congress reject the agreement.

All of this was perhaps most visibly displayed when, a week or two ago, Jay Leno asked people on the street if they knew anything about NAFTA. He found out what the polls have already told us. Though I did not watch the show, I am told some thought NAFTA was a brand of soap; others thought it was the name of a rock band. And this in Southern California -- an area of the country with an enormous stake in the outcome of this debate.

If I have ever seen a more compelling case for the importance of educating our people about these issues, I don't know what it is. The giant sucking sound you hear is most likely the vacuum of knowledge that too many are eager to exploit.

In this context, it is worth noting that, while they may agree on virtually nothing else, Pat Buchanan and Ralph Nader have argued against both NAFTA and GATT and, indeed, against the U.S. belonging to GATT at all. Between them -- one on the right and one on the left -- lies that vacuum, and a citizenry willing, even hoping, to be led. Enter Ross Perot.

Let me be clear. I do not mean to say that anyone who knows anything should be in support of this agreement, and that those opposing it are ignorant of the facts. On any issue, two people looking at the same facts can come to a different conclusion. My own conclusion is that NAFTA is an important part of this nation's plan to compete in a global economy and that it should be approved. I strongly support the agreement. I realize others might not.

The point I do wish to make, and to drive home in the remainder of my remarks, is that the American public needs to better understand the facts and the issues so that claims and arguments can be more carefully evaluated.

Somehow, it must be understood that the growth and prosperity of our country is increasingly tied to the expansion of international commerce.

Our standard of living is directly tied to the continuing expansion of our economic relationship with Mexico and Latin America, and to the success of the effort to expand trade through a new modernized GATT agreement.

We should more fully appreciate that increases in trade have led, over the past several years and during the entire course of our history, to the creation of new jobs in every state in the union, including Virginia.

And, we need to understand that, in a global economy, capital, production and labor will continue to move across national borders -- regardless of the outcome of the NAFTA debate.

I am aware that rarely in our history have our leaders been able to successfully explain the importance of trade to the American public. With the exception of the post-war era -- during which the consensus for containment of communism made such things a little easier -- our leaders, too often, have not even tried.

The fact is that throughout the first century and a half of our history, attempts to contain, manage and restrict international trade were a fixture on the American political landscape. During that period, tariffs were always a major issue dominating the time and attention of Congresses, presidents and opinion leaders. The Smoot-Hawley tariffs, which so deepened and lengthened the Great Depression, were not so much an aberration, but the unfortunate culmination of decades of political pressure and precedent. Indeed, the past fifty years of American leadership in the cause of liberal trade is itself the aberration.

It has always been difficult for political leaders -- particularly those in favor of trade expansion -- to explain trade issues to their constituents, particularly in uncertain times. An old professor of mine, E.E. Schattschneider, once tried to explain why, in the face of all available evidence to the contrary, it is so hard for legislators to vote to reduce tariffs and expand trade. "The history of the American tariff is the story of a dubious economic policy turned into a great political success," he wrote, "The very tendencies that have made the legislation bad have made it politically invincible."

A former U.S. trade negotiator once put it a little more bluntly as reported in American Trade Politics, a book published by the Institute for International Economics. In the words of this trade negotiator, a politician who votes to lower trade barriers while under special interest pressure is performing, and I quote, an "unnatural act."

So, the restriction of trade does have a place in the American political tradition. But we must realize that the era of sheltered industries and self-sustaining domestic markets for America has ended. The new global economy respects no national

boundaries, respects no preordained market shares, respects no prior claim to profits.

Our leaders must, as Adam Smith once said, "represent the future to the present," and explain this to the American people. I am very pleased that President Clinton has chosen to do so.

Of course, it is difficult to talk about the future to an electorate seemingly convinced that government -- at all levels -- is adrift, debating issues as if in a vacuum with little sense of how those issues relate to one another, to the lives of ordinary people, or to the future of the country.

And it is an electorate nostalgic for a simpler past, when the United States was the unquestioned economic leader. Some, on both the left and the right, sensing this nostalgia, work to accommodate it, promising a return to that past if only we will contain the evil designs of our competitors; that if we contain Japan, for example, or reduce our trade and investment with Mexico, we can return to the economic position we held in the first twenty years of the post-War period.

It is true that many Americans have legitimate fears about the future of their jobs and their communities. They have an understandable impulse to fix blame and seek redress. The expansion of trade comes with a share of pain, as has every economic change and advance from the beginning of our history. This should not be underestimated, and it should be addressed.

But all we need to do is look at the economies of Eastern Europe and Latin America to see the consequences of looking inward. For a more direct comparison, all we need to do is look at the Smoot-Hawley tariffs, to see the price a strong nation can pay when it restricts trade.

Of course, those examples are far away, in either time or distance. So, let's look at some facts that are not well enough understood by the American people.

To hear the debate, you might well conclude that the U.S. exports nothing of value to Mexico. Yet, since Mexico joined the GATT agreement in 1986, U.S. exports to Mexico have risen from \$14 billion to more than \$40 billion -- an increase of 178 percent. We now run a trade surplus with Mexico of nearly \$6 billion.

These numbers are mirrored in Virginia. We have seen exports of goods and services from Virginia to Mexico rise at an average annual rate of 38 percent since 1986, from \$41 million to more than \$158 million. Export growth from Virginia to Mexico during this period was more than 200 percentage points greater than export growth to the rest of the world, according to the

U.S. Department of Commerce. This increase includes goods in such important sectors as transportation equipment, paper products and rubber and plastic products.

It is important to remember that, while our tariffs on Mexican-made goods are already rather low, Mexican tariffs on American-made goods are much higher. This treaty will, over time, level that playing field for our companies.

To hear the debate, you might also conclude that Mexicans are too poor to buy anything of real value from Americans. Yet, the fact is that the average Mexican spends 34 percent more on American goods than the average European and 14 percent more than the average Japanese consumer.

It is true that millions of Mexicans live in poverty. Yet, 30 percent of the country lives on a wage that one might consider middle or upper-middle class. People who buy computers and other such items. That amounts to 25 million people, the size of the population of Canada!

To hear the debate, you might conclude that low wage Mexican workers are poised to take as many American jobs as can be moved south of the border the very moment NAFTA is approved. This may be the most vivid image used by treaty opponents to play on the fear of American workers fearful of losing their jobs.

Yet, labor costs are but one factor in determining where production will occur. Though the labor component of the cost of building an average automobile is five times as high in the U.S. as in Mexico, the fact remains that it is less expensive to build that car here. Shipping and other costs more than make up the difference.

To hear the debate, you might think that the entire exercise is about making it easier for American firms to invest in Mexico, thereby, to use the popular phrase, "exporting jobs."

Yet, the treaty will actually reduce the current incentive to move jobs to Mexico by phasing out Mexican domestic content requirements, permitting additional use of American-made parts and components. A major U.S. automobile company has already announced that it will move jobs back across the border as the treaty will make it easier to sell American-made automobiles in Mexico.

It should be noted that there are some inconsistencies in the investment debate. It is interesting that, as a consensus grows in some quarters that we should increase our investments in places like Eastern Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia, some would work to stoke fears of similar investments in Mexico.

In all of this, we should not forget the fact that Canada -- this nation's largest trading partner -- is an active part of this agreement. Indeed, NAFTA builds on the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, which has been good for America's economy -- and Virginia's. In fact, the Commonwealth's trade with Canada has nearly doubled since the Canadian agreement was signed. That is why I joined with then-Governor Clinton to urge the National Governors Association to endorse the treaty with Canada in 1988.

The American people need to be better informed on all of this. These increases in trade with Mexico I have described will not go on at these rates forever, nor -- in an economy our size -- will this agreement be the silver bullet that will set the nation's economic course right again. But this agreement can point the direction to a future of expanded commerce and greater opportunity.

And what if it fails?

Mexico's political leadership has taken enormous political risks in opening the country's economy to more of our products, and privatizing key sectors of the economy. Those gains would be seriously jeopardized if the anticipated result, economic growth based on expanded trade with the United States and Canada, fails to materialize. NAFTA opponents point to continuing problems in Mexican politics, but do they seriously believe that rejection of this agreement will help liberalize the Mexican political system?

Mexican environmental officials -- many of whom I have met -- are working hard to develop new procedures to enforce their laws. It will take time and it will take money. Most of our nation's environmental groups now believe the environmental side accord will further the goal of protecting the Mexican environment and support the agreement. How can anyone seriously believe that rejection of NAFTA will help Mexican environmental officials in their effort to promote better environmental management?

Mexican working conditions admittedly suffer by comparison with ours, as do wages. But, as I have already stated, the actual cost of production, given shipping costs, productivity differences and the like means that it can be cheaper to manufacture goods in the United States. Besides, does anyone seriously believe that the way to promote Mexican living standards is to deny the Mexican economy its best opportunity for growth?

It is true that American workers are increasingly worried about their future. The economy has changed fundamentally, there is no going back. Some jobs, some industries will disappear -- with NAFTA or without. But does anyone seriously believe that denying the American worker the opportunity to sell more than \$40

billion worth of goods and services to Mexico each year is going to help raise standards of living on our side of the border?

Let me share one final worry, which brings me back to the question posed by the title of my speech: "Can trade be expanded by restricting it?"

I just finished four months as Chairman of the National Commission to Ensure a Strong Competitive Airline Industry. We studied a wide variety of issues and made 60 recommendations. But we spent much of our time looking at the international scene, and we did not like what we saw.

A patchwork quilt of bilateral aviation agreements -- 1200 in all -- now governs the world's aviation system. Those agreements are under increasing pressure as several of our air service partners seek to restrict service. One of our most important agreements -- that with France -- has been renounced. Others may follow. Service will suffer.

The result of this trend will be a reduction in the flow of people, products and services. I have argued that if this continues, we will have proven the thesis that you cannot expand trade by restricting it, and economies all over the world will suffer.

I believe we face a similar situation with this agreement. The stakes are much higher than our future relationships with Mexico and Canada -- and those are critical stakes. If we reject this agreement, the Europeans will see no reason to summon up the political courage necessary to complete the GATT Round. Why should they? To agree on a deal to expand world trade, face the wrath of their own special interests and then see the U.S. Congress back away from the deal?

The Europeans, indeed all of our trading partners, are watching the outcome of the NAFTA debate closely. Their incentive to deal with us if this agreement is rejected will be diminished to near zero. The most advanced countries will see much less advantage to opening their markets to goods from less advanced economies. Western Europe, for example, will be less willing to open to Eastern Europe.

I believe rejection of this agreement will be our worst economic mistake since Smoot-Hawley. We will be adopting trade restriction as a de facto national policy if Congress votes no.

As President Clinton pointed out last week, our decision to lead the way toward liberalized trade after World War II has helped bring unimagined prosperity to this country and to others around the world. Some call those other countries competitors.

I prefer to call them markets. If we vote to eliminate competitors, we vote to eliminate markets.

If we had not made the decision after World War II to liberalize trade, we would all be poorer. We have a similar opportunity now. The entire question of our commitment to the expansion of global trade -- which has been subsumed for so long in our commitment to the containment of communism -- is now open for debate. It is critical that the debate be conducted on the highest plane possible, with the American public in full possession of the facts. Those of you in this room, regardless of your position on a particular trade agreement, have the ability and the obligation to ensure that this occurs. This debate is too important to the future competitiveness of the country to be conducted without all the facts.

I believe the debate must be conducted with reason rather than emotion, and decided by facts rather than fiction. We can and must ensure that we proceed along this path. I hope that you will help.

Thank you.