

11/12/79

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 10, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICK HUTCHESON *Rick*
SUBJECT: Status of Presidential Requests

ATTORNEY GENERAL CIVILETTI:

1. (10/18) The President would like you to investigate and give him your best assessment as to how the leak on the Morocco sale of weapons occurred. This is typical of a pattern - some quite damaging to our country -- In Progress, (Justice has indicated that they will know whether or not they will be able to trace the leak by mid-November).

JORDAN:

1. (10/25) Prepare to invite John Y. to the White House immediately after the Kentucky election -- Done. *done*

WATSON:

1. (10/26) Please explain the leak in the WASHINGTON POST concerning the Mexican ambassador -- Done, (Jack spoke with you about this). *done*

MCDONALD:

1. (11/1) (and Jordan) Concerning the White House organization, it is ok with the President, but a) does Lloyd agree?; b) does Zbig agree?; they should have direct access to the President except for 'administration' matters; p.s. same with Susan -- Done. *done*

EIZENSTAT:

1. (8/16) (and Speth) The President would like you to (a) plan a meeting to discuss with the environmentalists key issues; (b) have staff screen public statements and distribute pertinent comments to key groups; (c) marshal administration support; and (d) advise on further action -- Done. *done*

BRZEZINSKI:

1. (10/18) (and McIntyre) The President wants better contingency planning - just a couple of pages, well-prepared, on a fairly broad range of subjects -- In Progress, (expected by the end of November, previously expected 11/19).
2. (11/1) The President wants you to talk with Lane Kirkland on your recommended steps on Angola to avoid a negative reaction from the AFL-CIO -- Done, (Zbig met with Kirkland on 11/5, and reported to you orally). *done*

POWELL:

1. (10/25) Check on what Senator Kennedy has done concerning Kampuchean relief -- letters to me, initiatives in his committee. P.S. CBS coverage was very bad -- Done. (Attached summary prepared by Ray Jenkins includes: *done*

- 1977 exchange of correspondence;
- Congressional Record statements of 10/4 and 10/11;
- Georgetown University speech of 10/24).

2. (11/2) Hype up the announcement of the proclamation on Kampuchean relief at State and at the White House -- Done. *done*

SCHULTZE:

1. (10/29) Concerning your memo on inflation and Chrysler, discuss with Miller, Kahn and Eizenstat. This assessment should be made public as a factor in the upcoming debate -- In Progress, (Discussions have taken place; Kahn will make an announcement this coming week.) *done*

GOLDSCHMIDT:

1. (10/17) At an Illinois town hall meeting a city engineer states that he had surveyed his community and found 1/3 of the stop signs to be unnecessary - assess this energy saving possibility -- In Progress, (Goldschmidt memo attached). *done*

JENKINS NOTES RE
KENNEDY RECORD ON AID
TO KAMPUCHEAN REFUGEES



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In Kennedy's Georgetown University Speech of October 24, he compared the Cambodian situation to Hitler's persecution of the Jews and complained of "past indifference" by the administration to the problem. He said: "Our government was more concerned with which dictator...sits in the United Nations than with the many children dying in the nation they purport to lead."

The NEWSDAY account of his speech noted: "As chairman of the Judiciary's Subcommittee on Immigration, he had been involved in past years in relief efforts aimed at helping people, mostly children, in Bangladesh and Biafra."

Kennedy aides insisted that at the time the Senator scheduled the speech (the previous day) he did not know of the President's commitment of \$39 million and possibly as much as \$69 million for Cambodian relief.

The Associated Press account of the speech said he urged a massive airlift of food and medicine and said that the administration had been slow to support such a program.

Henry Owen, responding for the administration, said only a few days earlier that appropriate assurances had been given that the aid would reach those in need.

In the speech Senator Kennedy pointed out (quoting the AP) "he had called for an international conference on Southeast Asia last year and the proposal was accepted by the United States allies." "But," continuing, "the voice of the United States has been most notable by its silence."

He also said that when an international conference on Indochina was held at Geneva last summer, "the subject of Cambodia was dropped from the agenda -- without protest by the United States."

The Senator added that he raised the issue of Cambodia in July with Secretary Vance and that Sec. Vance "agreed that famine threatened in Cambodia and that there was urgent need to act...but three months have passed with no action by the government."

In the exchange of correspondence in July, 1977, Senator Kennedy informs the President of his support for paroling into the U.S. some Vietnamese refugees, the normalization of relations with Vietnam and his offer to help. (attached)

The Congressional Record of October 4, 1979 (copy attached) shows the Senator offering an amendment to the Foreign Assistance appropriation resolution "to assure that funds appropriated under the act can be used immediately to respond to famine relief efforts now underway in Cambodia."

He notes in this speech that as a result of Secretary Vance's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 26 "it became clear that unless immediate relief efforts were undertaken by the international community some 2.5 million Cambodians would face severe starvation." He lamented, however, that "it was not until just last week that general agreement was reached with Cambodian authorities and the International Red Cross and UNICEF to begin a significant international relief program."

Also attached is another lengthy Congressional Record speech of October 11, 1979, beginning with the theme that "if one of the most massive human tragedies of modern times is to be avoided, we must act now to assure that there is no question that United States foreign assistance funds are available to support the international relief program in Cambodia..." This speech was made in support of a "sense of Congress" resolution for immediate appropriation of Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 be channlled into the International Committee for Cambodian Relief.

Prepared by Ray Jenkins

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EXECUTIVE

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C0172

C084

C0155

F03-2

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FG36

IT86

July 8, 1977

To Senator Ted Kennedy

Thanks for letting me know of your support for paroling into the United States some Vietnamese refugees. I've given a copy of your letter to Griffin Bell for his information.

I also appreciated your views on normalization of relations with Vietnam.

It's good to know that you stand ready to help, especially in view of your position as Chairman of the Refugees Subcommittee.

Sincerely,

JIMMY

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Jcc: with copy of incoming to The Honorable Griffin Bell

JC/rf/jfc

7/6

32 Support for paroling into the US some Vietnamese refugees

RECEIVED

JUL 15 1977

CENTRAL FILES

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

ack / G. Bell
- 6 JUL 1977

July 1, 1977

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to let you know of my full support for the pending proposal to parole into the United States a reasonable number of Vietnamese refugees scattered throughout Asia and displaced persons from Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea in Thailand.

Given the growing number of these homeless people and the demonstrated need to maintain some flexibility in meeting our humanitarian responsibilities toward them, I also wanted to recommend that the Attorney General be able to exercise his parole authority on a continuing basis over the coming months and without a specified ceiling on the number of entries into the United States. Hopefully, as well, the United States will work more closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration to promote resettlement opportunities in other countries, and will continue to support the material assistance and rehabilitation program of the UNHCR among the displaced persons who remain in Thailand.

In a related matter, I fully support your efforts to pursue a policy of reconciliation and normalization of

The President
July 1, 1977
Page 2

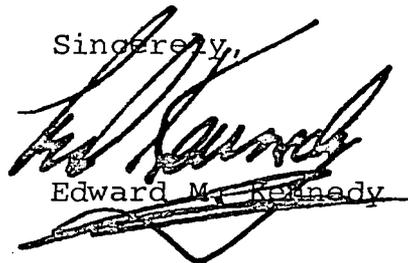
relations with Vietnam, and commend you for the initial progress that has been made in recent weeks and months. I share the hope of many Americans that this process will continue, and that ways can be found to permit the United States to contribute at an early date to the international humanitarian programs underway in the war-affected areas of Vietnam. Of special concern, in this regard, are the severe food shortages reported by the United Nations.

It would be in the finest humanitarian tradition of the American people, if our country could provide food assistance to the people of Vietnam under United Nations auspices. I would be pleased to work with you and your Administration to find ways to accomplish this humanitarian objective, which would also contribute to the process of reconciliation and normalization of relations with Vietnam.

As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Refugees in recent years, I have closely followed the humanitarian problems of the Indochina Peninsula, including those in the aftermath of the war. And I am extremely hopeful that in cooperation with international organizations and other countries, the United States will respond generously and compassionately to these pressing human needs in Southeast Asia.

Many thanks for your consideration, Mr. President, and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Edward M. Kennedy



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 96th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

WHITE HOUSE
INFORMATION CENTER

See next page

Vol. 125

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1979

No. 137

Senate

(Legislative day of Thursday, October 4, 1979)

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by Hon. QUENTIN N. BURDICK, a Senator from the State of North Dakota.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.
O God, our help in ages past, our hope for years to come, draw near to us as we draw near to Thee. Strengthen us that we may be faithful to our precious heritage. Shed Thy light upon our pathway that we falter not in the ways of Thy commandments. Bless those who are strong and competent and who bear the heavy burdens of government. Be with our leaders at every level of public service to uphold, strengthen and guide them. Come near to the lonely, the neglected, the helpless, the overworked, the underpaid to give them help and hope. Lift the vision of the young that they may grasp the banner of sacrificial service, high idealism, and patriotic devotion and with power carry the Nation forward in the way of Thy kingdom.

Unite us in Thy love that we may ever remain "one nation under God." Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. MAGNUSON).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., October 11, 1979.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable QUENTIN N. BURDICK, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, to perform the duties of the Chair.

WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BURDICK thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings be approved to date.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the recognition of Mr. BURDICK be transferred to the control of Mr. SASSER.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to Mr. PROXMIER from my time.

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, I thank the majority leader.

THE GENOCIDE TREATY: PROTECTING THE GIFT OF LIFE

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, the Pope's visit to America last week was a monumental occasion. It touched most of our lives in one way or another. Some people were more affected than others. But no matter what our belief, His Holiness carried with him a message.

It was extremely fitting that John Paul II spent the last days of his American trip here in Washington. Having taken his message to the people of our Nation, he made his last stop with the leaders of the country.

The message itself was clear and simple: Human life is to be treasured.

Mr. President, the Genocide Convention has been before this body for many years. Since 1949 we have had the opportunity to declare internationally that our country deprecates the ruthless extermination of innocent people. But, for

some reason, we have balked at the chance to do so.

How can we hesitate on such an important matter?

The Pope's visit to the United States did not go unnoticed. We are all aware of that. But neither should his message of the value of life go unnoticed.

Our ratification of this treaty at this time is essential. It would prove that we too see human life as precious, that we will not tolerate crimes against this one great gift, the gift of life.

Mr. President, in the wake of the Pope's visit, I urge this Senate to move forward and ratify the Genocide Convention.

I thank my good friend, the majority leader.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR CHURCH

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BORNEN). Under the previous order, the Senator from Idaho is recognized.

THE RUSSIAN BRIGADE CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE

AMENDMENT NO. 309 TO SALT II TREATY

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, 10 days ago, President Carter discussed the presence of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba in a broadcast to the American people. He described the deployment of these combat troops as a matter of "serious concern to us," as a "challenge" that contributes to the tension in the Caribbean and the Central American region.

I agree.

The President might well have added that our discovery of Russian combat forces so close to our shores, on an island of particular sensitivity to the United States, is an affront to our country. Whenever it was that the Soviet Union deployed the brigade in Cuba, its presence there was deliberately concealed from us. The provocation relates not only to the combat character of the brigade,

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.

within the U.S. not authorized by the Congress while the latter makes it unlawful, in the absence of express authorization by the Congress, to use appropriated funds to finance activity aimed at influencing Members of Congress with respect to legislation and appropriations.

The investigation was requested by Senator Inouye, Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, with the concurrence of Senator Garn, the Ranking Minority Member, and was suggested by Senator DeConcini, who is also a Member of the Subcommittee. The request specified that our findings should be reported prior to Floor consideration of the fiscal year 1980 Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriation Bill, which is anticipated on Tuesday, October 9.

Unfortunately, we probably will not be able to comply with this portion of the request because Mr. Princeton N. Lyman, who is in charge of the Planning Group for ISTC, has declined to make any of the records and files requested in connection with this matter available for timely review, and they will not be provided until October 9, if then.

Mr. Lyman was informed of the nature of our inquiry, the types of records we were requesting to review, and the urgency of the request at 9:00 a.m. today. Mr. Lyman stated that he would have to confer with the AID General Counsel's Office before making a decision and that he would call me back by 10:00 a.m. When he did not do so, I called him. I was told that he would be conferring with AID's Deputy General Counsel, Mr. Kelly Kammerer and he could not say when a decision would be reached.

At this point Mr. Kammerer was contacted and advised that any lengthy delay in making the records available would be considered tantamount to withholding the documents because of the short time available for their review before Floor consideration of the Bill, and he promised that a decision would be made by noon. Despite this admonition and promise, we were not advised until 4:15 this afternoon that the records would not be made available until the morning of October 9. The reason given for the delay was that because files contained documents originating with other agencies or referring to contacts with other agencies, including the President's Science Advisor and the National Security Council, Mr. Lyman had consulted those agencies and had been told that they wished to examine any such documents in order to determine whether they might be grounds for invoking Executive Privilege.

Consequently, Mr. Lyman decided to have his staff go over all of the files in order to identify and pull out any such documents for review. I asked if we could review the other documents in the file over the week-end and the Monday holiday, but I was told that we could not have access to them until Tuesday morning because it would take until then to put them in order.

We plan to begin our review of the files as soon as they are made available and to insist that the documents originating with or referring to contacts with other agencies also be made available unless Executive Privilege is invoked. It is our understanding that the President must approve any such claim.

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, this report chronicles a sorry episode of bureaucratic foot dragging and defensiveness. If it suggests, as I believe it does, what is in store if ISTC is ever organized, it becomes all the more imperative that the Senate's position prevail in conference. I want to assure my colleagues that I intend to do all in my power to insure that outcome. Seen in this light, the amendment I am offering takes on a sig-

nificance that goes beyond its specific substance, and I hope my colleagues will cast their votes in that perspective. ISTC and its planning office should be put permanently out of business.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, the managers of this bill have studied the amendment, and we are ready to accept it.

Mr. GARN. Mr. President, on behalf of the minority, I am willing to accept the amendment.

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this be a 10-minute vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. GARN. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CRANSTON. I announce that the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON) is necessarily absent.

Mr. STEVENS. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. HEINZ) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TSONGAS). Are there any other Senators in this Chamber who wish to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 76, nays 22, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 349 Leg.]

YEAS—76

Armstrong	Gravel	Nelson
Baker	Hart	Nunn
Baucus	Hatch	Packwood
Bellmon	Hatfield	Pressler
Bentsen	Hayakawa	Proxmire
Biden	Heflin	Pryor
Boren	Helms	Randolph
Boschwitz	Hollings	Reid
Bumpers	Huddleston	Riegle
Burdick	Humphrey	Roth
Byrd	Inouye	Sasser
Harry F. Jr.	Jackson	Schweiker
Byrd, Robert C.	Jepson	Simpson
Chafee	Johnston	Stafford
Cochran	Kassebaum	Stennis
Cohen	Laxalt	Stevens
Danforth	Leahy	Stewart
DeConcini	Long	Talmadge
Dole	Lugar	Thurmond
Domenici	Magnuson	Tower
Durenberger	McClure	Wallop
Durkin	McGovern	Warner
Exon	Melcher	Weicker
Ford	Metzenbaum	Young
Garn	Morgan	Zorinsky
Goldwater	Muskie	

NAYS—22

Bayh	Javits	Sarbanes
Bradley	Kennedy	Schmitt
Chiles	Levin	Stevenson
Church	Mathias	Stone
Cranston	Matsunaga	Tsongas
Culver	Moynihhan	Williams
Eggleton	Pell	
Glenn	Percy	

NOT VOTING—2

Cannon Helms

So Mr. DeCONCINI's amendment (UP No. 619) was agreed to.

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 506, AS MODIFIED

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on behalf of myself, the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), and the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. EXON) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) for himself and others proposes an amendment numbered 506, as modified.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 27, after line 12 insert the following new section:

Sec. . . . It is the sense of the Congress that the United States should generously support international relief efforts to alleviate famine among the people of Cambodia. We believe such sums as may be necessary, including sums appropriated or otherwise made available pursuant to the provisions of title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, should be used to provide relief and rehabilitation assistance for the people of Cambodia, to be administered by and through the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), or other appropriate international organizations or private voluntary agencies.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if one of the most massive human tragedies of modern times is to be avoided, we must act now to assure there is no question that U.S. foreign assistance funds are available to support the international relief program in Cambodia.

Famine and disease today threaten the lives of millions of men, women, and children in Cambodia. Indeed, the very existence of the Khmer people is at stake.

Having suffered the loss of nearly half its population from the ravages of war and the cruel programs of the Pol Pot regime, Cambodia now faces famine and the relentless spread of disease among its remaining population.

Worst still, this terrible danger has been known for months. We and others in the international community have seen the Cambodian crisis coming for many weeks. Whatever we do today to help, will already be too late for countless thousands.

The statistics are some of the worst the world has seen. Following hearings I held as chairman of the Judiciary Committee on July 25, receiving testimony from Secretary of State Vance, it became clear that unless immediate relief efforts were undertaken by the in-

ternational community, some 2.5 million Cambodians would face severe starvation. More recent estimates place the figure as high as 3.5 million people.

A report I received last week from American officials in the field, along the Thai border, suggests that over 200 Khmer refugees are dying every single day in just 5 camps they were able to observe along the border. The report finds that perhaps as many as 200,000 hungry Khmer civilian are now pressed up against the Thai border in search of food and safety. Tens of thousands are not far behind.

The report notes "the physical condition of newly arrived refugees over the past few days was among the worst we have witnessed. Assuming that only the strongest are able to make the trek into Thai territory, it appears that those still inside Cambodia are reaching the point where it is no longer possible for them to survive."

Other observers who have visited Cambodia, including delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross and voluntary agency representatives, paint a picture of an entire country on the move in search of food. They report the roads are filled with villagers wandering without direction, in the vain hope of finding some food.

They also report that food production this harvest will be only 20 percent of normal—a fact that has been confirmed by our intelligence satellites. This drastic shortfall in food production will be exacerbated by the complete breakdown of Cambodia's neglected medical system. There is an acute shortage of doctors, medicine, hospital supplies and medical facilities. As a result of the Pol Pot regime's policy of eliminating Cambodia's intellectual classes, including doctors and nurses, there is only a handful of competent medical personnel in the entire country. There have been reported outbreaks of bubonic plague, widespread malaria, hemorrhagic fever and dysentery that is especially fatal to young, undernourished children.

The physical and human destruction inflicted upon the Khmer nation over the past decade surpasses, in proportional terms, the worst devastation of World War II or famine conditions in either the Sahel or Biafra. Following years of war, the Pol Pot regime's mass evacuations and brutality reduced Cambodia's population from an estimated 8 million to some 4 to 5 million.

In the process, Cambodia's towns and cities, transportation and infrastructure were destroyed. Phnom Penh, the capital, remains a ghost town.

Not surprisingly, the surviving population today in Cambodia is weakened and debilitated. All are endangered by disease and starvation—especially the children. Recent travelers to Cambodia say it is a country with very few small children. There are 10 deaths to every birth. And that ratio stands to worsen rapidly in the days ahead, unless something is done to help.

That phrase—"unless something is done to help"—has haunted the international community for many weeks. I raised it last July 26 with Secretary

Vance, when it was clear that famine would soon stalk Cambodia, and the refugee crisis would escalate in Thailand, unless a massive relief effort was launched.

Despite the best efforts of several international agencies, it was not until just last week that general agreement was reached with Cambodian authorities and the International Red Cross and UNICEF to begin a significant international relief program.

I welcome this agreement, which provides for the timely distribution of relief "consistent with the principles of impartiality and nondiscrimination," as was the case in Biafra and Bangladesh, both international agencies have pledged that they will assure that this relief "will in no way contribute to the war effort of either of the belligerents."

These are important principles, and they remind us forcefully that food, medicine, and shelter cannot be permitted to be used as instruments of war. Common decency dictates that the current relief effort must reach all the Khmer people, regardless of where and under whose control they live in their war-ravaged land.

Recent reports confirm that the first relief flights have begun to arrive in Phnom Penh and more will follow, if we and the international community move immediately to support this emergency effort.

The United States needs to act now. Having expressed our strong concern over the humanitarian needs of the Cambodian people for many months, we must not fail now to provide tangible and generous support to the International Red Cross and UNICEF.

It is for this reason that I am introducing this amendment to the pending foreign assistance appropriations bill—the first legislative vehicle—to assure that funds will be available to provide an American contribution to the famine relief effort in Cambodia.

The amendment simply stipulates that funds appropriated under the bill—as well as Public Law 480 food-for-peace commodities—should be available for famine relief in Cambodia. The International Red Cross and UNICEF are issuing their appeals, and it is anticipated that some \$100 million will be required for just the first 6 months. Over the coming year that would mean the U.S. share would be approximately \$20 million in cash and \$30 million in food commodities.

There should be no question that it is the intent of Congress that funds should be available for this purpose. My amendment will resolve any questions that have arisen in the past as to the intention of Congress—whether only international disaster assistance funds could be used in countries where legislative prohibitions have been established. The amendment states the clear sense of the Congress that the administration ought to use every tool and every fund available under the pending foreign assistance bill to support the famine relief effort in Cambodia.

Again, Mr. President, the simple purpose of this amendment is to permit indirect aid and assistance, in the form of

food and medicines to be available to the international agencies, the United Nations agency, and the private voluntary agencies, to respond to the human tragedy in Cambodia.

Mr. President, regarding the ability of voluntary agencies to contribute to the famine relief effort, I would like to note the important work already done by OXFAM—a private agency headquartered in England, but whose U.S. affiliate is located in Boston.

Recently, in testimony before House Subcommittee, Dr. Joseph Short of OXFAM/America testified on the relief supplies they have already sent, and their ability to deliver and supervise the distribution of more, if they were only given additional support. I ask that the text of this testimony be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TESTIMONY ON CAMBODIA FAMINE RELIEF

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I am Joseph Short, Executive Director of Oxfam-America, headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts, and affiliated with five other Oxfams in Canada, Europe and Australia. Oxfam began in England in 1942 as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief and has evolved into an international organization which promotes economic and social development in Africa, Latin America and Asia. We provide financial, technical and moral support for grass-roots development by and for the poorest people in the developing countries. Our primary form of assistance is financial grants to community-based groups working for self-reliance in food production, economic cooperatives, water resource development, and effective community organization.

Oxfam-America, the U.S. affiliate, was established in 1970 and works collaboratively with the other Oxfams through a network of 20 field offices in the developing countries. Our development grants currently support efforts for justice and economic well-being in countries as diverse as Nicaragua, Upper Volta, Tanzania and Bangladesh.

Oxfam-America also engages in education and advocacy in this country concerning vital issues of development in the Third World countries. On November 15, our sixth annual Fast for a World Harvest will involve as many as a half a million people. In colleges, churches and communities, Americans will examine the problems of hunger and poverty and then act to support the efforts of people to help themselves in Cambodia, Nicaragua and throughout the world.

Our message to the American People in the New York Times on October 7, entitled "Can We Save the Cambodia People?", is an example of media education we undertake.

Often one or more of the six Oxfams is involved in emergency responses to natural and man-made disasters which all too frequently magnify the continuing tragedy of crushing poverty. When this occurs the Oxfams try to respond immediately and effectively, sometimes with direct relief aid as in Cambodia now, but always with an eye to supporting the resilience and resourcefulness of disaster-affected people as they prevail and move forward to self-reliance. This is why, for example, Oxfam field workers in Phnom Penh have responded so readily to Cambodian requests for fish nets, seeds, and for a major irrigation and agricultural development program. Similarly, during October, Oxfam funds are helping to plant fields in eastern Nicaragua to meet emergency and longer-term needs for food.

In Indo-China, Oxfam has been meeting the immediate needs of Boat people and Road people for these last several months. We have been providing medical supplies, food, sanitation and water resource systems in Pulau Bidong, Macao, Hong Kong, Thailand and other places.

Oxfam's direct action to assist starving people in Cambodia stepped up rapidly in late August and September of this year when the British Oxfam, with the cooperation of the French Committee for Medical and Scientific Aid, was able to fly a consignment of drugs from Luxembourg to Phnom Penh. Oxfam-America helped to finance that flight and is currently raising funds in the United States for two subsequent flights of food and drugs which arrived on September 21 and 28; in addition, Oxfam-America is providing funds for two or more shipments of food and other supplies by sea to the Cambodian port of Kompong Som, and for what will be a mounting relief operation as access widens. Oxfam medical and field workers, who have been in Phnom Penh over the last several weeks, report that current aid is being delivered directly to people in severe need and is subject to effective monitoring by humanitarian organizations.

Within the last week, Oxfam representatives have met with officials of International Committee of the Red Cross and UNICEF in Phnom Penh to coordinate operations within Cambodia. Brian Walker, Director General of Oxfam-U.K., met there last week with senior government officials to explore possibilities for expanding access for assistance on a massive scale from European, Australian and U.S. non-governmental organizations. So far, the Oxfam role has been to help start the rapid flow of assistance; in the long term it will also augment the efforts of larger organizations. We are also encouraging bi-lateral assistance by governments and other private organizations.

Although Oxfam-America itself does not seek or administer U.S. government funds, we obviously recognize the critical importance of U.S. government policies and assistance in saving the Cambodian people. If our recent operational experience in Cambodia can be of any use in encouraging a massive humanitarian response by our government, we will rejoice. At the same time, we and others will help rally and channel directly U.S. private support to starving Cambodians.

It is indisputable that 3-4 million Cambodians face starvation. Their best hope is that we in America will come to rapid and operational agreement on what we can do to place the survival of a huge number of human beings above the geopolitical calculations of the moment.

What does this tragic situation require of the American people and their government?

First, we must recognize that if massive food and medical aid is not provided to the Cambodian people immediately, then millions will die in the next six months.

We do not believe that the American people will stand aside and allow three million Cambodians to starve to death. They will insist that their government and private agencies make a heroic attempt to save the Cambodian people.

On the other hand, we believe that in the long run, Americans will judge harshly those, in positions of influence who put a preoccupation with power politics in Indo-China above responding to the needs of a dying people.

Already, our agency, as well as others, has received a significant outpouring of sympathy and contributions for Cambodia. Based on this response, we are certain that there will be extraordinary public support for government policies which insist that the survival of the Cambodian people is the highest priority.

Second, we should make a clear and unequivocal indication of what the United States government and the American people are prepared to do on a humanitarian basis.

An absolutely essential beginning is for the President and the Congress to make available immediately Food, for Peace, commodities on a large scale and to use Disaster Assistance Funds generously and compassionately.

While it is hard for anyone to put an exact dollar figure on the needs in this situation, it would seem at the very least that a 100 million dollar commitment from our government would be an appropriate humanitarian response.

In a situation that cries for moral leadership, we salute this sub-committee and Chairman Wolf for calling this most important meeting. And we congratulate Congressman Solarz, and Congressman Anderson for their legislation which has acted as a crucial catalyst. We look to the Congress for such continued exemplary leadership.

Finally, I should like to remind the committee that in the months that lapsed between the time that the situation of the Boat people became manifest to policymakers and the time that effective responses were made by the U.S. government, tens of thousands had perished in the South China Sea. Many could have been saved. How long will it take for us to act this time? How many innocent Cambodians will die?

Mr. KENNEDY. Finally, Mr. President, if there were any doubt as to the scope of the human tragedy that is overtaking the Cambodian people, a recent eyewitness report of a group of Americans puts those doubts to rest. Last week, Prof. James Matlack from Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., sent me a copy of a report he prepared from his recent visit to Cambodia as part of a delegation sent by the American Friends Service Committee.

After reading his report, there can be no doubt over the urgent need for emergency food in Cambodia—and for medical and other relief supplies. I ask that the text of his report be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

JOURNEY INTO NIGHTMARE—KAMPUCHEA, 1979

None of the photographs or stories that I had seen about current conditions in Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) fully prepared me to face the reality, the human tragedy that I encountered there. It is a shattering experience to travel through a major city with no more population than a country town, to see countless drawn faces of hungry people and malnourished children so weak that they cannot cry, to hear the gentle voices of surviving Khmers convey repeated tales of horror and suffering, patiently explaining how the immediate members of their family died or disappeared.

I went to Kampuchea as a member of the first American delegation (though not the first Americans) allowed into the country since the change of government last January—indeed, since the fall of the Lon Nol government in 1975. I was part of a group representing the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization for fact-finding and program development in continuation of relief projects and other programs that AFSC has carried on in the region since the early 1960's. With Quaker-sponsored assistance activities already under way in the refugee camps and in Vietnam, we were particularly anxious to assess need and possibilities for humanitarian aid to

Kampuchea. We were granted visas for entry at the Kampuchean embassy in Hanoi and flew from Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) to Phnom Penh on September 17.

The flight takes only thirty minutes but the contrast is shocking. Vietnam is a poor, underdeveloped country working under stress to stabilize its economy and to improve living conditions. Kampuchea hardly exists as a functioning nation. Remnants of a devastated people are struggling to re-establish the rudiments of a government and coherant social order even as they face widespread starvation. From the air, the rich land of the Mekong delta in Vietnam showed signs of intense cultivation. The intricate grid of dikes and paddles, of houses ringed with fruit trees stretched to the horizon. By contrast, long stretches of Kampuchean countryside showed only dull brown. I am no agricultural expert but there was little evidence of rice cultivation. (Published accounts of close surveillance by U.S. satellites suggest that at most 10 percent of the arable land in Kampuchea has been planted.) Even at lower altitudes near Phnom Penh it was hard to see indications of ongoing human life. On the vast expanse of the Mekong in high water I saw only two small dugout boats.

On the plane with us from Ho Chi Minh City was a colorful delegation of Vietnamese Buddhist monks. They were going to Phnom Penh to take part in a re-ordination ceremony to re-establish the Buddhist church in Kampuchea. Religious leaders of all faiths had been particular targets for elimination under the Pol Pot government. Where Cambodia previously had thousands of monks and nuns, only seven survivors had so far been located to take part in the renewed ordination.

As we drove in from Pochentong Air Port, most buildings looked deserted, many were damaged, and the trickle of people on foot and bicycle seemed to live elsewhere. We passed half a dozen derelict gas stations that looked as if they had been consciously dismantled. Approaching Phnom Penh, a striking row of high-rise buildings that had been the University were deserted and partially ransacked. Schools and hospitals were closed under Pol Pot. Only a few primary schools have been re-opened in the city.

Downtown Phnom Penh was eerie and depressing. We drove through empty canyons of high-rise buildings along broad boulevards with only as many people in view as might be found on a country road. Some families were camping in first-floor rooms but upper floors were untenanted. Whole side streets seemed desolate with trees down and rubbish mounds along the curbs. The wide plaza in front of the RE Station was vacant every time we passed through it over two days. The central market, which had been a crowded scene of buying and selling before 1975, had only ten or twelve sellers with meagre stocks and no visible customers.

Our car drew up to the old Hotel Royal past a dozen cows grazing on the median strip in front of the building. The hotel functions in skeletal fashion for a few international guests. Water and electricity usually worked but rarely at the same time. The staff is largely Vietnamese on temporary assignment since no Khmer could be found with prior experience. With no other facilities in town and food difficult to procure, the staff of the Russian Embassy often ate in the dining room. Our scant meals still featured some meat and/or fish. We ate better than anyone else in Phnom Penh including, we were told, government leaders.

Walking out from the hotel, I passed a series of large buildings that had been central to the French community and cultural life of Phnom Penh. An impressive marble library next door looked unused for years with half the books scattered on the floor. Someone had tried to grow vegetables in part

of the otherwise weed-filled front yard. A four-story Lycee (High School) was empty. Several villas were deserted with heavily overgrown trees and plants choking sidewalks and blocking driveways. Some families were living on the second floor of the old Cercle Sportif—the sports club. One of the two largest Catholic churches in the city had been across the street from the Hotel Royal. Not a stone or foundation block remained on the flat, barren field.

The Kampuchean Foreign Ministry sent two young women to be our interpreter/guides. Their main qualification was prior study of English and French, a fact that they had successfully hidden through four years of work as peasants under Pol Pot. Knowledge of a foreign language usually brought a death sentence. Both told of experiences common to nearly everyone with whom we talked. They were driven out of the city immediately after the Khmer Rouge victory, forced into the fields to grow rice under the most primitive conditions—heavy labor, one meal and five hours sleep a day, no food for those too ill or too weak to work. Casual or calculated killings were frequent. Whole families would be taken away and bludgeoned to death (bullets were costly) and the blood-soaked clothes brought back for others to wear. "In our village we lived without hope and waited for death," Mrs. Ek Preney told us. Many of those who survived until last January were killed when they refused to flee with the Pol Pot cadres as the "liberation" forces of Heng Samrin and Vietnamese troops approached.

Our first visit of the afternoon was to Phnom Penh's sole orphanage. Three months after opening it had 539 children quartered in a former high school. Only 26 of them were five years old or less, compared with 332 in the 11 to 15 bracket—clear indication that the years under Pol Pot had been most lethal to the youngest Khmers. The orphanage provided basic medical care and food supplemented by vitamins and milk powder from UNICEF. The kids were often too weak to sit up when they arrived but most we saw were reasonably healthy and responsive although very thin.

We were briefed by Chau Sa, the staff member who spoke English best. His attractive face was marred by a slight eye skewed off to the right side. He had been a teacher during the Lon Nol years. Sa celebrated his son's first birthday on April 18, 1975. The next day he carried his son and aided his wife as they were driven out of Phnom Penh into the countryside. They walked 90 kilometers in 20 days. After arriving in a rural village in Prey Veng Province, he was imprisoned for five months. Most of his associates from the city died but he survived and rejoined his family. For the next three years he worked as a peasant, especially making fertilizer from excrement.

The hamlet was forced to move halfway across Kampuchea to the West in 1978. Many more died on this trek or were killed after relocating by the teenage cadre who ruled the lives of the people with absolute power. Whole village groups were executed. Sa told of seeing a killing ground where several thousand persons had been beaten to death. He and his wife survived until liberation but their child did not. Sa was an exception among those we talked to in having his spouse alive. We were given an estimate that 70% of the women between 18 and 35 who had been married were now widows.

Walking through the orphanage was both heart-rending and encouraging. The affection and caring of the staff were abundantly shown. Many children smiled, reached out for our hands, were strong enough to cling to our legs and walk with us. They seemed so small and spindly, however. New arrivals were in more critical condition with fever

and bloody dysentery. Still, they were fortunate in being in one of the few settings so far receiving direct aid from UNICEF and the Red Cross. At the end of the tour we spoke with the Vice-Director and learned (in French) that her husband, a former university professor, and 11 out of 14 of her immediate family had died in the Pol Pot years.

From a scene of moderate liveliness we went to one of appalling slaughter and stillness.

Toul Sieng had been one of the top French Lycees in Phnom Penh. After the Pol Pot takeover it became a prison for political suspects, a center for torture and execution. Twenty thousand persons died here. Four high-rise rectangular concrete buildings formed three sides of what had been a spacious lawn and compound. It was now ragged and overgrown but the full horrors lay inside the structures.

The first block had high-ranking political prisoners, one to a room. Each had been shackled naked to a bare cot frame. Various devices for beating and torture were on display, as were photographs of the fourteen bloated corpses found chained to beds in this wing after the guards had fed. Each room was preserved in the same scruffy, bloody disarray shown in the photographs with only the body removed.

The second and third blocks had barbed wire mesh over their whole facade. Each classroom here had been sub-divided into many small cells, usually 2 feet 6 inches by 7 feet long, into which ordinary prisoners had been jammed. For urination and defecation jugs or ammo boxes were provided. Absolute silence had been required. There was one meal a day. Mrs. Preney, our interpreter, began to cry, apologizing by saying that she had been a student in these rooms in the early 1970's.

The most harrowing displays were in a central section of Toul Sieng. The keepers of this charnel house worked methodically. They kept careful records of names, backgrounds, dates of execution. Thousands of documents were recovered. Some of the lists were enlarged and posted. On October 15, 1977, for example, 418 persons had been killed. The long tallies of professional people, technicians, diplomats, students, persons tainted by foreign exposure who had perished indicated the mad, xenophobic mood of the Pol Pot regime. Students who returned from abroad were consistently killed, not only those who had been in the West but ones coming back from Russia, Cuba, and Vietnam as well.

Along with the lists were photographs. Most of the victims in Toul Sieng had a mugshot. In preparing the prison as a museum, 4x6 blow-ups of these pictures literally covered whole walls in row upon row of solemn faces whose sad or defiant eyes stared out unblinking yet showing awareness of their impending fate. Many in the photographs were Pol Pot cadre rather than Lon Nol technicians or students with foreign contamination. The regime purged and purged in self-devouring quest for purity or at least lack of political opposition. I am haunted still by standing in front of those massed faces and trying to meet their clear-eyed stares.

We saw workshop areas where the prisoners melted down metal artifacts in order to cast busts of Pol Pot. In one room was a pile of ragged prisoner clothing 15 feet high. They led us out in back of the compound to see excavated grave sites with jumbled piles of broken skeletons. The overall experience was for our time nearest to a tour of Auschwitz or Dachau a generation ago.

Among the guides at Toul Sieng was one of the four known survivors. Mr. Ing Pesch escaped in the turmoil of liberation as the last prisoners were marched under guard out of Phnom Penh. The nails on the thumb and middle finger of his right hand had been

pulled out. He apologized for not remembering all details because his skull had been beaten so often. The rest of his family were dead. Like so many Khmers, he told us of hellish suffering in a quiet, gentle voice.

Another guide had come back from Paris in 1977. He found Phnom Penh frighteningly quiet. The dozen students who returned with him to serve the new nation all perished. He commented that the people preferred socialism but not sadistic killers as leaders. The manager of the prison site, Mrs. Pen En, lost her husband and three children. We left Toul Sieng in stunned silence, unable to absorb fully its legacy of terror and murder.

On the evening of September 17 we talked for two hours with Jacques Beaumont of UNICEF and the International Red Cross representatives, Francois Bugnion and Dominique Ziegler, M.D. They had been in Phnom Penh for three weeks trying to negotiate arrangements for large-scale relief deliveries (frustrated by the absence of most government leaders at the Havana Conference of Non-Aligned Nations). Their estimate of conditions was bleak. The problems and crises facing the new Phnom Penh government were beyond even super-human skills to handle. The economic and social organization of the city and country had to be rebuilt virtually from scratch after the most severe imaginable dislocations and traumatic shocks. Up to 90% of every category of trained and experienced workers and technicians were gone. The infrastructure of transportation, communication, public utilities, and distribution systems was primitive or non-existent.

There is no currency in Kampuchea. Rice is the medium of exchange. Barter and scavenging are common. For those who work a salary is only the weekly ration of rice, already scant, which must be further reduced to trade for other necessities and to share with family dependents who have no job. Many Khmers were too weak to do hard physical labor but most machines and vehicles were broken or unusable.

Dr. Ziegler told us to look for rust-colored spots in people's hair, especially children. This was a sure sign of severe malnutrition among the normally black-haired Cambodians. Spotty hair was often visible over the two days. We were also advised not to walk out of the hotel after dark and to reach the border before sunset the next day. This was not because of political antagonism or the possibility of attack by Pol Pot guerrillas but merely recognition that starving people may do desperate things.

Some reports in the American press suggested that relief shipments into Phnom Penh had been blocked by refusal to permit "end-use observation." Beaumont told us that the modest shipments so far had been meticulously monitored and accounted for. Of course massive food shipments would necessitate more foreign observers (and, probably, foreign workers and vehicles for adequate distribution). Both the Kampuchean and the Vietnamese were very sensitive to security considerations and seemed reluctant to allow large numbers of outsiders to enter the country.

The oversight role of the Vietnamese as sponsors of the Phnom Penh government complicates decision-making about large-scale relief efforts. Whatever delay this causes, the Vietnamese also have been the largest donors of supplies and personnel to help in the reconstruction process. They have sent doctors, technicians, roadbuilders, and other specialists into Kampuchea. From their own strained food stocks they sent large quantities of rice. Some refugees complain of shortages in Vietnam due to these shipments. Yet most of the rice went to meet past hunger. Now there is neither reserve nor a crop planted in most areas.

After a fitful night I was up before 6 AM

on September 18. Even for privileged foreign guests breakfast consisted of two slices of bread, a cube of cheese, and tea. We went by car for a 7 AM appointment with the Vice-Minister of Health to conduct our formal consultations about relief needs and delivery methods.

Madame Chey Kanya greeted us and introduced three of her staff associates. As we sat around a table for discussion, these four physicians constituted 7 percent of Kampuchea's surviving doctors. From over 500 physicians in 1975, the ministry could now locate only 57 still alive. Nearly all the survivors had hidden their knowledge and identity, practiced no medicine, and lived like peasants for four years. Now they were trying to rebuild a system for providing health care with almost no medicine or equipment. All hospitals and clinics had been closed and sacked. There were not even dispensaries yet operating in some provinces. Even the three best equipped hospitals located in Phnom Penh often lacked the most rudimentary materials for simple procedures like blood transfusions.

Our conversations about getting aid shipments into Kampuchea left many uncertainties due to the internal logistical problems and the fact that other ministries would have to give approvals but Doctor Kanya welcomed any assistance that could be sent and indicated that "end-use observation" could be worked out. She urged immediate dispatch of vitamins and antibiotics, their basic medical equipment. Obviously large-scale food deliveries were also imperative. We presented a small amount of medicine that we had carried in as symbolic of the larger contributions that AFSC and other voluntary agencies hoped to make in the current crisis.

As our formal conversation broke up, Dr. Thuch Theoul, the grey-haired gentleman on my right, spoke to me in halting English. He had studied in the U.S. and interned in Texas and New York City. He spent the Pol Pot years as a peasant. In a soft voice and a manner that sought not to burden the American guest, Dr. Theoul explained that now he was in charge of the only medical school in Kampuchea "but I have no books, no lab equipment, nothing with which to teach." Could we possibly be of assistance if it were not too much trouble? (AFSC is actively working to get support for the reopened facility in Phnom Penh from American medical schools.)

From the Ministry of Health we drove out Kampong Speu, a provincial town about 20 miles South West of Phnom Penh. Traffic was far less even than in the hill country of Vietnam. Few vehicles appeared other than bikes and carts. Occasional trucks seemed to serve as buses with a mass of people and freight piled on. Roadside buildings were mostly damaged and derelict. Only a few stands or bike repair stops were evident except for a more sizeable market area at a cross-roads. Some rice was planted. Few faces that we passed showed liveliness or vitality.

In Kampong Speu we picked up a local official and drove to what had been the center of town. Eight months earlier the retreating Pol Pot forces had blown up their ammunition stored in the main buildings and levelled the area for a radius of a hundred yards. Ragged craters 15 feet deep and muddy mounds covered with fragments of concrete were all that remained. The ground was strewn with howitzer shells and shrapnel, mortar shells, machine gun and rifle bullets. A old gas station on the perimeter of the blast zone was half blown away by the shock waves. Most current structures in Kampong Speu were made of thatch.

We drove on to the provincial hospital. It served a population of perhaps 300,000. There were 485 patients but only 200 beds and no

medical doctor. Thirteen staff members had some training as nurses. A tour of the hospital showed a total supply of medicines on hand that was less than the office stocks of the average American physician.

Hospital staff were trying to treat plague (over 1500 cases in 4 months), malaria, dysentery, typhoid fever, and the varied effects of near-starvation on young and old. Some patients had been hurt by mines or old shells and a few had recent gun-shot wounds as a result of sporadic raids in the area by guerrillas loyal to Pol Pot. We also saw four babies in the maternity section. The nurses explained that patients died for simple lack of food and vitamins. Many of the beds and buildings had been provided through the Vietnamese. The contagious disease ward still had no bed frames—only straw mats on a concrete slab floor. Fortunately the hospital was beginning to receive shipments from UNICEF and the Red Cross.

As we walked the duty grounds from building to building some curious kids and adults followed us, gazing at healthy, well-fed strangers. Most sat or lay in place, however, expending no energy even to pursue such novelties. Pain and deprivation hung in the air as a palpable presence.

The orphan ward at Kampong Speu was, I think, my most intense encounter with Kampuchea. Toul Sieng Prison had been a ghastly replay of a murderous nightmare but the killing was over there. At the hospital they had recently put up a thatch structure to house orphans—the only other known orphanage beside the one in Phnom Penh.

On 12 bed frames covered with straw matting were gathered 92 parentless children up to 13 years of age, though none looked larger than an American six-year old. Sad faces and hollow gazes turned toward me when I entered. An astringent odor suggestive of decay filled the room. The huddled mass of spindly kids was quiet, however. Only one child in the ward cried fitfully, with barely enough energy to make a whimpering noise. Spotty hair, open sores, and skeletal young bodies were within reach on all sides. These still living suffers were a concentrated embodiment of the grief and loss and damage that the Khmer people have endured and of the nearness of death for those who yet survive. I doubt that all the children I saw are still alive.

As I left the orphans, a mother and child stood in the sun light. The boy she held had stick-like arms and legs and a distended belly. His eyes would not focus steadily and his head rolled irregularly. The otherwise gaunt mother had so large a bulge that we asked if she were pregnant. We were told that her stomach was swollen because she had eaten only grass and banana leaves for five days en route to the hospital. When I stop thinking about these scenes and allow their emotional impact to be felt, I weep.

We sped back to Phnom Penh for a quick lunch in order to be on the road for the border promptly at 12:15 PM. Our van and driver from Ho Chi Minh City had come in the previous day in order to drive us back. We could not wait until the next flight out. We were the first Westerners to travel the road east from Phnom Penh to the border since 1975. The last Americans on the "Parrot's Beak" section of the route were G.I.'s pulling out from our "inursions" into Cambodia several years earlier.

One last trip through Phnom Penh was as unsettling as the first one had been. No quick adjustment is possible to the scarcity of people in the urban landscape, to the breakdown of all normal systems in a modern city. At the bridge headed East out of Phnom Penh a strict check-point was patrolled by soldiers. A stream of people walked and biked over the bridge, many carrying scavenged furniture or artifacts or, occasionally, some food from the country. At the far end of the bridge was the largest crowd of people we saw anywhere in Kampuchea. They

were living in shacks and under tarps waiting to be cleared for entry into the city. The authorities permitted only those with a job or needed skills into Phnom Penh, keeping a growing mass of others at the perimeter. Jacques Beaumont told us that the population in the environs of Phnom Penh had risen sharply as people moved from famine-stricken rural areas toward roads and cities in quest of food.

Route One east of Phnom Penh was tolerable for twenty miles, then became rough, pitted, pot-holed, and virtually worn away in some sections. Especially toward the border it had been fought over so often and so little repaired that we slowed almost to a standstill to negotiate one hole after another. On some stretches ta k traps had been dug in from both sides (since refilled with gravel), leaving only a slender track of paving for bike traffic. Along the second half of the route large and bare charred trunks were all that remained of the line of trees that formerly sheltered the road (but also blocked aerial inspection of traffic).

Some people were almost always in view as we drove for six hours to the Vietnamese border but there were few concentrations apart from Phnom Penh, Neak Luong, Kampong Trabak, Svay Rieng, and several villages that seemed well reestablished. Some farm animals and modest rice cultivation could be seen at many points along the road but far more land was unplanted even where the old dike lines indicated prior cultivation. Ed Snyder in our delegation had travelled this road ten years earlier. The contrast from lush, fertile, and busy to its current sparse and battered look was as extreme as the near-emptiness of Phnom Penh compared to its former crowds and bustle.

After two hours we came to the ferry crossing over the Mekong River at Neak Luong. This important transportation center had been bombed by our B-52's in the early 1970's. The heart of the town on the far shore still showed the devastation of the bomb patterns. We had to wait half an hour for the ferry. A crowd gathered around us.

I fell into slow conversation in rusty French with a man who turned out to be the manager of the ferry operation. Although he looked like a tired teenager, he was 40 years old and had lived most of his life in Neak Luong. He had been wounded by American bombing. The same terrible tale emerged of his experiences in the Pol Pot years. Driven to rural areas, he had worked in fields and forests, trying to sustain life on 300 grams of rice a day. Conditions had been "la plus difficile." Many died. The rest of his family was gone, some killed specifically because they held office under Lon Nol.

My companion estimated that 50 percent of the population of the Neak Luong region had died and another 30 percent had disappeared between 1975 and 1979. With soft pleading he explained that they needed food, medicine, seeds, vehicles, everything. "Il n'y a rien de medicaments pour les peuples." Without vitamins or medicine, the people were dying. The nearest medical staff or assistance was a dispensary 40 kilometers away. He said that large numbers of Vietnamese troops had come through in January and that they had been welcomed as genuine liberators by the people. "They are much more content since Liberation." He was now getting only 600 grams of rice a day and worried about wide starvation.

Driving on toward Svay Rieng, I thought of Air Force General Curtis LeMay's renowned remark that our enemies in Indochina should be bombed back to the Stone Age. Between American bombing and Pol Pot's murderous misrule that stage of primitive reversion had been inflicted on the people of Cambodia. No brick or concrete building between Neak Luong and the border was undamaged except for a section of Svay

Bleng. Most were shot up or blasted and abandoned. Where we had seen frequent piles of rice, corn, manioc, and noodles drying on the roads in Vietnam, in traveling the 100 miles from Phnom Penh to the border I saw one pile of perhaps a bushel of corn similarly drying. At times the flat muddy plain extended 3 or 4 miles out in all directions before reaching a tree line and no rice cultivation was visible. The beauty of the birds in and over the fields clashed with the absence of support processes for human life. Occasional groups of boys at play or young women on bikes or adults working in a paddy did not dispell the foreboding feeling. We drove over a deserted plain as the sun set behind us and reached the Vietnamese border at 6:15 PM.

Kampuchea stands in desperate need of immediate, large-scale relief shipments of food and medicine. All political considerations and controversies must give way to allow deliveries of humanitarian aid as soon as possible. Religious groups and voluntary agencies such as AFSC and Oxfam must do what they can to send needed materials but food is required on so large a scale that only governmental food stocks can meet the demand.

American citizens should urge whatever action is appropriate by Congress and the Executive Branch to assure release of food to Kampuchea either under Disaster Relief provisions or under Public Law 480—"Food for Peace." Agreement was recently announced between the Heng Samrin government and UNICEF plus the Red Cross which apparently opens the way for larger shipments into Phnom Penh through these international channels with adequate provision for monitoring and end-use observation. While Quakers and sympathizers will have to contribute funds for the expected AFSC shipments of vitamins, anti-biotics, and medicines (\$100,000) and rice (\$100,000 purchased in Singapore), public pressure must persuade our government to send food on a massive scale or else many more Khmers will die of starvation.

Beyond the overwhelming and urgent need for relief efforts, there are important policy questions centered on Kampuchea. Our government has postponed normalization of relations with Vietnam until Hanoi pulls its forces out of Kampuchea. AFSC strongly condemned the invasion last January, just as it protested the Chinese invasion of Vietnam that soon followed. Quakers cannot approve the resort to armed force.

Yet the case for refusing diplomatic recognition of Vietnam is weak and selective. China's comparable resort to force was no obstacle to increasingly cozy relations. Nor, to cite a closer parallel, was Tanzania's invasion to overthrow Idi Amin widely condemned in the United States. The new government of Uganda is purely the creation of Tanzanian armed intervention. Some 25,000 Tanzanian troops remain in Uganda, unable to leave because no coherent administration or indigenous leadership is possible without them. Armed bands still roam through Kampala in the wake of Amin's brutal misrule. The only difference (apart from Big Power politics) between Uganda and Kampuchea is that Amin is not in some remote province with a few followers still claiming to be an authentic government.

Vietnamese consistently gave us two reasons why they had to stay in Kampuchea for the immediate future. The first is suggested in the prior paragraph and throughout this report. The Kampuchean government and social systems (one cannot even say "economy") require outside aid to function at all. The second reason is traditional Vietnamese fear of Cambodia's weakness that may allow a stronger enemy to threaten their Western border. This is what happened through 1977-1979. Chinese arms and advisors backed large border raids by Kampuchea against Vietnam.

One and a quarter million refugees had to be resettled in Vietnam as a result of these savage forays (U.N.H.C.R. estimate). Vietnam felt itself encircled with Chinese power attacking both in the West and on the Northern border. The Hanoi government will not allow a restoration of status quo ante or a vacuum of power in Kampuchea which would lead to renewed Chinese presence on their Western flank.

America should normalize relations with Vietnam, allow trade between the two countries, and extend reconstruction assistance. Only these steps will go to the root of the refugee problem and bring more stability to the power balance in the region. Otherwise the scenario is set for ever-escalating war. The Vietnamese will attack remaining Pol Pot forces. They will probably come into conflict with the Thai army during "hot pursuit" episodes along the border. China will invade Vietnam again if the Vietnamese seem about to extinguish Pol Pot's claim to any territory in Kampuchea. (The Vietnamese are convinced another attack will come, possibly through Laos.) Russia stands in the wings as Vietnam's sponsor who may, in turn, try to teach China a lesson. This is a prescription for global war.

The two broad steps that can help cut down the risk and the suffering in Indochina are direct and large-scale assistance to the nations and desperate people of the region and a more even-handed approach to their respective governments. On this latter point, the United States should recognize Vietnam and vigorously warn China against military moves in the area. The Khmers have lived through a nightmare, have been fought over and mauled by other powers and by their own demented leaders. They deserve a chance for basic nutrition, health, security, and economic development without becoming yet again bloody pawns in a Big Power chess game.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. President, the tragedy of millions of people facing imminent starvation in Cambodia is something the civilized world can no longer choose to ignore. The United States, in particular, holds a special responsibility for the fate of the Cambodian people who are caught in a net of political intricacies which threatens to entrap the whole population's lifeline. Despite continued public protests, the horror stories out of Cambodia keep mounting. The administration now estimates that up to three and one-half million Cambodians face starvation and severe malnutrition in the next few months.

Diplomatic solutions to alleviate the suffering have been attempted, but it is clear that neither side is interested in diplomatic answers.

Humanitarian aid has been slowly entering the country, but political obstacles have stood in the way of the massive relief effort that the situation demands. Last week, it seemed as though the major political barriers had been moved aside and that the International Red Cross and UNICEF could proceed with their unhampered supply of food and medicines to the whole population. This week, that hopeful prospect seems less certain.

Time is, however, of the essence. The world community should voice its immediate

protest against any effort to obstruct the lifesaving work of the international and voluntary organizations. The United States should also publicly voice its commitment to grant a fair share of the financial, food, and medical resources the relief effort will require.

This amendment I am cosponsoring with Senators KENNEDY and Dole is an important affirmation of congressional support for U.S. and international relief endeavors for the people of Cambodia. The United States should respond quickly to insure that the aid is provided in time to help the millions who need it.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, on October 5, I introduced Senate Resolution 252, along with Senators DOMENICI, HEINZ, and DeCONCINI, urging aid to famine stricken Cambodia. Today, I am pleased to cosponsor with my distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, Senator KENNEDY, amendment No. 506 to the foreign appropriations bill, H.R. 473.

The language of the resolution and that of the amendment is almost identical. Both bills reflect the same humanitarian concern, as we are faced with one of the greatest tragedies of our time, the possible death of an entire people. To the inevitable effects that wars—all wars—have on the people who are the unfortunate victims of political conflicts in which they are caught without necessarily comprehending them, this year's poor rice crop has added a famine of such magnitude that it threatens to extinguish the total population of Cambodia.

Political speculations abound as to where the blame should be placed for the inability of international aid to reach the Cambodians. There is wide agreement however that aid must be given, and that time is running out. The power of words is inadequate to fully convey the extent of the catastrophe as reported by the press. Photographs flashing across our television screens give us but a fleeting image of the effects of famine and starvation. Statistics are perhaps more easily understood by our Western minds. It has been reported that 8 million people were in Cambodia as late as the mid-1970's. It is believed that those who died from war, murder, disease, and starvation now number in the millions. How many are left is difficult to determine. It is known, however, that it is low enough, by recent estimates, so that all could be saved.

Two million people are expected to die of starvation and disease within the next few months unless massive outside help is forthcoming. I trust in our national conscience; I trust in the collective conscience of the congressional body to do all that can possibly be done to help alleviate the tragic famine affecting Cambodia.

The present amendment expresses our support for international relief efforts. It also directs sums appropriated under H.R. 4473 or made available through provisions of title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, to be used to provide relief and assistance for the people of Cambodia.

The need for action is urgent if we want to stop the genocide, a word that



United States
of America

See next page

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 96th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 125

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1979

No. 133

House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, October 5, 1979, at 10 a.m.

Senate

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1979

Legislative day of Thursday, June 21, 1979

WHITE HOUSE
INFORMATION CENTER

The Senate met at 9:15 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by Hon. WILLIAM PROXMIRE, a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Dear Lord and Father of mankind, at this perilous moment in history, wilt Thou draw together in a firm spiritual alliance the forces of righteousness in every nation. Reveal once more man's true nature and his ultimate destiny in Thy kingdom. Make known to us the invincibility of goodness and the power of redemptive love. Show us the way of sacrificial service, even the way of the Cross. Rally the people who know Thee and trust Thee to a deeper fellowship with one another, to seek and to find their security in that perfect love that casteth out all fear. Keep our hearts open to the movements of Thy spirit not only when we pray but while we work.

We pray in the Redeemer's name. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. MAGNUSON).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,

Washington, D.C., October 4, 1979

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule 1, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby

appoint the Honorable WILLIAM PROXMIRE, a Senator from the State of Wisconsin, to perform the duties of the Chair.

WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
President pro tempore

Mr. PROXMIRE thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the majority leader is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings be approved to date.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I will not, my reservation is for the purpose of informing the majority leader that all the items on today's Executive Calendar are cleared on this side, and we have no objection to proceeding to their confirmation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Senate will

go into executive session to consider the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I wish to make a statement with respect to two nominations that are on the Executive Calendar to which the majority leader has referred: Will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I yield to the Senator.

NOMINATION OF JUDGE SHIRLEY B. JONES AND JUDGE JOSEPH C. HOWARD

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise in strong support of the Judiciary Committee's recommendations that the Senate confirm the appointments of Judge Shirley B. Jones and Judge Joseph C. Howard for the U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland.

It is my firm conviction that Judge Jones and Judge Howard will bring strength and quality to the Federal District Court for the District of Maryland. They are seasoned trial judges of outstanding ability, character, and integrity. I believe their selection carries out the commitment expressed by the President and the Congress, a commitment which I strongly share, to seek out men and women for the Federal courts whose selection will be based on merit.

Judge Jones was born and brought up in Cambridge on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Following her graduation from Cambridge High School in 1942, she went to Baltimore to attend the University of Baltimore. She did her prelaw and legal training in 4 years and received her law degree from the University of Baltimore in 1946 with the highest scholastic average in her class. She was admitted to the Maryland Bar in June 1947 at the age of 22.

From the time of her admission to the bar until going on the bench in

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.

amendment will, we believe, be adequate to stimulate production at these levels.

This new program is geared toward the private sector, and to me represents the most effective means of setting goals consistent with our national needs and meeting them. There are three distinct groups from which future alcohol producers will be drawn. These are large commercial producers, such as agribusiness and food processing and marketing companies, distillers, and the oil companies; smaller community-based organizations, including small refiners, farm cooperatives, jobbers, and small businesses, and individual farmers who desire to produce alcohol themselves for their own on-farm use. By giving the Office of Alcohol Fuels the flexibility of using various methods of financial assistance—guaranteed loans, guaranteed prices, and guaranteed purchases—the program will be responsive to the different needs of potential producers likely to apply for participation.

Mr. President, the merits of this proposal are clear. The additional emphasis on alcohol commercialization provided by the Office will make it possible to turn the effort to solve one of our most critical national problems—insecure foreign and ever-more-expensive energy supplies—into an important opportunity for American farmers and businesses. In this way it can have a positive effect on local economies all over this country while at the same time assuring the people of this country that our needs for energy will be met in the years ahead through American ingenuity and resourcefulness. ●

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE APPROPRIATIONS, 1980—H.R. 4473

AMENDMENT NO. 506

(Ordered to be printed and to lie on the table.)

Mr. KENNEDY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to H.R. 4473, an act making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1980, and for other purposes.

FAMINE IN CAMBODIA

● Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I am offering an amendment today to the pending foreign assistance appropriations bill to assure that funds appropriated under the act can be used immediately to respond to famine relief efforts now underway in Cambodia.

If one of the most massive human tragedies of modern times is to be avoided, we must act now to assure that there is no question that U.S. foreign assistance funds are available to support the international relief program in Cambodia.

Mr. President, famine and disease today threaten the lives of millions of men, women, and children in Cambodia. Indeed, the very existence of the Khmer people is at stake.

Having suffered the loss of nearly half its population from the ravages of war and the cruel programs of the Pol Pot regime, Cambodia now faces famine

and the relentless spread of disease among its remaining population.

Worse still, this terrible danger has been known for months. We and others in the international community have seen the Cambodian crisis coming for many weeks. Whatever we do today to help will already be too late for countless thousands.

The statistics, Mr. President, are some of the worst the world has seen. Following hearings I held as chairman of the Judiciary Committee on July 26, receiving testimony from Secretary of State Vance, it became clear that unless immediate relief efforts were undertaken by the international community, some 2.5 million Cambodians would face severe starvation. More recent estimates place the figure as high as 3.5 million people.

A report I received last week from American officials in the field, along the Thai border, suggests that over 200 Khmer refugees are dying every single day in just 5 camps they were able to observe along the border. The report finds that perhaps as many as 200,000 hungry Khmer civilians are now pressed up against the Thai border in search of food and safety. Tens of thousands are not far behind.

The report notes:

The physical condition of newly arrived refugees over the past few days was among the worst we have witnessed. Assuming that only the strongest are able to make the trek into Thai territory, it appears that those still inside Cambodia are reaching the point where it is no longer possible for them to survive.

Other observers who have visited Cambodia, including delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross and voluntary agency representatives, paint a picture of an entire country on the move in search of food. They report the roads are filled with villagers, wandering without direction, in the vain hope of finding some food.

They also report that food production this harvest will be only 20 percent of normal—a fact that has been confirmed by our intelligence satellites. This drastic shortfall in food production will be exacerbated by the complete breakdown of Cambodia's neglected medical system. There is an acute shortage of doctors, medicine, hospital supplies, and medical facilities. As a result of the Pol Pot regime's policy of eliminating Cambodia's intellectual classes, including doctors and nurses, there is only a handful of competent medical personnel in the entire country. There have been reported outbreaks of bubonic plague, widespread malaria, hemorrhagic fever, and dysentery that is especially fatal to young, undernourished children.

Mr. President, the physical and human destruction inflicted upon the Khmer nation over the past decade surpasses, in proportional terms, the worst devastation of World War II or famine conditions in either the Sahel or Biafra. Following years of war, the Pol Pot regime's mass evacuations and brutality reduced Cambodia's population from an estimated 8 million to some 4 to 5 million.

In the process, Cambodia's towns and cities, transportation and infrastructure were destroyed. Phnom Penh, the capital, remains a ghost town.

Not surprisingly, the surviving population today in Cambodia is weakened and debilitated. All are endangered by disease and starvation—especially the children. Recent travelers to Cambodia say it is a country with very few small children. There are 10 deaths to every birth. And that ratio stands to worsen rapidly in the days ahead, unless something is done to help.

That phrase, Mr. President—"unless something is done to help"—has haunted the international community for many weeks. I raised it last July 26 with Secretary Vance, when it was clear that famine would soon stalk Cambodia, and the refugee crisis would escalate in Thailand, unless a massive relief effort was launched.

But, despite the best efforts of several international agencies, it was not until just last week that general agreement was reached with Cambodian authorities and the International Red Cross and UNICEF to begin a significant international relief program.

I welcome this agreement, which provides for the timely distribution of relief "consistent with the principles of impartiality and nondiscrimination."

As was the case in Biafra and Bangladesh, both international agencies have pledged that they will assure that this relief "will in no way contribute to the war effort of either of the belligerents."

Mr. President, these are important principles and they remind us forcefully that food, medicine, and shelter cannot be permitted to be used as instruments of war. Common decency dictates that the current relief effort must reach all the Khmer people, regardless of where and under whose control they live in their war-ravaged land.

Recent reports confirm that the first relief flights have begun to arrive in Phnom Penh and more will follow, if we and the international community move immediately to support this emergency effort.

The United States needs to act now. Having expressed our strong concern over the humanitarian needs of the Cambodian people for many months, we must not fail now to provide tangible and generous support to the International Red Cross and UNICEF.

It is for this reason, Mr. President, that I am introducing this amendment to the pending foreign assistance appropriations bill—the first legislative vehicle—to assure that funds will be available to provide an American contribution to the famine relief effort in Cambodia.

The amendment simply stipulates that funds appropriated under the bill—as well as Public Law 480 food-for-peace commodities—should be available for famine relief in Cambodia. Next Monday, the International Red Cross and UNICEF will issue their appeals, and it is anticipated that some \$100 million will be required for just the first 6 months. Over the coming year that would mean the

U.S. share would be approximately \$20 million in cash and \$30 million in food commodities.

Mr. President, there should be no question that it is the intent of Congress that funds should be available for this purpose. My amendment will resolve any questions that have arisen in the past as to the intention of Congress—whether only international disaster assistance funds could be used in countries where legislative prohibitions have been established. The amendment states the clear sense of Congress that the administration ought to use every tool and every fund available under the pending foreign assistance bill to support the famine relief effort in Cambodia.

Mr. President, I ask that the text of the amendment be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the amendment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page . . . between lines . . . and . . . insert the following:

SEC. . . It is the sense of the Congress that the United States should generously support international relief efforts to alleviate famine among the people of Cambodia. Such sums as may be necessary, including sums appropriated or otherwise made available pursuant to this Act and sums appropriated or otherwise made available to carry out the provisions of title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, should be used to provide relief and rehabilitation assistance for the people of Cambodia, to be administered by and through the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), or other appropriate international organizations or private voluntary agencies. ●

NOTICES OF HEARINGS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management of which I am chairman will hold an oversight hearing on implementation of Executive Order 12044, "Improving Government Regulations," Wednesday, October 10, 1979, at 10 a.m. in room 3302 Dirksen. ●

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ENERGY REGULATION

● Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, on Monday, October 22, 1979, the Subcommittee on Energy Regulation will hold a hearing to receive a report from the Energy Information Administration of the Department of Energy on the current price and supply outlook for petroleum fuels. This hearing will commence at 9:30 a.m. in room 3110 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building. Questions about this hearing should be addressed to Benjamin S. Cooper or James T. Bruce of the subcommittee staff at 224-9894. ●

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FEDERAL SPENDING PRACTICES AND OPEN GOVERNMENT

● Mr. CHILES. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Subcommittee on Federal Spending Practices and Open Government of the Committee on Governmental Affairs will hold a joint hearing with the Small Business Committee

on the continued oversight of the Small Business Administration's 8(a) program. The hearing will take place on Friday, October 5, 1979, at 10 a.m. in room 3302 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

Anyone having questions regarding this hearing should contact the subcommittee office in room 44, 128-C Street NE, or telephone 224-0211. ●

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

● Mr. MELCHER. Mr. President, I would like to announce for the information of the Senate and the public, the scheduling of a public hearing before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

The hearing will be held on November 30, 1979, in Phoenix, Ariz. Testimony is invited regarding the Indian Health Service and Indian health related issues. The time and location in Phoenix of the hearing is to be announced.

For further information regarding the hearing you may wish to contact Max Richtman of the committee staff on extension 224-2251. Those wishing to testify or who wish to submit a written statement for the hearing record, should write to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. ●

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION

● Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, has scheduled a mark-up session on S. 506, a bill to amend title VIII of the act commonly called the Civil Rights Act of 1968 to revise the procedures for the enforcement of fair housing.

The markup will be held in room 154, Russell Senate Office Building on Friday, October 12, 1979, at 10:00 a.m. ●

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, MARKETING, AND STABILIZATION

● Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Agriculture Subcommittee on Agricultural Production, Marketing, and Stabilization of Prices has scheduled a hearing on S. 6 and S. 80. These bills would extend the milk price support level at not less than 80 percent of parity through September 30, 1981.

The hearing will be held on Friday, October 12, at 9:30 a.m. in room 324. The subcommittee will hear from invited witnesses only, but written statements submitted for the record are welcome. Anyone wishing further information should contact the Agriculture Committee staff at 224-2035. ●

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ENERGY REGULATION

● Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, on Monday, October 29, 1979 the Subcommittee on Energy Regulation of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources will hold a hearing on S. 1335, the Residential Furnace Improvement and Cost Savings Act of 1979, and on S. 1336, the Residential Energy Audit Act of 1979. The hearing will begin at 9:30 a.m. in room 3110 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building. Questions about this hearing should be directed to James T. Bruce and Benjamin S. Cooper of the subcommittee staff at 224-9894. ●

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEE TO MEET

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Constitution Subcommittee of the Committee on Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today to hold a hearing on balancing the budget.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

SAVING OIL BY BURNING WOOD

● Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, the lead story in this week's Time magazine's "Economy & Business" section is about the concern with which those of us who live in the northern part of the country view the coming winter. Appropriately enough, the article is illustrated with a photograph of a Maine couple cutting logs so that they might heat their home this winter without relying on expensive and uncertain supplies of heating oil.

Wood is Maine's most plentiful energy resource. Thousands of Maine families are adding wood-burning stoves and heating systems to their homes. Thousands more would do so if only they had the financial ability to pay for the needed equipment.

The Senate Finance Committee is now considering a package of incentives to encourage conservation of fossil fuels and development of alternative energy resources. No single incentive would, in my judgment, do more to further these goals than would a tax credit for wood-burning heating systems. I sincerely hope that the Finance Committee and the Senate will seize this opportunity to provide real relief for the hard-pressed residents of the Northern Tier of States by approving such a tax credit.

I submit for the Record the Time article, "Those Fear of Freezing Blues."

The article follows:

THOSE FEAR OF FREEZING BLUES

Our Lady of Pity, a Roman Catholic church in North Cambridge, Mass., had never before seemed so aptly named. Looking ahead to the coming winter, the priests were stunned to discover their heat-oil bill for 1979 will make even the \$12,000 they paid last year look like a bargain. To cut costs, they plan to close off the 1,100-seat main sanctuary during the cold months and hold services in the church chapel and chapel hall, which together can accommodate only 500 worshippers. Explains one priest: "It is simply a question of 45 gal. an hour to heat the big church against 6 gal. for the chapel."

People throughout the nation's Northern states are already gloomily pondering similar trade-offs. Just about now, the owners of the 16 million houses, apartments and mobile homes—more than one-fifth of the U.S.'s housing—that use oil heat are getting their first big fuel deliveries. They are discovering with a dismaying jolt that the great '79 fuel crunch has moved from the gas station to the furnace room. Since January the average price of heating oil has jumped from less than 58 cents per gal. to more than 80 cents, an increase well in excess of 40 percent. The country's total heating-oil bill, about \$10 billion last year, will rise by \$4.3 billion.



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

NOV 7 1979

①

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
Attention: Mr. Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

From: Neil Goldschmidt

Subject: Removal of Unnecessary Stop Signs

This is to report to you on the question raised in your October 17 note concerning an assessment of the energy conservation potential in the removal of unnecessary stop signs.

The Manual on Uniform Traffic Control Devices (MUTCD) sets forth the basic principles that govern the design and usage of traffic control devices of all streets and highways open to public travel regardless of governmental jurisdiction. This document is developed by the Federal Highway Administration in cooperation with State and local government representation and adopted by Federal, State, and local agencies for use in installation of Stop signs.

All Stop signs, of course, are under the jurisdiction of State or local government which build, operate, and maintain the highways. Stop signs are installed in accordance with the standards contained in the Manual, when certain warranting traffic conditions exist. However, many were installed before recent changes in usage and energy concerns developed. Therefore, some engineers are concerned that the Stop sign is over-utilized, resulting in Safety problems as well as unnecessary stops and increased energy consumption.

The Department will examine the warrants for Stop sign usage in view of energy conservation needs to determine if revisions of the standards can result in energy savings and improve the safety and efficiency of operation of the Nation's highways. Federal-aid funding is available for implementing any changes necessary due to revised standards and a program will be developed to encourage State and local government to do so.

Additionally, we will be seeking auto-use efficiencies using windfall profits / trust fund monies. Opportunities to improve the traffic flow of automobiles (i.e., to reduce idling) clearly are available and will be pursued.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

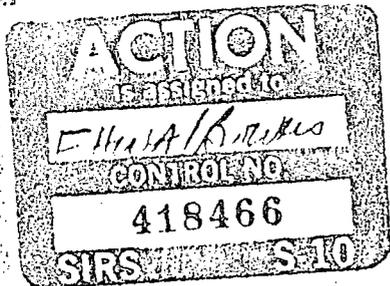
18 Oct 79

Secretary Goldschmidt

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Jack Watson
Phil Wise



OFFICE OF SECRETARY
OF TRANSPORTATION
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
1979 OCT 18 PM 1:57
U.S. DEPT. OF
TRANSPORTATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10-17-79

To Neil Goldschmidt

At Illinois town hall meeting a city engineer stated that he had surveyed his community & found 1/3 of stop signs to be unnecessary.

I promised to have you assess this energy saving possibility.

Jimmey

Bob Squier

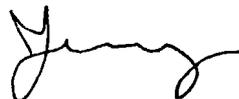
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done
J

November 7, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
HAMILTON JORDAN

FROM: JERRY RAFSHOON



As you know, Bob Squier has been producing our campaign film. Bob has worked with me since 1976 (he did our election eve telecast).

Bob has a hot hand in political film making this year. He successfully handled John Y. Brown, Ky.; William Winter, Miss.; and Louis Lambert, La. Last year he did Bob Graham, Fla.

He has excellent political sense as well as film making talent.

I want to ensure Bob stays with us past this film. He has a lot of offers to do more State races.

A telephone call from you would be good. Congratulate him on his victories and tell him how you feel good having him working for you and with me.

He needs to feel that you and Hamilton recognize him as a member of the team, not just my contractee.

Also, he has produced an excellent documentary on William Faulkner for PBS showing with NEH backing. Tell him you'd like to see it some evening in the White House. (You would really like it.)

12/17 on TV

TEL. D.C. 547-4970 (He may be in Ky. or Miss.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

11/12/79

Sarah Weddington

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Sarah J

Presidential Phone Calls
Page Two

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

- 3. Mayor Robert McGaw
Rockford, IL
815/987-5500 (O)

Robert McGaw is the Mayor of Rockford, Illinois. He will be very important to our slates there. Today, the Mayor will endorse you. He should be thanked.

NOTES: Eager to help -

- 4. Stanley Fink
New York, NY
518/472-7683 (Albany office) <
212/488-7960 (New York City office) <

Fink, as you know, is the Speaker of the New York State Assembly. He has been carrying the ball for us on the primary bill. We will not get the date we want; however, due mainly to his efforts, we will have a proportional primary on March 25, 1980. I recommend that you call Fink, ask for an update on the primary bill and thank him for his efforts. At the present time, Fink is uncommitted on the question of the 1980 Presidential race.

NOTES: 3/25/80 - Prop. passed, → Governor
Things going well = Working for J.C. His son (Peter?)
Kidder - Chataqua going → J.C. 15, also

- 5. Abe Beame
New York, NY
212/371-3880

Beame has been working very hard on the Carter/Mondale Steering Committee to be announced on November 27 when the Vice President is in the state. I recommend that you take a couple of minutes to call Beame and thank him for the daily help he is giving Joel McCleary in putting together the Committee.

NOTES: not done

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11-12-79

To Jack Watson

Call Lloyd Meyer,
Dubuque Iowa 319-582-
5031 re a federal
project.

JC

**Electrostatic Copy Made
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1. WE CONTINUE TO FACE A GRAVE SITUATION IN IRAN
WHERE OUR EMBASSY HAS BEEN SEIZED
AND MORE THAN 60 AMERICAN CITIZENS
CONTINUE TO BE HELD AS HOSTAGES
IN AN ATTEMPT TO FORCE UNACCEPTABLE DEMANDS
ON OUR COUNTRY. //
2. WE ARE USING EVERY AVAILABLE CHANNEL ~~TO PROTECT THE SAFETY~~
TO PROTECT THE SAFETY OF THE HOSTAGES
AND TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE. //
3. ALONG WITH THE FAMILIES OF THE HOSTAGES,
I HAVE WELCOMED AND APPRECIATE THE RESTRAINT ↘
SHOWN BY AMERICANS DURING THIS CRISIS.
(=OVER=) (WE MUST CONTINUE.....)

1. WE MUST CONTINUE TO EXHIBIT SUCH RESTRAINT
DESPITE-THE-INTENSITY-OF-OUR-EMOTIONS. /
2. THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE IN IRAN ARE AT STAKE. //
3. ~~(AT THE SAME TIME)~~ I MUST EMPHASIZE
THE GRAVITY-OF-THE-SITUATION. Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes
4. IT IS VITAL TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO EVERY OTHER NATION
THAT THE LIVES-OF-DIPLOMATIC-PERSONNEL AND OTHER-CITIZENS-ABROAD
BE-PROTECTED,
5. AND THAT WE REFUSE TO PERMIT THE USE-OF-TERRORISM
AND THE SEIZURE-AND HOLDING-OF HOSTAGES
TO IMPOSE-POLITICAL-DEMANDS. //

(=NEW CARD=) (NO ONE SHOULD.....)

1. NO ONE SHOULD UNDERESTIMATE
THE RESOLVE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE
IN THIS MATTER.
2. IT IS NECESSARY TO ELIMINATE-ANY-SUGGESTION
3. THAT ECONOMIC-PRESSURES-CAN WEAKEN-OUR-STAND
ON BASIC-ISSUES-OF-PRINCIPLES.
4. OUR POSITION MUST BE CLEAR. ///
5. I AM ORDERING /
6. THAT WE DISCONTINUE-PURCHASING-OIL-FROM-IRAN
FOR-SHIPMENT-TO-THE-UNITED-STATES. ///

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

(=OVER=) (THESE EVENTS.....)

1. THESE EVENTS OBVIOUSLY DEMONSTRATE ➤
2. THE EXTREME-IMPORTANCE-OF-REDUCING-OIL-CONSUMPTION.
3. I URGE EVERY-AMERICAN-CITIZEN
4. AND EVERY-AMERICAN-BUSINESS
5. TO REDOUBLE-EFFORTS TO CURTAIL-THE-USE-OF-PETROLEUM-PRODUCTS. /
6. THIS ACTION WILL POSE A-REAL-CHALLENGE-TO-OUR-COUNTRY.
7. IT WILL BE A TEST-OF-OUR STRENGTH-AND-DETERMINATION. //
8. I HAVE DIRECTED SECRETARY DUNCAN TO WORK-WITH-THE-CONGRESS, *WITH*
9. OTHER FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS, AND INDUSTRIAL LEADERS,
10. TO DEVELOP-ADDITIONAL-MEASURESTO-CONSERVE-OIL
11. AND TO COPE-WITH-THIS-NEW-SITUATION.

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(=NEW CARD=) (WE WILL WORK,,,,,)

STRIVE

- 5 -
DISTRIBUTION

1. WE WILL ~~WORK~~ TO ENSURE FAIR ~~ALLOCATION~~ OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS
2. AND A MINIMUM ~~OF DISRUPTION OF OUR NATION'S ECONOMY.~~ /
3. THESE AMERICAN MEASURES MUST BE PART OF AN EFFECTIVE ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ EFFORT
4. AND WE WILL CONSULT ~~WITH OUR ALLIES~~
5. AND OTHER ~~OIL-CONSUMING NATIONS~~
6. ABOUT FURTHER ACTIONS TO REDUCE ~~OIL-IMPORTS-AND-CONSUMPTION.~~
7. AMERICA DOES FACE A DIFFICULT-TEST.
8. OUR RESPONSE WILL MEASURE OUR CHARACTER ~~AND OUR COURAGE.~~
9. I KNOW THAT WE ~~SHALL NOT FAIL.~~

#

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

David
has copy

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 10, 1979

Mr. President:

If you approve, the attached draft letter will be sent Monday to each member of the House. The Press Office will release the text of the letter on Monday as well.

The letter has been cleared by the speechwriters, Frank Moore's office and Dick Moe.

_____ Approve

Disapprove *fil Sunday*

Stu

Stu Eizenstat

Very poor -

*Re draft using conservative arguments which I've been using in meetings with Congressmen -
i.e., states first, then volunteer
one line on forms
Lack of completion
Corrected original defects, etc etc
Re submit Sun. TC*

Dear Congressman

In a few days the House will be voting on the Administration's proposed legislation to control hospital costs. This is without any question the single most important anti-inflation and budget-saving bill the Congress will face this session. It is one of my highest anti-inflation priorities.

The issue is clear. It has been debated for almost three years. On the one hand, the American people have indicated their support for a proposal that will save our nation more than \$40 billion in unnecessary and wasteful hospital costs. On the other hand, powerful special interests oppose the bill, even in its present modified form, and by their opposition would refuse to participate in our national struggle against inflation. Their alternative -- the so-called voluntary effort -- simply has not been successful. Now, given the clear choice, a Member of the House would have a difficult time explaining a refusal to join in this effort to attack directly one of the primary causes of inflation and to save billions of taxpayers' dollars.

We've been saying \$53 mil

In its present form, the bill reflects the legitimate concerns which were expressed in the past by the Congress and the hospital industry. Yet, the current

legislation is strong enough to do the job of bringing these ever-rising hospital costs under control at long last. Every Member's commitment to deal with the problems of inflation and wasteful spending will be judged -- correctly I believe -- by his or her vote on this bill.

I know you share my concern for reducing inflation, decreasing Federal spending and balancing the budget. An affirmative vote on H.R.2626 provides a major step towards accomplishing these goals without diminishing the quality of health care in this country.

I urge you to support our Hospital Cost Containment bill on the House floor this week.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
11/12/79

Hamilton Jordan

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for your
information.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Frank Moore

November 8, 1979

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ham
J

Mr President

During a conversation with Congressman Morgan Murphy, which I initiated to discuss hospital cost containment, he asked me to pass the following message to you:

"Do not be disheartened by Mayor Byrne's action. There are a lot of us in Chicago who resent ~~with~~ what she did, and you will be hearing from us."
I pass it on with pleasure.

Fred Koh

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/12/79

Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald *AM*
Rick Hertzberg

SUBJECT: Speech Strategy:

1. White House Conference
on Libraries
2. Reception - National
Council of Negro Women

Attached are the speech strategies
for the above appearances for your
approval or further comments.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH STRATEGY

White House
Conference on Libraries

Nov. 16

Hilton Hilton

9:30 a.m.

(Event)

(Date)

(Place)

(Time)

Public, academic business and
government library people

(Audience)

*ok
J*

1. Aims:

To emphasize our support for strong, effective libraries to serve all Americans.

2. Themes/Messages:

Libraries essential to all Americans:

- in daily lives
- in schools and colleges
- in life-long education

Role of government and private support.

3. Illustrations, Examples:

His own love of books, how they were door to the world, limitations of community resources, problems and opportunities of quantity of printed material, technological advances, explosion of knowledge. Thomas Jefferson and the Library of Congress. White House efforts to create information center instead of just an odd collection of books.

4. Tone:

Mostly serious, light moments.

5. Desired Audience Response:

Realize the President understands and shares their goals.

6. Desired Length:

5 minutes

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sk
J

Reception - National Council of Negro Women	Nov. 16	Residence	5:30 p.m.
(Event)	(Date)	(Place)	(Time)

400-500 representatives of 27 national organizations
(Audience)

1. Aims: Thank them for past help and service, show we share their goals.
2. Themes/Messages:
Importance of volunteer groups in social progress. Our concerns about education, employment opportunities for young and adult black men and women. Understand double barriers black women have faced, proud of their progress, share their concerns about economic uncertainties. Why ERA matters to them.
3. Illustrations, Examples:
Rosa Parks as one woman who made her action count from below, Mary McLeod Bethune (their founder) from White House role, Dorothy Height as example of staying in there and continuing to make a difference.
4. Tone: Emotionally committed
5. Desired Audience Response:
We shall overcome together.
6. Desired Length:
5 minutes.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/12/79

Frank Moore

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

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done
J

CONGRESSIONAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Senator Jim Sasser

DATE: As soon as possible
(at your convenience) *7/11/79*

RECOMMENDED BY: Frank Moore *F.M.*

PURPOSE: To ask him to endorse you

BACKGROUND: Senator Sasser has been complaining that he has been asked by everybody except the President for his endorsement of you. I suggest that you call Sasser and ask him for a public expression of his support.

DATE SUBMITTED: October 9, 1979

*Will be supporting J.C.,
has call from Sunday 11/11/79
Cambodia - (done).*

FRANK CHURCH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

done
J

CONGRESSIONAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho)

DATE: As soon as possible

RECOMMENDED BY: Frank Moore FH/BG

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PURPOSE: To thank him for his work on SALT

BACKGROUND: As you know, SALT passed in conference today,
9 to 6. Would you call to thank him for the
role he played in bringing about this victory.

DATE OF
SUBMISSION: November 9, 1979

Frank says
I need to see Magnuson soon -
re SALT

JC

X JACOB JAVITS

done
J

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CONGRESSIONAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Senator Jacob Javits (R-New York) \

DATE: As soon as possible

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

RECOMMENDED BY: Frank Moore F.H./BB

PURPOSE: To thank him for his work on SALT

BACKGROUND: As you know, SALT passed in conference today,
9 to 6. Would you call to thank him for the
role he played in bringing about this victory.

DATE OF
SUBMISSION: November 9, 1979

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
13 NOV 79

Secretary Goldschmidt

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Stu Eizenstat
Jack Watson
Jim McIntyre

The signed original has been
given to Bob Linder for handling.

Signed 11/12

5049

<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR STAFFING
<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR INFORMATION
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
<input type="checkbox"/>	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
<input type="checkbox"/>	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
<input type="checkbox"/>	NO DEADLINE
<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
<input type="checkbox"/>	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

<input type="checkbox"/>	ADMIN CONFID
<input type="checkbox"/>	CONFIDENTIAL
<input type="checkbox"/>	SECRET
<input type="checkbox"/>	EYES ONLY

ACTION
FYI

<input type="checkbox"/>	VICE PRESIDENT
<input type="checkbox"/>	JORDAN
<input type="checkbox"/>	CUTLER
<input type="checkbox"/>	DONOVAN
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	EIZENSTAT
<input type="checkbox"/>	MCDONALD
<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE
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<input type="checkbox"/>	WEXLER
<input type="checkbox"/>	BRZEZINSKI
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<input type="checkbox"/>	ANDRUS
<input type="checkbox"/>	ASKEW
<input type="checkbox"/>	BERGLAND
<input type="checkbox"/>	BROWN
<input type="checkbox"/>	CIVILETTI
<input type="checkbox"/>	DUNCAN
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GOLDSCHMIDT
<input type="checkbox"/>	HARRIS
<input type="checkbox"/>	KREPS
<input type="checkbox"/>	LANDRIEU
<input type="checkbox"/>	MARSHALL

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MILLER
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<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BUTLER
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CAMPBELL
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	H. CARTER
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CLOUGH
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CRUIKSHANK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRST LADY
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FRANCIS
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARDEN
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HERTZBERG
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HUTCHESON
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAHN
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LINDER
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MARTIN
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MILLER
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSON
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRESS
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SANDERS
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPETH
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRAUSS
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TORRES
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VOORDE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WISE



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
Attention: Mr. Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

From: Neil Goldschmidt *Neil Goldschmidt*

Subject: Aviation Insurance

The Federal Aviation Act of 1958, Title XIII - AVIATION INSURANCE, provides that the Secretary of Transportation, with the approval of the President, and after such consultation with interested agencies of the Government as the President may require, may provide insurance against loss or damage arising out of any risk from the operation of an aircraft in the manner and to the extent provided in Title XIII, whenever it is determined by the Secretary of Transportation that such insurance cannot be obtained on reasonable terms and conditions from any company authorized to do an insurance business in a State of the United States.

Investigation of the availability of such aviation insurance has been made and it is my finding that such aviation insurance adequate for the needs of the air commerce of the United States cannot be obtained on reasonable terms and conditions.

Therefore, in order that the aviation insurance program may be placed in effect, your approval is requested.

APPROVED:

Jimmy Carter

President Carter

11-12-79

Date

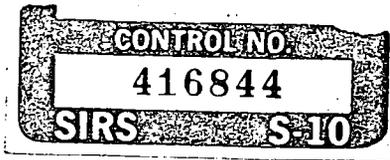
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20591

DATE: November 9, 1979

IN REPLY
REFER TO:

SUBJECT: Aviation Insurance



OFFICE OF
THE ADMINISTRATOR

FROM: The Administrator

TO: The Secretary

We are faced with a serious problem involving Pan American World Airways operation in Iran.

The Problem

Pan Am has been advised that the war risk liability insurance coverage it now carries in the commercial market has been cancelled, as such coverage relates to all operations into and out of Iran. We have confirmed the cancellation notice. There is no other U.S. or foreign market for this coverage. Pan Am is now faced with the situation that it will not be able to operate charter services in support of the United States evacuation of American nationals from Iran.

Required DOT Action

Title XIII of the Federal Aviation Act authorizes the Secretary of Transportation, with the approval of the President, "to provide insurance against loss or damage arising out of any risk from the operation of an aircraft.....whenever it is determined by the Secretary that such insurance cannot be obtained on reasonable terms and conditions from any company authorized to do an insurance business in a State of the United States."

Enclosed is a memorandum prepared for your signature requesting the approval of the President to place the aviation insurance program in effect in order that we may insure Pan Am's operations in Iran.

Langhorne Bond
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
1979 NOV 15 PM 5
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
EXECUTIVE

Enclosure

president's first
draft

11/22/79

We continue to face a grave situation in Iran where
our Embassy has been seized and more than 60 ^{American} of our citizens are
^{as} being held ^{as} hostages ~~in order to~~ ^{in order to} an attempt to force
^{demands} unacceptable ~~action~~ on our country.

We are using all available diplomatic channels to establish
and to maintain
effective communication with Iranian authorities. These efforts to
protect the safety of ^{and to secure their release}
~~to free~~ the hostages will continue ^{to be our foremost} as our highest priority.

Along with the families of the hostages, I have welcomed
and appreciate the restraint shown by Americans in our conduct
during this crisis. We must continue to exhibit such restraint.
The lives of our people in Iran are at stake.

(2)

At the same time, I wish to
must emphasize the gravity of the
situation. It is vital to the United
States and to every ^{other} nation that we
protect the ^{lives} security of diplomatic
personnel and other citizens abroad,
and that we refuse to permit the
use of terrorism and the seizure ^{and holding} of
hostages to succeed in ^{realizing} obtaining political
goals demands.

No one should underestimate the
resolve of the American people in this
matter.

In order to eliminate any source
of economic threat to us, and to answer
any suggestion that economic pressures can
weaken our stand on basic issues of
principle, I am ordering that we

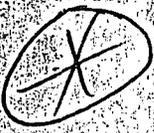
discontinue purchasing oil from Iran
for shipment to the United States.

These events obviously demonstrate the
extreme importance of reducing oil consumption.

(X) { P. 4

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America does face a difficult test.
Our response will measure our character
and our courage. I know that we
shall not fail.



~~These events obviously demonstrate the extreme importance of reducing efforts to reduce oil consumption and imports, permanently.~~

~~What is happening in Iran is dramatic proof of the need to get on with this task. We cannot maintain the integrity of our foreign policy, any more than we can assure the stability of our economy, unless we reduce our excessive dependence on imported oil.~~

~~[A renewed effort -- more belt tightening, more discipline, and more sacrifice -- will be required. To show our strength and independence, I am asking that~~

~~every American citizen and every American business adopt further measures to curtail the use of petroleum products. If every American passenger car is driven only three miles less per day, this would save 700,000 barrels per day --~~

~~as much oil as which is what we now import from Iran.~~

~~I have directed I am today asking Secretary Duncan, other federal officials, state and local authorities, and industrial~~

~~leaders to accelerate measures to conserve oil. In this new situation, they must also take steps to ensure fair~~

~~allocation of petroleum products and a minimum of disruption of our national economy, normal usage.~~

~~These American measures must be part of an effective international effort. We will be consulting with our allies, and other consuming nations, about further actions to reduce oil imports and consumption.~~

This action will pose a real challenge to our country. It will be a test of our strength and determination. It will not impose undue hardship, for instance, if

and to cope with this
we will
to reduce oil consumption.
our
and other consuming nations
reduce oil imports
and consumption.

P-11/12/79

V.P., Ebig, Jody, Ste
cc: Vance, Ebig, Jody, Ste
Ham for quick comment.

No
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J

We continue to face a grave situation in Iran where our Embassy has been seized and more than 60 American citizens are being held as hostages in an attempt to force unacceptable demands on our country.

We are using all available diplomatic channels to establish and to maintain effective communication with Iranian authorities. These efforts to protect the safety of the hostages and to secure their release will continue to be our foremost priority.

Along with the families of the hostages, I have welcomed and appreciate the restraint shown by Americans in our conduct during this crisis. We must continue to exhibit such restraint. The lives of our people in Iran are at stake.

At the same time, I must emphasize the gravity of the situation. It is vital to the United States and to every other nation that we protect the lives of diplomatic personnel and other citizens abroad, and that we refuse to permit the use of terrorism and the seizure and holding of hostages to succeed in realizing political demands.

No one should underestimate the resolve of the American people in this matter.

In order to eliminate any source of economic threat to us, and to answer any suggestion that economic pressures can weaken our stand on basic issues of principle, I am ordering that we discontinue purchasing oil from Iran for shipment to the United States.

These events obviously demonstrate the extreme importance of reducing oil consumption.

I ask that every American citizen and every American business adopt further measures to curtail the use of petroleum products. This action will pose a real challenge to our country. It will be a test of our strength and determination. It need not impose undue hardship. For instance, if each American passenger car is driven only three miles less per day, this would save as much oil as we now import from Iran.

I have directed Secretary Duncan to work with the Congress, other federal, state and local officials, and industrial leaders to accelerate measures to conserve oil and to cope with this new situation. We will ensure fair allocation of petroleum products and a minimum of disruption of our nation's economy.

These American measures must be part of an effective international effort and we will consult with our allies and other oil consuming nations about further actions to reduce oil imports and consumption.

America does face a difficult test. Our response will measure our character and our courage. I know that we shall not fail.

incoming draft to
president 11/12/79

P-11/12/79

cc: Vance, ^{V.P.} Zbig, Tody, Ste
Ham for quick comment.

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J

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At the same time, I must emphasize the gravity of the situation. It is vital to the United States and to every other nation that we protect the lives of diplomatic personnel and other citizens abroad, and that we refuse to permit the use of terrorism and the seizure and holding of hostages to succeed in realizing political demands.

No one should underestimate the resolve of the American people in this matter.

In order to eliminate any source of economic threat to us, and to answer any suggestion that economic pressures can weaken our stand on basic issues of principle, I am ordering that we discontinue purchasing oil from Iran for shipment to the United States.

These events obviously demonstrate the extreme importance of reducing oil consumption.

I ask that every American citizen and every American business adopt further measures to curtail the use of petroleum products. This action will pose a real challenge to our country. It will be a test of our strength and determination. It need not impose undue hardship. For instance, if each American passenger car is driven only three miles less per day, this would save as much oil as we now import from Iran.

I have directed Secretary Duncan to work with the Congress, other federal, state and local officials, and industrial leaders to accelerate measures to conserve oil and to cope with this new situation. We will ensure fair allocation of petroleum products and a minimum of disruption of our nation's economy.

These American measures must be part of an effective international effort and we will consult with our allies and other oil consuming nations about further actions to reduce oil imports and consumption.

America does face a difficult test. Our response will measure our character and our courage. I know that we shall not fail.

At the same time, I wish to emphasize the gravity of
the situation. *It is vital to The United States and to every*
~~[At stake here is the basic concern of]~~ every
nation *and to prevent the successful use*
~~[for the safety of its citizens abroad, the importance~~
of terrorism and the seizure of
~~to every nation of preventing]~~ the use of hostages to obtain
political goals, *and to protect the*
other citizens abroad. the security of diplomatic personnel and
property, and the honoring of basic American principles.

*that
we*

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~~We will not allow our approach to be hobbled by any narrow concern over continuing oil supplies from Iran. To this end, I am ordering that we discontinue purchasing oil from Iran~~

~~shipment to for importation into the United States. By doing so, we will remove any question of economic pressures from decisions about the basic issue of principles,~~ *suggestion that* *can weaken our stand on*

~~These events underscore the importance of our~~

No one should underestimate the resolve of the American people in this matter. In order to eliminate any source of economic threat against us, and to answer

~~and~~ ^{does} ~~severe~~ ^{difficult test} challenge.) Our response will
America, faces a (~~severe~~ ^{measure} and our courage.)
~~be a test~~ of our character, I know that we shall not fail.

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We continue to face a grave situation in Iran where our Embassy has been seized and more than 60 of our citizens are held hostage.

We are using all available diplomatic channels to establish effective communication with Iranian authorities. These efforts to free the hostages will continue ^{as our} ~~to have~~ ~~the~~ highest priority.

A We must ~~also~~ continue, as a nation, to exercise (maximum) restraint in our conduct. I have welcomed your strong support for such restraint. The lives of our people are at stake.

At the same time, I wish to emphasize the gravity of the ^{Situation.} ~~issue.~~ At stake here is the basic concern of every nation for the safety of its citizens abroad, the importance to every nation of preventing the use of hostages to obtain political goals, ~~and~~ the security of diplomatic personnel and property, *and the honoring of basic American principles.*

We will not allow our approach to be hobbled by any narrow concern over continuing oil supplies from Iran. To this end, I am ordering that we discontinue purchasing oil from Iran for importation into the United States. By doing so, we will remove any question of economic pressures from decisions about the basic issue of principles.

These events underscore the importance of our

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(A) Along with the families of the hostages, I have welcomed and appreciate the restraint shown by Americans in our conduct during this crisis. We must continue to exhibit such restraint. The lives of our people in Iran are at stake.

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11-12-79

7:40 am

We continue to face a grave situation in Iran where our Embassy has been seized and more than 60 of our citizens are held hostage.

We are using every available diplomatic channel to try to establish effective communication with Iranian authorities. Our efforts to free the hostages will continue to have the highest priority.

We must also continue, as a nation, to exercise maximum restraint in our conduct. I have welcomed your strong support for such restraint.

The lives of our people are at stake. But it is vital to every nation, not alone the United States, that we prevent the use of hostages to obtain political goals, and that we ensure the safety of diplomatic personnel.

No one should misunderstand the resolve of the American people in this matter. To those who suggest that our ~~position is affected~~ ^{resolve is weakened} by our reliance on Iranian oil, I have a simple answer.

I am today ordering that we discontinue purchasing oil from Iran for importation into the United States. By doing so, we will remove any suggestion that economic pressures can weaken our stand on the basic issues of principle.

The events in Iran provide dramatic proof that we must reduce our oil consumption and cut back oil imports permanently. We cannot maintain the integrity of our foreign policy, any more than we can assure the stability of our economy, unless we reduce our dependence on imported oil.

A renewed effort -- more belt-tightening, more discipline, and more sacrifice -- will be required. To show our strength and independence, I am asking every American citizen and every American business to adopt further measures to curtail the use of petroleum products. If every American passenger car is driven only two miles less per day, it would save 700,000 barrels per day -- which is the amount we now import from Iran.

I am today asking Secretary Duncan, other federal officials, state and local authorities, and industrial leaders to accelerate measures to conserve oil, and to cope with this new situation. They must take steps to ensure fair allocation of petroleum products and a minimum of disruption of our normal usage. [Panic buying will only make matters worse.] ^{or hoarding}

These American conservation measures must be part of an effective international effort. We will be consulting with our allies about further actions to this end.

America faces a ^{difficult test} severe challenge. Our response
will ^{measure} ~~demonstrate~~ our character and our courage. I know
that we shall not fail.

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P-11/12/79

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V.P., Zbig, Jody, Stu
cc: Vance, Zbig, Jody, Stu
Ham for quick comment.

J

We continue to face a grave situation in Iran where
our Embassy has been seized and more than 60 American citizens
^{continue to be}
~~[are being]~~ held as hostages in an attempt to force unacceptable
demands on our country.

We are using ^{every} ~~all~~ available ~~diplomatic~~ channels to
~~[establish and to maintain effective communication with Iranian
authorities. These efforts to]~~ protect the safety of the
hostages and to secure their release. ~~[will continue to be our
foremost priority.]~~

Along with the families of the hostages, I have welcomed
and appreciate the restraint shown by Americans ~~[in our conduct]~~
during this crisis. We must continue to exhibit such restraint,
^{despite the intensity of our emotions,}
The lives of our people in Iran are at stake.

At the same time, I must emphasize the gravity of the
situation. It is vital to the United States and to every other
nation that ~~[we protect]~~ the lives of diplomatic personnel and
other citizens abroad, ^{be protected} and that we refuse to permit the use
of terrorism and the seizure and holding of hostages to ^{impose} ~~succeed~~
~~in realizing~~ political demands.

No one should underestimate the resolve of the
^{Government and}
American ^{people} in this matter.

^{It is necessary}
~~In order~~ to eliminate any ~~[source of economic threat~~
~~to us, and to answer any]~~ suggestion that economic pressures
 can weaken our stand on basic issues of principle. ^{If our position must be clear,} I am ordering
 that we discontinue purchasing oil from Iran for shipment to
 the United States. //

(delivery to this country)

These events obviously demonstrate the extreme importance
 of reducing oil consumption.

^{urge}
 I ~~ask~~ that every American citizen and every American
 business ^{to redouble efforts} ~~adopt further~~ measures to curtail the use of petroleum
 products. This action will pose a real challenge to our country.
 It will be a test of our strength and determination. ^{of our} [It need
 not impose undue hardship. For instance, if each American
 passenger car is driven only three miles less per day, this
 would save as much oil as we now import from Iran.]

I have directed Secretary Duncan to work with the
 Congress, other federal, state and local officials, and
 industrial leaders ^{develop additional} to ~~accelerate~~ measures to conserve oil
 and to cope with this new situation. We will ^{work to} ensure fair ^{regulate}
~~distribution~~ ^{distribution} of petroleum products and a minimum of disruption
 of our nation's economy. /

These American measures must be part of an effective
 international effort and we will consult with our allies /
 and other oil consuming nations about further actions to reduce
 oil imports and consumption.

America does face a difficult test. / Our response
will measure our character and our courage. / I know that we
shall not fail.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 12, 1979

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
SUBJECT: Chrysler

The Sunday papers carried stories quoting Fred Kahn, speaking at a Saturday press conference, to the effect that the UAW-Chrysler wage contract exceeded our guidelines and would have to be renegotiated before the Administration could proceed with the Chrysler loan guarantees.

Fred's statement has greatly upset Doug Fraser and other UAW officials, who had previously been told that "sacrifices" would be required but not that a renegotiated contract was one of the required sacrifices. Chrysler's Congressional supporters were also concerned about our apparent change in the terms of the guarantee.

I talked with Fred twice Saturday, before leaving for speeches on your behalf in Detroit. He indicated that he had been misinterpreted and that he had not said the agreement would have to be renegotiated. I have also talked with Secretary Miller and Charlie Schultze. We all agreed that our position had been, and should continue to be, the following:

- o The UAW-Chrysler agreement appears to violate the guidelines, but that determination has not been finally made by COWPS and the Pay Board.
- o The Chrysler loan guarantee was conditional on the UAW, as well as all other parties involved, making substantial contributions to the financing package.
- o The UAW contribution could come from its new wage agreement as well as other sources, such as pension payment deferrals. Preliminary indications are that the UAW has made some contributions through the wage agreement, but additional UAW contributions are almost certain to be required if a complete financing package is to be developed. To the extent that additional UAW contributions are needed, the UAW could make them in a variety of ways. But a renegotiated contract would not have to be one of them.

- o The Secretary of the Treasury will be given authority under the proposed legislation to negotiate concessions from all of the parties commensurate with their stake in the company. It will be up to him to determine the nature of the concessions.

In Detroit, where this subject is of intense interest, I responded to questions in the above way. Today, I have also answered reporters' questions this way. Fred Kahn is also doing so, in an effort to clarify his Saturday statement.

I have spoken with the Vice President, and I understand he is communicating this message to Doug Fraser.

There is, in fact, no substantive disagreement on the Chrysler issue, although the way in which Fred initially stated the point has hurt. You should know that the bill we sent to the Congress contains absolutely no authority to withhold guarantees as a result of non-compliance with the wage-price guidelines. This issue was not raised by any of the parties, including Fred, during the time that Treasury was drafting the legislation.